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of ... Hilary

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THE FIRST EIGHT CENTURIES.

BEING

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LITERATURE, SECTS, AND DOCTRINES.

H

HERMOGENES (1), a teacher of heretical doctrine towards the close of the 2nd century, the chief error ascribed to him being the doctrine that God had formed the world, not out of nothing, but out of previously existing uncreated matter. Tertullian wrote two tracts in answer to him, one of which is lost; but the other is extant, and is our chief source of information about Hermogenes. The minuteness with which his arguments are considered and answered indicates that Tertullian is replying to a published work of Hermogenes, and to all appearance that work was written in Latin. Another piece of doctrine of Hermogenes had been preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Eclog. ex Script. Proph.* 56, p. 1002), which being unlike anything told of him by Tertullian, had been supposed by Mosheim (*de Rebus Christ. ante Const.* p. 435), to have emanated from some different Hermogenes. But this suspicion has been set at rest by the since recovered treatise on heresies by Hippolytus, who combines in his account of Hermogenes (viii. 17, p. 273), the doctrines attributed to him by Clement and by Tertullian. It is likely enough that Clement and Hippolytus drew from a common source, namely, the work "against the heresy of Hermogenes," which we are told by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 24) was written by Theophilus of Antioch. This work of Theophilus is mentioned also by Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 19), and from it he probably also drew the account which he gives of Hermogenes in the passage referred to, in which he clearly employs some authority different from the tenth book, or summary, of Hippolytus, of which he makes large use elsewhere. Theodoret adds that Hermogenes was also answered by Origen, on which the supposition arises that he may intend under this name to refer to the summary which we now ascribe to Hippolytus; but there is an absence of evidence that Theodoret regarded this work as Origen's, see Volkmar (*Hippolytus und die römischen Zeitgenossen*, p. 54),[a] so that we must suppose some lost work of Origen's is intended. The passages cited make up our list of primary authorities about Hermogenes, if we add some statements of Philastrius, which we shall discuss afterwards.

A considerable distance of time and place separates the notices of Hermogenes by Theophilus and Tertullian. Theophilus survived the accession of Commodus in 180, but probably not more than a couple of years; in fact, his death is placed by Eusebius in his *Chronicle* under the reign of Marcus Aurelius. We cannot then well assign a later date than 180 to the teaching of Hermogenes, which drew forth an answer from Theophilus; and it may have been earlier. We may probably infer that Hermogenes had disciples at Antioch, and therefore must have been teaching either there or at no great distance; and we may be certain that any writing of his which was answered by Theophilus must have been written in Greek. Tertullian's tract against Hermogenes is assigned by Uhlhorn (*Fundamenta Chron. Tert.* p. 60) to the year 206 or 207. In this tract Hermogenes is spoken of as still living (ad hodiernum homo in saeculo); he is also coupled with one Nigidius in the work on Prescription, c. 30, as among the heretics "who still walk perverting the ways of God." There are indications that the work to which Tertullian replies was written in Latin; and we have every reason to think that Hermogenes (though probably, as his name indicates, of Greek descent), was at the time living in Carthage, for in the controversy Tertullian assails his private character, entering into details in a way which would not be intelligible unless both were inhabitants of the same city. The same inference may be drawn from the frequency of Tertullian's references to Hermogenes in works of which his errors are not the subject (*de Monog.* 16; *de Praescrip.* 30, 33; *adv. Valent.* 16; *de Animâ*, 1, 11, 21, 22, 24), for we are led to think that it was proximity which gave this heretic an importance in his eyes greater than his general celebrity warranted. Tertullian describes him as a turbulent man, who took loquacity for eloquence, and impudence for firmness. But two things in particular are shocking

[a] It is just possible that Theodoret may have taken for Origen's the extract from MAXIMUS given in the *Philocalia* (24).

to his then Montanist principles, that Hermogenes was a painter, and that he had married more than once. Neander and others have contended that we are not to infer from such phrases as "pingit illicite," that Tertullian condemned the painter's art as altogether unlawful, provided it were not employed in the service of idolatry, and have supposed that the offence of Hermogenes in his eyes was that he painted mythological subjects. But there is no trace of this limitation in the treatise itself, which shews all through a dislike of the pictorial art, and it appears to us that Tertullian considered that the representation of the human form was forbidden by the second commandment. But it is probably not of much practical difference how we decide the question, for art not having been at the time enlisted in the service of the Christian church, a painter's customers would be almost exclusively heathen, and their tastes would regulate his choice of subjects. As for the charge of frequent marriages, if Hermogenes, who must in 207 have been advanced in life, was then married to a third wife, it would be occasion enough, to a writer so fond of rhetorical exaggeration as Tertullian, to describe him as one who had formed a practice of marrying (nubit assiduè), or who had "married more women than he had painted." Tertullian's language would lead us to think that Hermogenes had not only remarried, but had endeavoured to prove from Scripture that a second marriage was not unlawful.

To speak now more particularly of the doctrines of Hermogenes, the language of Hippolytus might lead us to suppose that he denied the physical possibility of creation from nothing; but in the representation of Tertullian no stress is laid on the philosophic maxim, "Nihil ex nihilo," and the eternal existence of matter seems to be assumed only in order to account for the origin of evil. The argument of Hermogenes was, either God made the world out of His own substance, or out of nothing, or out of previously existing matter. The first or emanation hypothesis is to be rejected, since He who is indivisible and immutable could not separate Himself into parts, or make Himself other than He had ever been. The second supposition is disproved by the existence of evil, for if God had made all things out of nothing unrestrained by any condition, His work would have been all good and perfect like Himself. It remains, therefore, that God must have formed the world out of previously existent matter, through the fault of which all the evil of which we have experience is to be accounted for. Further, God must have been always God and Lord, therefore there must always have existed something of which he was God and Lord. To this last argument Tertullian replies that God was always God but not always Lord, and appeals to the commencement of Genesis, where the title God is given to the Creator from the first, but the title Lord not till after the creation of man. Concerning Tertullian's assertion on this occasion that God was not always Father, see Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* iii. 10. From the assertion of Hermogenes that God was always Lord of matter, Neander infers that he must have held that God was always exercising His lordship; consequently that he denied any creation in time, but held that God had been from eternity operating in a formative manner on matter. Tertullian does not appear to have drawn this consequence, and (c. 44) assumes it as a point undisputed between him and his opponent that there had been some definite epoch of creation. But the account of Hippolytus shews Neander to have been in the right. With regard to the general argument, Tertullian shews that the hypothesis of the eternity of matter relieves none of the difficulties of reconciling the existence of evil with the attributes of God. If God exercised lordship over matter, why did He not clear it of evil before He employed it in the work of creation? If He could not do that, why did He employ in His work that which He knew to be evil? It would really, he says, be more honourable to God to make Him the free and voluntary author of evil than to make him the slave of matter, compelled to use it in His work, though knowing it to be evil. He contends that the hypothesis of Hermogenes amounts to Ditheism, for that though he does not give to matter the name of that God, he ascribes to it God's essential attribute of eternity. He asks on this hypothesis what just claim of lordship could God have over matter which was as eternal as Himself; nay, which might claim to be the superior of the two; for matter could do without God, but God, it would seem, could not carry out His work without coming to matter for assistance. In the discussion every word in the Mosaic account of creation receives minute examination, and there is a good deal of strained verbal interpretation on both sides. But it is plain that the authority and, to all appearance, the canon of Scripture were subjects on which both the disputants were agreed. Nay, Tertullian counts the Scripture so exclusive a ground of authority that its mere silence is decisive in his favour, and since it makes no mention of pre-existent matter, he holds that those who assert its existence incur the woe denounced against those who add to that which is written.

Though the word "materialist" is first heard of in this controversy, the views of Hermogenes were very unlike those which in modern times go by that name, and it may be doubted whether our word matter exactly corresponds to the hyle of Hermogenes. The latter word seems to have included the ideas of shapelessness and disorderly motion, so that though in our modern language all the sensible world may be described as material, it was not so in the language of this discussion. That which became κόσμος ceased to be hyle, and, in fact, Tertullian does not admit the existence of matter in the sense of Hermogenes. Hermogenes held matter to be infinite, and refuses to apply to it any predicate. It is without form, and the difficulty of conceiving any quiescent object without attributing to it some outline, is got over by describing matter as in a perpetual state of turbulent restless motion, like water boiling in a pot. It is not to be called good, else it would not have needed the Deity to fashion it, nor bad, else it would not have been capable of being reduced to order. It is not to be called corporeal, because motion, which is one of its essential attributes, is incorporeal, nor incorporeal because out of it bodies are made. Hermogenes repudiated the

stoic notion that God pervades matter, or is in it like honey in a honeycomb; his idea was that the Deity, without intermixing with matter, operated on it by His mere approach and by shewing Himself, just as beauty affects the mind by the mere sight of it (an illustration very appropriate for a painter to use), or as a magnet causes motion without any actual contact and merely on being brought near. By this approach part of matter was reduced to order, and became the *κόσμος*, but part always remains unsubdued; and this it is to be supposed was in the theory of Hermogenes the source of evil.

Tertullian acutely remarks that this language about God's drawing near to matter as well as the use of the words above and below with reference to the relative position of God and matter cannot be reconciled with the doctrine of Hermogenes as to the infinity of matter.

The lost tract of Tertullian against Hermogenes discussed the origin of the soul, which Hermogenes ascribed to matter, Tertullian to the breath of life inspired by God at the formation of man (Gen. ii. 7). Tertullian accuses his opponent of mistranslation of this passage in substituting the word Spirit for breath, his supposed object in substituting the higher word apparently being to exclude the possibility of interpreting this part of the verse with reference to the communication of the soul, since the Divine Spirit could not be supposed capable of falling into sin. This passage gives one of the indications that the tract to which Tertullian replies was written in Latin; and it is not surprising if Hermogenes, as a Greek by birth, did not use the current Latin translation of the Bible, but rendered for himself.

We have said that Tertullian has not mentioned an opinion of Hermogenes recorded by Clement, Hippolytus, and Theodoret. This is that our Lord on His ascension left His body in the sun, and Himself ascended to the Father, a doctrine which he derived or confirmed from the words of the 19th Psalm, "He hath placed his tabernacle in the sun." Theodoret adds that Hermogenes taught that the devil and the demons would be resolved into hyle. This last doctrine agrees very well with the doctrine that the soul derived its origin from matter. With regard to the former, it is a common point of Gnostic doctrine that our Lord's nature was after the Passion resolved into its elements, and that only the purely spiritual part ascended to the Father. But on no other point does Hermogenes approach to Gnostic teaching; in his theory of creation, he recognises neither emanation from God ncr anything intervening between God and matter; his general doctrine was confessedly orthodox, and it would seem that he had no wish to separate from the church, and that he did not consider himself as transgressing the limits of Christian philosophic speculation.

It remains to notice Philaster's confused account of Hermogenes. It would not cause much difficulty that (*Haer.* 53) he counts the Hermogenians but as a school of Sabellians, called after Hermogenes in the same way as the Praxeani after Praxeas. Though the silence of Tertullian gives us every reason to believe that Hermogenes himself was orthodox on this point, his followers may very possibly have allied themselves with those of Praxeas against their common opponent. But in the next section Philaster tells of Galatian heretics, Seleucus and Hermias, and attributes to them the very doctrines of Hermogenes that matter was co-eternal with God, that man's soul was from matter, and that our Lord deposited His body in the sun in accordance with the words of the Psalm already quoted. It is beyond all probability that such a combination of doctrines could have been taught independently by two heretics, and it is not very likely that Hermogenes had disciples in Galatia; we may therefore reasonably believe that Philaster's Hermias is Hermogenes. Philaster however attributes to his heretics other doctrines which we have no reason to think were held by Hermogenes: that evil proceeded sometimes from God, sometimes from matter; that there was no visible Paradise; that water baptism was not to be used, seeing that souls had been formed from wind and fire, and that the Baptist had said that Christ should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire; that angels, not Christ, had created men's souls; that this world was the only "infernum," and that the only resurrection is that resurrection of the human race which daily takes place in the procreation of children. Philaster may have read tracts which have not come down to us, in which Tertullian made mention of Hermogenes, and possibly if we had the lost tract *De Paradiso* it might throw light on Philaster's statements. But we are safe in rejecting his account as untrustworthy, even though it be not possible for us now to trace the origin of his confusion.

The tract against Hermogenes has been analysed by writers on Tertullian; *e.g.* Neander, *Antignosticus*, p. 448, Bohn's translation; Kaye, *Tertullian*, p. 532; Hauck, *Tertullian*, p. 240. The reader may also consult the articles on Hermogenes in Tillemont, iii. and Walch, *Hist. der Ketz.* i. 576. [G. S.]

HERMOGENES (2), ST. In the *Mart. Hieronym.* May 3, mention is made of Hermogenes of Liminata, which should be probably emendated to Anineta in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, of which see he is accounted the first bishop. (Gams, *Series Episc.* 444; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 709.) He is conjecturally identified with the person mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. i. 15). [L. D.]

HERMOGENES (3)—Dec. 10. Martyr at Alexandria under Maximin with Menas and Eupaphus. (Bas. *Men.*; *Mart.* Molani.) [G. T. S.]

HERMOGENES (4), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, predecessor of Dianius. The one act by which he is known to us is his ordination of Eustathius of Sebaste (after deposition by Eulalius), on his production of a confession of faith so strictly orthodox as to set at rest all previous suspicions. His death must be placed before A.D. 341. (Basil. *Ep.* 244 [82], § 9; 263 [74], § 3; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 371.) [E. V.]

HERMOGENES (5), a Novatian bishop who assisted at the episcopal consecration of the presbyter Sabbatius at Constantinople, causing a division in that sect between 391 and 407 on the paschal question. Hermogenes had been

previously denounced by Sabbatius himself on account of his blasphemous writings. (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 12.) [SABBATIUS.] [G. T. S.]

HERMOGENES (6), apparently one of several deacons of Macedonia in the year 414. (Innoc. Pap. ep. 17, in Patr. Lat. xx. 526.) [C. H.]

HERMOGENES (7), bishop of Rhinocorura (Farma), on the frontier of Egypt and Palestine. He took part in the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Mansi, vi. 874), where he sided with Cyril's party, and was subsequently sent to Rome to gain over pope Coelestinus. He did not, however, arrive until the death of Coelestinus, but his successor Xystus mentions the envoy in his epistle to Cyril (Patrol. Lat. l. 583). Isidore of Pelusium addressed several epistles to Hermogenes. (Patrol. Graec. lxxviii. lib. i. 419, et seq.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 542.) [J. de S.]

HERMOGENES (8), bishop of Cassandria (the ancient Potidaea) in Macedonia, present at the "Latrocinium Ephesinum," A.D. 449; he also attended the council of Chalcedon. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 77; Mansi, vi. 847, 930.) [L. D.]

HERMOGENES (9)—April 17. Martyr at Antioch with a deacon named Peter, probably the same as Hermes martyr at Salona, noted on April 18 in Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 426. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMOGENES (10)—April 19. Martyr with Gaius, Expeditus, Aristonicus, and Rufus at Melitene in Armenia, probably the same as Hermogenes, martyr with Elpidius at the same place and commemorated on May 3 in Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 426. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMOGENES (11)—April 25. Martyr at Syracuse with Evodius. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMOGENES (12), martyr with Donatus and twenty-two others; commemorated on Dec. 12. (Usuard.) [C. H.]

HERMOGENES (13), eleventh bishop of Agrigentum, cir. 800, the next known subsequently to GEORGIUS (22), commemorated on Nov. 24. After him the succession in this see was interrupted by the Saracen conquest. (Pirro, *Sic. Sac.* i. 695; Cajetan, *Vit. SS. Sic.* ii. 32.) [C. H.]

HERMOGENIANUS (1), placed by the Sammarthani fifth bishop of Limoges, between Atticus and Adelphius, cir. 210–247, and imagined by some to have been reckoned as metropolitan of Aquitaine before the honour was, by a new division of Gaul, transferred to Bourges. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 501.) [C. H.]

HERMOGENIANUS (2), a friend of St. Augustine, concerning whose treatise *contra Academicos* he expressed a judgment which Augustine considered too favourable. Augustine wrote to ask his further opinion about some passages in the third part of the same treatise. Aug. *Ep.* i. [H. W. P.]

HERMOGENIANUS (3), praetorian prefect. [EUGENIUS (46).]

HERMOGRATES (*Mart.* Usuard. July 27), martyr. [HERMIPPUS.] [G. T. S.]

HERMOLAUS (1) (Harmolaus, *Mart. Rom. Vet.*)—July 26, Bas. *Men.*; July 27, Usuard. Martyr at Nicomedia under Maximin. He converted St. Pantaleon. [HERMIPPUS.] (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. vi. 427–429; *Mart.* Adon., Wandalbert.) [G. T. S.]

HERMOLAUS (2), bishop of Attyda in Phrygia Pacatiana. He signed the protest against opening the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, before the arrival of John of Antioch, but joined the council when it was opened. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 825; Mansi, v. 768, 589.) [L. D.]

HERMOLAUS (3), bishop of Carpasia in the island of Cyprus; Olympius of Constantia added his name to the subscription to the definition of the faith read before the emperor Marcian at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. By Carteriopolis here Le Quien believes Carpasia is intended. (Mansi, vii. 165 n.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1068.) [L. D.]

HERMON (1), bishop of Jerusalem; succeeding Zabdas, or Zebadiah, 302, and succeeded by Macarius A.D. 311 (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32; Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. § 20). The Greek *Menaea* commemorate him on March 7, and state that he sent out bishops to preach the Gospel among the heathen, especially in Tauric Scythia (the Crimea). The chronicle of Eusebius does not make Macarius's episcopate begin till A.D. 313, but it is much confused at this period. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 154.) [E. V.]

HERMON (2), bishop of Bubastus (Basta), in the province of Augustamnica Secunda. He lived c. A.D. 340, as we infer from a mention of his name in a letter of Ammonius addressed to Theophilus of Alexandria (§ 23), which is to be found in the *AA. SS.* 14 Mai. iii. 356. (Le Quien. *Or. Christ.* ii. 561.) [J. de S.]

HERMOPHILUS (1), apparently a heretic of the school of ARTEMON, mentioned in company with Theodotus, Asclepiades, and Apollonides or Apollonius in a writing against the Artemonites, composed at the beginning of the 3rd century, of which fragments are preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 28), and which is said by Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* ii. 5) to have been entitled *The Little Labyrinth* [HIPPOLYTUS, p. 98]. The writer's object is to shew that what professed to be the "corrected" copies of the Scriptures in use by these several heretics did not agree together. [G. S.]

HERMOPHILUS (2), bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, on the river Calycadnus. He signed the synodical letter of the Isaurian province to the emperor Leo, in reference to the murder of Proterius, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 774; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1022.) [J. de S.]

HERMYLUS—Jan. 13. Martyr with Stratonicus at Belgrade (Singidunum) under Licinius. They were drowned in the Danube. (Bas. *Men.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jan. i. 769.) [G. T. S.]

HERNANUS, HERNIANUS. [ERNAN (8).]

HERNEUS, abbat of Le Mans. [ERNEUS.]

HERNICIUS (ERNICIUS), a disciple of St. Patrick, when he was at Kill-garadh, co. Galway. In the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 136, c. 50, 177 n. [88]) there is mention of three brothers, Bernicius, Hibernicius, Ernicius; they were Franks, and received places of retirement from St. Patrick, but the only place named is Baslick, co. Roscommon. Tirechan (*Annotations* in the *Book of Armagh*) calls the three Inaepius, Bernicius, and Hernicius. (Petrie, *Round Towers*, 165–6.) [J. G.]

HERO (1) (HEROS, Ἥρων, Ἥρως), successor of St. Ignatius as third bishop of Antioch. Neale calls him "friend and deacon" of Ignatius. He is said to have occupied the see twenty years, A.D. 116–136. He is stated to have closed his course by martyrdom (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36, ad fin., iv. 20). He was commemorated on Oct. 17 (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.). One of the spurious Ignatian Epistles is addressed to him. A supposititious address of Hero to Ignatius is given from a Vatican MS. by Baronius (ad ann. 110, § 7). [E. V.]

HERO (2) (Ἥρων. HEROS, Usuard)—June 28, disciple in the school of Origen; the fourth of that school who suffered martyrdom for the faith. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 4; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart.* Usuard., Adon., Notker.) [G. T. S.]

HERO (3) (Ἥρων)—Dec. 14. Martyr at Alexandria in the Decian persecution with Ater and Isidorus. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 41, p. 239; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERO (4) (Ἥρων), bishop of Diospolis (Thebae or Hou), in Thebais Secunda, c. 362. He publicly apostatized at Antioch, probably during the visit paid by the emperor Julian to that city, and, as it is said, without any compulsion. Not long afterwards he was reduced to great poverty, and being equally despised by heathen and Christian, he died miserably and in the streets. (Philostorg. *H. E.* vii. 13; Theophanes, *Chron.* s. a. 355, Migne, Patr. Gr. cviii. 162; *Chron. Pasch.* s. a. 363, Migne, s. a. xcii. 745.) This cannot have been the Hero [HERO (7)] mentioned by Jerome (cf. Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 611). [T. W. D.]

HERO (5), a native of Alexandria and monk of Tabenne in Egypt, under St. Theodorus. He died on Easter Eve, A.D. 367, and Theodorus, while soothing his last moments, foretold his own death, which followed shortly afterwards. (*Vit. Pachomii*, cap. xii. § 94 in *Acta SS.* Boll. 14 Mai. iii. 333 a.) [I. G. S.]

HERO (6) (Ἥρων), a philosopher, on whom Gregory Nazianzen composed an eulogistic discourse (*Orat.* 23 al. 25). He is supposed to be the same with the cynic Maximus. [MAXIMUS.] [E. V.]

HERO (7), bishop of Lemnadus, in Egypt, mentioned in the paschal letter (§ 26) of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, for the year 402, as having died, and been succeeded by Naseas. The letter was translated by Jerome, and forms his ep. 98, ed. Vall. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 639.) [W. H. F.]

HERO (8), bishop of Thennesus in Egypt, to the north of Tanis. He was present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he protested against the condemnation of Dioscorus. (Mansi, vi. 572; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 549.) [J. de S.]

HERO, bishop of Langres. [ERONUS.]

HERODES (1). (Euseb. *E. H.* iv. 15.) [POLYCARPUS.]

HERODES (2), proconsul of Africa, to whom application was made for the expulsion of the Donatist bishops who had consecrated Maximian. This took place in pursuance of the decree of the council of Bagaia, A.D. 394, and before the expiration of that year. Herodes appears to have pronounced sentence against the Maximianists, but it appears also that it was not immediately or formally carried out. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* lvii. 15; *c. Cresc.* iii. 56–62; iv. 4, 5, Tillemont; 69, vol. vi. 170, 171.) [FELICIANUS (4).]

A question has been raised as to the identity of Herodes with Seranus, whose sentence against the Maximianists is on record (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iv. 48, 58, vol. vi. p. 570). But this seems to be unlikely, for the following reasons: (*a*) Augustine says that the case was brought before three or four proconsuls, of whom he names the first and the last, viz. Herodes and Theodorus. (*b*) This being the case, it is unlikely that in the same treatise, though not in the same part of it, and in a formal description of what took place, he should call the same person by two different names, which are never used in conjunction with each other. (*c*) The first application was directed chiefly against Felicianus and Praetextatus, but that of Seranus against Salvius of Membresa. (*d*) In his account of these last proceedings Augustine insinuates that the proconsul was influenced either by partiality or by respect for the council of Bagaia, but no suggestion of this kind appears in reference to Herodes (Tillemont, vi. *note* 38, p. 725). [H. W. P.]

HERODIANUS, apparently one of the deacons of Macedonia addressed by Innocent, A.D. 414. (Dionys. Exig. *Collect. Decr.* num. 50; Innoc. Pap. ep. 17 in Patr. Lat. xx. 526.) [C. H.]

HERODION, reputed to have been one of the seventy disciples and bishop of Novae Patrae (Patras). He was murdered in a riot of the heathen at the instigation of the Jews. (Bas. *Menol.*; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 123.) He was commemorated March 28 and April 8. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Ap. i. 741.) [G. T. S.]

HERON; see generally HERO. For Heron II. of Antioch see EROS.

HERONIUS, a friend at Lyons to whom Sidonius Apollinaris wrote from Rome, giving an account of his journey and illness. (Sidon. Apoll. i. 5, *Epp.* i. 5, 9. Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 452, 462.) [S. A. B.]

HEROS. [HERO (2), EROS.]

HEROS (1) (Ἥρως), reputed first bishop of

Hierapolis, originally a pagan of Hierapolis, who received Philip the apostle into his house when the people threatened to stone him, and being converted was consecrated by Philip bishop of Hierapolis. (Nicetas Paphlago, *Oratio* ix., on St. Philip, in Patr. Gr. cv. 192; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 833.) [L. D.]

HEROS (2) (EROS), metropolitan of Arles. If we may credit the *Chronicle* ascribed to Dexter, he was bishop of Derthosa, Dertosa, Tortosa, in Spain. (Dext. *Chron.* s. a. 400, n. Biviar.) It is not improbable that Heros allied himself with the cause of the rebel Constantine during its brief triumph in Spain, and that when the revolt of Gerontius took place he was compelled to flee into Gaul. He was certainly intruded into Arles ("plebe cleroque contradicente"), and it would appear by Constantine, who may have appointed him to the see as a reward for his loyalty in Spain. (Zosim. *Ep. Aurel. et Univ. Ep. per Afric.* Migne, *Patrol.* xx. 649, 654; Mansi, iv. 353, A.D. 417; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont. Rom.* 27.) Lazarus bishop of Aix and his friend Heros were both denounced by Zosimus as "unknown men, and aliens who had obtained their sees in Gaul by unworthy means" (*Ep. Aurel.* Mansi, iv. 350). During the siege which Constantine sustained at Arles, A.D. 411, Heros ordained him to the presbyterate; but if this was designed for his protection in the event of capture, it proved of no avail, as he was put to death shortly after his surrender (Sozomen, *H. E.* ix. 15). The year following, A.D. 412, Heros was driven out from Arles by the people of the city, and Patroclus, a friend of Constantius, by whom Constantine had been defeated, was elected to the vacant see (Prosper. *Chron.* s. a.; *Gallia Christ.* i. 578). Heros fled to Palestine in company with his friend Lazarus, who had also resigned the see of Aix. There they both took a leading part in opposition to Pelagius. A libellus of theirs accusing him of heresy was presented to the council of Diospolis, Dec. 415. (Garnier, *Diss.* ii. ad. pt. i. Marii Merc. in Migne, *Patrol.* xlviii. 327; Augustine, *de Gest. Palaest.* 1, 2, 5, 12, 23, 29, 30, 43, 58, 62; Photius, cod. liv. He calls Heros Νέπορος.) Neither of them was present on that occasion, however: they excused themselves on the plea that one of them was ill (Garnier, *u. s.*; Aug. *u. s.*). For this they were afterwards severely reprimanded by Zosimus (*Ep.* Sept. 21, *u. s.*). They also sent letters about Pelagius to the African bishops by Orosius, which were read at the councils of Carthage and Milevis, A.D. 416 (Garnier, *Diss.* u. s. 331, 333). When Zosimus bishop of Rome wrote his second letter to the African bishops on the subject of Pelagianism (*u. s.*), the libellus which Heros and Lazarus had presented at Diospolis had also been forwarded to Rome from Palestine, and it is noticed by him accordingly (*u. s.*). In Oct. A.D. 417, another council in the matter of Pelagius was held at Antioch, and Heros and Lazarus also presented a libellus against him and his followers to that assembly. (Mar. Mercator, *Commonitor*, iii. 5 in Migne, *Patrol.* xlviii. 100; Garnier, *Diss.* u. s. 344.) Nothing is known of either Heros or Lazarus after this.

There is great discrepancy between the character assigned to Heros by Prosper, who speaks of him as "vir sanctus et beati Martini discipulus" (*Chron.* s. a. 412), and that which is assigned to him by Zosimus, who calls him "Tyrannus, patronus caedis" (Sept. 21, *u. s.*). Cardinal Noris explains this by the supposition that Prosper was so ardent a supporter of the party which still adhered to Heros after his expulsion that he was blind to his ill-deserts, while Zosimus, who was well informed as to the real character of the intruder, espoused the cause of Patroclus. (Noris, *Corrig. et Add. ad Hist. Pelag. Opera*, iv. 743; Zosimus, *Ep. Univ. Episc. per Gall.* March 22, 417; Mansi, iv. 359; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 27.)

Mabillon tells us that he had seen an ancient Arelate diptych with the name "Erotis Episcopi," but without the + prefixed to it. In the diptych the name is the fifteenth in the succession of bishops of the see. (*Vet. Analect.* 220; *Hist. Litt. de France*, ii. 147.) [T. W. D.]

HEROTES, the bearer of a message to St. Augustine from Honoratus, a Donatist (Aug. *Ep.* 49). [HONORATUS (7).] [H. W. P.]

HERRED, a Mercian priest, who attests the act of bishop Deneberht of Worcester, by which he grants land for life to a priest named Balthun, between 798 and 822 (Kemble, *C. D.* 181). [S.]

HERTGENOBERTUS, twenty-first bishop of Limoges between Rusticus and Caesarius, in the latter half of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 505.) [S. A. B.]

HERUMBERTUS (HERCUMBERTUS, HERIMBERTUS, ERKANBERTUS), ST., first bishop of Minden in Westphalia. If this see was founded in 780, as the verses and certain chronicles quoted by the Bollandists assert, it could only have been as an outlying mission, since the progress of Charles the Great's campaigns against the Saxons could not have admitted of a more permanent establishment at that time (cf. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 446). The chronology which places Herumbert's life in the early years of the 9th century is more credible (803-813). Little is known of him, but we learn from the *Traditiones et Antiquitates Fuldenses*, edited by Dronke, that he had a sister named Burscuint (c. iv. No. 9, p. 16), and possibly another called Lutburc, a nun (c. xli. p. 96), and that he was possessed of considerable wealth, as his gifts to the monastery of Fulda comprised 253 slaves, twenty-three farms, and 170 hides of land (p. 96). He is said to have sprung from a noble Saxon family, and to have been educated at Würzburg, where he was ordained priest. He is commemorated July 9, and was succeeded in the see by Hadowart. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 727-8; Gams, *Series Episc.* 294; Rettberg, ii. 446-7; Eckhart, *Francon. Orient.* i. 782-3; ii. 25.) [S. A. B.]

HERUS, al. lec. HEROS (Hieron. *Chron.* ann. Chr. 143), bishop of Antioch. [EROS.] [C. H.]

HERVAEUS (HUVARNUS), ST., abbat in Brittany in the 6th century. He was the son of Huvarnion, an accomplished and pious noble, who,

after visiting king Childebert on his accession in A.D. 515, stayed four years at court, and then, returning to Brittany, married Rivanone, a maiden assigned to him for a wife in a dream.

Their son Hervaeus was born blind, and Huvarnion died soon afterwards, leaving the boy to the guardianship of his mother, by whom he was carefully educated. He shewed extraordinary ability, and notwithstanding his blindness surpassed all his fellows in learning. Desirous of a monastic life, he stayed seven years with the monk Martinianus, learning the necessary rules and services, and then passed under the care of his uncle, St. Vulphroëdus. Upon the death of this uncle and of his mother he became the first abbat of a monastery which he built upon some land given him by Clovigonus of the town of Laungedrec in Cornubia Gallica. There are extant many legends of his good works and miracles.

On his death, in extreme old age, he was buried in a stone sarcophagus in his oratory, over which was erected the church of Land Houarne. He is commemorated on June 17. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 366, Life written by Albertus Magnus.) [I. G. S.]

HERVAEUS (HARIFEUS, HERMES), thirty-sixth archbishop of Besançon, succeeding Aurulcus or Anilcus, and followed by St. Gedeon, in the latter half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 19.) [S. A. B.]

HESECHIUS, HESICHIUS. [HESYCHIUS.]

HESIODUS (1), imaginary bishop of Corinth, according to "Praedestinatus" (i. 49) a man who is said to have raised the dead, who was the first adversary of the Arians, and in answer to whose prayers the death of Arius took place. [G. S.]

HESIODUS (2), enumerated by "Praedestinatus" in his title and also *Haer.* 83, with Epiphanius, Polycrates, and Africanus as a writer in Greek against heresies. There is no reason to believe in his existence. [G. S.]

HESPERIUS, martyr. [EXUPERIUS.]

HESPERIUS (1), martyr at Antioch with Glycerius and Sosistratus; commemorated on June 8. They are described in Wright's *Syrian Martyrology* as of "the number of the ancients" (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 427). [G. T. S.]

HESPERIUS (2), bishop of Pitane, in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, present at the council of Chalcedon, 451. In the sixth session he was employed by Stephen bishop of Ephesus to subscribe the names of the suffragans of Ephesus who were absent. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 705.) [L. D.]

HESPERIUS (3), correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, addressed in the tenth letter of his second book of *Epistles*. He appears to have been devoted to literature, and had asked Sidonius to send him any verse he had written since their parting. The Hesperius eulogised in the twenty-second letter of the fourth book to Leo, is no doubt the same. He is there spoken of as "vir magnificus, gemma amicorum litterarumque." St. Ruricius also corresponded with him. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 486, 526; Ruricius, *Epist.* 3, 4, 5, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 70–73; Ceillier, *Hist. gén. des Auteurs sacrés*, x. 384; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 656–658.) [S. A. B.]

HESPERIUS (4) (SPERIUS, SPERUS), twenty-third bishop of Metz, succeeding Agatimber, and followed by St. Villicus, said to have been consecrated A.D. 525. He was present at the council of Clermont in 535, and subscribed the letter addressed by the assembled bishops to king Theodebert. He is said to have died Aug. 23, A.D. 542, after an episcopate of seventeen years. He was buried in the church of St. Clement, at Metz. (Mansi, viii. 863–4; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 687.) [S. A. B.]

HESPERUS—May 2. He and his wife Zoe were slaves of one Catulus, by whom they were put to death at Attalia in Pamphylia for refusing to partake of a heathen banquet. They suffered under Hadrian. There was a church consecrated to St. Zoe at Constantinople. (Bas. *Men.*; Procop. l. i. c. 8; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. i. 178.) [G. T. S.]

HESYCHAS, hermit. [HESYCHIUS (19).]

HESYCHASTAE (Ἡσυχασταί). Solitaries, who retired to the desert, and there spent their lives in quiet meditation and worship (Nil. *Epp.* lib. iv. epp. 17, 54, in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxix. 558, 575; Theod. Studit. *Orat.* xi. § 44 in Migne, *u. s.* xcix. 847). The emperor Justinian granted them especial exemptions (*Novell.* V. iii. 2, A.D. 535). [T. W. D.]

HESYCHIUS (1) (ISICIUS), one of the seven apostolic men sent to Spain from Rome by the apostles, according to ancient Spanish tradition. He is supposed to have been bishop of Carcesa (? Cazorla). (Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, i. 193.) [CAECILIUS (4).] [M. A. W.]

HESYCHIUS (2), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, placed in the episcopal lists of that see next to Symphorianus, and in the time of Hadrian. It is uncertain whether there was but one bishop of the name at this time or an Hesychius I. following Hesychius I. There was a later Hesychius (No. 6) of some importance. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* i. 545.) [J. de S.]

HESYCHIUS (3) (HESECHIUS), bishop of an Egyptian see, is mentioned as the author, with Phileas, Theodorus, and Pachumius, of a letter to Meletius, schismatic bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt. The letter is given in a Latin version in Gallandius, *Bibl. Patrum*, iv. 67, and was written about A.D. 296. It is a remonstrance to Meletius on the irregular ordinations which he held in other dioceses, and was written at the time the authors were in prison, and in the lifetime of Peter of Alexandria. The martyrdom of Hesychius under Galerius, with Phileas, Pachumius, and Theodorus, is recorded in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 13. The martyr Hesychius has been ordinarily identified with the reviser of the text of the Septuagint, and of the New Testament, or at least of the Gospels, which obtained extensive currency in Egypt. Though there is nothing to

prove it there are no grounds for questioning the truth of this identification. This Hesychian recension is mentioned more than once by Jerome, who states that it was generally accepted in Egypt, as that of his fellow-martyr, Lucian of Antioch, was in Asia Minor and the East, "Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani exemplaria probat." (Hieron. *Praef. in Paralipom. ad Chromat. Ep.* 107. The same words occur in the *Apologia II. adv. Rufin.* vol. i. p. 763, Paris, 1609.) Jerome also refers to this recension as "exemplaria Alexandrina" (*in Esai.* lviii. 11). We know little or nothing more of Hesychius's edition of the LXX. It was doubtless an attempt, like that of Lucian, which is more often mentioned, to purify the text of the LXX in use in the churches of Egypt, by the collation of various manuscripts, and by recourse to other means of assistance at hand. Jerome speaks with some degree of contempt of his labours in the field of Old Testament recension, and still more of his and Lucian's recension of the Gospels. If we are to interpret his words strictly, Hesychius, as well as Lucian, added so much to the text as to lay them open to the charge of falsifying the Gospels and rendering their work "apocryphal." He writes: "Praetermitto eos codices quos, a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio, quibus nec in Veteri Testamento post LXX interpretes emendare quod licuit, nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura antea translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt" (Hieron. *Praef. in Evang. ad Damasum*). The words of the famous Decretal of Gelasius (c. A.D. 500) "On ecclesiastical books," which are, however, regarded by Credner (*Zur Gesch. d. K.* p. 216) as additions to the original decree "made at the time it was republished in Spain under the name of Hormisdas, c. A.D. 700–800" (Westcott, *Hist. of Can.* p. 448, note 1) are equally condemnatory. "Evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus—Apocrypha," "Evangelia quae falsavit Isicius (Hesychius)—Apocrypha" (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 126). Dr. Westcott pronounces the speculations of Hug as to the influence of this recension, "of which nothing is certainly known," "as quite unsatisfactory" (*ibid.*). Bleek states that "before Hug, Semler, and after him Eichhorn, attribute both to Hesychius and Lucian, and their editions of the sacred text a far more weighty part in the criticism of the New Testament than they deserve (Bleek, *Introd. to New Test.* vol. ii. p. 382, Clark's trans. 12), (Hody, *de Biblior. Text. Orig.* p. 303; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vol. vii. p. 547, ed. Harles, lib. v. c. 1, § 12; cf. also lib. iii. c. 13, § 14, lib. iv. c. 35). Fabricius is inclined to identify this Hesychius with the author of the celebrated Greek lexicon (*Bibl. Graec.* lib. iv. c. 35, § 4, 5). This, however, is very unlikely. The lexicographer has been shewn, by the investigations of Alberti and Welcker (*Rhein. Mus.* pp. 269 ff. 411 ff.), to have been almost certainly a pagan living towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era. The Christian glosses and references to Christian writers are now regarded as interpolations by a later hand. [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (4), the name of five bishops who attended the council of Nicaea in 325, viz., of—

Alexandria minor (Alexandretta, Scandaret, Iskenderun) in Cilicia. (Mansi, ii. 694; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 903.) He also attended the dedication council at Antioch, in 341. (Mansi, ii. 1308.)

Amastris (Sesamus), in Paphlagonia (Mansi, ii. 694; Le Quien, i. 561), other readings of the bishop's name being Eutychius, Eupsychius, Euphronius.

Isauria, chorepiscopus in. (Mansi, ii. 696.)

Neapolis in Pisidia. (Mansi, ii. 695; Le Quien, i. 1047.)

Prusa in Bithynia. (Mansi, ii. 696; not in Le Quien, i. 615.) [L. D.]

HESYCHIUS (5), the name of two bishops at the council of Constantinople in 381, viz. of—

Comana in Pamphylia (Mansi, iii. 570), which Le Quien (i. 1009) seems to read Cotena.

Epiphania in Cilicia (Mansi, iii. 569; Le Quien, ii. 897). [J. de S.]

HESYCHIUS (6), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, not, as has been supposed, an African bishop. He succeeded John IV. in 405 and died cir. 429 (Farlati, *Illyr. Sac.* ii. 64–90). A letter to him from St. Chrysostom is extant, thanking him for his sympathy, and requesting him to use his best exertions on behalf of the afflicted Eastern church, A.D. 406 (Chrys. *Ep.* 183, vol. vii. p. 848, ed. Gaume). Hesychius was strongly opposed to excessive rapidity in conferring the several degrees of the ministry, and wrote on this subject to pope Zosimus, who warmly supported his view, A.D. 418 (Zosimus, *Ep.* i. ap. Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 1556; Ceillier, vii. 536). He also wrote to St. Augustine to ask his opinion about the true interpretation of Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks. This letter, which was sent by a presbyter named Cornutus or Coronatus, is not extant, but its purport may be gathered from the reply of Augustine, which he sent by the same messenger. In this he refers Hesychius to the explanation given by St. Jerome, of which he sends a transcript, and reminds him of our Lord's express denial of any exact knowledge as to the day of His own coming, apart from that which is reserved to Himself by the Eternal Father (Matt. xxiv. 36). Any notion about permission to form a general idea of the time, provided the particular one be excluded, is overthrown by our Lord's words χρόνους ἢ καιρούς, Acts i. 7, which exclude both general and also particular definitions. One sign of its approach is undoubtedly definite, viz. the universal extension of the Gospel (Matt. xxiv. 14), which however is very far from fulfilment, even to the most sanguine expectation. These remarks, says Augustine, have been drawn forth by an expression of opinion on the part of a presbyter already condemned by Jerome as a rash one, viz. that the prophecy of Daniel was still unfulfilled. The presbyter here mentioned appears to have been Apollinarius of Laodicea (Hieron. *in Dan.* ix. *Opp.* vol. v. p. 548 (689); Aug. *Ep.* 197).

To this letter Hesychius replies, agreeing with Augustine as to the general terms of our Lord's description, viz. that no one can know the day or hour of His coming, but he nevertheless

thinks (1) that the apostles must not be cited as authorities, for they were witnesses not of these times and seasons, but of the Lord's death and resurrection; (2) that the general signs of the coming must be and are intelligible; (3) that the criticism of Augustine as to the phrase, *χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς*, is met by the LXX version of Dan. vii. 2, *χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ*, which must mean a definite time;[a] (4) that though the special period, whose days will be shortened for the elect's sake (Matt. xxiv. 27), is doubtless concealed from human knowledge, yet the general one may be inferred from outward signs, of which many have been described by our Lord, some fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem, and some seem to be manifested at this very time;[b] (5) The sign of universal evangelization appears to be met by such passages as Rom. x. 18; Col. i. 5, 6, and by the fact of the great extension of the Gospel since the profession of Christianity by the Roman emperors. He concludes with an expression of diffidence as to the value of his own opinion in the face of such interpreters as Jerome, but confesses himself unable to understand how his interpretation that the weeks are concluded with the Passion of our Lord can agree with that part of the prophecy which speaks of the cessation not only of the "sacrifice and oblation," *i.e.* the Jewish worship "in the midst of the week, but also of the desolation caused by the "abomination of desolation," which our Lord distinctly foretold as a sign to come hereafter[c] (Dan. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 15).

To this letter Augustine replies at great length in one which he mentions in the treatise *De Civitate Dei*, as expressing his mature conviction on the subject, under the title of "de fine saeculi" (Aug. *Civ. D.* xx. 4).

In speaking of the evident signs of the coming Hesychius had quoted 2 Thess. ii. 5, 8, but had not condescended to explain the meaning of that obscure passage any more than the apostle himself had done, nor how the prophecy of Dan. vii. 13, which he had also quoted, bears upon the question. Bearing in mind St. Paul's words (2 Thess. ii. 2), the true attitude of expectation is one of careful vigilance. But Hesychius had said that though the precise day and hour cannot be known, yet that the time may be conjectured within certain limits. If so, he would be glad if Hesychius would point them out. True, that the "last days" of the apostles may be at hand, though St. Peter spoke of them as being so just after the Ascension (Acts ii. 1–17). But what are the limits? have they any reference to the 1000 years of Rev. xx. 2, 4? It is now many years since St. John spoke of the "last time" (1 John ii. 18), so many indeed that reckoning one day as = 1000 years, some think he meant 500 years. But all this is mere conjecture, founded on no trustworthy evidence.

To conclude, Augustine says there is a mistake in thinking that we know more than we have liberty to know. Putting aside the case of the evil servant who refused to prepare for his master's return, we may take three cases: (1) that of one who thinks He will come soon; (2) that of one who thinks He will come late; (3) the case of one who, confessing his own ignorance, endeavours to be ready whenever He comes. All will agree in saying "watch and pray," but the state of the mind of 1 is attended by the danger of disappointment, a danger which does not touch the case of 2, and still less that of 3. Augustine confesses himself to belong to this last class, and requests Hesychius not to think meanly of him on that account, though he would be rejoiced to think that his friend's view is the true one, inasmuch as it involves a consummation earnestly to be desired by all good Christians.

Though St. Augustine's reasoning is sometimes obscure, his letters are interesting, both as specimens of his power in quiet and courteous, though unfavourable, criticism, not unmixed with gentle satire, and also as revealing the thoughts and ideas entertained at this period by Christians, and the view which some of them took of the passing events of the age, and their relation to the prophecies both of the Old and New Testament (Aug. *Ep.* 199). Some of the works which pass under the name of Hesychius of Jerusalem and are found only in Latin have been ascribed to the bishop of Salona. He has also been regarded as the translator of those works; but on no sufficient grounds, there being absolutely no evidence confirmatory of the supposition beyond a title added in some MSS by a blundering copyist. (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 396; Ceillier, *Auteurs Eccl.* tom. vii. p. 135; Fabr. *Bibl. Graec.* tom. vii. p. 552.) [H. W. P.]

HESYCHIUS (7), bishop of Parium on the Asiatic coast of the Propontis, one of the delegates sent to Asia to inquire into the criminal charge against Antoninus of Ephesus by the synod assembled at Constantinople by Chrysostom, A.D. 400. When the delegates arrived at Smyrna Hesychius, who was a friend of Antoninus, pretended sickness in order to avoid acting in the matter. (Palladius, *Vit. Chrys.* c. xiv.; Mansi, iii. 995.) He attended the oecumenical council of Ephesus thirty years later, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1124; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 787.) [L. D.]

HESYCHIUS (8), bishop of Castabala, in the province of Cilicia Secunda. He was censured in 431 by the council of Ephesus, in company with John of Antioch, John of Damascus, and other prelates for opposition to Cyril. (Baluze, *Nova Collectio*, p. 507.) The protest which he and other Nestorian bishops signed in favour of waiting for the arrival of John of Antioch is given in Baluze, p. 696. The letter which they subscribed and sent to the church of Hierapolis, exhorting their friends there to pay no attention to the decisions of the Cyrillian party at Ephesus, occurs in the same collection, p. 704. Another letter they wrote to John of Antioch and seven

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[a] This is the reading of three MSS only; the common reading being *καιροῦ καὶ καιροῦ*, which agrees with the Vulgate, "tempus et tempus."

[b] Hesychius is here speaking of a remarkable eclipse of the sun on July 19, and the appearance of a meteor or comet visible for several months, during a season of unusual heat and great mortality, A.D. 418 (Philostorgius, *Hist.* xii. 8–10).

[c] This view is plainly founded on a v. l. of both LXX and Vulgate, which in their received texts respectively introduce the mention of the "abomination" by the words "*καὶ ἔσται*" and "et erit," thus separating it from that of the cessation of the sacrifice.

others of their number, who had returned home, assuring them of their fidelity, and begging them to bring matters to a crisis as winter was approaching (*ibid.* p. 724). With two other bishops, Hesychius joined Alexander of Hierapolis, and separated from the communion of John of Antioch. John wrote a letter to Hesychius and to the other bishops of the two Cilicias. Hesychius and his friends assembled to read it, and finding in it nothing but good, they restored their communion to John. The little council thereupon wrote a reply to John's letter, excusing themselves for their former action. Meletius of Mopsuestia, who had been unwilling to be present, was curious to know what happened at the council. Hesychius wrote him a note, with a copy of the council and letter to John. He begged him at the same time to act according to the principles which he had learnt from Theodore of Mopsuestia with regard to the duty of keeping the church whole without rents. (Baluze, *Concil. Nov. Collect.* p. 856; Ceillier, viii. 386.) [W. M. S.]

HESYCHIUS (9) (ISICHIUS), bishop of Tanagra in Boeotia, signed the synodal letter of the province of Corinth to the emperor Leo, concerning the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 612.) [L. D.]

HESYCHIUS, bishop of Vienne. [ISICIUS.]

HESYCHIUS (10), bishop of Salona, elected A.D. 515; died 527. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* ii. 154–158.) [J. de S.]

HESYCHIUS (11) I. (ESITIUS, ISITIUS), 11th bishop of Grenoble, succeeding Siagrius, was present at the fourth council of Paris in 573, the first of Mâcon in 581, the third of Lyons in 583, that of Valence in 584, where he subscribed himself Isitius, and the second of Mâcon in 585, where his subscription is Esitius. He was one of the bishops who signed the rescript to the letter of Gundegesilus, archbishop of Bordeaux, with reference to the disturbances excited by Chrodieldis, at the monastery of the Holy Cross, at Poitiers. [CHRODIELDIS.] The date of his death is unknown, but he is conjectured to have been alive as late as 601. The next name in the list of the bishops of this see is that of Clarus, who was present at the council of Châlons held in 650, so that one or more names would seem to have been lost. (Mansi, ix. 868, 936, 943, 945, 958; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 41; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 221.) [S. A. B.]

HESYCHIUS (12) (ISACIUS), patriarch of Jerusalem, succeeding Amos A.D. 600 or 601. The only fact known of him is that on his succession he wrote to Gregory the Great announcing it. To this Gregory replied in a letter still extant, which affords a melancholy picture of the corrupt state of the church of Jerusalem, and generally in the East. Gregory commences by acknowledging the identity of their faith, and proceeds with an earnest exhortation to eradicate simony. He has heard that no one in the East attains a high place in the church except by bribes. He has been much pained by the reports of the strifes and dissensions in the church of Jerusalem. He begs Hesychius therefore quietly and gently to correct all he can, and to bear with calmness what he is unable to correct, and so to restore peace to Jerusalem. His death is placed by the *Chron. Alexand.* p. 874, ed. Rader, in the penultimate year of Phocas, A.D. 609. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. *Ep.* 46, lib. ix. *Ep.* 40; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 248; Ceillier, xi. 523.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (13) II., fifteenth bishop of Grenoble, succeeding Boso and followed by Austrobertus, in the latter half of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 222.) [S. A. B.]

HESYCHIUS (14)—July 7. Martyr in reign of Trajan. He was drowned in the Adriatic by Agricolaus, a president. He suffered with two others, Saturnilus and Germanus. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

HESYCHIUS (15), (ESYCHIUS)—Nov. 18 Usuard., May 10 Bas. *Men.*; a palace official at Antioch, who refused to sacrifice, and was therefore drowned in the Orontes during the Diocletian persecution, probably about A.D. 297, when Diocletian was at Antioch and commanded all the officials to sacrifice. He may probably be identified with Hesychius martyr at Antioch, May 29, in Wright's *Syrian Mart.* (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 427). [HABIBUS.] (*Mart. Vet. Rom.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HESYCHIUS (16)—Nov. 7. Martyr with Hiero Nicander, and thirty others at Melitene in Armenia during the Diocletian persecution. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

HESYCHIUS (17), martyr at Byzantium, commemorated on May 19. (Wright's *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 427.) [G. T. S.]

HESYCHIUS (18) (HESICHIUS, SUSOCIO), father of St. Simeon Stylites. At his death he left his property to be divided between his two sons, as Simeon had not yet become a monk. (Asseman. *Mart. Or. et Oc.* ii. 399; Ceillier, x. 581.) [I. G. S.]

HESYCHIUS (19) (HESYCAS, Soz. *H. E.* vi. 32), the most renowned of all the disciples of Hilarion, the celebrated solitary of Palestine, by whom he was regarded with extreme affection. He was included in the proscription obtained by the Pagans of Gaza against his master, and with him remained in concealment till Julian's death (Hieron. *Vit. S. Hilarion*, p. 249; Soz. *H. E.* iii. 14, v. 10). He was bound to his venerable master by strong ties of reverence and affection; "miro amore venerationi senis deditus erat" are Jerome's words, and he accompanied him on his various wanderings from Egypt to Sicily and Dalmatia, and finally, in A.D. 365, to Cyprus. On his return from Palestine in 366, whither he had been despatched by Hilarion to visit his brother anchorets, he succeeded in persuading the aged solitary to remain in that island, where he paid him frequent visits. He was not with him at his death. Hilarion bequeathed him all his wealth, *i.e.* his copy of the Gospels and his monk's attire. Hesychius, who was then in Palestine, on hearing of his decease, instantly returned to Cyprus, and taking up his abode in his master's cell, secretly disinterred the corpse, which he surreptitiously transported to Majuma, and thence to Hilarion's own monastery, where it was interred, and where Hesychius passed the

rest of his days in high repute for his ascetic virtues (Hieron. *u. s.* pp. 247–252; Soz. *H. E.* iii. 14, vi. 32). He is commemorated as a saint by the church of Rome on Oct. 3. [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (20), addressed by Basil, cir. 371, as an old acquaintance, united to him by a common love of letters and their ancient friendship with the admirable Terentius; but since Elpidius, a brother and valued friend of Basil, has spoken of the virtues of Hesychius, Basil invites Hesychius to his house that they may become more intimate (Basil. ep. 64, p. 157). In another letter (ep. 72, p. 166) Basil requests his assistance in appeasing the justly offended Callisthenes involved in a quarrel with Eustochius (Patr. Gr. xxxii. 419, 439). [C. H.]

HESYCHIUS (21), a person evidently residing not very far from Cucusus, for whom Chrysostom felt an affection of very peculiar warmth, manifested in three letters from Cucusus, A.D. 404, in which he expresses his earnest desire to see, embrace, and kiss him, and if the dangers of the way, the fear of the Isaurian banditti, the season of the year, and his own weak health forbid this, he begs that he will afford him the pleasure of frequent letters. (Chrys. *Epist.* 24, 74, 176.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (22), a friend to whom Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus in 404, expressing surprise at his long continued silence, and begging him to lay aside all diffidence, and feel perfect confidence in all letters from him being welcome. (Chrys. *Epist.* 198, 223.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (23), a deacon who acted as clerk of the court at the council of Ephesus. (Labbe, iii. 635.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (24), FLAVIUS, a senator of Philadelphia, a Quartodeciman, in 430, prevailed upon by Jacobus a Nestorian bishop to abjure his heresy and subscribe a symbolum. He also subscribed the symbolum for Rudius and Polychronius, who also had been Quartodecimans. [CHARISIUS (1).] [T. W. D.]

HESYCHIUS (25), presbyter of Jerusalem in the first half of the 5th century, a copious and learned writer, whose comments on Holy Scripture and other works gained considerable repute in their day. Hesychius was a common name, and considerable confusion exists as to the authorship of several of the treatises ascribed to him; a confusion which, from the absence of sufficient data and the various opinions of those who have investigated the subject, it is hopeless entirely to remove. It is possible that some of the works only existing in Latin under the name of Hesychius or one of its varieties—Esytius, Isysius, Isacius, &c.—were written by the bishop of Salona, the correspondent of Augustine (see No. 6), or, as Cave holds with less probability, translated into Latin by him. It is altogether a mistake to speak of Hesychius as bishop of Jerusalem. The only prelate of that name appearing in the catalogue of patriarchs is the correspondent of Gregory the Great (see No. 12). According to the Greek Menology, March 28, Hesychius was born and educated at Jerusalem, where "by meditating on the Scriptures he obtained a deep acquaintance with divine things." On arriving at man's estate he left his home and, devoting himself to a solitary life, plunged into the desert, where he "with bee-like industry gathered the flowers of virtue from the holy fathers there." He was ordained presbyter against his will by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and spent the rest of his life in the holy city, or the other sacred places. The statement of Trithemius (*de Script. Eccles.* No. lxxxii.) and Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sancta*, lib. iv 245) that he was a disciple of Gregory Nazianzen, who died A.D. 390, is manifestly improbable. A story is told by Moschus of his cutting out and burning two treatises of Nestorius, contained in a volume he had lent in ignorance of its contents to his brother solitary, Cyriacus abbat of Calamon, which had been revealed to the latter by vision (*Prat. Spirit.* c. xlvi.). Hesychius the presbyter is mentioned more than once by Theophanes. He first (p. 71) records his advancement, προβολὴ (ordination?), A.D. 412, where he speaks of him as "the presbyter of Jerusalem," and in the following year, A.D. 413, records his celebrity for theological learning (ἤνθει ταῖς διδασκαλίαις). We find him mentioned in the Life of St. Euthymius by Cyril of Scythopolis (Coteler. *Eccl. Graec. Monum.* tom. ii. p. 233, § 42), where he is spoken of as accompanying Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem, to the consecration of the church of the "Laura" of St. Euthymius, A.D. 428 or 429, and was received with much honour (τὸν θεῖον) by the abbat. He is said by Allatius (*Diatriba de Simeonibus*, p. 100) to have filled the office of Chartophylax or Keeper of the Records of the church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem. The data given by Theophanes for fixing his death are, as Tillemont has shewn, at variance with one another, and it can only be placed approximately about A.D. 438. The fact that this chronicler should have recorded the birth and death of one who never rose above the rank of a simple presbyter is evidence of the celebrity he had attained in the church. This is also confirmed by the title ὁ Θεολόγος appended to his name in the Codex Regius (Combefis, *Bibl. Concionat.* tom. i. p. 17). He is twice mentioned by Photius, who however shares to some extent in the confusion relating to the Hesychii, and assigns him no date. In Cod. 275 he quotes a rhetorical passage from a sermon on James the Lord's brother and David (θεοπάτωρ), evidently delivered at Jerusalem. He compares Bethlehem and Sion, to the great advantage of the latter, and in a manner very natural in a presbyter of Jerusalem, elevates the authority of St. James as superior to that of St. Peter in the council of Jerusalem —Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ— and speaks of him as "the mouthpiece of the Most High, from whose judgment there was no appeal." In another place (Cod. 269) he also quotes a panegyric on St. Andrew erroneously entitled "An Encomium on St. Thomas."

The following is a catalogue of the numerous works attributed to this author. Of several of them all we can say is that they bear the name of Hesychius in one of its forms, but whether they are actually the composition of the presbyter of Jerusalem, or of some other writer having the same name, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Tillemont feels no insuperable difficulty in assigning them all to the same author, but he confesses that fuller light might lead to a different conclusion.

(1) *In Leviticum Libri VII. Explanationum Allegoricarum sive Commentarius*, dedicated to the deacon Eutychianus. This is the most extensive work which has come down to us under the name of Hesychius. Unfortunately it exists only in a Latin translation. This is certainly ancient, but subsequent to the general reception of the Latin Vulgate, which is ordinarily quoted. The translator has dealt very freely with the work, adding and altering, and sometimes in his own person commenting upon the Greek and Latin renderings of the same passage. This has led to the erroneous conclusion that the original author was not a Greek but a Latin-speaking man. (See for examples Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 271.) As to the authorship, Cave says "*quot homines tot sententiae.*" He is inclined to identify him with Hesychius, or more properly Isaacus, patriarch of Jerusalem, the correspondent of Gregory the Great. But Fabricius is certainly more correct in attributing the Commentary to Hesychius presbyter of Jerusalem, "Versus Latine ab interprete nescio quo" (*Bibl. Graec.* tom. vii. p. 550). Cave's notion that the translator was Hesychius of Salona is entirely wanting in foundation. The supposed reference to the heretical views of Eutyches, which has been thought to militate against Hesychius presbyter of Jerusalem being the author, would be more worthy of consideration if the date of Hesychius's death was certain, which is far from being the case. Besides Tillemont may probably be right in supposing that the tenets denounced were not those of Eutyches, but the nearly similar doctrines of Apollinarius and his followers. The Commentary is continuous from chap. 1 to the end of the book. Dupin, who strongly asserts a Latin origin, says that "the Commentary is clear and plain. The writer gives the literal sense of the passage; adding now and then some allegorical or moral reflections." The work has frequently been printed. The earliest editions are those of Basle, 1527, fol. and Paris, 1581, 8vo. It is to be found in the various *Bibliothecae Patrum*, as that of Lyons, tom. xii. p. 52, and the *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* of Galland, tom. xi.

(2) *Commentaries on the Psalms.* Harles and Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* vol. vii. p. 549, speak of many portions of this work existing in manuscript, especially one in the University Library of Cambridge containing Ps. lxxvii.—cvii. The only portions printed are the *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, extracted from the Greek *Catena in Psalmos*, with a Latin translation by Balthazar Corderius. These are very sensible and useful, and lead us to wish for the publication of the whole.

(3) Στιχηρὸν sive κεφάλαια *in XII. Prophetas et Esaiam*, an epitome of the twelve Minor Prophets and of Isaiah, section by section.

(4) *Fragments of Commentaries* on Ezekiel, Daniel, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of James, 1 Peter and Jude.

(5) *Difficultatum et Solutionum Collectio.* A collection of sixty-one discrepant passages in the Gospel history, with their reconciliation. These are generally characterized by sound common sense and a reluctance to force passages into an unreal agreement.

(6) Eight *Sermons*, or *Fragments of Sermons:* (1) *On the Nativity.* (2) *On the Hour of the Crucifixion.* (3) *On the Resurrection of Our Lord;* falsely ascribed to Gregory Nyssen, and published among his works as the *Second Homily on Easter.* (4) *On the Virgin Mary.* (5) The same. (6) *On the Hypapante* or *Presentation in the Temple* (first printed by Mai in his *Class. Auct.* x. 577). (7) *A Fragment on St. Andrew*, erroneously entitled *Encomium in Beatum Thomam.* (8) *A Fragment on James the Lord's Brother and David the Lord's Father* (both these last are given by Photius, *vide supra*).

(7) Ἀντιρρητικὰ καὶ Εὐκτικά. *Two Centuries of Moral Maxims on Temperance and Virtue and Instructions on Prayer*, addressed to one Theodotus. Many of these are taken verbatim from the *Ascetica* of Marcus, which, according to Photius (Cod. 198), stood at the end of the *Lives of the Saints contemporary with St. Anthony.*

(8) *The Martyrdom of Longinus the Centurion*, which the author, who calls himself Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, states he had extracted from a MS. in the Library of the Anastasis at Jerusalem. The author, according to Fabricius, was not the same who wrote the works previously enumerated, but belonged to a much later period.

(9) *An Ecclesiastical History*, of which a fragment is given in the acts of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 353, *Collat. Quinta*, condemnatory of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

(Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 570; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* ed. Harles, tom. vii. pp. 548–551; Galland, *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* tom. xi.; Migne, Patrolog. vol. xciii. pp. 781–1560.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (26), a presbyter of Constantinople, who, according to Photius, wrote a cumbersome work in four books, on the *Brazen Serpent.* Photius speaks very unfavourably of this book, which he describes as full of verbose rhetorical speeches put into the mouth of Moses and the Israelites, and even of the Deity Himself, but he allows that it is perfectly orthodox. The work has perished, and it is evident that our loss is not great. Photius gives no hint as to the date of this Hesychius. Fabricius is inclined to identify him with the presbyter of Constantinople mentioned by Philostorgius (*H. E.* vi. 1), who, when a complaint was laid before Eudoxius of the heretical teaching of Eunomius by the clergy and laity of Cyzicus, roused the popular feeling against him by the violence of his language. (Phot. *Cod.* 51; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 551; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* vol. vii. p. 547; Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* 417.) [E. V.]

HESYCHIUS (27) ILLUSTRIS, a copious historical and biographical writer early in the 6th century. He was the son of an advocate of the same name and his wife Sophia, and was born at Miletus. The distinctive name ("*Illustris*," Ἰλλούστριος) by which he is known, though sometimes erroneously regarded as a proper name, is no more than the official title conferred by Constantine the Great on the highest rank of state officers (the subordinate titles being *Clarissimus* and *Spectabilis*), such as prefects of the praetorians, prefects of the city, quaestors, and masters of the troops (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 6; see Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Graecit.* sub voc.). Nothing whatever is known of Hesychius beyond the fact that he lived in the reigns of Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian, and that his literary labours

were cut short by his grief at the premature death of a son named John. A question has been raised as to whether he was a Christian or not. Suidas doubts it on the somewhat precarious ground of his omitting all mention of ecclesiastical writers in his work on men of learning. But very substantial reasons have been produced on the other side by Cave (*Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 518), and accepted by Fabricius. His chief work was a *Universal History*, divided into six books, called by Photius "sections" (τμήματα), but by the author himself "divisions" (διαστήματα), containing the history of the world in a synoptical form through a period of 1920 years, reaching from Belus, the reputed founder of the Assyrian empire, to the death of Anastasius I., A.D. 518. The divisions, according to Photius (*Cod.* 49), were as follows: (1) From Belus to the Trojan war; (2) from the fall of Troy to the foundation of Rome; (3) from the foundation of Rome to the first creation of consuls; (4) from the establishment of the consular power to the sole rule of Julius Caesar; (5) from Julius Caesar to the foundation of Constantinople; (6) from the foundation of Constantinople to the death of Anastasius, A.D. 518. Photius, who had read the work, passes a very favourable opinion upon the author, as concise and elegant in style, vivid and clear in language, painstaking in the construction of sentences, and careful in the selection of words; conferring a graphic power on his narrative by the appropriate use of figurative language, and, above all, strict in the investigation of truth. The whole of this historical synopsis has perished with the exception of the initial portion of the sixth book, which has been several times printed under the title of πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ("*Constantinopolis Origines*, or *Antiquitates*"). It was published by George Dousa, and ascribed to Georgius Codinus (Heidelberg, 1596), and subsequently by Meursius, under the name of its real author, appended to his *de Viris Claris* (Lugd. Bat. 1613). Hesychius's great historical work was followed by a supplement, recording the transactions of the reign of Justin, and of the early years of Justinian. This as the work of a contemporary, whose official position gave him the opportunity of obtaining accurate information, must have been of great historical value, and its loss is very much to be regretted. Hesychius was also the author of a series of biographical notices of learned men, περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ λαμψάντων, or, according to Suidas, πίναξ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ὀνομαστῶν. This, which goes over very much the same ground as the work of Diogenes Laertius, has been supposed by some to be an epitome of the *Vitae Philosophorum*. A comparison of the two will shew that though Hesychius made copious use of the work of his predecessor, even extending to the adoption of the same words, the differences are too great to admit this idea. This work has been several times printed, first by Adrian Junius, with his own and Henry Stephen's notes (Paris, 1593), and subsequently by Meursius (Lugd. Bat. 1613). Without any sufficient grounds Hesychius Illustris has been identified with the lexicographer of Alexandria (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 518; Suidas, *sub voc.* Ἡσύχιος; Photius, *Cod.* 69; Fabr. *Bibl. Graec.* tom. vii. p. 544; Thorschmidius, *de Hesychio Illustri*, apud Orellium *Hesychii Opera*). [E. V.]

HETAEMASIUS (ETHYMASIUS), bishop of Philadelphia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 695; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 868.) [L. D.]

HETHEREDUS, abbat. [HEATHORED.]

HETHERIUS of Chartres. [ETHERIUS.]

HETHNA, Irish saint. [EITHNE.]

HETTI, bishop of Strasburg. [ETHO.]

HETTO, bishop. [ETTO.]

HETTO (HATTO, HAIDO, HAITO, AHYTO, HEITO, OTHO), seventh bishop of Basle, born A.D. 763, was said to have belonged to the noble family of the counts of Sulgow. At five years of age he was placed in the monastery of Reichenau (Augia) to be educated. Here, when he grew up, he embraced the monastic life, and devoted himself especially to the monastery school, which under his care seems to have attained to a high state of efficiency. His fame came to the ears of Charles the Great, who, about A.D. 805, drew him "de carcere charo," and appointed him to the see of Basle, where he succeeded Waldo. In the following year he was also made abbat of Reichenau. In 811 he was one of the prelates who subscribed Charles's will. (Einhard, *Vita Kar. Mag.*; Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 463.) The same year he was sent with others on an embassy to Constantinople, to conclude a treaty of peace with the emperor Nicephorus, who, however, died not long after their arrival. His successor, Michael, ratified the negotiations which had been commenced. On the voyage he suffered shipwreck, but escaped safely with his company. The story of his discourteous reception by the emperor, and subsequent revenge upon the Eastern ambassadors sent to Charles's court is admitted to be fabulous (Monachi Sangall. *Gesta Kar.* ii. 6, Pertz, ii. 750). In 816 he built the church of St. Mary at Reichenau. In 822, or 823, a severe illness warned him to think of spending his remaining years in retirement and penitence. Accordingly he resigned his see and abbacy, and withdrew to his old monastery as a simple monk, placing himself under the government of Erlebaldus, as abbat, a former disciple. His successor at Basle was Udalricus. He died in 836. Walafrid, in his eulogium, characterizes him as learned, generous, honourable, loving, just and sagacious.

Hetto was the author of several works. He wrote a *Hodoeporicum*, or history of his embassy to Constantinople (Hermanni *Chronicon*, an. 811, Bouquet, v. 366; Anon. Mellicensis, *de Scriptor. Eccles.* c. xliii., Migne, Patr. Lat. ccxiii. 974), but this has been lost, or, at any rate, has never been published. He also wrote a body of rules, or *statuta*, for the guidance of those having spiritual charge in his diocese. The work is divided into twenty-five little chapters, and throws an instructive light upon the practice and ceremonies of the German church (Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 763, and again cxv. 11). About 823 he wrote an account of the *Vision* of the monk of Reichenau, Wetinus, who three days before his death was taken in spirit to the other world, and in some respects curiously anticipated Dante (*ibid.* col. 771;

Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* iv. i. 265, Paris, 1668–1701). This vision made a great impression at the time (Hermannus Contractus, *Chron.* an. 824; Bouquet, vi. 225), and Hetto's narrative was afterwards versified by Walafridus Strabo (Patr. Lat. cxiv. 1063; Mabill. *ut supr.* p. 272). For an account of Hetto's writings, see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 95; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 336, 337, and the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 523.

There are also extant a letter of Theganus, the historian, to Hetto, in which he curiously addresses him as duke and consul, probably on account of his having been employed as imperial ambassador (Martene et Durand, *Ampliss. Collectio*, i. 84), and a mutilated remnant of a letter from Frotharius, bishop of Toul (Bouquet, vi. 398; Patr. Lat. cvi. 882). A charter of Louis the Pious in his favour as abbat of Reichenau has also survived (Patr. Lat. cv. 767). For his history, in addition to the references above given, see the *Annales* in Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 49, 68, 198, 355, ii. 38; Bouquet, v. 356, vi. 224, 225; Walafridus Strabo, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxiv. 1065; *Gall. Christ.* xv. 429; Ceillier, *Hist. gén. des Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 336; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 523; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 93). [S. A. B.]

HEUNNA, the wife of the comes Aldfrid, said to have been cured by St. Cuthbert of a disease when she seemed to be at the point of death. She lived in a district called Henitis. "Count Aldfrid" is probably Aldfrith, who was afterwards king of Northumbria, and died in A.D. 705. (*Vita Anonym. S. Cuth.*, ed. Stevenson, p. 276.) [J. R.]

HEUTERIUS, first bishop of Lectoure, "in the time of St. Hyginus," who may possibly have been the pope of that name in the middle of the 2nd century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1073; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 561.) [R. T. S.]

HEUUA (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 284), a nun. [HEIU.] [C. H.]

HEVIN, HEVNIN. [HYWYN.]

HEWALD, the name of two missionary priests, of English birth, who having spent some years in pious study in Ireland, went to preach to the old Saxons of Germany, about the year 690. They were called the Black Hewald and the White Hewald, the former being the more learned, but both of equal sanctity. On their arrival in the country of their destination they made their way to the house of a local magistrate (villicus=tungerefa), and obtained from him a promise to introduce them to the "satrapa" or "ealdorman" of the tribe. The country people, in dread of innovation, before they obtained this introduction, seized and murdered them; the Black Hewald was tortured and torn in pieces, the White Hewald dispatched with the sword. The bodies were thrown into the Rhine. The day of their death was recorded as Oct. 3. The provincial ruler avenged their death by destroying the village. A miraculous light attended their bodies; they were carried, against the stream, up the Rhine as far as the place where the head-quarters of the mission had been fixed. Their arrival was made known in a dream to Tilmon, one of their companions, and he buried them; but Pipin, then duke of Austrasia, had them translated to Cologne. A spring broke forth at the place where they suffered, which, according to the Gallican martyrology, was in Westphalia. (Bede, *H. E.* v. 10; Alcuin, *de Pontiff. Ebor.* ap. Gale, pp. 721, 722; *Opp.* ed. Froben. ii. 252, 253; *AA. SS.* Boll. Oct. ii. 205–207; and on the locality of the martyrdom see v. Steinen, *Westfal. Gesch.* pt. 12, p. 736.) [S.]

HEWNIN, HEWYN. [HYWYN.]

HEXAPLA, THE (*τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ, τὸ ἑξαπλοῦν, τὸ ἑξασέλιδον*), or sixfold Bible of Origen, consisted in the main of six columns, severally containing the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the same in Greek characters, and the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX, and Theodotion. It contained also in parts a fifth and a sixth, or even a seventh, Greek version of unknown authorship, and with reference to those parts which contained the fifth and sixth versions it went by the name of the *Octapla*. The *Tetrapla* was a separate work, consisting of the four versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX, and Theodotion. See Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* § 19), and compare the statement of Jerome in his commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to Titus (iii. 9, vol. vii. 734, 735),* where he affirms that he had seen the original Hexapla at Caesarea: "Unde et nobis curae fuit omnes veteris legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Caesariensi bibliotheca descriptos *ex ipsis authenticis* emendare; in quibus et ipsa Hebraea propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta et Graecis literis tramite expressa vicino; Aquila etiam et Symmachus, LXX quoque et Theodotio, suum ordinem tenent. Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebraeos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent, quam *Quintam* et *Sextam* et *Septimam* translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consecutas." It has indeed been maintained that the Hexapla was so called from its containing six versions, and this is thought to be proved by the following important passage of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16), where, having spoken of the six versions, he concludes:—*Ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἑρμηνείαν ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὖθις σεσημείωται ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ εὑρημένης ἐν πίθῳ, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. Ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως τὰ τῶν λεγομένων Ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν· ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς* ἘΠΙΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΆΣΑΣ. But the term Hexapla may very well have been used somewhat laxly to denote the complete work, the columns after the sixth being regarded as *additamenta*. The Tetrapla, as we may infer from the above expression *ἐπικατασκευάσας*, was a *later* work of Origen, formed by excerpting the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth columns from the Hexapla. We proceed to give some account of the contents and composition of

* For references by the volume, see Migne's *Patrologia*.

the Hexapla, referring the reader for fuller information to the recent Oxford edition of its extant fragments,[b] in the *Prolegomena* to which the various questions relating thereto are very completely discussed.

1. THE HEBREW TEXT.—The text of the Old Testament as it stood in the first and second columns of the Hexapla, in Hebrew and Greek characters respectively, was followed by the versions which most closely adhered to it, viz. those of Aquila and Symmachus, the Septuagint and the cognate version of Theodotion came next in order, and the anonymous incomplete versions were naturally placed last. Epiphanius corrects the error of some who inferred from this arrangement that the versions of Aquila and Symmachus were older than the LXX, the position of which in the Hexapla he accounts for upon the principle *in medio veritas*, thus:—Ἀλλ' Ὠριγένης τιθέμενος τὴν τῶν ἑβδομηκονταδύο ἔκδοσιν ἀκριβῆ εἶναι μέσην ταύτην συνέθηκεν, ὅπως τὰς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἑρμηνείας διελέγχῃ (*De Mens. et Pond.* § 19); nevertheless he has himself fallen into the error of supposing Symmachus to have preceded Theodotion—the true chronological order, after the LXX, being Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus. The character of Origen's Hebrew text may be presumed, from the extant fragments of the versions which accompanied it, and especially from those of Aquila and Symmachus, to have been in close agreement with the received Hebrew text of the present day, whatever may have been the condition of the text at the much earlier period at which the version of the LXX was made. Here and there indeed one or more of the later versions also contain renderings which, if strictly accurate, would imply a various reading in the original; but the evidence is seldom sufficient to make it probable that their text was really different from our own. The following examples will serve as illustrations. In Num. xxiv. 7, וירם מאגג מלכו, "And his king shall be higher than Agag," the versions read not Ἀγάγ but Γώγ. The versions of Ps. cxviii. 119 suggest the reading חשבת (στέμφυλα διελογισω, κ.τ.λ.) for השבת. In 1 Kings ii. 5, Aquila's rendering συνετρίβησαν implies a reading נשברו, instead of נשכרו. In ver. 18 of the same chapter אפוד בד is rendered ἐπένδυμα ἐξαίρετον (Aq.), ἐφοὺδ λινοῦν (Sym.), ἐφὼδ βάρ (Theod.), where the ἐξαίρετον of Aquila stands for בר, implying a variation of the text, which is remarked upon by Jerome in his commentaries (Zach. xii. 10, vol. vi. 903):—"*Et vestitus*, inquit, *erat Samuel* EPHOD BAD, id est, *indumento lineo*; BAD enim *linum* appellatur, unde et BADDIM *lina* dicuntur. Pro quo Hebraico Latinoque sermone male quidam legunt EPHOD BAR; siquidem BAR aut *filius* appellatur, aut *frumenti manipulus*, aut *electus*, aut οὖλος, id est, *crispus*." The same commentator, himself apparently reading למען תירא, for למען תִּוָּרֵא, in Ps. cxxix. 4, remarks upon the passage, towards the end of his epistle *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam* (vol. i. 674, 675): "Dicitis vos in Graeco invenisse, *Propter nomen tuum*; et nos confitemur plura exemplaria sic reperiri. Sed quia veritati studemus, quid in Hebraeo sit simpliciter debemus dicere. Pro *nomine*, sive *lege*, apud eos legitur THIRA, quod Aquila interpretatus est φόβον, *timorem*; Symmachus et Theodotio νόμον, id est, *legem*, putantes THORA, propter litterarum similitudinem *Jod* et *Vau*, quae tantum magnitudine distinguuntur. Quinta editio *terrorem* interpretata est, Sexta, *verbum*." In Ps. lxxxix. 10, כי גז חיש, Aquila seems to have read, ὅτι διεπέλασεν ἀνήρ (איש), but apparently only in his first "editio," since Jerome ascribes to him a rendering which is in accordance with the received text. In Jud. v. 21, נחל קדומים is rendered ἁγίων φάραγξ (Sym.), and . . . καδησίμ (Theod.); but Aquila supports the present text (except perhaps as regards the ו) by his rendering καυσώνων, which (cf. Job xv. 2) must represent the plural of קדים, *eurus*. In Jud. ix. 13, "Should I leave my wine, *which cheereth* GOD AND *man*?" Symmachus reads defectively, τὴν εὐφροσύνην τῶν ἀνθρώπων, not because he had a different text before him, but for dogmatic reasons, as will appear the more plainly when the general character of his version is taken into consideration. Thus in one way or another the few apparent deviations from the present text can generally be accounted for; and we may conclude that the latter is in the closest agreement with the text of the 2nd century, so far as its *consonants* are concerned. We have next to consider its vocalisation, or the mode of *reading* the text which then prevailed.

2. ITS VOCALISATION.—Very little of the second column of the Hexapla, which contained the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek, τὸ Ἑβραικὸν Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι, has been preserved; but the few fragments that remain, of which two specimens, compared with the Massoretic text, are given below, seem to prove, when every allowance has been made for the inherent difficulty of transliteration, that the present system of vocalisation differs appreciably from the system in use at the time of the composition of the Hexapla.

PSALM cix. 3.

μηρεμ μεσσααρ	מֵרֶחֶם מִשְׁחָר
λακταλ ιελεδεθεχ	לְךָ טַל יַלְדֻתֶךָ

HOSEA xi. 1.

χι νερ ισραηλ	כִּי נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל
ουεὰβηδυ	וָאֹהֲבֵהוּ
ουμεμμισραιμ	וּמִמִּצְרַיִם
καραθι λαβανι	קָרָאתִי לִבְנִי

In the above specimens we observe that the dissyllables רֶחֶם and נַעַר are read as monosyllables (the gutturals ח and ע being as is frequently the case unrepresented), in a way that reminds us of the spoken Arabic. In like manner ארץ becomes ἀρς, as in Ps. xi. 7, βααλιλ λάαρς for בעליל לָאָרֶץ; and Ps. lxxv. 10, ἀνιη ἀρς σέλ, for עֲנוי אֶרֶץ סֶלָה, where even *Selah*

[b] ORIGENIS HEXAPLORUM *quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari*, concinnavit, emendavit, et multis partibus auxit FRIDERICUS FIELD, A.A.M., *Coll. SS. Trin. Cantab.* olim socius (OXON. 1875).

becomes a monosyllable (cf. *ἐμ* for הֵמָּה in Ps. ix. 7). The same form *ἀρς* is given by Theodotion for הַחֹרֶשׁ (Is. xvii. 9), whereupon Jerome remarks: "Solus Theodotio Hebraicum verbum posuit, ARS *et emir*, quod apud eos emendatius legitur, HORES *et amir*, id est, *vomeres et acervi segetum*" (vol. iv. 196). Other examples are *βὰλ* for בַּעַל (4 Kings i. 2); *ὀλδ* for חֶלֶד (Ps. xlviii. 2); *νὲβλ* for נֶבֶל, and *βὰρ* for בַּעַר (Ps. xci. 4, 7); *οὐὸμρ σεωρὶμ οὐλὲθχ σεωρὶμ* for וְחֹמֶר ... וְלֶתֶךְ (Hos. iii. 2); *οὐλακὲθ* for וְלַקַחַת (Mal. ii. 13). Cf. Job xlii. 14, where Aquila and Symmachus have *Καρναφούκ* for קֶרֶן הַפּוּךְ; and notice the abbreviated form of the names of the Hebrew letters, as *ἀλφ*, *δὲλθ*, *λὰβδ*, *σὰμχ*, given by Eusebius, in *Praep. Evang.* lib. x. cap. 5.

Again, the consonant in the pronominal affix ךָ: has no vowel in the Hexapla, but it is *preceded* by *α* (or *ε*), as *οὐαθὲτ ἀσουρενοῦ μενὶ ὀραχ* (*ἀρὰχ*) for אֹרְחֶךָ ... (Ps. xliii. 19); *ἠχαλὰχ* for הֵיכָלֶךָ (Ps. xlvii. 10), where Jerome likewise has ECHALACH (*Ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, § 28, vol. i. 652); *χιβὰχ* for כִּי בְךָ (Is. xxvi. 3), to which add the two examples which occur above in Ps. cix. 3. Initial Shva was sometimes unrepresented, as in *βρησίθ* (Gen. i. 1); *οὐθασρηοὺ μὰτ μηελωεὶμ* (Ps. viii. 6); *βαροὺχ ἀββὰ βσαὶμ ἀδωναί* (Ps. cxvii. 26); or it was represented by *ε* or *α*, or was assimilated to the following vowel, as *σαβαώθ*, *λαμασάλ* (Ps. xlviii. 5), *μωκώρ* (Ps. xxxv. 10). For *chirik* we sometimes find *ε*, as in *ἐσσὰ* for אִשָּׁה (Gen. ii. 23); but more frequently *α*, as *μαλαμὰ* for מִלְחָמָה (Ps. lxxv. 4); *μασβηῆ* for מִזְבֵּחַ (Mal. ii. 13); *ἀσροὺ* (אִסְרוּ) *ἀγ βααβεθθὶμ* (Ps. cxvii. 27). This may partly explain the resolution of מִכְתָּם (Ps. xv. 1) into two words *μὰχ θὰμ* by Aquila and Symmachus; and for the rendering of צִדְקֵנוּ as an imperative *piel* in Jer. xxiii. 6, "... *Domina justitia nostra.* Hoc enim significat ADONAI SADECENU; pro quo Symmachus vertit, *Domine, justifica nos*" (Jerome, *in loc.* vol. iv. 998). Single letters were occasionally doubled, but more frequently letters which now have *dagesh forte* were represented as single, *e.g.* (Is. xxvi. 2), *γωὶ σαδὶκ* (צַדִּיק) *σωμὴρ ἐμμουνείμ* (אֱמֻנִים). The conjunction ו was regularly represented by *ου*, as *οὐζώθ* (Mal. ii. 13); *οὐμαλαμά* (Ps. lxxv. 4); *οὐικρὰ* for וַיִּקְרָא (Lev. i. 1); *οὐαγὶθ* for וְהָגוּת (Ps. xlviii. 4); *οὐαθὲτ* for וַתֵּם (Ps. xliii. 19); and was doubtless pronounced more *uniformly* than at present, as must have been the case also with the letters ד, ג, ב, ת, פ, כ, which were represented without regard to their position in the syllable by *β* (*exc.* Gen. xxxiv. 2), *γ*, *δ*, *χ*, *φ*, *θ*. We learn from a statement of Jerome on Dan. xi. 45 (vol. v. 724), that the Hebrew alphabet (like the Arabic) had no equivalent for the letter P: "Notandum autem quod P litteram Hebraeus sermo non habeat, sed pro ipsa utatur PHE, cujus vim Graecum *φ* sonat; in isto tantum loco apud Hebraeos scribatur quidem PHE sed legatur P" (*Ἀπεδνώ*, *al.* *Ἐφαδανῶ*). The same writer commenting upon the Epistle to Titus (iii. 9, vol. vii. 734), speaks of the difficulty of acquiring the niceties of the Hebrew accent; of representing the gutturals ח and ע; and of distinguishing between the sibilants ס, שׂ, צ:—"Nam nos et Graeci unam tantum litteram S habemus; ille vero tres, *samech*, *sade*, et *sin*, quae diversos sonos possident. *Isaac* et *Sion* per SADE scribitur; *Israel* per SIN, et tamen non sonat hoc quod scribitur. *Seon*, rex Amorrhaeorum, per SAMECH litteram et pronunciatur et scribitur." The Greek alphabet did not accurately correspond to the Hebrew, and therefore—at least without some system of diacritic points specially devised for the purpose—it could not sufficiently distinguish between the consonants of the latter, to say nothing of the five long and five short vowels, with *Chateph Pathach*, *Chateph Segol*, *Chateph Kamets*, and *Shva*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for this, we must still conclude that the mode of reading the text which prevailed when the Hexapla was compiled was not precisely the same as that which is prescribed by the system of vowel points now in use. Cognate sounds had not been so completely differentiated, nor were the different *classes* of vowels always accurately distinguished. Even in the time of Jerome some licence seems to have been permitted, as may be gathered from his remark in his epistle, *ad Evangelum de Melchisedech*:—"Nec refert utrum SALEM (Gen. xiv. 18) an SALIM (Joh. iii. 23) nominetur, cum vocalibus in medio litteris perraro utantur Hebraei, et pro voluntate lectorum ac varietate regionum eadem verba diversis sonis atque accentibus proferantur" (vol. i. 445). The modern vocalisation and pointing probably arose by development from some less elaborate system. For the bibliography of the controversy upon the antiquity of the Massoretic vowel points in the 16th and 17th centuries see Hody, *de Bibliorum Textibus*, &c. lib. iii. (2), cap. 16, § 8.

The following are some further extracts from the second column of the Hexapla. Ps. xci. 4, 7, *ἀλὲ ἀσὼρ οὐαλὲ νὲβλ ἀλοὶ ειαὼν βχεννώρ ... ἰς βὰρ* (בַּעַר) *οὐλὰ ἰαδαὲ οὐχσὶλ λωιαβὶν ἐθ ζώθ.* Ps. xi. 9: *χὰρμ ζολλῶ* (?) *λεβνὴ ἀδάμ.* Is. xxvi. 2–4, *φθοοὺ σααρεὶμ οὐιαβὼ γωὶ σαδὶκ σωμὴρ ἐμμουνείμ. ἰεσρὸ σμοὼχ θεσὰρ σαλὼμ σαλὼμ χιβὰχ βατὸου. βετοὺ βαδωναὶ ἀδδὼδ χιβαιὰ ἀδωναὶ σὼρ ὠλεμείμ.* Mal. ii. 13, *ουζωθ σηνιθ θεσου χεσσουθ δεμα εθμασβηη* ΠΙΠΙ *βεχι ουανακα μηην ωδ φεννωθ ελ αμμανα ουλακεθ ρασων μειδηχεμ.*

Lastly, we may notice that the above principles of transliteration fully justify the latest interpretation (Schiller-Szinessy, *Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. p. 113) of the strange word ARSARETH, or *Arzareth*, in 4 Esdr. xiii. 45, which had given rise to a variety of conjectures. It is simply אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת, "ANOTHER LAND," with reference to Deut. xxix. 27; for we have seen that *ἀρς* stands for ארץ (Ps. xi. 7, lxxv. 10); and, in accordance with the analogy of *κὲθ*, *νὲρ*, *ρὲμ*, *βὰλ*, *βὰρ*, the word אַחֵר might be represented by *ἀρ* (Ezr. ii. 31, LXX), and consequently its feminine by *ἄρεθ*; and the two words would then combine in ARSARETH, precisely as, in the verse last mentioned, עֵילָם אַחֵר are represented by *Ἠλαμάρ*.

3. AQUILA.—Of the post-Christian versions that of Aquila is the first in order of time, and it is in the closest agreement with the letter of the Hebrew text. The traditions relating to Ἀκύλας, in Christian and Jewish writings, are so far in agreement that they may be assumed to refer to one and the same person. By Epiphanius he is described (*De Mens. et Pond.* §§ 13–15) as of Sinope in Pontus,[e] and as πενθερίδης of the emperor Hadrian, in whose twelfth year and 430 years after the LXX he flourished, and by whom he was commissioned to superintend the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Seeing the faith and miracles of the disciples of the apostles he is led to embrace Christianity, but still clings to his faith in the vain ἀστρονομία, and is in consequence excommunicated; filled with resentment he becomes a pervert to Judaism, and is thenceforth known as Aquila the *Proselyte*; he devotes himself to the Jewish learning, and renders the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, *οὐκ ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως διαστρέψῃ τινα τῶν ῥητῶν ἐνσκήψας τῇ τῶν ἑβδομηκονταδύο ἑρμηνείᾳ, ἵνα τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μεμαρτυρημένα ἄλλως ἐκδώσει, δι' ἣν εἶχεν αἰδῶ, εἰς ἄλογον αὐτοῦ ἀπολογίαν.* Jerome records the Jewish tradition that he was a disciple of R. Akiba: "*Duas domus* Nazaraei (qui ita Christum recipiunt ut observationes legis veteris non omittant) duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hellel, ex quibus orti sunt Scribae et Pharisaei, quorum suscepit scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumant" (*Comm. on Isaiah*, viii. 14, vol. iv. 122, 123).

The Ἀκύλας (אקילס, עקילס) of the Jewish authorities was a convert to Judaism, *sc.* from heathenism (nothing being said of his conversion to Christianity), and went by the name of הגר, the *Proselyte*; he was the owner of slaves in Pontus (Sifra, בהר פ״א, on Levit. xxv. 7); was a contemporary of and sister's son to Hadrian (Talm. Jerus. Chagigah ii. 1; and (?) Tanchuma, משפטים); he translated the law into Greek, according to one account (Jerus. Kiddushin i. 1) under R. Akiba, who was regarded as a model of precision, and is said to have been a learner for twenty-two years of the peculiar significance of the particles, as גם, את, רק, אך, wherever they occurred in Scripture (Talm. Babli. Chagigah 12 a; cf. Pesach. 22 b); or, according to another account, under RR. Eliezer and Joshua, who signified their approval of his work by applying to him the words of Ps. xliv. 3, יפיפית מב׳, "Thou art fairer than the children of men," with an implied allusion to the verse (Gen. ix. 27) יפת אלהים ליפת כו׳, "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem," which Bar Kappara turns into a prophecy that the words of the Law should be spoken in the Greek tongue in the tents of Shem (Bereshith Rabbah, xxxvi. cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* vol. iii. 317). Add to this that עקילס is the authority referred to by the Talmudists for the renderings of particular passages into Greek, and we may conclude that he is identical with the Aquila of the Hexapla, whom Origen himself describes (*Ep. ad Africanum*, § 2) as *φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἡρμηνευκέναι τὴν γραφήν*, although the interpretations actually attributed to him in the Rabbinic writings would be of themselves wholly insufficient to establish the identification.

Twelve or thirteen citations of עקילס (Gen. xvii. 1; Lev. xxiii. 40; Is. iii.; 20 Ezek. xvi. 10, xxiii. 43; Ps. xlviii. 15; Prov. xvii. 21; Esth. i. 6; Dan. v. 5; Lev. xix. 20; Dan. viii. 13; Prov. xxv. 11; Is. v. 6) for renderings into Greek or interpretations of particular passages are discussed by Rudolph Anger in the former of his two praelections, *De Onkelo*;[d] and if at least half of these citations must be admitted to be spurious we have the more reason to conclude that the person to whom they are indiscriminately referred must have been regarded as a typical authority by those who made a too free use of his name. Aquila appears also to be the true original of "ONKELOS the Proselyte," to whom the Targum Onkelos, which is in reality of unknown authorship, is commonly ascribed.

In accordance with the above traditions it may be assumed that Aquila's version was made after the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D., and on the other hand it must have preceded the third book of Irenaeus *adversus Haereses*—written before A.D. 190—since Aquila is there expressly quoted (cap. 21, cited by Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8), for the rendering of העלמה in Is. vii. 14: Ἀλλ' *οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοί φασι τῶν νῦν τολμώντων μεθερμηνεύειν τὴν γραφήν, Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός.* We learn from Jerome that there was also a *secunda editio* of Aquila's version: "Aquilae vero SECUNDA EDITIO, quam Hebraei *κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν* nominant, transtulit *ἠρεμάζων*" (*Comment. on Ezekiel*, iii. 15, *s.v.* משמים, vol. v. 32); which perhaps only implies that his version underwent a careful revision, although some have inferred that he issued two versions constructed upon different principles, the former somewhat freer and more in accordance with the *sense* of the original than the latter.

Aquila as a translator aimed at an extreme literal exactness, for which he is on the whole fairly praised as *ὁ κυριώτατα ἑρμηνεύειν φιλοτιμούμενος Ἀκύλας* (Origen, *Comment. on Genesis*, i. 16), and on the other hand in places censured as *δουλεύων τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει* (Origen *ad Africanum*, § 2). His method is at times the *reductio ad absurdum* of a literal rendering; and yet where he is most useless as an exegete he may be an important witness on questions as to the form of the Hebrew text which lay before him. The opening words of his version are strikingly characteristic: *Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν* where, as in Gen. xlix. 3, and elsewhere, *κεφάλαιον* stands for ראשית simply because ראש means *κεφαλή*, and was not specially chosen for its context, *sc.* to denote that the creation was effected, "in brevi et in exiguo momento", and where the untranslateable particle את, a mere mark of the objective case, is for the sake of completeness and uniformity identified with the *preposition* את

[e] Notice the coincidence ..... Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει (Acts xviii. 2).

[d] DE ONKELO, *Chaldaico quem ferunt Pentateuchi Paraphraste, et quid ei rationis intercedat cum* AKILA, *Graeco Veteris Testamenti Interprete* (LIPSIAE, 1845–6).

and rendered *σὺν*, as also in *σὺν σκώληκος τὸ διάφορον*, for את תולעת השני (Ex. xxviii. 5) and *passim*. Jerome, in his Epistle to Pammachius (§ 11, vol. i. 316), comparing Aquila with the LXX, writes as follows: "Aquila autem proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba sed ETYMOLOGIAS quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro *frumento* et *vino* et *oleo* possit vel legere vel intelligere *χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμὸν, στιλπνότητα*, quod nos possumus dicere, *fusionem, pomationemque*, et *splendentiam*? Aut quia Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα sed et πρόαρθρα ille κακοζήλως et SYLLABAS interpretatur et litteras, dicitque *σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν*, quod Graeca et Latina lingua non recipit." But elsewhere he compares him favourably with the LXX, describing him as a translator who "non contentiosius, ut quidam putant, sed studiosius verbum interpretatur ad verbum" (*Ep. ad Damasum*, § 12, vol. i. 167). The former passage aptly indicates the two leading principles of Aquila, which were to give a Greek or quasi-Greek equivalent for every fragment of the original, and to maintain a rigid consistency by rendering each root with its real or apparent derivatives by one and the same root in Greek; new forms being freely coined as the occasion demanded, and the Greek idiom being sacrificed to the Hebrew. The peculiar etymological rendering of קָרַן, in Ex. xxxiv. 29, which, through the Vulgate, gave rise to the popular representation of Moses with horns on his forehead, is found to have originated with Aquila: "Unde et in Exodo juxta Hebraicum et Aquilae editionem legimus, *Et Moyses nesciebat quia* CORNUTA ERAT *species vultus ejus*, qui vere dicere poterat, *In te inimicos meos cornu ventilo*" (Jerome, *Comment. on Amos*, vi. 13, vol. vi. 321). On the same principle Aquila rendered the difficult word צהר, in Gen. vi. 17, by *μεσημβρινόν*, to shew that it was somehow related to צהרים, *midday*; and מכרתיהם, in Gen. xlix. 5, by *ἀνασκαφαὶ αὐτῶν*. From *ἁφή*, נגע, *leprosy*, a form *ἁφημένον* is coined to represent נגוע in Is. liii. 4; *ἐκλεκτώθητε* is given for הִבָּרוּ (Is. lii. 11), from בר, which is rendered by *ἐκλεκτῶς* in the passage נשקו בר (Ps. ii. 11), and by *ἐκλεκτὸν* in Ps. lxiv. 14, where it means *corn*; in Deut. xxxii. 17, *ἐτριχίων αὐτούς*[*] is given for לא שערום; *μὴ ἀγνοηματίσῃς με* for אל תשגני in Ps. cxviii. 10; *δυνάσται Βασὰν διεδηματίσαντό με*,[f] for אבירי בשן כִּתְּרוּנִי, in Ps. xxi. 13, which is literally interpreted by Eusebius *in loc.*, *οἱ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν πλεξάντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ* (vol. v. col. 208).

He scrupulously preserves Hebrew idioms and solecisms alike, as *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ φωτὶ* (לאור) *ἡμέρα κ.τ.λ.* (Gen. i. 5); *ἐννακόσια ἔτος καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτος*, for תשע מאות שנה ושלשים שנה (Gen. v. 5), and *ἡ προσβόλωσις στόματα*, for הַמְּצִירָה פִּים (1 Kings xiii. 21). He combines Greek prepositions after the Hebrew fashion; renders מקדם by *ἀπὸ ἀρχῆθεν* (Gen. ii. 8); קדמה by *ἀρχῆθένδε* (Ezek. viii. 16); and even לִמְזִמָּה by *εἰς ἀπέννοιαν* (Ps. cxxxviii. 20), where the preformative מ is represented by *ἀπό* (= מן), according to the analogy of *σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν*. In a few cases he disintegrates single words, as מִכְתָּם, which he renders *ταπεινοῦ τελείου*, with which compare *Talm. Babli*, *Sotah* 10 *b*, שיצא ממנה דוד שהיה מך ותם. Many curiosities of grammar and lexicography must have perished with the missing portions of Aquila's version; but his version as a whole would doubtless have appeared less singular than the fragments of it which have survived, owing in a measure to their very singularity, or to the obscurity of Hebrew expressions to which they correspond. For renderings by him of a succession of verses see 3 Kings xiv. 1–20; xxii. 47–5; Jerem. x. 6–10.

We have seen that Epiphanius charged Aquila with misrendering *τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μεμαρτυρημένα*, and that Jerome testifies to the prevalence of the same impression in his epistle to Damasus. Compare also his remarks in an epistle to Marcella (vol. i. 152): "Jampridem cum voluminibus Hebraeorum editionem Aquilae confero, ne quid forsitan propter odium Christi synagoga mutaverit; et, ut amicae menti fatear, quae ad nostram fidem pertineant roborandam plura reperio." The rendering of העלמה, in Is. vii. 14, by *ἡ νεᾶνις*, which was common to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, gave great offence; and it is probable that Aquila adopted it for controversial reasons, as an alternative not so much to *ἡ παρθένος* (LXX) as to *ἡ ἀπόκρυφος*, which, in accordance with his peculiar etymological method, he should have written in Is. vii. 14, as he actually did in Gen. xxiv. 43. From Justin Martyr's reference to the rendering of the word in question by *νεᾶνις* (*Dialog. c. Tryph.* § 67) it has been assumed that Aquila's version was then in existence, but on inadequate grounds, since the rendering *νεᾶνις* (cf. Ps. lxvii. 26, LXX) is not sufficiently distinctive, and may have been used previously in controversies upon the particular passage in question. He uses *ἀλείφω* and its derivatives in preference to *χρίω*, as *ὅτι ἀφόρισμα ἔλαιον ἀλείμματος θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ* (Lev. xxi. 12), and *κατὰ τοῦ ἠλειμμένου αὐτοῦ* (Ps. ii. 2), where he has again been accused of Judaising. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 35; Ps. lxxxviii. 39; Dan. ix. 26, *ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἠλειμμένος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ*. On the other hand, in Hab. iii. 13: "Rem incredibilem dicturus sum, sed tamen veram: isti semichristiani Judaice transtulerunt, et Judaeus Aquila interpretatus est ut Christianus" (Jerome *in loc.* vol. vi. 656), *ἐξῆλθες εἰς σωτηρίαν λαοῦ σου, εἰς σωτηρίαν σὺν χριστῷ σου*, where his rendering of את by *σὺν* for once turns to his praise. He is condemned by Theodoret for rendering אל גבור, in Is. ix. 5, by *ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός*, as in mere consistency he must have done; and some other renderings (as in Gen. ii. 18; Ps. xxvi. 6; Ps. xc. 9; Is. xlix. 5) have been objected to on various grounds.

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[*] The Gospel according to the Hebrews is quoted for a saying attributed to the Saviour, *Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ* (Westcott, *Intr. to the Study of the Gospels*, App. C). This might have been derived from an original שערתני הרוח ותשאני כו' (cf. Job. xxvii. 21), since שער means *a blast* and also *hair*. But see Ezek. viii. 3; Bel and Drag. 36.

[f] The common reading is *διεδειγματίσαντό με*.

4. SYMMACHUS.—Eusebius relates that Symmachus was an Ebionite, and that in certain of his writings which were still extant, he alleged arguments from St. Matthew's gospel in support of his heresy. Καὶ ὑπομνήματα δὲ τοῦ Συμμάχου εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν· ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ὠριγένης μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ Συμμάχου σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος εἰληφέναι, ἣν καί φησι παρ' αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βίβλους διαδέξασθαι (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 17). Jerome likewise, in his commentary on Habacuc (iii. 13, vol. vi. 656), describes Symmachus and Theodotion as Ebionites: "Theodotio autem, vere quasi pauper et Ebionita, sed et Symmachus ejusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti Judaice transtulerunt;" and in his preface to Job he speaks of them as "judaizantes haeretici, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in Ἑξαπλοῖς habentur apud ecclesias et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris" (vol. ix. col. 1142). "Epiphanius," writes Montfaucon, "conspecto Hexaplorum ordine, ubi Symmachus ante Theodotionem positus secundum locum in Graecis editionibus occupabat, putavit Symmachum prius Theodotione editionem suam concinnasse:" he assigns the version of Symmachus, perhaps rightly, to the reign of Severus (A.D. 193–211)—the *Chronicon Paschale* specifies the ninth year of this reign—but his account of the author is at variance with the statements of Eusebius and Jerome. Symmachus (he tells us) was a Samaritan, τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφῶν, who from disappointed ambition, μὴ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔθνους, νοσήσας φιλαρχίαν, καὶ ἀγανακτήσας κατὰ τῆς ἰδίας φυλῆς, became a proselyte to Judaism, and set to work to compose his Greek version of the Scriptures with a specific anti-Samaritan bias, πρὸς διαστροφὴν τῶν παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἑρμηνειῶν ἑρμηνεύσας (*De Mens. et Pond.* § 16). Symmachus uses the word χριστὸς where Aquila avoids it, as ἐκκοπήσεται χριστὸς καὶ οὐκ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ (Dan. ix. 26), which has been thought to favour the view that he was a christian, or "semichristianus;" but Geiger boldly claims Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion as "sämmtlich Juden," and sets aside the patristic traditions which connect them with Christianity as prompted by the desire "diese Männer deren Uebersetzungen in Ansehn standen als ihrem Kreise angehörig zu betrachten." Symmachus, like Aquila, is said to have issued a second "editio," referred to on Jer. xxxii. 30, etc.

The version of Symmachus was distinguished by the purity of its Greek and its freedom from Hebraisms.[g] Jerome (following Eusebius) several times remarks: "Symmachus more suo *apertius*," or "*manifestius*"; and he praises him as an interpreter, "qui non solet verborum κακοζηλίαν sed intelligentiae ordinem sequi" (*Comment. on Amos*, iii. 11, vol. vi. 258). In his preface to lib. ii. of the *Chronic. Euseb.* (vol. viii. 223–4) he writes: "Quamobrem Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio incitati diversum paene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt; *alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare.*" Jerome not only commends Symmachus as above, but frequently adopts his renderings, as may be shewn by a comparison of their versions; and it is probable that he has done this to a greater extent than can be demonstrated from the remaining fragments of the Hexapla, as Geiger well suggests in his article on Symmachus (p. 60), which will again be referred to below: "Und so mag sich noch manches verborgene Gut des Symm. in den Speichern des Hieron. und der Vulgata befinden."

The following are specimens of the idiomatic renderings of Symmachus, contrasted with other versions in which the Hebrew constructions are preserved. Ex. v. 7, ἀπερχόμενοι καλαμάσθωσαν ἑαυτοῖς ἄχυρα (*al.* πορευέσθωσαν καὶ συναγαγέτωσαν, κ.τ.λ.). Ps. xxvii. 1, μὴ ἡσυχάσοντός σου ἀποθέν μου ὁμοιωθῶ τοῖς καταβαίνουσιν εἰς λάκκον (*al.* μήποτε σιγήσῃς ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ παραβληθήσομαι μετὰ καταβαινόντων, κ.τ.λ.). Job xix. 7, ἐὰν κραυγάσω ἀδικούμενος οὐκ εἰσακουσθήσομαι (*al.* ἰδοὺ βοήσω ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀδικίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπακουσθήσομαι). Job xxxiv. 29, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἠρεμίαν διδόντος τίς κατακρινεῖ (*al.* καὶ αὐτὸς ἡσυχίαν παρέξει καὶ τίς καταδικάσεται;) Gen. iv. 2, πάλιν ἔτεκεν (*al.* προσέθηκε τεκεῖν).

He shews his command over the Greek language by his use of compounds, where the Hebrew can only represent the same ideas by a combination of separate words; and no less by his free use of particles to bring out subtle distinctions of relation which the Hebrew cannot adequately express. Compare ὁπλοφόρος, for נשא כלים (1 Kings xvi. 21); ἀκρογωνιαῖος, for לראש פנה (Ps. cxvii. 22); ἀλόγως, for ללא דבר (Amos vi. 13); ἐννοίας ἀδυνάτους, for מזמה בל יוכלו (Ps. xx. 12); ὀφθαλμοφανῶς γὰρ ὄψονται, for כי עין בעין יראו (Is. lii. 8); ὁ δὲ εὐθυμῶν, for וטוב לב (Prov. xv. 15); εὐδιανόητος . . . κακογνώμων, for טובת שכל כו' (1 Kings xxv. 3); ἀνόητος, for לבו חסר (Eccl. x. 8); περιειργάσαντο πολυπραγμοσύνην, for בקשו חשבנות רבים (Eccl. vii. 30); and, as regards particles, notice his use of μὲν . . . δὲ, as in Ex. xiv. 20 (καὶ ἦν ἡ νεφέλη σκότος μὲν ἐκεῖθεν φαινοῦσα δὲ ἐντεῦθεν); his rendering of אך, not uniformly by πλὴν (Aq., Theodot.), but variously by μόνον, διόλου, ὄντως, ἴσως, ἴσως οὖν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, &c.; of גם by ἀλλὰ καίγε, μέντοιγε, καὶ ἔτι, &c.; of ואולם by ἐπείτοιγε and ἀλλὰ μήν. Metaphorical and other characteristically Hebrew expressions frequently disappear in the course of translation, or they are toned down by the insertion of a *quasi*. For θήσεις αὐτοὺς ὦμον he reads τάξεις αὐτοὺς ἀποστρόφους (Ps. xx. 13); ἐν ὁμοίῳ τρόπῳ, for ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κοιλίᾳ (Job xxxi. 15); μὴ μεριμνήσῃς (?), for μὴ θῇς τὴν καρδίαν σου αὐταῖς (1 Kings ix. 20); συνόδῳ παμμεγέθων (Ps. lxvii. 31), for ταύρων (אבירים)—he himself reads ταῦροι in Ps. xxi. 13; ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με θηραταί (for κύνες), and (?) ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσαι χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου (Ps. xxi. 17); ἡ γλῶσσά μου ὡς γραφεῖον, and περίθου ὡς μάχαιράν σου (Ps. xliv. 2, 4); ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον ἄχρι στόματος, for στόμα εἰς στόμα (4 Kings xxi. 16). Notice his rendering, αὕτη κληθήσεται ἀνδρὶς ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐλήφθη αὕτη (Gen. ii. 23). In like manner his rendering of the name of Eve by Ζωογόνος preserves the word-play in Gen. iii. 20;

[g] *Pro Puritate Symmachi disputatio* (*Thieme*, LIPSIAE 1755).

but other names are less happily rendered, as τοῖς εὐφραινομένοις ἐν τῷ τείχει τῷ ὀστρακίνῳ φθέγξασθε, for לאשישי קיר חרשת תהגו (Is. xvi. 7). "In regionum nominibus ponendis tres interpretes pro Ἀραρὰτ (Gen. viii. 4) Ἀρμενία ediderunt; sed solus Symmachus pro Ἐλλασὰρ, Ἐλὰμ, et ἐθνῶν (Gen. xiv. 1) Πόντου, Σκυθῶν, et Παμφυλίας vereor ne curiosius quam verius suffecerit" (Field).

Another marked characteristic of Symmachus is his tendency to adopt more or less paraphrastic and inaccurate renderings under the influence of dogmatic prepossessions, as will sufficiently appear from the following examples.[h] In Gen. i. 27 he has καὶ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν εἰκόνι διαφόρῳ, ὄρθιον ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν αὐτόν, for ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו בצלם אלהים ברא אתו where, to avoid attributing a form to God, the affix in בצלמו (as Geiger explains) is referred to *man*—"in *his* own image," in one peculiar to himself, distinct from and superior to that of the beasts; whilst in the next clause בצלם is taken absolutely as in Ps. xxxviii. 7 (ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἄνθρωπος) so that *Elohim* becomes the subject of ברא, thus, "Elohim created him ἐν εἰκόνι," which is paraphrased by ὄρθιον. Compare the saying of R. Akiba in *Pirke Aboth*, iii. (21). "Beloved is man that he was created *in imagine*;" where, however, most copies now naturally adopt the simpler reading, *in imagine* DEI; but one of the older commentaries notices the briefer reading, remarking that some targumise in Gen. i. 27, "God made man בצלמא." Abarbanel attributes this reading to Onkelos; but see Targum Jonathan. In the preceding verse Symmachus renders approximatively, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον ὡς εἰκόνα ἡμῶν. In Gen. iii. 23, he reads ἴδε, ὁ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὁμοῦ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ (for ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν) γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, agreeing with the rendering of the Targumist, "Man has become unique in the world, of himself to know good and evil." Gen. vi. 2, καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων (for θεοῦ, or θεῶν) κ.τ.λ., agreeing with the Targum, בני רברביא; and so in Ex. xv. 11, οὔτε ἐν δυναστείαις οὔτε ἐν ἁγιασμῷ ἐξισωθῆναί τις δυνήσεται, to avoid the appearance of polytheism in τίς ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς; Ex. xxiv. 10 is qualified by the insertion of ὁράματι, thus καὶ εἶδον ὁράματι τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ. In Jud. ix. 13, "Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man," he omits θεὸν altogether, and reads τὴν εὐφροσύνην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. In Ps. xliii. 24, ἱνατί ὑπνοῖς κύριε is modified into ἱνατί ὡς ὑπνῶν εἶ (Targ. כנבר דמיך). "The strength of *my head*," and "my *washpot*" (Ps. lix. 9, 10), become . . . τῆς ἀρχῆς μου . . . λέβης ἀμεριμνίας μου. Ps. xvii. 11, πετομένου (as an epithet of χερούβ), to avoid saying, καὶ ἐπετάσθη, וַיָּעָף (sc. ὁ θεός). In Ps. lxxiii. 2, he reads καὶ ἤγαγες (שָׁכַנְתָּ) εἰς τὸ Σιὼν κ.τ.λ., instead of ὃ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν αὐτῷ (זה שָׁכַנְתָּ בו), whereas in Ps. lxxvii. 60 he paraphrases in accordance with the present pointing, אהל שִׁכֵּן באדם, καὶ τὴν σκήνωσιν τὴν ἱδρυθεῖσαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, where the LXX and Theodotion have (rightly as Geiger thinks) οὗ κατεσκήνωσεν (שָׁכַן) ἐν ἀνθρώποις. God must not be said to *tempt* men, and accordingly נסה is turned into ἐδόξασεν (Gen. xxii. 1). The hardening of the people's heart (Is. vi. 10) is ascribed to themselves, and not to the divine command. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. xviii. 25), is diluted by Symmachus into ὁ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἀπαιτῶν δικαιοπραγεῖν ἀκρίτως μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο. He takes occasion to bring out the doctrine of a future life and retribution, thus, ἀλλὰ παυσάμενος τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ζῶν εἰς αἰῶνα διατελέσει (Ps. xlviii. 9, 10); εἰς μισθαποδοσίαν αἰώνιον (Ps. cxviii. 112); in Is. xxvi. 14 (ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐ μὴ ζήσωσιν), "Symmachus more suo manifestius, *Mortui non* VIVIFICABUNT, *gigantes non* SUSCITABUNT." (Jerome *in loc.* vol. iv. 352.)

In several cases in which the renderings of Symmachus are in one way or other remarkable they are found to be in accordance with current Jewish interpretations. Thus Lamech is made to say of Cain, ὅτι ἑβδομαῖος ἐκδίκησιν δώσει (Gen. iv. 24), according to the tradition (Bereshith Rabbah xxiii.) that he was respited לשבעא דרין (Targ. Onk.), *till the seventh generation*, when *Lamech* killed him (cf. Jerome, Ep. to Damasus, vol. i. 163). In Ex. ii. 21, his peculiar rendering of 'ויואל כו by ὥρκισε δὲ Μωυσῆν ὥστε οἰκεῖν has its parallel in the Mechilta (Jethro, i.), where it is said that Jethro on giving Moses his daughter to wife required him to swear that he would devote his first-born to idolatry. The famous passage כי קללת אלהים תלוי (Deut. xxi. 23) is interpreted by Symmachus: "*quia propter blasphemiam Dei suspensus est*" (Jerome, Comm. on Gal. iii. 13, vol. vii. 436), in accordance with the Mishnah (Sanhedrin vi. 4). Geiger, referring to St. Paul's application of the passage, remarks: "Es mag wohl sein dass die Juden, *gerade im Widerstreite gegen diese Anwendung, von der früheren Erklärung abgingen* und die Worte dahin deuteten, dass wer Gott fluche gehängt werde." The qualifying ὡς inserted in 1 Kings xiii. 1: υἱὸς ὡς ἐνιαύσιος Σαοὺλ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, agrees with the interpretation (Talm. Bab. Yoma 22 b, and Targ.) that Saul was as innocent *as* a child of a year old. Jer. li. 1, לב קמי is transliterated instead of being translated, to indicate that it is a cipher writing for כשדים (Χαλδαίους, LXX) by the method *athbash* in which letters equidistant from the centre of the alphabet are interchanged. It may be concluded that Symmachus was well versed in the Jewish modes of interpretation; but sufficient reason has not been shewn by Geiger for identifying him with Symmachus ben Joseph, the renowned disciple of R. Meir, who was always ready to give eight and forty reasons for his decisions (Talm. Bab. Erubin, 13 b), for although this Symmachus may have been acquainted with Greek (Nazir 8 b), he is not, like Aquila, cited as a translator of the Scriptures.

5. THE SEPTUAGINT.—The fifth column of

[h] See the article, SYMMACHUS, *der Uebersetzer der Bibel*, in vol. i. of Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Breslau, 1862).

the *Hexapla* contained a special recension of the Septuagint, in which errors were corrected, defects supplied, the *order* of the Hebrew was restored (as for example in the book of Jeremiah), and asterisks and obeli were inserted to indicate the redundancies, hiatuses, and transpositions of the original versions. Jerome, in his Preface to the Book of Chronicles (vol. ix. col. 1392, 1393), remarks upon the various editions of the LXX current in his time: "Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem: Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt, *quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt*; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat;" and he goes on to explain that Origen was not content to place the four versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX, and Theodotion side by side, so that they might be compared in detail, but further, "quod majoris audaciae est, *in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quae minus antea fuerant, et virgulis quae ex superfluo videbantur apposita.*" It is estimated that about a sixth part of the book of JOB was omitted by the LXX; and the missing passages were supplied by Origen chiefly from the version of Theodotion. Compare Jerome's translation of the book, in which the additions are marked by asterisks. The same writer has an important passage in his Preface to the Book of DANIEL, which is in itself not altogether free from ambiguity, and has consequently been misinterpreted: "Illud quoque lectorem admoneo, Danielem non juxta LXX interpretes sed juxta Theodotionem Ecclesias legere, qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit; licet eum quidam dicant Ebionitam, qui altero genere Judaeus est. Sed et Origenes de Theodotionis opere *in editione vulgata* asteriscos posuit, docens defuisse quae addita sunt et rursus quosdam versus obelis praenotavit, superflua quaeque designans. Cumque omnes Christi Ecclesiae tam Graecorum quam Latinorum Syrorumque et Aegyptiorum *hanc sub asteriscis et obelis editionem legant*, ignoscant invidi labori meo qui volui habere nostros quod Graeci in Aquilae et Theodotionis ac Symmachi editionibus lectitant" (vol. v. 620, 621). The "*editio vulgata*" here refers to the LXX as a whole (which was revised by Origen and placed in the Hexapla with asterisks and obeli), and not to the book of Daniel only; but although the recension as a whole was read in the churches, the version of Daniel was condemned "judicio magistrorum Ecclesiae," and Theodotion's translation of that book was read in its place. The discarded version was long thought to have perished, but a MS. of it was at length discovered, and was published at Rome in the year 1772, under the title: Δανιὴλ κατὰ τοὺς Ο′ ἐκ τῶν τετραπλῶν Ὠριγένους. *Daniel secundum LXX. ex Tetraplis Origenis nunc primum editus e singulari Chisiano codice annorum supra DCCC. Romae, typis Propagandae Fidei, MDCCLXXII.* An edition of the same version was published (with a collation of the Syro-Hexaplar) by H. A. Hahn, in 1845; and it was also embodied in Tischendorf's *Editio Altera* of the LXX in 1856, where in *Sect.* xviii. of his *Prolegomena* he doubtfully propounds the theory that Origen himself excluded the LXX version of Daniel from the HEXAPLA (in favour of Theodotion's) but admitted it into the TETRAPLA. Montfaucon endeavoured to shew that the Hexapla was compiled subsequently to the Tetrapla, and that it contained a different and more correct text of the LXX. "Sed quid in talibus moramur, cum in Libris Jobi, Danielis, et XII Prophetarum ipse textus tetraplaris, *obelis et asteriscis distinctus*, et quantum sciamus ad hexaplarem prorsus conformatus in versione Pauli Telensis Syriaca oculis nostris subjiciatur?" (Field, *Prolegom. in Hexapl.* pp. xii. xiii).

It is uncertain when and where[i] the Hexapla was compiled; but Jerome, on Titus iii. 9 (*supra*), informs us that the MSS. were preserved in the library of Caesarea in Palestine, whither Origen retired on his banishment from Alexandria, in the tenth year of the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 232). The whole work was too massive for multiplication; but many copies of its fifth column alone were issued from Caesarea under the direction of Pamphilus the martyr and Eusebius, and this recension of the LXX came into common use. Some of the copies issued contained also marginal scholia, which gave *inter alia* a selection of readings from the remaining versions in the Hexapla. The oldest extant MS. of this recension is the Leiden *Codex Sarravianus*, of the 4th or 5th century. This, which contains a fragmentary *text* only, and no marginal apparatus, was edited in *fac simile* type by Tischendorf in the third volume of (pp. 1-262) *Monumenta Sacra inedita* (LIPS. 1860).

The SYRO-HEXAPLAR or Syriac translation of the Hexaplar recension of the Septuagint, was made by Paul, bishop of Tella, as Gregory bar Hebraeus informs us in the preface to his *Horreum Mysteriorum*. The date of this translation (about A.D. 617) is given, together with the name of its author, in a Paris MS. of the fourth book of Kings; and in other MSS. it is repeated without the name of the author. The celebrated Codex of the Syro-Hexaplar (containing Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah,[j] and some apocryphal books), which at the beginning of the 17th century found its way into the Ambrosian Library at Milan from the Nitrian Desert, after having been more or less completely described or edited by the successive labours of Branca, Björnsthål, de Rossi, Norberg, Bugati, Middeldorpf, &c., was eventually issued in photolithograph as vol. vii. of *Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, with an introduction and notes by "ANT. MAR. CERIANI, *Praefecto Collegii doctorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*" (MEDIOLANI, 1874). Amongst the Syriac MSS. which came to the British Museum[k] from the above mentioned Nitrian Desert, are copies of the Syro-Hexaplar of Exodus and Ruth, and more or less of other

[i] Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* § 18) mentions Tyre as the scene of the compiler's labours.

[j] Notice the order *Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah*, given in Talm. Babl., Baba Bathra, fol. 14 b.

[k] See Nos. 48-56 in Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum acquired since the year* 1838.

books; so that on the whole the only books of which no portions are known to have been preserved are *Leviticus*, *Samuel*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*. Judges and Ruth have been edited (Copenhagen, 1861) by Rördam: Genesis and part of Exodus by Ceriani.

6. THEODOTION.—The sixth and last column of the Hexapla, properly so called, contained the version of Theodotio or Theodotion. We have seen that Irenaeus refers to Aquila and Theodotion alone, without mentioning Symmachus, for the rendering, *ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει* (Is. vii. 14), thus: *ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός* (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8); which is most simply accounted for on the hypothesis that the version of Symmachus was not yet in existence, or had not come into notice. Epiphanius indeed reverses this order and places Symmachus chronologically before Theodotion (misled, as some think, by the order of the versons in the Hexapla); but in so doing he falls into a palpable error, placing him in the reign of an imaginary *second Commodus*, whom he supposes to have reigned subsequently to Severus. The *Chronicon Paschale* however places his version in the sixth year of the actual Commodus, and in the two hundred and forty-*first* Olympiad; and the version of Symmachus in the ninth year of Severus, in the two hundred and forty-*fifth* Olympiad; alleging the authority of Epiphanius himself for its statements about the three translators: *Ταῦτα Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ Κύπριος περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν Ἀκύλλα Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔθηκε.* Epiphanius further relates that Theodotion was a Marcionite, and of Pontus, and that, like Aquila and Symmachus, he became a proselyte to Judaism: . . . *Θεοδοτίων τις Ποντικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς διαδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος τοῦ αἱρεσιάρχου τοῦ Σινωπίτου, μηνιῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ αἱρέσει καὶ εἰς Ἰουδαισμὸν ἀποκλίνας καὶ περιτμηθεὶς καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα παιδευθεὶς ἰδίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε* (*De Mens. et Pond.* § 17). Jerome, as we have seen, writes of Theodotion: "qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit, licet eum *quidam dicant* Ebionitam, qui altero genere Judaeus est"; but elsewhere he seems to adopt the tradition of his Ebionism. Montfaucon argues from his rendering of Dan. ix. 26 that he was a Jew. His aim as a translator being (again in the words of Jerome) "non multum a veteribus discrepare," not so much to make a new translation as to revise the old, correcting its errors and supplying its defects, it not unnaturally came to pass that Origen made free use of his version in constructing the Hexaplar recension of the LXX; and that, in the case of the book of Daniel, even the recension of Origen (as noticed above) was popularly discarded in favour of Theodotion's version in its entirety. His style does not present such marked peculiarities as those of Aquila and Symmachus. Suffice it to notice that he is more addicted to *transliteration* than they or the LXX; and that, on account of the number of the words which he thus leaves untranslated, he has been regarded as an *ignorant* interpreter. The charge however cannot be sustained, at any rate on such grounds; for, if the argument were valid, we should have to assume, from his rendering of ובעל בת אל נכר (Mal. ii. 11) by *καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν θυγατέρα ἠλ* (Aq. Sym. *θεοῦ*) *ξένου*, that he was unacquainted with so ordinary a word as אֵל. But, if so, could he have produced a version at all? Doubtless he had his reasons for not translating אל, as Symmachus had his reasons for omitting אלהים in Jud. ix. 13. In other cases he may have desired to retain the actual word used in Hebrew, or may have been unable to find what commended itself to him as a precise Greek equivalent for the original. Compare our own transliterations of *behemoth* and *leviathan*, and the proposal, which finds favour with some, to reproduce the *αἰώνιος* of the New Testament in the form *aeonian*.

7. THE ANONYMOUS VERSIONS.—Little is preserved and little known of the anonymous Greek versions referred to as the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* "editiones." Eusebius relates (*supra*) that one of them was marked in the Hexapla as found *ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ ἐν πίθῳ* in the reign of Antoninus, the son and successor of Severus; having previously remarked, upon the *πέμπτη* and *ἕκτη*, that Origen described the one as found in Nicopolis near Actium, and the other elsewhere: *αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὕροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ τοιῷδε* (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16). Jerome, in the prologue to his translation of Origen's homilies on the Song of Songs, describes the *Quinta editio* as the one which "in Actio litore invenisse se scribit" (vol. iii. 499, 450), but Epiphanius writes that it was found in Jericho, and in the seventh year of Antoninus Caracalla (*de Mens. et Pond.* § 18). It was written in idiomatic Greek, and is quoted on the Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Minor Prophets, 4 Kings, &c. The *Sexta* is quoted on the Psalms, Song of Songs, Habacuc, and in a few other places. Their authors are classed by Jerome with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as Jewish or Judaizing, "*Judaicos* translatores;" although the rendering (Hab. iii. 13) of the *Sexta*, *ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν σου*, suggests that this at any rate was a Christian version. Dr. Field has happily restored a noteworthy rendering of the *Sexta*, *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη μαλαβάθρου*, for על הרי בתר, in Cant. ii. 17. Of the *Septima* no absolutely clear and undisputed trace remains.

8. EDITIONS.—From a letter of PETRUS MORINUS to Silvius Antonianus, dated 1595,[1] we learn that in the year 1578, upon the suggestion of the future pope Sixtus V. to Gregory XIII., an annotated edition of the Old Testament in Greek was projected, and Morinus himself was deputed to collect and embody in the form of annotations, "*varias lectiones variasque interpretationes* AQUILAE, SYMMACHI, THEODOTIONIS, QUINTAE *praeterea ac* SIXTAE *editionis*." His scholia appeared anonymously in the Sixtine Greek Bible of 1587; and they were embodied in the Latin edition of 1588, which was described as "Flaminii Nobilii viri utriusque linguae peritia multiplicique eruditione excellentis *notationibus*

[1] PETRI MORINI *Parisiensis, presbyteri et theologi, Vaticanique olim scholastici et secretarii, Vaticanae typographiae praepositi*, OPUSCULA ET EPISTOLAE *nunc primum e tenebris ex fide MSS. authoris in lucem prodeunt* (*ed. Jacob Quetif*, PARIS, 1675). See pp. 366–7 (Epist. 31).

illustrata." In the Graeco-Latin Paris edition of 1628 which contained the preface of JOANNES MORINUS—upon the authority of the LXX, with some account of Aquila, Symmachus, &c.—the original scholia are placed separately, and followed by the notes of Nobilius founded upon them. We may notice also the edition of LAMBERTUS BOS (Franequerae, 1709). The posthumous work of JOANNES DRUSIUS[m] contained the fragments of the Hexapla with a *Commentary* upon them, and two introductory epistles, the one on Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and the other on the fifth and sixth versions. But the standard edition of the fragments of the Hexapla from the time of its publication until it was at length superseded by Dr. Field's edition, itself founded upon it, was that of BERNARDUS DE MONTFAUCON, *Monachus Benedictinus e Congregatione S. Mauri* (Paris, 1713), which contained the fragments, with prolegomena and glossaries. Much valuable matter relating to the Hexapla and the authors of its versions may also be found in Hody's erudite work, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Graecis, et Latina Vulgata*, libri iv. (Oxon. 1705). To pass over C. F. Bahrdt's abbreviated edition (1769–70), Dr. Field's great work (Oxon. 1875) may be described as a completely revised edition of Montfaucon's with important additions mainly due to following out the line of research indicated by J. G. Eichhorn, who designated the MSS of the LXX and the SYRO-HEXAPLAR as the sources from which the chief accessions were to be expected. The work last mentioned is executed throughout in a scholarly way, and is superior in accuracy to its predecessor. Its prolegomena and notes are a fund of information on matters relating to the history and criticism of the Versions; and if a complete glossary and concordance to the Hexapla is still a desideratum, Dr. Field has at least prepared the way for the lexicographer, and provided an abundance of trustworthy materials out of which such a work might be constructed. [C. T.]

HEYUA (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 284), a nun. [HEIU.] [C. H.]

HIA, ST. (HYA, YE, IA, IIA, IIES, ITA, ITHA, IVA), a disciple of St. Barricus, the companion of St. Patrick, and one of the devotees who accompanied St. Bruaca from Ireland in the 5th century, and landed in the Hayle estuary on the north coast of Cornwall. A Life of Hia was extant in Leland's time. It stated that Dinan, a Cornish chief, built a church at her request on Pendinas—*i.e.* the promontory of the present town of St. Ives. The name "St. Ives" is quite modern, the old name having been assimilated to that of the other St. Ives; but the old form still survives in the manor of Porth-ia and Dinas-ia. The present church is not on Pendinas, and was originally a mere chapel to the neighbouring church of Lelant (by a bull of Alexander V. in 1410), of which Ia's brother Uni is the patron saint. The present church was dedicated Feb. 3, 1434, and hence the parish feast is now on the Sunday nearest to Feb. 3: the feast of Lelant is on the nearest Sunday to Feb. 1, but the old day of St. Ia was Oct. 27 (*Acta Sanctorum*, October, xii. 293). Colgan says that Ia went to Conetconia. There used to be a chapel of St. Ia (Ye) at Camborne, a neighbouring parish. See William of Worc. *Itin.* 106; Leland, *Itin.* iii. 11, 21; Whitaker, *Cornwall*, ii. pp. 1 and 4; Lanigan's *Ireland*, i. 297, 301. St. Ive in the eastern part of the county is perhaps named from Ivon, one of the sons of Brychan of Brecknock (Whitaker's *Cornwall*, ii. 94), but the Persian St. Ivo has much influenced these similar names. William of Worcester, 375, gives a St. Ivo for May 19, and a hymn on St. Ivo of Brittany is given in Clichtoveus' *Elucidatarium*, 1556. p. 214. [C. W. B.]

HIBERNICIUS, disciple of St. Patrick. [HERNICIUS.]

HIBERNIUS, a person said to have been present at the council of Arles, A.D. 314. But the name is doubtful (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 201, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HICCILA, bishop of Salamanca from about 632 to about 640, was present at the fourth (A.D. 633) and sixth (638) councils of Toledo. (Aguirre Catalani, iii. 385, 413; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 274.) [ELEUTHERIUS.] [M. A. W.]

HICETAE (Ἰκέται). A sect of orthodox ascetics who lived in monasteries and spent their time in singing hymns, accompanied with dancing, as they alleged, after the example of Moses and Miriam, Exod. xv. 1, 20, 21 (Io. Damasc. *de Haeres.* cap. iv. § 87, p. 108, in Patr. Gr. xciv. 756, where see note). They are said to have arisen after the time of the emperor Marcian, and before Heraclius (ib. 738, 762). [T. W. D.]

HICONIUS (OECONIUS; ECONIUS), 2nd bishop of Maurienne, between Felmasius and Leporius. He was present at the first council of Mâcon in 581, and the second in 585, and is mentioned by Fredegarius (*Chronicon*, xxii.) as the finder of the body of St. Victor, one of the Thebaean legion at Soleure, in A.D. 602. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 616; Mansi, ix. 937, 958; Aimoin. *H. F.* iii. 90, in Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 756.) [S. A. B.]

HIDBURGA, one of the virgins to whom Aldhelm dedicated his treatise *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (*q. v.* § 1). [C. H.]

HIDDI, the name of a priest attached as witness to the charter of bishop Leutherius to Malmesbury (spurious), dated Aug. 26, 675. (Kemble, *C. D.* 11; *Mon. Angl.* i. 257.) [S.]

HIDDILA, a priest, to whom Wilfrid committed the spiritual charge of that portion of the Isle of Wight which Caedwalla had given him. He was attached to the household of Bernuini, Wilfrid's nephew, to whom he had entrusted his estate there. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 16.) [J. R.]

HIDDO, thirty-second bishop of Autun, succeeding Gairo, and followed by Reginaldus, is said to be omitted from all the catalogues of the bishops of this diocese, but his signature, with the see appended, to the *Placitum* of Attigny, in A.D.

[m] *Interpretum Veterum Graecorum quae extant in totum V.T. Fragmenta* &c. (ARNHEM. 1622.)

765, seems to prove that the catalogues are here imperfect. (Mansi, xii. 675; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 359.) [S. A. B.]

HIDELBALD, archbishop. [HILDEBALD.]

HIDOLPHUS, HIDULFUS, HIDULPHUS, bishop of Treves. [HILDULFUS.]

HIDULPHUS (1) (HYLDULFUS), bishop of Rouen between Melantius and Romanus, succeeded cir. A.D. 601 and ruled twenty-eight years. (Orderic. Vital. *H. E.* v. 9; *Gall. Chr.* xi. 12.) [C. H.]

HIDULFUS (2) (HILDULFUS), ST., a noble of Hainault, of the court of Pippin of Heristal, and husband of St. Aya. According to the *Life of St. Waldetrudis*, to whom he was related through his wife, he built for her the monastery of Castrilocus (St. Vaudru at Mons) (*Vit. Waldetrud.* cap. 2 in Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. i. 839). He and his wife having resolved to separate and embrace the monastic life, he entered the monastery of Lobbes, which, together with three others, he had assisted St. Landelinus (June 15) to found, and where St. Ursmarus was then abbat. He was never abbat or bishop of Lobbes, as has been asserted. The foundation of St Vaudru is placed about 670, and Hidulfus's death in 707. He was commemorated June 23. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 582.) [S. A. B.]

HIERACAS (HIERAX), an Egyptian teacher, from whom the sect of Hieracitae took their name. Our knowledge of him is almost entirely derived from the account of him in Epiphanius (*Haer.* 67, p. 709), who states that he was contemporary with the Egyptian bishop Meletius, and with Peter of Alexandria, and that he lived under the Diocletian persecution. This agrees very well with the notice of him by Arius (vid. infr.), so that he may be placed at the very beginning of the 4th century. Epiphanius treats him with more respect than he usually grants to the founders of heretical sects, and is willing to believe that he practised asceticism *bonâ fide*, which, in the case of his followers, he counts but as hypocrisy. According to Epiphanius, Hieracas lived at Leontopolis, in Egypt, abstaining from animal food and from wine; and by the severity of his manner of life, and by the weight of his personal character, did much to gain reception for his doctrines, especially among the other Egyptian ascetics. He was a man of great ability and learning, well-trained both in Greek and Egyptian literature and science, and was the author of several works in both languages. Epiphanius speaks of him as well skilled in medicine, and with more hesitation ascribes to him a knowledge also of astronomy and of magic. He practised the art of calligraphy, and is said to have lived to the age of ninety, and to have retained his eyesight so perfectly as to be able to continue the practice of his art up to the time of his death. Besides being the composer of hymns, he wrote several expository works on Scripture, of which one on the Hexaemeron is particularly mentioned. It was, doubtless, in this work that he put forward one of his doctrines censured by Epiphanius, viz. the denial of a material Paradise (see PARADISE). Mosheim connects this doctrine with his reprobation of marriage, imagining that he was led to it by the necessity of making a reply to the objection that marriage was a state ordained by God in Paradise. Neander, with more probability, conceives that the notion of the essential evil of matter was at the bottom of this as well as of other doctrines of Hieracas. This notion would lead him to allegorize the Paradise of the book of Genesis, interpreting it of that higher spiritual world from which the heavenly spirit fell by an inclination to earthly matter. And this notion would account for a second doctrine, which, according to Epiphanius, he held in common with Origen, viz., that the future resurrection would be of the soul only, not of the material* body; for all who counted it a gain to the soul to be liberated by death from the bonds of matter, found it hard to believe that it could be again imprisoned in a body at the resurrection. The same notion would explain the prominence which the mortification of the body held in his practical teaching; so that, according to this view, Hieracas would be referred to the class of Gnostic ENCRATITES.

The most salient point in the practical teaching of Hieracas was, that he absolutely condemned marriage, holding that though it had been permitted under the old dispensation, yet since the coming of Christ no married person could inherit the kingdom of heaven. He asked what else the Only-begotten Word had come to teach. The doctrine of the fear of God, the condemnation of envy, covetousness, injustice, &c., had all been sufficiently taught in the Old Testament. The one new thing Christ had come to teach was the inculcation of absolute chastity. This chastity was the "holiness, without which none could see God." In the parable, some of the ten might be wise, some foolish, but they were all virgins. If it was objected to him that the apostle had said, "marriage is honourable in all," he appeals to what the same apostle had said a little further on (1 Cor. vii.), where he says that he wished all to be as himself, and only tolerates marriage "because of fornication," that is to say, as the least of two evils. Thus it not only appears that Hieracas believed in the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but also his language seems to indicate that in his sacred volume that epistle preceded that to the Corinthians. He received also the pastoral epistles of St. Paul, though we are not told how he attempted to reconcile with his system such passages as 1 Tim. iv. 2, v. 11. But he appeals to 1 Tim. ii. 11 in support of another of his doctrines, viz., that children dying before the use of reason cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; and asks if he who strives cannot be crowned unless he strive lawfully, how can he be crowned who has never striven at all? Neander cannot believe that Hieracas meant to exclude married persons and children altogether from salvation, and supposes that by the "kingdom of heaven" which is denied to them the very highest degree of blessedness is intended. Neander refuses to class Hieracas among heretics, considering that his doctrines did not transgress what in his own time were accounted the limits of orthodoxy, and that

* His language is not inconsistent with the opinion that the soul would hereafter be clothed in a spiritual body.

he was only pronounced heretical by those who judged him according to the standards of a later generation. But it seems to us more likely that he was in his own lifetime formally out of communion with the church. His doctrine concerning marriage would alone suffice to make a separation. We are told that his sect admitted among its members only virgins, monks, continent persons, and widows. Arius, in his letter to Alexander in defence of his views concerning our Lord's Person (Epiph. *Haer.* 69, 7, p. 732; Athan. *de Syn.* i. 583; Hilar. *de Trin.* vi. 5, 12) contrasts his own doctrine with that of Valentinus, of Manichaeus, of Sabellius, of Hieracas; and it is natural to think that all these teachers, by rejection of whom he hopes to conciliate favour for his own orthodoxy, were reputed in the church as heretics. Hieracas, according to Arius, illustrated the relation between the first two Persons of the Godhead, by the comparison of a light kindled from another, or of a torch divided into two, or, as Hilary understands it, of a lamp with two wicks burning in the same oil. There is no evidence that Hilary knew anything of the teaching of Hieracas, except through this report of Arius, and therefore we cannot tell whether that teaching included the errors which Hilary regarded as implied in the use of the illustrations just quoted. No more may have been intended than, for instance, in Tertullian (*Apol.* 21); and Epiphanius, who had direct knowledge of the writings of Hieracas, pronounces him orthodox as to the relation of the Son to the Father.

His doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit is more questionable. He was influenced by the book of the Ascension of ISAIAH, which he received as authoritative. In this book Isaiah is represented as seeing in the seventh Heaven, on the right and on the left hand of God respectively, two Beings like each other, one of these being the Son, the other the angel of the Holy Spirit who spake by the prophets. Hieracas inferred that the latter Being, who makes priestly intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered, must be the same as Melchisedek, who also was "made like unto the Son of God," and "who remaineth a priest for ever." [MELCHISEDEK.]

These are the tenets ascribed to Hieracas by Epiphanius, whose account is abridged by Augustine (*Haer.* 47) by Joannes Damascenus (66), and by "Praedestinatus" (47), who adds an invention of his own as to a confutation of this heretic by an imaginary Hellespontine bishop, Aphrodisius. The continued existence of the sect is assumed in a story told by Rufinus (*Hist. Mon.* 28, p. 196) of Macarius, how, when he had failed to confute the cunning arguments of a Hieracite heretic to the satisfaction of his hearers, he vanquished the heretic by successfully challenging him to a contest which of the two could raise a dead body to life. Rufinus does not make anything in the story turn on the fact that Hierax denied the resurrection of the flesh. Photius (*adv. recent. Manich.* in Galland. *Bib. Vet. Pat.* xiii. 609), or rather Petrus Siculus[a] (De la Bigne, *Max. Bib. V. P.* xvi. 758), enumerates twelve disciples of Manes, among whom he counts Hierax; and so Beausobre and others set him down as a Manichaean. [See APHTHONIUS.] But this 9th century evidence is of no weight against the silence of earlier authorities, in particular of Epiphanius, who, though he was in the habit of trying to trace some connexion between the heresies which are next one another in his list, yet does not think of asserting any relation between Hierax and the next preceding heresy, that of the Manichees. It was, no doubt, from the passage just cited that the name of Hierax passed into the "Formula receptionis Manichaeorum," printed by Tollius (*Insig. Itin. Ital.* p. 144). Another untrustworthy notice of the Hieracites is found in a passage of Joannes Carpathius, copied by Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* x. 738) from the appendix to Du Cange's *Greek Glossary*. In it these heretics are said to have denied that our Lord assumed a human body, or that our body should be raised again; and to have asserted that there were three principles—God, matter, and evil. [G. S.]

[a] For the reasons for thinking the latter to be the original, see Mai, *Pat. Nov. Bib.* iv. pt. ii. p. 1, reprinted in Migne, Patr. Gr. civ. 1235.

HIERACES, bishop of Aphnaeum, to the east of Pelusium, in the province of Augustamnica Prima. He was present at the third and fourth general councils, A.D. 431 and 451, and on the latter occasion joined in the protest against the condemnation of Dioscorus. (Mansi, iv. 1128; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 548.) [J. de S.]

HIERACHITAE. [HERACLITAE.]

HIERACITAE. [HIERACAS.]

HIERAX, heresiarch. [HIERACAS.]

HIERAX (1), according to the acts of Justin Martyr, a Christian who suffered at the same time with Justin. He seems to have been a slave and a native of Iconium. It does not seem any sufficient reason for impeaching the genuineness of these acts that they say Iconium in Phrygia, or, according to one copy, in Pisidia, instead of Lycaonia. [G. S.]

HIERAX (2), bishop of some part of Egypt, addressed by St. Dionysius of Alexandria in a paschal letter of the year 262, of which fragments remain. (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 21; Tillemont, iv. 276.) [J. W. S.]

HIERAX (3) (IERCUS), a confessor at Alexandria with Philip and ten youths; commemorated on June 15. (Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 428.) [G. T. S.]

HIERAX (4), a teacher of grammar at Alexandria, and attached to St. Cyril. He was attacked in the theatre by the Jews in the riots which caused the expulsion of the latter from the city by St. Cyril, A.D. 414–415. Orestes, the governor of the city, being in the theatre to transact some public business, many of the people came to hear him. Hierax was one of these, and from his connexion with St. Cyril was soon picked out by the Jews, who exclaimed that he came there only to cause troubles (ἵνα στάσιν τῷ δήμῳ ἐμβάλλοι). Orestes, jealous of the increasing power of the Alexandrian bishop (Cyril), causes Hierax to be arrested and beaten on the spot. St.

Cyril afterwards severely reproached the leaders of the Jews for the conduct of their people. This led to reprisals on the part of the Jews against the Christians, and ultimately to the expulsion of the former from the city. (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 13; Tillemont, xiv. p. 271; Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. p. 227.) [J. W. S.]

HIERAX (5), a man of title (λαμπρότατος, clarissimus), who ridiculed the honours paid by Christians to the relics of martyrs. Isidore of Pelusium addresses him in their defence. (Isidor. Pelus. *Epp.* i. 55, in Patr. Gr. lxxviii. 218.) [C. H.]

HIEREMIAS (1)—June 7. Martyr at Cordova with Peter a presbyter and four others. (*Mart.* Usuard.; Eulogius, *Memorial. SS.* lib. ii. cap. 4.) [G. T. S.]

HIEREMIAS (2)—Sept. 17. Martyr at Cordova with Emilianus, a deacon. (*Mart.* Usuard.; S. Eulog. *Memorial.* lib. ii. cap. 12.) [G. T. S.]

HIEREMIAS (3)—Feb. 16. A eunuch belonging to the household of Maximian. The emperor finding him to be a Christian beheaded him. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

HIERIUS, presbyter [PIERIUS].

HIERIUS (1), governor of Cappadocia, to whom Gregory Nyssen dedicated the treatise on infant salvation, *de Infantibus qui praemature abripiuntur*, written at his request. (Greg. Nyss. tom. iii. p. 317.) [E. V.]

HIERIUS (2), an orator at Rome contemporary with Augustine, who dedicated to him a treatise he had composed, *De Apto et Pulchro.* Augustine was not then personally acquainted with him, but had conceived a warm regard for him from what he had heard of his character. Hierius was a Syrian, who, after excelling in Greek eloquence, became an admirable speaker in the Latin tongue. (August. *Confess.* lib. iv. cap. 14.) [C. H.]

HIERIUS (3), bishop of Panemotichus in the second Pamphylia, signed the synodal letter of his province to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon, and the death of Proterius, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 576; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 1033.) [L. D.]

HIERLATH, HIERLATIUS, bishop of Armagh. [IARLAITHE.]

HIERO (1)—Nov. 7. Martyr at Melitene in Armenia. [HESYCHIUS.] [G. T. S.]

HIERO (2), bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the fifth general council A.D. 553. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 824; Mansi, ix. 393.) [L. D.]

HIEROCLES (1), a native of a small town in Caria, where he must have been born at latest some time about A.D. 275. He was a Neoplatonic philosopher, and is to be carefully distinguished from the philosopher of the same name in the 5th century [HIEROCLES (2)]. By some he is supposed to have been in early life a Christian, as he displayed in his writings such an intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and Christian teaching in general as could only have been gained by one within the church. Such instances of apostasy were not unknown in his time, as the cases of Theotecnus and the Egyptian bishop Hero prove. It possibly may have been the case with Hierocles, as Lactantius suggests. He must have been an active and able administrator, as he seems to have risen rapidly by his own exertions. In an inscription found at Palmyra (*Corp. Inscript. Lat.* t. iii. num. 133), we find his name as ruler of that city under Diocletian and Maximian, Galerius and Constantius being Caesars. Here Hierocles probably came in contact with Galerius, and impressed the Caesar with a respect for his abilities on his famous Persian expedition, when the first seeds of the persecution were sown, 297–302. The expression reiterated by Lactantius, that he was the "author and adviser of the persecution," lends support to this view. From Palmyra Hierocles was translated as prefect to Bithynia after the persecution broke out. There, in 304 or 305, he succeeded Flaccinian, who began the bloody work (Lact. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 16), and thence in 305 or 306 was promoted to the government of Alexandria, as is proved by the fact that Eusebius records the martyrdom of Aedesius at Alexandria as occurring by his orders a short time after that of Apphianus, which he fixes with the greatest precision for April 2, 306 (cf. Euseb. *Mart. Palaest.* c. iv. v.; Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxviii.; Assem. *Mart. Orient.* ii. 195). He seems to have there displayed the same bloodthirsty cruelty as marked another philosophic persecutor, Theotecnus. Eusebius (*l. c.*) speaks of him as "condemning the Christians at Alexandria and rioting beyond all bounds, sometimes insulting grave and decent men in various ways, sometimes consigning females of the greatest modesty, and virgins who had devoted themselves to the duties of religion, to panders, to endure every kind of abuse and obscenity." According to the *Menaea Graeca*, this sight so enraged the martyr Aedesius that he drew near and struck the prefect (Valesius, notes on Euseb. *H. E. in l. c.*). Hierocles wrote a book against Christianity, the title of which was Λόγος φιλαλήθης πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς, in which he brought forward various scriptural difficulties and alleged contradictions, and also instituted comparisons between the life and miracles of Jesus Christ and those of Apollonius of Tyana. To this work Eusebius replied in a treatise yet extant, *Liber contra Hieroclem*, wherein he passes over the scriptural difficulties as matters which Origen in his controversy with Celsus had sufficiently treated. He then enters at large upon the contrast drawn between Christ and Apollonius, and shews that the latter was "so far from being comparable to Jesus Christ that he did not deserve to be ranked among the philosophers" (Du Pin, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 155, art. "Eusebius," EUSEBIUS (23), Vol. II. p. 328). Duchesne, in an acute treatise on the lately discovered works of Macarius Magnes (Paris, Klinksieck, 1877), suggests that the work of Hierocles embodied the objections drawn by Porphyry from Holy Scripture, and that the work of Macarius was intended as a reply to them. He also throws out the suggestion that Hierocles wrote his book while ruling at Palmyra, before the persecution began. Coming

from a man in his position, it would carry great weight in the region of the Euphrates. Macarius therefore, as a dweller in that neighbourhood (Duchesne, p. 11), and Eusebius replied. (Fleury, *H. E.* t. ii. l. viii. s. 30; Till. *Mém.* xiii. 333; *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 307; Neander, *H. E.* t. i. pp. 201, 240, ed. Bohn; Macar. Mag. ed. Blondel; Mason, *Dioclet. Persecution*, pp. 58, 108; Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* art. "Hierocles.") Dr. Gaisford, of Oxford, published together in 1852 the two treatises of Eusebius against Hierocles and against Marcellus. (Euseb. Pamph. *Cont. Hieroc. et Marcell.* ed. Gaisford, Oxon. 1852.)

[G. T. S.]

HIEROCLES (2), a philosopher, generally classed among the Neoplatonists, who lived at Alexandria in the first half of the 5th century A.D., and delivered lectures of considerable merit. His character is spoken of by Damascius (quoted by Suidas) in high terms. On the occasion of his sojourn at Constantinople he is said to have come into collision with the government (or, as Kuster interprets it, with the Christian authorities), and to have been severely beaten in the court of justice; possibly (as Zeller conjectures) on account of his adherence to the old religion. He was then banished, and retired to Alexandria. His teacher in philosophy was Plutarch the Neoplatonist; Theosebius is mentioned as his disciple. It is to be noted that Hierocles is not to be confounded with the prefect of Bithynia of the same name. [HIEROCLES (1).] The identification is made by bishop Pearson, but is conclusively disproved by Needham in his edition of the philosopher.

The principal extant work of Hierocles is his commentary on the *Golden Verses* attributed to Pythagoras. He also wrote an extensive work on Providence and Fate (περὶ προνοίας καὶ εἱμαρμένης), of which some extracts are preserved in Photius; and fragments of another work, on ethics, are found in Stobaeus. His entire remains have been edited by bishop Pearson; this edition was enlarged and improved by P. Needham (Cambridge, 1709). The latest editions are by Gaisford (in 1850) and Mullach (in 1853). See the last volume of Zeller's *Greek Philosophy*, pp. 681–687.

Hierocles is a philosopher who will well repay study. His style is the reverse of that generally attributed to the Neoplatonists. He is indeed somewhat too diffuse, and is not free from repetitions; and it is needless to say that he has not the daring and brilliance which marked the great Greek philosophers down to the time of Aristotle. But he is eminently precise, practical, entirely free from baseless theories of his own, and but slightly marred by those which the traditional influence of his school imposed upon him. The moral sentiment of his writings is of a uniform excellence, rarely equalled in the ancient classics; their intellectual acuteness is not small.

It is apparent, indeed, that the real position of Hierocles was that of a reconciler between the old and the new. Doubtless he was a sincere adherent of the heathen religion; but its distinctive features melt away in his hands, and the substance that remains has a soft and tender tone which recalls the accents of Christian piety. Take, for instance, the following passages from his commentary on the *Golden Verses*.

"No proper cause is assignable for God to have created the world but His essential goodness. He is good by nature; and the good envies none in anything." (*Ib.* p. 20, ed. Needham.) "What offering can you make to God, out of material things, that shall be likened unto or suitable to Him? . . . For, as the Pythagoreans say, God has no place in the world more fitted for Him than a pure soul." (*Ib.* p. 24.) "'Strength dwells near necessity.' Our author adds this to shew that we must not measure our ability to tolerate our friend by mere choice, but by our real strength, which is discovered only by actual necessity. We have all in time of need more strength than we commonly think." (*Ib.* p. 52.) "We must love the unworthy for the sake of their partnership in the same nature with us." (*Ib.* p. 56.) "We must be gentle to those who speak falsely, knowing from what evils we ourselves have been cleansed . . . And gentleness is much aided by the confidence which comes from real knowledge." (*Ib.* p. 110.) "Let us unite prayer with work. We must pray for the end for which we work, and work for the end for which we pray; to teach us this our author says, 'Go to your work, having prayed the gods to accomplish it.'" (*Ib.* p. 172.)

The reasons adduced by Hierocles for belief in a future state are worth referring to. They are strictly moral, and quite remote from subtlety.

"Except," says he, "some part of us subsists after death, capable of receiving the ornaments of truth and goodness (and the rational soul has beyond doubt this capability), there cannot exist in us the pure desire for honourable actions. The suspicion that we may suffer annihilation destroys our concern for such matters." (*Ib.* p. 76.)

Not less noteworthy are the views of Hierocles respecting Providence. God, he says, is the sole eternal author of all things; those Platonists who say that God could only make the universe by the aid of eternal matter are in error. (*Ib.* p. 246, from the treatise περὶ προνοίας.) Man has freewill; but since the thoughts of man vacillate and sometimes forget God, man is liable to sin: what we call fate is the just and necessary retribution made by God, or by those powers who do God's will, to men for their actions, whether for merit or demerit. (*Ib.* p. 256; cf. p. 92.) Hence comes the inequality in the lots of men. Pain is the result of antecedent sin; those who know this have the remedy for pain in their hands, for they will henceforward especially fly from wrongdoing, and will not accuse God as if He were the essential cause of their suffering (pp. 92, 94).

Even when, leaving these moral and religious precepts, we come to those views of Hierocles which bear a stronger stamp of Neoplatonism, they are yet put by him in such a way as to remind us in no small degree of Christian philosophy as expounded by such a writer as Dante. God, he says, has created three orders of immortal beings: first, those who may be called Immortal Gods (though inferior to the Supreme Being), who have the contemplation of God or the Highest Law constantly and immutably before them; next, the Heroes or Angelic powers (he calls them variously ἥρωες, ἄγγελοι, αἰθέριοι,

who always contemplate God, but yet not quite immutably or without variation; lastly, men, who sometimes have God in their contemplation, and sometimes not. Below these three orders come the brutes, who have no contemplation of God, who are essentially mortal, and whose actions are directed by chance. In a certain sense he seems to deny that this unintelligent brute nature is due to God; though it is impossible to suppose that he excluded it from his conception of creation.

The approximation of heathen philosophy to Christianity is the most interesting point to be noticed in connexion with Hierocles. (He never, in his extant works, directly mentions Christianity; what degree of tacit opposition to it is implied in his philosophy is a question difficult to decide.) Points more specially characteristic of Platonism and Neoplatonism are, however, found in him; the most remarkable is his belief in the pre-existence of man, and in the transmigration of souls. With Porphyry and Jamblichus, however, he denied that the souls of men could migrate into the bodies of animals. The passage on the Pythagorean Quaternary (p. 166, ed. Needham) is the only one of baseless mysticism to be found in Hierocles. It is observable, as a mark of the conciliatory bias of the mind of Hierocles, that he pointedly set to work to reconcile Plato and Aristotle, and reproved those who called these philosophers discordant.

We will conclude our notice of Hierocles by quoting a passage from his *Fragments*, on Marriage; a passage worthy of note both for its beauty and also as shewing the singularly modern and Christian type of his mind.

"Marriage is expedient, first, because it produces a truly divine fruit, namely children, our helpers alike when we are young and strong, and when we are old and worn . . . But even apart from this, wedded life is a happy lot. A wife by her tender offices refreshes those who are wearied with external toil; she makes her husband forget those troubles which are never so active and aggressive as in the midst of a solitary and unfriended life; sometimes questioning him on his business pursuits, or referring some domestic matter to his judgment, and taking counsel with him upon it: giving a savour and pleasure to life by her unstrained cheerfulness and alacrity. Then again in the united exercise of religious sacrifice, in her conduct as mistress of the house in the absence of her husband, when the family has to be held in order not without a certain ruling spirit, in her care for her servants, in her careful tending of the sick, in these and other things too many to be recounted, her influence is notable. . . . Splendid dwellings, marbles and precious stones and myrtle groves are but poor ornaments to a family. But the heaven-blessed union of a husband and wife, who have all, even their bodies and souls in common, who rule their house and bring up their children well, is a more noble and excellent ornament; as indeed Homer said. . . . Nothing is so burdensome but that a husband and wife can easily bear it when they are in harmony together, and willing to give their common strength to the task."

We have somewhat abridged the description of Hierocles; for to say the truth, he is not a terse writer. But the above is a passage which it would be difficult to parallel for its substance in the whole series of classical writers.

[J. R. M.]

HIEROLOGUS, bishop. [IARLUGH.]

HIERONYMUS (1), an early Christian writer, of whose works nothing now survives. He is mentioned in the *Canon Paschalis* of Anatolius Alexandrinus, bishop of Laodicea in Syria (flor. A.D. 280, Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 791). The *Canon Paschalis* is printed in Bucher's *Doctrina Temporum*, Antwerp, 1634 (where see p. 439), and in Galland, *Bibl. Pat.* iii. 545. The passage mentioning Hieronymus is quoted entire by Ceillier (i. 538). It is to the effect that Isidorus, Hieronymus, and Clemens, whom Anatolius calls "majores nostri," were highly skilled in the Hebrew and Greek languages and agreed in their calculation as to the day and month on which the festival of our Lord's Resurrection should be celebrated. Ceillier thinks that the Clemens must be the famous Clement of Alexandria, and he remarks that Isidorus and Hieronymus, being named before him, probably belonged to the period of Victor, bishop of Rome, when the Paschal controversy engaged so much attention. (See also Tillem. iii. 102.) [C. H.]

HIERONYMUS (2), a son of Charles Martel, who in 754 was deputed with Fulradus, abbat of St. Denys, and others, to escort pope Stephen II. back to Rome, after Pippin's victorious campaign against his persecutor, Astolphus king of the Lombards (*Ann. Franc. Fuld.* an. 754; Hermanni *Chron.* an. 754; Anastasius, *Vita Stephani II.*; Bouquet, v. 326, 363, 438). By his father's gift he became lay abbat of the monastery of St. Quintin in the diocese of Noyon, where he was succeeded by his son Fulradus. (Theodulfus, *Carmina*, Bouquet, *ib.* p. 416; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 1041.) [S. A. B.]

HIERONYMUS (3), distinguished from others of the name as "Theologus Graecus," of uncertain date, about the 4th century. His extant works are two theological treatises. (1) *On the Trinity;* (2) *On the Effect of Baptism and the Notes of a Christian.* John of Damascus has also preserved a fragment on the habit of venerating the cross, which may have belonged to the first dialogue. But the tone of thought is certainly different, and John of Damascus calls the writer a presbyter of Jerusalem, a title not usually given to this author. The arguments on the Trinity are not very solid. A list of illustrations may be quoted: root, branch, leaves; eye, pupil, and light of the eye; sun, heat, force; soul, reason, body; nail, bone, flesh; spring, stream, and current; fore-arm, lower-arm, hand; speech, fire, and Deity in the bush of Moses; song, flame, and dew in the furnace of the three children; gold, image, and superscription in a coin. The Jew is vehemently abused. The Christian relies on the texts Ps. cix. 3, Ps. ii. 7, Joel ii. 28, Is. xliv. 3, Gen. i. 26, Gen. iii. 22, Gen. i. 27, Gen. xix. 24, Ps. cix. 1, Is. ix. 6, Ps. lxxvi. 6. The *Institute useful for a Christian Man*, or *Treatise on the Effect of Baptism and the Notes of a Christian* is directed to prove the spiritual nature of the rite. One of the interlocutors is asked, supposing he had been cast on the roadside by his parents, how he could discover in later years whether he had been really baptized? The appeal in reply is

entirely to the unseen effects of faith and love in the heart, the presence of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. The earliest mention of Hieronymus, if we believe that the author of the fragment on the cross is the same writer, is by John of Damascus. (*De Imag.* Oratio 3, tom. i. *Oper.* p. 385.) He is called Presbyter of Jerusalem by John and by a MS. of the Bibliotheca Coisliana cited by Montfaucon. Cave thinks that he was the presbyter and monk Jerome, a Dalmatian, who, according to a MS. of the Bibliotheca Colbertina, wrote a history of the monks of Egypt. Galland considers this possibly not far from the truth, and therefore puts him under Theodosius the Great. (*Biblioth. Vet. Patr.* vii. *Proleg.* p. 18.) His first editor was Frederick Morel. He took the MS. from the library of Lindenbrogius, and published the work on baptism in 1598, that on the Trinity in 1612, both octavo, at Paris. At Paris also, and in the same form, Daum published in 1677 the work on the Trinity, in 1680 that on baptism. In 1768 and 1769, at Helmstadt, Carpzov published the two works in the same order as that of Daum, quarto, with a new version and notes, in 1772 the two together, octavo. Migne (Patrol. Graec. xl. 844) reproduces Galland, with the fragment from John of Damascus. (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 282; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. viii.; Ceillier, vi. 333.) [W. M. S.]

HIERONYMUS (4) (JEROME), **ST.** The full name is Eusebius Hieronymus, to which we sometimes find added the name Sophronius; but this appears to be a mistake, arising from the fact that Jerome's friend Sophronius translated some of his works into Greek, and thus the two names became blended.

Sources.—The best and most recent accounts of St. Jerome are the following:—*Saint Jérôme, la Société chrétienne à Rome et l'Emigration romaine en Terre Sainte*, par M. Amédée Thierry (Paris, 1867), and *Hieronymus sein Leben und Werken* von Dr. Otto Zöckler (Gotha, 1865); the former gives a vivid, artistic, and, on the whole, accurate picture of the Life, with large extracts in the original from the writings, the latter a critical and comprehensive view of both. These contain all that is best in previous biographers, such as the Benedictine Martianay (Paris, 1706), Sebastian Dolci (Ancona, 1750), Engelstoft (Copenhagen, 1797); to which may be added notices of Jerome in the *Acta Sanctorum*, *Biblia Sacra*, Du Pin's and Ceillier's *Histories of Ecclesiastical Writers*, Tillemont, Bähr's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, the excellent article in Ersch and Grüber's *Encyclopädie*, and that in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, the lives of Jerome prefixed to the chief editions of his works, especially that of Vallarsi, which has a singular value from its succinct narrative and careful investigation of dates.

There are very few notices of Jerome in the writings of his contemporaries. St. Augustine, besides the letters which he actually addressed to him, alludes to him in several of his works (*Ep.* 261, *ad Oceanum*, *cont. Julianum I.*; *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 42; *De Doct. Christ.* &c.), but only cursorily. Sulpicius Severus, who had stayed with him six months at Bethlehem, records his impression shortly in *Dial.* i. 7, 8, 9. Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* 78–80) also has a few words, of a disparaging kind, which he had heard from the hermit Posidonius. Jerome was not a principal actor in any of the chief events of his time, and does not fall necessarily, like Chrysostom and others, under the eye of the ordinary historian. On the other hand, his own writings, from the marked individuality which they display, and the extremely personal character of many of them, especially his defence of himself against Rufinus, coupled with Rufinus's attack upon him, enable the student to build up his history with all but perfect accuracy.

Editions.—The letters and some of the treatises were published in Rome in 1468 by Massimo. But the first edition, comprising all the works then known, was that of Erasmus (Basel, 1516–1520); the next, that of Marianus Victorius (Rome, 1565). Then followed the edition of Tribbechovius (Leipzig, 1684), the Benedictine by Martianay (Paris, 1693), and lastly that of Vallarsi (Verona, 1734–42). This last is so good both in its arrangement and completeness, and also in its assimilation of the results of the labours of his predecessors, that subsequent editors have done no more than reprint it. In the most accessible reprint, that of Migne (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Paris, 1845, tom. xxiii.–xxxiii.), Vallarsi's pages are marked in the text. To Vallarsi's edition alone, therefore, the references in this article are made. But since some writers, as Thierry, continue to quote from other editions, students may be referred to a very useful table preceding the general index of Vallarsi's edition, which, besides being a complete table of contents, gives in parallel columns the corresponding position of each work in the Benedictine and the preceding editions.

Birth and Early Years.—Jerome was born about the year 346. The statement in Prosper's *Chronicon*, that he was ninety years old in 420, when he died, is contradicted by his own statement (*Ep.* 52 *ad Nepotianum*) that he was little more than a boy, in 374, when he wrote to Heliodorus (*Ep.* 14), and by the fact that he wrote nothing before 370, from which time his literary activity was incessant.

His birthplace was Stridon, a town near Aquileia, but belonging to Pannonia, possibly near Oemona (now Lembac), as is inferred from his familiarity with those living there (*Ep.* 11 and 12). The town was partially destroyed by the Goths in their invasion in 377 (*De Vir. Ill.* 132); there remained enough of it twenty years later to make it worth while for Jerome to send his brother to sell their property (semirutas villas, *Ep.* lxvi. 14). But it afterwards disappeared completely.

His parents were Catholic Christians (Pref. to *Job*), but, according to the custom then common, did not have their son baptized in infancy. The father's name was Eusebius (*de Vir. Ill.* 132), the mother's name is unknown. They were not very wealthy, but were possessors of houses (*Ep.* lxvi. 4) and slaves (*Cont. Ruf.* i. c. 30); and they lived in the closest intimacy with the richer family of Bonosus, who was Jerome's foster brother (*Ep.* iii. 5). They were living in 373, when Jerome first went to the East (*Ep.* xxii. 30), but, since he never mentions them in later years, it is probable that they died in the Gothic invasion (377) when Stridon was

destroyed. He had a brother, Paulinian, some twenty years younger than himself (*Ep.* lxxxii. 8), who from 385 onwards lived constantly with him; a sister who, after Jerome's departure for the East, fell into sin, but was reclaimed by his friend Julianus, and embraced the ascetic life (*Ep.* 6 and 7); and an aunt, Castorina, to whom he wrote in 375 (*Ep.* 13) begging for a reconciliation after some estrangement which had occurred between them.

He was brought up in comfort, if not in luxury (*Ep.* xxii. 30), and received a good education. He speaks of himself, indeed, as having been an idle boy (*Cont. Ruf.* i. 30), and as having preferred the company of his father's servants to that of his teachers. On the other hand, he says that he had grown up almost from his cradle among grammarians and rhetoricians. He was in a grammar school when the death of the emperor Julian (363) was announced (*Comm. on Habakkuk*, b. i. c. 10), and though it is possible that the school may have been at his native place, it is more probable that it was at Rome. If so, he must have left his home when about seventeen years old. Certainly it was not much later than this that he was sent to complete his education at Rome.

Rome—Baptism.—He went there with his friend Bonosus; and, since they left Rome together, and were living in the same house when Rufinus first knew them, it is probable that they lived together in Rome. The chief study of those days was rhetoric, and the chief teacher of it at Rome was Victorinus (*q. v.*). But Jerome's teacher was Aelius Donatus (*Cont. Ruf.* i. 16; *Comm. in Eccles.* c. i. p. 390), whom he speaks of with great respect. Jerome applied himself to this study diligently, not only practising rhetorical declamations (*Cont. Ruf.* i. 30), and following the studies bearing upon it (*Ep.* l. 1), but attending the law courts and hearing the best pleaders (*Comm. on Gal.* ii. 13). In the early part of his stay at Rome, he lived irregularly and fell into sin (*Ep.* vi. 4, xiv. 6, xlviii. 20). But he was drawn back, and finally cast in his lot with the Christian church. He describes how on the Sundays he was accustomed, with other young men of like age and mind with himself, to visit the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs (*Comm. in Ezek.* c. 40, p. 468); and this we may regard as indicating a serious bent, which culminated in his baptism, which he received in Rome while Liberius was pope, that is before the year 366. (See, however, *Ep.* iii. 5, which speaks of his true Christian life as beginning after his Roman studies.) It is probable that this serious bent and his baptism only intensified his pursuit of knowledge. Rufinus reminds him (Ruf. *Apol.* ii. 9) that before his conversion he was entirely ignorant of Greek. Yet we find him studying logic in the works of Porphyry (*Ep.* l. 1), and he was certainly in later life conversant with a large range of classical Greek authors (*Ep.* ix. 5), though he professed to have left off reading the works of heathen writers after the year 374 (*Ep.* xxii.). He also while in Rome acquired a considerable library (*Ep.* xxii. 30), which he afterwards carried with him wherever he went.

Gaul.—On the termination of his studies in Rome he determined to go with Bonosus into Gaul, though with what purpose is unknown. Before doing so it is probable that they returned home, and also that they lived together for a time in Aquileia, or some other town in the north of Italy. Certainly they at this time made the acquaintance of Rufinus (*Ep.* iii. 3), and that friendship began between him and Jerome which afterwards turned out so disastrously to both (see Augustine to Jerome, *Ep.* cx.). Hearing that they were going into Gaul, the country of Hilary, Rufinus begged Jerome to obtain and copy for him the commentary of that renowned bishop on the Psalms and his book upon the Councils (*Ep.* v. 2); and this among other things may have contributed to give Jerome his tendency towards ecclesiastical literature, which was henceforward the main pursuit of his life. This vocation declared itself during his stay in Gaul. He went with his friend to several parts of Gaul, but stayed longest at Treves, then the seat of government. He relates long afterwards how he saw various strange tribes of Germany and Britain; how also he heard of the fame of Delphidius, the poet and orator (*Ep.* cxx.). But his mind was occupied with scriptural studies. Besides the work he had promised to do for Rufinus, he made his first attempt at a commentary. It was on the book of the prophet Obadiah, which it interpreted in a mystical sense. It has not come down to us. Jerome himself, indeed, relates how, when he afterwards took that book in hand, he felt ashamed of the ignorance displayed in this early work (Pref. to *Comm. on Obadiah*).

Aquileia, 370–373.—The friends returned to Italy, passing probably through Liguria, and there, at Vercellae, hearing the story which forms the subject of Jerome's first letter, that of the woman who, after an unjust condemnation, was struck seven times by the axe and yet lived. Eusebius, the bishop of Vercellae, had a few years before returned from his banishment in the East, bringing with him Evagrius, a presbyter (afterwards bishop) of Antioch, who during his stay in Italy had played a considerable part in church affairs (*Ep.* i. 15). He had access to the emperor Valentinian, and by his entreaties had, as Jerome relates, saved the woman whose life had been wonderfully preserved from a final execution. He seems to have had a great influence over Jerome at this period of his life; and either with him or about the same time with him to have settled at Aquileia. On their way thither, in all probability, they stopped at Concordia, which was the birthplace of Rufinus (*Ep.* v. 2), and there made acquaintance with the old man, Paulus, a student of Scripture and of ecclesiastical books, who had stories of Cyprian and Tertullian to tell them (*Ep.* 10; *De Vir. Ill.* 53). Jerome and Bonosus, no doubt, returned to Stridon; but for the next few years of Jerome's life the chief scene of interest is at Aquileia. There was gathered there a company of young men, all of them devoted to sacred studies and to the ascetic life. It comprised the presbyter Chromatius (afterwards bishop of Aquileia), and his brother Eusebius, with Jovinus the archdeacon; Rufinus, Bonosus, Heliodorus (afterwards bishop of Altinum), the monk Chrysogonus, and the subdeacon Niceas, and Hylas, the freedman of the wealthy Roman lady Melania; all of whom we meet with later in this history. They were knit together by the closest friendship and by their common

pursuits; and the presence of Evagrius, with his accounts of the holy places and hermitages of the East, gave a special direction to their ascetic tendencies. Jerome found little sympathy for these tendencies in his own city. He complains (*Ep.* vii. 5) that the people were immersed in worldliness; and that the bishop, Lupicinus, took part against him (*Ep.* vi. 4); and this probably led to his living constantly at Aquileia. There for a time all went well. The baptism of Rufinus took place at this time (Ruf. *Apol.* i. 4). Jerome, at the request of his friend Innocentius, made his first attempt at descriptive writing in the narrative of the woman seven times struck with an axe (*Ep.* i.), the style of which already shews great excellence, though it is marked by the credulity which is also characteristic of his writings. But the company of friends was suddenly broken up. It was Jerome's fortune to become, wherever he lived, the object of great affection, but also of great animosity. Whatever may have been the cause of the trouble which he speaks of as "subitus turbo, impia avulsio" (*Ep.* iii. 3), it was the means of dispersing the society at Aquileia. It is possible that this was an instance of the dislike of the secular clergy to the monastic tendency (Thierry), or that Jerome's letter to Innocentius, which represents the consular of the province in an unjust and bloodthirsty character, may have aroused the anger of the holder of that office (Zöckler, p. 40), who, however, at this moment was none other than the good and just Ambrose (made bishop in 374). See in connexion with this Jerome's expressions of dislike of Ambrose, in Pref. to Trans. of *Origen on Luke*, vol. vii. 245; Pref. to *Did. de Sp. S.* vol. ii. 106, quoted by Ruf. *Apol.* ii. 22–29.

Antioch, 374.—The friends who had lived together went (probably early in 373) in different directions. Bonosus retired to an island in the Adriatic, and lived the life of a hermit (*Ep.* vii. 3). Rufinus went to the East, in the train of Melania. Jerome, with Heliodorus, Innocentius, and Hylas, accompanied Evagrius to Palestine. Leaving his parents, his sister, his relations, his home comforts (*Ep.* xxii. 30), but taking with him his library, he travelled through Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, to Antioch. The journey was exhausting, and Antioch appeared to him like a haven of rest (*Ep.* iii. 3). But they were not to enjoy it long. Jerome had a long period of ill-health, culminating in a fever. Innocentius and Hylas were attacked by the same fever and died. Heliodorus went to Jerusalem, where he was the guest of Florentius (*Ep.* iv.), and on his return (about Easter, 374) found Jerome alone with Evagrius (*Ep.* iii. 3), slowly regaining his strength. During his illness, of which a description is given in his celebrated letter to Eustochium (*Ep.* xxii. 30), Jerome had had his bent towards scriptural studies and the ascetic life confirmed. While his friends stood by his bed expecting his death, he felt himself, in a trance, carried before the throne of God, and condemned as being no Christian but a Ciceronian, who preferred worldly literature to Christ. On the intercession of the saints around the throne a respite was given him, but he was beaten with many stripes, which he felt as though they were real for many days; and he made a vow that he would study profane literature no more. This vow was not literally observed. Jerome read the classics both at Rome and Bethlehem, and spoke of his vow as having no more force than any other fancy of a dream. Yet at one time he declared that for fifteen years he had never taken up a classical book. It must be admitted that his language on this point is open to the charge of equivocation, which his enemies converted into absolute perjury. (Compare *Ep.* xxi. 13, with Pref. to *Comm. on Gal.* b. iii.; and the facts stated by Rufinus, *Apol.* ii. 8, p. 363, with Jerome's faint excuses, *Apol.* i. 30, 31, ii. 32.) From this time, though he continued to quote the classics profusely, his literary interest was wholly with the Bible and church writings. Evagrius had a property at Maronia, thirty miles from Antioch, and while staying there, probably for the recovery of his health, he met the hermit Malchus (*q.v.*), whose strange history afterwards recounted by Jerome (*Vita Malchi*, vol. ii. 41) confirmed his desire for the solitary life. He wrote to Rufinus, who was then expected at Jerusalem (*Ep.* iii. iv.), but received no answer. It is possible that he made some beginning of serious studies, and that this is the time at which he was a pupil of Apollinaris (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 4). But it seems more likely that, as soon as his health was restored, he determined to embrace the solitary life. He wrote to Theodosius (*Ep.* ii.), who seems to have been a kind of chief of the hermits in the desert of Chalcis, asking to be received among them, and he endeavoured to persuade Heliodorus to accompany him. But Heliodorus felt a vocation to the pastoral rather than the solitary life, and his widowed sister and her son Nepotianus were left to his care: he determined, therefore, to return to Aquileia, and Jerome went alone into the desert, about the autumn of 374.

Desert, 374–379.—He was now about twenty-eight years old. The desert of Chalcis, where he now lived for some four or five years, was in the country of the Saracens, in the east of Syria (*Ep.* v.). It was peopled by hermits, who, though they lived mainly in solitude, had frequent intercourse among themselves, and some little with the world. They were under some kind of rule or discipline, under the authority of a ruling presbyter named Marcus (*Ep.* xvii.), as the monks of Nitria, afterwards visited by Jerome and Paula, were under their bishop Isidore. Jerome lived in a cell, and gained his own living (*Ep.* xvii. 3); probably, according to the recommendation he gives at a later time to Rusticus (*Ep.* cxxv.), cultivating a garden, and employed in manual occupations like the making of baskets of rushes, or, more congenially, in copying books. He describes his life in his letter to Eustochium (*Ep.* xxii. 7), written nine or ten years later, as one of spiritual struggles. "I sat alone; I was filled with bitterness: my limbs were uncomely and rough with sackcloth, and my squalid skin became as black as an Ethiopian's. Every day I was in tears and groans; and, if ever the sleep which hung upon my eyelids overcame my resistance, I knocked against the ground my bare bones, which scarce clung together. I say nothing of my meat and drink, since the monks even when sick use cold water, and it is thought a luxury if they ever partake of cooked food. Through fear of hell, I had condemned myself to prison; I had scorpions and wild beasts for my only companions,

. . . My face was white with fasting, my body was cold; the man, within his own flesh, was dead before his time." He describes in the same letter his mental conflicts, the sinful pleasures which crowded upon his imagination, his prayers for deliverance, his spiritual ecstasies. But his literary talent was by no means idle during this period. He wrote several letters to his friends in Italy, and to Florentius at Jerusalem (*Ep.* v. to xvii.), including that to Heliodorus (xiv.) on the Praises of the Desert, in which he chides his friend for not having embraced the perfect life of solitude. He composed the life of Paulus the first hermit (vol. ii. 1), and sent it to the namesake of the hermit, his old friend Paulus at Concordia (*Ep.* 10); he had his library with him, and some young men about him who could copy manuscripts (*Ep.* v. 2); his letters to Florentius shew that he was eagerly pursuing his studies; he found a Jew who had become a Christian, and took him for his instructor in Hebrew (*Ep.* xviii. 10), and he obtained from some member of the sect of the Nazarenes at Beroea the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he copied, and afterwards translated into Greek and Latin (*De Vir. Ill.* 2, 3). He was frequently visited by Evagrius (*Ep.* vii. 1), who also acted as the intermediary of his communication with his friends in Aquileia, and, later, with Damasus at Rome (*Ep.* xv. 5).

But, as we have observed, it was Jerome's fortune, due chiefly to his vehement feelings and expressions, to make enemies. As it had been at Aquileia, as it was afterwards at Rome and at Bethlehem, so it was in the desert. He was driven away by the ill-will of his brother-monks. At first, as we see from his letter to Heliodorus (14), he was satisfied with his condition; but his last years in the desert were embittered by theological strife, from which he was at last glad to escape. The strife related to the conflicts in the church at Antioch. There the episcopal throne was contested by three bishops, Vitalis the Arian, Meletius, who, though he had received consecration from the Arians, was acknowledged by Basil and the orthodox bishops of the East (Basil, *Ep.* 156, to Evagrius), and Paulinus, who was supported by pope Damasus and the stronger anti-Arian party of Rome. Between Meletius and Paulinus the dispute was mainly verbal, but it was not the less bitter. The Meletians spoke of three substances and one essence, the Paulinians of three persons and one substance. Jerome complains that the Meletians were not content with his holding the truth, but treated him as a heretic if he did not do so in their words (*Ep.* xv. 3). He appealed to Damasus, both about the doctrinal question and about the dispute between the bishops at Antioch, with strong protestations of his submission to the see of Rome (*Ep.* 15, 16). But finding his position more and more difficult, he wrote to Marcus, the chief presbyter of the monks (*Ep.* 17), in the winter of 378, professing his soundness in the faith, declaring that since he had become a subject of discord, he was ready, but for illness, to depart, and begging that the hospitality of the desert might be extended to him till the winter was past.

Antioch, 379.—Accordingly, in the spring of 379 he returned to Antioch, and stayed there till the next year. There he definitely united himself to the party of Paulinus, and was by him ordained presbyter. The ordination was against his will, and he never consecrated the sacrament or officiated as a presbyter, as appears from many passages in his works, especially from the whole controversy relating to his brother, Paulinianus, who was ordained on account of the unwillingness of Jerome to officiate (*Contra Joan. Jerus.* 41 and Epiphanius's letter, among Jerome's, li.). It was probably at this time that he studied under Apollinarius of Laodicaea, guarding himself, however, against what he calls his contentious dogmatism (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 4). No letters of this year have come down to us, and the only extant work of the period is the dialogue of an orthodox man with a Luciferian. Lucifer of Cagliari having taken part in the appointment of Paulinus, a corrective was needed for the more extreme among the Western party at Antioch; and this was given in Jerome's dialogue, which is clear, moderate, and free from the violence of his later controversial works. It also exhibits a considerable knowledge of church history, and contains the account of the council of Ariminum, with the famous words (c. 19): "Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est."

Constantinople, 380, 381.—In 380 Jerome went to Constantinople, and remained there till the end of the following year. He placed himself under the instruction of Gregory Nazianzen, who had taken charge of the orthodox church in the capital in 379, and from the frequent allusions to him in his works seems to have profited greatly from his master's mode of interpreting Scripture. He calls him "praeceptor meus" (*De Vir. Ill.* 117), and appeals to his authority in his commentaries and letters (*Comm. on Ephes.* v. 3; ep. l. 1, lii. 8, &c.). He was also acquainted with Gregory of Nyssa (*De Vir. Ill.* 128). He was attacked, while at Constantinople, with a complaint in the eyes, arising from overwork, which caused him to dictate the works which he now wrote. This practice afterwards became habitual to him (Pref. to *Comm. on Gal.* b. iii.), though he did not wholly give up writing with his own hand; and he contrasts the imperfections of the works which he dictated with the greater elaboration which he was able to give when he himself wrote, and was able frequently to turn the stylus. He wrote no letters during this period; but his literary activity was great. He translated the Chronicle of Eusebius, a large work, which embraces the chronology from the creation of the world to the year A.D. 330. To this Jerome added the events of the 50 years, 330-380. He also translated the Homilies of Origen on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, possibly also those in Isaiah, and wrote a short treatise for Damasus on the interpretations of the Seraphim in Is. vi., which is improperly placed among the letters (18). These works mark the epoch at which he began to feel the importance of Origen as a church-writer, though daring even then to differ from him in doctrine, and also to realise the imperfections of the existing versions of the Scriptures. In the treatise on the Seraphim, and again in the preface to the Chronicle, we find him comparing and contrasting the various Greek versions of the Old Testament in the manner which eventually forced on him the necessity of a translation direct from the Hebrew. The Chronicle was dedicated to

Vincentius and Gallienus. Of Gallienus we know nothing more, though he was dear to Jerome, who calls him "pars animae meae." But Vincentius became his companion, the sharer of his journeys to Rome and to the East, and of his residence at Bethlehem. What his relations were to the council of Constantinople in 381 we do not know. He never mentions it in his writings, unless the doubtful words, "Quum Orientis atque Occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem" (*Ep.* cxxiii. 10) can be taken as alluding to it; but these tell us nothing. Illness, or study, or his relation to Apollinarius, sealed his lips as to an assembly in which the president and the accused were his teachers, and his bishop's cause was at issue. It is certain, however, that the pope Damasus desired his presence in Rome (*Ep.* cxxvii. 7, cxxiii. 10) at the council of 382, which reviewed the acts of the council of Constantinople, and that he went there with Vincentius in the train of the bishops Paulinus of Antioch and Epiphanius of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus (*Ep.* cxxvii. 7).

Rome, 381–385.—*Bible-Work*.—His stay in Rome, from the spring of 382 to August 385, was a very eventful and decisive period in his life. He made many friends and many enemies; his knowledge and reputation as a scholar greatly increased; and his experience of Rome determined him to give himself irrevocably and exclusively to the life of monasticism and of sacred study. Some writers, indeed, have supposed that he was appointed secretary to Damasus, and also that his position in the Roman hierarchy was such as to make him the destined successor of the pope. But his expression, "Quum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum" (*Ep.* cxxiii. 10), relates rather to learned studies, and though he says (*Ep.* xlv.) that at one time the regards of the whole city were fixed on him, this does not imply that he had to do with the ecclesiastical administration. He was, however, present at the council, as appears from the story of the MS. of Athanasius which he relates (*Cont. Ruf.* ii. 20). He had produced it to shew that certain words were used by Athanasius in a particular sense. During the night one of his opponents, having gained access to the MS., scratched out the words, and then rewrote them, so that it might appear that they were not the original words of Athanasius. With this exception we hear nothing of Jerome's action in the council, although the affairs of the Syrian churches, with which he was most connected, occupied so much of its attention. He was preoccupied with the two great objects of his life, scriptural study and the promotion of asceticism. In the first of these departments, he undertook, at the request of Damasus, a revision of the version of the Psalms (vol. x. col. 121). He translated from the Septuagint; and his new version was used in the Roman church from that time till the Pontificate of Pius V. He then, also at the request of Damasus, revised the New Testament, of which the old Versio Itala was very defective. The preface addressed to Damasus (vol. x. col. 557) is a good critical document, pointing out that the old version was changed at the will of transcribers, and asking, "If any one has the right version, which is it?" It was intended as a preface to the Gospels only; but from the record of his works given in the list of ecclesiastical writers (*De Vir. Ill.* 135), which states that he had restored the New Testament according to the original Greek, as well as from other passages (e.g. *Ep.* xxvii. 3), it is natural to infer that the whole version was completed (see Vallarsi's preface to vol. x.; also Smith's DICT. OF THE BIBLE, art. VULGATE). He also, at the request of Damasus and others, wrote many short exegetical treatises, which are included among his letters (on *Hosanna*, 19, 20; on the *Prodigal Son*, 21; on the *Old Testament Names of God*, 25; on *Halleluia and Amen*, 26; on *Sela and Diapsalma*, 28; on *Ephod and Seraphim*, 29; on the *Alphabetical Psalms*, 30; on "*The Bread of Carefulness*," 34). He began also his studies on the original of the Old Testament by collating the Greek versions of Aquila and the LXX with the Hebrew (*Ep.* 32, and xxxvi. 12), and was further confirmed by this process in the convictions which led to the Vulgate version. He translated for Damasus the Commentary of Origen on the *Song of Songs* (vol. x. p. 500), and began the translation of the work of Didymus, the blind Origenistic teacher of Alexandria, on the Holy Spirit. This last work he did not complete till after his settlement at Bethlehem. It was broken off from a cause which probably prevented his continuing the translation of Origen's Commentaries, begun at Constantinople, namely, the increasing suspicions and enmity of the clergy and people, whom he speaks of as the senate of the Pharisees, against all that had any connexion with Origen (Pref. to *Didymus on the Holy Spirit*, vol. ii. 105). Jerome's relation to Origen will be dwelt upon afterwards; but it should be mentioned that at this time he was his vehement champion, and the contemptuous opponent of his impugners. "The city of Rome," he says, "consents to his condemnation, . . . not because of the novelty of his doctrines, not because of heresy, as the dogs who are mad against him now pretend; but because they could not bear the glory of his eloquence and his knowledge, and because, when he spoke, they all were thought to be dumb" (*Ep.* xxxiii. 4).

Asceticism.—The other chief object of Jerome's life, the promotion of asceticism, increased this enmity, although, like the study of Scripture, it made great advances during his stay at Rome. It was nearly fifty years since Athanasius (334) had, during his banishment at Rome, sown the seeds of asceticism by bringing with him the monk Peter, and by the accounts given by him and his companion of the monasteries of Nitria and the Thebaid. The declining state of the empire in these fifty years had predisposed men to the twin, though opposite, growths of despair, selfish luxury and monasticism. Epiphanius, with whom Jerome now came to Rome, had been trained by the hermits Hilarion and Hesychas (*qq. v.*); he was, with Paulinus, the guest of the wealthy and noble lady, Paula (*Ep.* cviii. 5), the heiress of the Aemilian race; and thus Jerome was introduced to this lady, who became the friend of his life and his chief support in his labours. She had three daughters, Blesilla, whose death, after a short and austere widowhood, was so eventful to Jerome himself, Julia Eustochium, who first among the Roman nobility took the virgin's vow, and Paulina, who married Jerome's friend Pammachius. These formed part of a circle of ladies, who gradually drew more closely round the ascetic teacher of scriptural lore. Among these were

Marcella (*q. v.*), whose house on the Aventine was their meeting-place, with her young friend Principia (*Ep.* 127); her sister, the recluse Asella, the confidant of Jerome's complaints on leaving Rome (*Ep.* 45); Lea, who was already the head of a kind of convent, and whose sudden death was announced whilst the friends were reading the Psalms (*Ep.* 23); Furia (*q. v.*), the descendant of Camillus, sister-in-law to Blesilla, and her mother Titiana; Marcellina and Felicitas, to whom Jerome's last adieus were sent on leaving Rome (*Ep.* 45); perhaps also, though she is not named till later, the enthusiastic Fabiola, less steady, but more eager than the rest (*Ep.* 77). These noble ladies, all of the highest patrician families, were already disposed to the ascetic life. The contact of the Eastern bishops added to this a special interest in Palestine; and the presence of Jerome confirmed both these tendencies. He became the centre of a band of friends, who, withdrawn from the political and social life which they regarded as hopelessly corrupt, gave themselves to the study of Scripture and to works of charity. They knew Greek, and they learned Hebrew that they might sing the Psalms in their original language; they learned by heart the writings of their teacher (*Ep.* lxxvii. 9); they held daily meetings in which he expounded to them the Scriptures (*Ep.* xxiii. 1); and he wrote for them many of his exegetical treatises above-mentioned. The principles which Jerome instilled into their minds are to be seen in many of his letters written at this time, which, as soon as they issued from his pen, were copied and caught up both by friends and enemies. The letter (23) which contrasts the death of Lea with that of the virtuous pagan consul, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, the one receiving a crown, the other being undoubtedly in Tartarus; the letter (24) which praises Asella's resolution, persevered in for twelve years, in favour of the single and recluse life; the letters on the sickness (38) and death (39) of Blesilla; those to Marcella on Montanism (41) and Novatianism (42); the letters of thanks to Eustochium (31) and to Marcella (44) for presents; the letters to Paula (33) in praise of Origen and to Marcella (27 and 40) in defence of his scriptural studies and other writings, exhibit, even in their titles, his relation to this circle of friends and the direction of his influence. But the treatise which above all others serves to characterize his teaching at this time, is that addressed to Eustochium on the Preservation of Virginity (22). In this treatise, Jerome's own experience in the desert, his anti-Ciceronian dream at Antioch, his knowledge of the monks of the desert, of whom he gives a valuable description, are turned to account in favour of the virgin and ascetic life; the extreme fear of impurity contrasts strangely with the gross suggestions which every page contains, the over-praise of virginity leads to such a depreciation of the married state, the vexations of which ("uteri tumentes, infantium vagitus") are only relieved by vulgar and selfish luxury, that almost the only advantage allowed to it is that it is the means whereby virgins are brought into the world; and finally, the vivid descriptions of Roman life, the pretended virgins, the avaricious and self-indulgent matrons, the dainty, luxurious, and rapacious clergy, forcible as they are, lose something of their value by their appearance of caricature. Another treatise written during this period, that against the layman Helvidius, the pupil of Auxentius of Milan, on the perpetual virginity of Mary, though its main points are well argued, exhibits the same fanatical aversion to the institution of marriage, combined with a supercilious disregard of his opponent, which was habitual to Jerome. [HELVIDIUS; ANTIDICO-MARIANITAE.]

Jerome compelled to leave Rome, 385.—A crisis in Jerome's fortunes came with the end of the year 384. Damasus, who had been pope for nearly twenty years, was dying, and amongst his possible successors the name of Jerome could not escape mention, if only to be put decisively aside. He had, as he tells us, on his first coming to Rome, been pointed out as the future pope. (*Ep.* xlv. 3. "Totius in me urbis studia consonabant, omnium paene judicio dignus summo sacerdotio judicabar.") But he was entirely unfitted in his character and habit of mind for an office which has always required the talents of the statesman and man of the world, rather than those of the student. And he had offended every part of the community. The clergy took to themselves the vivid and undiscriminating satire of the "Treatise on the Keeping of Virginity." The ignorant were suspicious of his literary work, and, though his version of the Psalms was used in every church, and his revision of the New Testament was making its way, looked on him, with the prejudices of the ignorant against new learning, as the partisan of Origen, whom the Roman church condemned (*Ep.* 33). To this were added vile slanders as to his relations with ladies, of whom he declares that he had never so much as been present at their meals; slanders, however, which he did not hesitate to retort upon his opponents (*Ep.* 50). And the general lay feeling was still strongly opposed to asceticism (*Ep.* xxvii. 2). At the funeral of Blesilla (*Ep.* xxxix. 4), the rumour was spread that she had been killed by the excessive austerities enjoined upon her; the violent grief of her mother was taken as a reproach to the ascetic system, and the cry was heard, "The monks to the Tiber!" Jerome, though cautioned by his friends to moderate his language (*Ep.* xxvii. 2), continued to use the most insulting expressions towards all who opposed him, such as those above quoted from the letter in defence of Origen (xxxiii. 4). The only letter which in a single passage shews a certain consciousness of this intemperance of language, says of his opponents in the next paragraph, "I return to these two-legged asses." And the letter which describes the death of Blesilla is followed by that (40) concerning Onasus (an opponent, whose name is connected by Jerome with Ὄνος and Nasus), which shews of what scurrility this great man could be capable. It is not surprising that the judgment of the Roman church should have set him aside as unfitted to be its head, and that Jerome himself should, in his calmer reflections, have felt that Rome was ill-suited to him, and that in attempting, with his temper and habits, to carry out his conception of Christianity in Rome, he had been vainly trying "to sing the Lord's song in a strange land" (*Ep.* xlv. 6). Siricius, the successor of Damasus, had no sympathy with Jerome either then or afterwards when the Origenistic controversy came on. The

party of friends on the Aventine was broken up. Jerome counsels Marcella (*Ep.* 44) to leave Rome, and seek some religious seclusion in the country. Paula and Eustochium preferred to go with their teacher to Palestine; and in August, 385, Jerome himself embarked, with all that was dearest to him, at Portus, and in his touching and instructive letter to Asella (45) bade a final farewell to Rome.

Emigration to Palestine.—Jerome was accompanied in his voyage by his brother Paulinian, and his friend Vincentius (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 22), and sailed direct to Antioch. Paula and Eustochium (*Ep.* 108, where all these incidents are narrated), leaving Paulina, then of marriageable age, and her young brother Toxotius, to a world which they were deserting, embarked at the same time, but visited Epiphanius in Cyprus on their way. The friends were reunited at Antioch, as winter was setting in. Paula would brook no delay, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, they started at once for Palestine. They visited Sarepta, Acre, Caesarea, Joppa, Lydda, and Emmaus, and arrived at Jerusalem early in 386. The city was moved at the coming of the noble Roman ladies, and the Proconsul prepared a splendid reception for them in the Praetorium; but they only stayed to see the holy places, and, after visiting the spots of special interest in the south of Palestine, continued their journey into Egypt. There the time was divided between the two great objects of Jerome's life, the study of Scripture and the promotion of asceticism. At Alexandria, he sat, though already grey-haired (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 3), at the feet of Didymus, the great Origenistic teacher, whom, in contrast to his blindness, Jerome delights to speak of as "the seer." (See in his praises the preface to the commentary on Ephesians.) Jerome had already, as we have seen, translated in part his book on the Holy Spirit; and now, at the request of his distinguished pupil, Didymus composed his Commentary on Hosea and Zechariah (Jerome, Pref. to *Hosea*, and *De Vir. Ill.* 109). They were at Alexandria only thirty days, as Rufinus declared (*Apol.* ii. 12), but Jerome had the faculty of turning to excellent account the short periods of intercourse with his great teachers, such as Apollinaris, Gregory, and Didymus. Suspending for a time their scriptural studies, the friends turned to the monasteries of Nitria, where they were received with great honour. The bishop, Isidore, came out to meet them. They heard all the strange tales of the monks; assisted at all their services; ate their hard fare, and lay in their hard cubicles; their admiration was in no way abated by the fact that these monks were Origenists, though Jerome, in his later anti-Origenistic fervour, declared that he had perceived the serpent lurking among them (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 22). Indeed, they at one time were almost persuaded to take up their abode in the Egyptian desert. But the superior attractions of the holy places of Palestine prevailed; and the travellers, sailing from Alexandria to Majoma, the city of Hilarion, the Christian port of the heathen Gaza [HILARION, ITALICUS], settled at Bethlehem, in the autumn of 386. There Jerome lived the remaining thirty-four years of his life, pursuing unremittingly and with the utmost success the two great objects to which he was devoted.

Bethlehem, 386–420.—Jerome's life at Bethlehem may be divided into three parts. The first of these comprises the first six years, 386–392, the time of settlement, and of successful study, uninterrupted by controversy, and ending with his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers (*De Vir. Ill.*), which gives a list of his writings up to this date. The second, from 392 to 404, is the time of strenuous and brilliant energy, including the publication of the Vulgate edition of the Old Testament, and the three great controversies against Jovinian, John of Jerusalem, and Rufinus. The last is the period from 404 to 420, the period of old age, which includes the letters to Augustine, and the commentaries on the greater prophets, the death of his dearest friends, and the sack of Rome by Alaric; a period of comparative repose to Jerome himself, but which closes with the Pelagian controversy, and his last illness and death.

Bethlehem, First Period, 386–392. *Monasteries.*—The first work of the pilgrims was to establish themselves at Bethlehem. A monastery was built, of which Jerome became the head, and a convent over which Paula presided (*Ep.* cviii. 14, 19). There was a church in which they met on Sundays, and perhaps oftener (*Ep.* 147); and a hospice for pilgrims, of which a vast number came from all parts of the world to visit the holy places (*Ep.* xlvi., lxvi.; *Cont. Vigilantium*, 13, 14). These institutions were mainly supported by Paula, though, towards the end of her life, when she by her profusion had become poor, their support fell to Jerome, who, for this purpose, sold his estate in Pannonia (*Ep.* lxvi.). Jerome lived in a cell (*Ep.* 105, and *Cont. Joan. Jerus.*), in or close to the monastery, surrounded by his library, to which he made numerous additions, as is shewn by his constant reference to a great variety of authors, sacred and profane, and also by his account of his obtaining a copy of the Hexapla from the library at Caesarea (*Comm. on Titus*, c. 3, p. 734). He describes himself as living very moderately on bread and vegetables (*Ep.* lxxix. 4); he was not, like many monks, neglectful of his person, but recommended a moderate neatness of dress (*Ep.* lii. 9, lx. 10). We do not read of any special austerities that he imposed upon himself, beyond the fact of his seclusion from the world, which he speaks of as a living in the fields and in solitude, that he might mourn for his sins, and gain Christ's mercy (*Cont. Joan. Jerus.* 41). He did not officiate in the services, but his time was greatly absorbed by the cares (*Ep.* cxiv. 1) and discipline (*Ep.* cxlvii.) of the monastery, and by the crowds of monks and pilgrims who flocked to the hospice (lxvi. 14; *Adv. Ruf.* i. 31). In the later part of his sojourn, he was charged, if we believe Sulpicius Severus who spent six months with him, with the parish of Bethlehem (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i. 8). But this must have been a nominal charge, the actual duties being performed by others under a very general superintendence from him. Some of those under him had pastoral work of certain kinds even in the earlier years, as is seen from the fact that in the year 398 they had forty persons prepared for baptism (*Cont. Joan. Jerus.* 42); but Jerome knew that his true vocation did not lie in practical administration, as he shews plainly in the contrast which he draws between

his own work and that of a bishop, in his letter to Augustine (112). He expounded the Scriptures daily to the brethren in the monastery, using the version he had made from the LXX as better known and easier, in preference to his later work from the Hebrew (Pref. to *Chron.* vol. ix. col. 1394; see also Pref. to *Hebrew Names*, vol. iii. p. 1). He at one time, as is affirmed without contradiction by Rufinus (*Apol.* ii. 8), had a class of boys or young men, to whom he taught the classics; and it is hardly possible to believe that all the allusions which he makes to classical authors, up to the very close of his life, are from memory, unrefreshed by reading, notwithstanding his assertion that after his anti-Ciceronian dream in 374 he had read the classics no more (Pref. to *Comm. on Gall.* B. 3). But undoubtedly sacred studies were his main pursuit, and the end of any others, if such there were; and his diligence in these is almost incredible. "He is wholly absorbed in reading," says Sulpicius; "he takes no rest by day or by night; he is ever reading or writing something." He wrote, or rather dictated, with great rapidity. He was believed at times to have composed 1000 lines of his commentaries in a day (Pref. to b. ii. of *Comm. on Ephes.* in vol. vii. col. 507); certainly he translated the book of Tobit from the Chaldee in a single day (Pref. to *Tobit*). In times of ill-health he lay on a couch, taking down one volume after another, and dictating to an amanuensis (*Ep.* lxxiv. 6). He wrote almost daily to Paula and Eustochium (*De V. Ill.* 135); and, though many of his letters were mere messages, yet he had become so celebrated that almost everything that he wrote was at once caught up and published (*Ep.* xlix. 2), either by friends or enemies. And this immense literary activity was carried on amidst many interruptions. Besides the ordinary pilgrims, whose numbers, as observed already, were excessive, persons came to him from all parts, whom it was necessary to entertain with special care. Fabiola and Oceanus came to him from Rome (*Ep.* lxxvii.), Eusebius from Cremona (Pref. to Com. on Matt. vol. vii. 9), Exsuperantius from some unknown place (*Ep.* cxlv. with note), Orosius from Africa (*Oros. de Lib. Arb.*), the messengers and scribes of Lucinius from Spain (*Ep.* lxxi.). Paulinus (*Ep.* lviii.) and Castrutius (*Ep.* lxviii.), the one from Rome, the other from Pannonia, were only hindered, the one by being made a bishop, the other by old age, from coming to reside at Bethlehem. In the case of Fabiola, he records how he had to employ himself in seeking a residence worthy of so great a lady (*Ep.* lxxvii. 8). And messengers arrived with letters from all parts of the world, which often required long answers, as those to Julianus in Dalmatia (118), to Ctesiphon in Africa (133), to Hebidia in Armorica (133), to Minucius and Alexander in Narbonne (113), to Sunnias and Fretela in Getica (106). He was subject also to more serious interruptions. For a whole year (398) he was ill (*Ep.* lxxiv. 6, cxiv. 1); and he suffered from a wound in the hand, which prevented him from writing (*ibid.*). The agitated state of the empire also was felt in the hermitage of Bethlehem. The successive invasions of the Huns (*Ep.* lxxvii. 8) and the Isaurians (114) created a panic in Palestine, so that in the year 395 ships had to be provided at Joppa to carry away the virgins of Bethlehem, who hurried to the coast, and were ready to embark when the danger passed away. These invasions caused a great lack of means at Bethlehem (*Ep.* cxiv. 1), so that Jerome and his friends had to sell all that they had to continue the work. Amidst such interruptions the great literary works of the author of the Vulgate were accomplished.

Hebrew Studies.—Immediately on settling at Bethlehem, Jerome set to work to perfect his knowledge of Hebrew. He had the aid of a Jew named Bar Anina (Barabbas he was called by Jerome's adversaries, who conceived that through his Jewish teacher his version of the Bible was tainted with Judaism; see Ruf. *Apol.* ii. 12). Their interviews took place at night (*Ep.* lxxxiv.), each being afraid of the suspicions which their intercourse might cause. He also learned the Chaldee, but less thoroughly (Pref. to *Daniel*, vol. ix. col. 1358). When any unusual difficulty occurred in translation or exposition, he obtained further aid. For the book of Job he paid a teacher to come to him from Lydda (Pref. to *Job*, vol. ix. col. 1140); for the Chaldee of Tobit he had a Rabbi from Tiberias (Pref. to *Tobit*, vol. x.). The Chronicles he went over word by word with a doctor of law from Tiberias (Pref. to *Chron.* in vol. ix.). The great expense of this method of work was no doubt in part defrayed by Paula. At a later time, when his resources failed, Chromatius of Aquileia, and Heliodorus of Altinum, supported the scribes who assisted him (Pref. to *Esther*, addressed to Chrom. and Hel.).

Bible Work.—The results of his first six years' labours may be thus summed up. The commentary on Ecclesiastes and the translation of the work of Didymus on the Holy Spirit were completed; and commentaries were written on the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians, Titus and Philemon. The version of the New Testament begun in Rome was revised; a treatise on Psalms x. to xvi. was written; and translations were made of Origen's Commentaries on the Gospel of St. Luke and on the Psalms. Jerome, who had long before felt the great importance for scriptural studies of a knowledge of the localities (Pref. to *Chron.* vol. x. 423), had turned to account his travels in Palestine in his work on the Names of Hebrew places, mainly translated from Eusebius, and had given to the world what may be called in modern phrase "Chips from his Workshop," in the book on Hebrew proper names, and the Hebrew Questions on Genesis, a work which he seems to have intended to carry on in the other books as a pendant to his translations. And, further, as a preparatory work to the Vulgate, he had revised the Latin version of the Old Testament then current (which was imperfectly made from the LXX), by a comparison of Origen's Hexapla (Pref. to Joshua, vol. ix. 356; Pref. to Chron. vol. ix. col. 1394; Pref. to Job, vol. ix. col. 1142; *Ep.* 71, *ad Lucinium*). This work, though not mentioned in the Catalogue (*De V. Ill.* 135), certainly existed. Jerome used it in his familiar expositions each day (*Cont. Ruf.* ii. 24). Augustine had heard of it, and asked to see it (*Ep.* 134, end), but it had, through fraud or neglect, been lost; and all that remains of it is the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Preface to the Books of Solomon (vol. x.). The Vulgate itself was in preparation, as we find from the Catalogue; but it is evident, from its not being produced for some years

afterwards, that what had been done thus far was only a preliminary and imperfect work.

Monkish Writings.—Besides these works on the Scriptures, Jerome had designed a vast scheme of church history, from the beginning to his own time, giving the lives of all the most eminent men; and as a preliminary work to this, and in furtherance of the cause of asceticism, he wrote the two lives of Malchus and Hilarion (qq. v.), the first of whom he had seen at Maronia, near Antioch, and the second had been celebrated throughout Palestine some twenty years before (died 371). The minuteness of detail in these works must have made a church history on such a scale impossible; and the credulity which they shew throws a great doubt on Jerome's capacity for such a work. These lives of the hermits must be regarded not as church history, but as incentives to the ascetic life.

Ascetic Enthusiasm.—In the promotion of this ascetic life he was enthusiastically engaged. It was inseparable with him and his friends from his scriptural studies. The monks and nuns around him made these studies a chief object of their life, and fancied themselves nearer to heaven from being able to read the Scriptures and sing the Psalms in the country where they were written. The letter which Jerome wrote in the name of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella at Rome (*Ep.* 46), which is the only letter preserved from these first six years, expresses this enthusiastic view of their situation. The crowds who came from all parts seem to them to be so many choirs, engaged in services of praise, each in their own tongue, in whom envy and arrogance are held in abeyance, and asceticism is tempered by kindliness of judgment. The very ploughmen chant Hallelujahs. Far from the Babylon of Rome, they associate with the saints of Scripture times, and find in the holy places the gate of heaven. This view of Palestine is always present to Jerome, however much he may have to confess the secularisation of the actual Jerusalem (*Ep.* lviii. 4); and it makes his biblical work not merely one of learning but of piety.

Catalogue.—A far more important work for the purposes of the church historian than the lives of the hermits just mentioned is the book which is variously called the "Catalogue of Church Writers," the "Book on Illustrious Men," or the "Epitaphion" (though it includes men then living). Some portions of it are taken from Eusebius, but both the design and the greater part of the details are original. It includes the writers of the New Testament, and the church teachers of the East and West up to Jerome's own time. It includes also men who were accounted heretics, and even non-Christians, whose works were of importance to the progress of human thought, like Seneca. For this great liberality it is blamed by Augustine (Jerome, *Ep.* 112). This work is important also for the student of the life of Jerome, as giving an account of his works up to the year 392, and thus fitly closes the first period of his stay at Bethlehem.

Second Period, 393 *to* 404. *Letters.*—The account of our second period, 393 to 404, will be best begun by touching upon some of the more private letters of Jerome, which abound during this period, and which shew us his personal history. The most important of these are the letter (52) addressed to Nepotianus, nephew of his old friend Heliodorus (now bishop of Altinum) on the duties of the clergy and of monks, which, together with the letter to Heliodorus (60) on his nephew's death, gives an interesting view of the pastoral work of the clergy of this period; the letters to Paulinus (53, 58) the Roman senator, afterwards bishop of Nola, deprecating his proposal to come to Palestine, but urging him to give himself to the monastic life, praising his panegyric upon Theodosius, and giving rules for the study of Scripture; the letter of consolation and of exhortation to the maintenance and consecration of widowhood, addressed to Furia (54), one of his former friends in Rome; a letter with a similar purpose to Theodora (75), the widow of the learned Spaniard Lucinius, with which we may connect the letter written a short time before (71) to Lucinius himself, in answer to questions as to the religious life, and to his request that the writers sent by him should be allowed to copy Jerome's works; and that to Abigaus (76), the blind Spanish presbyter, who was closely connected with Salvina, the relation of the emperor Theodosius, to whom Jerome also writes (79), exhorting her to persevere in the estate of widowhood, and shewing how a Christian life may be lived among princes; the letter to Amandus (55), a presbyter either of Rome or of Gaul, which contained a difficult case of conscience, supposed by Thierry to have been left at Bethlehem by Fabiola (q. v.), in 395, but more probably (see Vall. Preface, in *Ep.* 55) in the year before; the letter to Oceanus (69), defending the ordination of a Spanish bishop, who had been twice married, once before and once after his baptism; the letter to Principia (65), the friend of Marcella and Asella, defending his constant dealings with women; and the letter to Castrutius (68), an old and blind fellow countryman from Pannonia, who had offered to come and see him, but was stopped on the way. To these we must add the letter to Oceanus (77), which records the remarkable life of Fabiola, the letter to Laeta (107), the wife of Toxotius, brother of Eustochium, on the education of her daughter, the younger Paula, who afterwards came to live with her aunt at Bethlehem; and finally, the letter to Eustochium (108), written in 404, immediately after the death of Paula, and giving an account of her saintly life. The remainder of the letters of this period belong to the great controversies which are treated of farther on.

External Difficulties.—To this period belong also several of those disturbing events which have been mentioned above. The invasion of the Huns in 395 created a panic at Bethlehem (*Ep.* 78). The monasteries were broken up. Jerome hurried with his friends, and with Oceanus and Fabiola, who were then staying with him, to the sea at Joppa, being fearful for the safety of the virgins of Bethlehem; ships were hired, and they were about to embark; when it was suddenly announced that the Huns had changed their course, and, instead of crossing the Lebanon, had turned westward. Jerome finished his letter to Fabiola, who did not return to Bethlehem (64, on the garments of the high priest), while the ropes of the ship were being loosened, and the sailors shouting for the voyage. The health of Jerome at times also broke down. During almost the whole of the year 398 he was ill, and again in 404–5 (*Ep.* lxxiv. 6, cxiv. 1).

He was disturbed also at this time by the controversy or schism between the monks of Bethlehem and the bishop of Jerusalem; and an injury to his hand prevented his writing. Poverty was also overtaking him. Paula had spent her fortune in a lavish charity, and Jerome, in order to support the monasteries, was forced to send his brother Paulinianus to their former home to sell the remains of the property (*Ep.* lxvi. 14). The sad episode of the quarrel between Jerome and Rufinus, which began in 394, must be related under the head of the controversies which occupied so much of this period. But before dealing with these, we must recount the more fruitful bible-work of these years.

Commentaries.—Jerome began his commentaries on the Minor Prophets in 391 (*De Vir. Ill.* 135); they form four books, and were published at long intervals up to 406. In 397 he wrote his commentary on Matthew, the last of those on the New Testament, which was finished as he was recovering from an illness, with great haste and eagerness (*Ep.* 73, § 10) in Lent 398. Then followed after a long interval the commentary on Isaiah, and from this time he wrote upon the Great Prophets alone. We may add to these commentaries the explanations of particular passages, usually in the form of questions and answers, some of which are, in the older editions, placed with the commentaries, but by Vallarsi among the letters; namely to Amandus (*Ep.* 55) on the last verse of Matt. vi.; to Marcella (59) in answer to questions on scriptural passages relating to the judgment and the heavenly state; to Fabiola (64) on the dress of the high priest; to Principia (65) on Ps. xlv.; to Vitalis (72) on the difficulties of the chronology of some of the Jewish kings; to Evangelus (73) on Melchizedek; to Rufinus, not of Aquileia (74), on the judgment of Solomon; the treatise (78) written at the request of Fabiola, and sent to Oceanus, after she had died, with the memoir of her life, expounding the halting-places of the Israelites in the desert, as a kind of allegory of the Christian's journey through the world to Paradise; and lastly, the elaborate letter (106) to Sunnias and Fretela, two presbyters in the country of the Getae, in answer to their questions on the text of Scripture in which the reasons are plainly given which induced him to leave the LXX and to translate direct from the Hebrew. We may add to these the letter to Pammachius (57) on the best method of translating, which, though its primary object was to defend a somewhat loose translation of a controversial document (*Ep.* 51) may be taken as giving the principles which guided him in his great work of the Vulgate translation of the Old Testament.

The Vulgate.—That which we now call the Vulgate, and which is in the main the work of Jerome, was, during his life, the Bible of the learned, and only by degrees won its way to general acceptance. The *editio vulgata* in use up to his time was a loose translation from the LXX, of which almost every copy varied from the other. At a very early period Jerome had begun to read the Old Testament in the Greek. But here the same difficulty met him. The LXX version was confronted, in Origen's Hexapla, with those of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, and with two others, called Quinta and Sexta. Where they differed who was to decide? This question is asked by Jerome as early as the preface to the Chronicle of Eusebius (381), and was constantly repeated in defence of his translation, as for instance in the letter just quoted to Lucinius and Fretela. He seems to have distinctly contemplated this work from the moment of his settlement at Bethlehem, and a great deal of the labour of his first years there may be regarded as preliminary to it. It was begun within the first few years. But, in so elaborate a work, it was impossible that the first copies should be perfect. The author, besides his own sense of its importance, had to satisfy both friends and adversaries, who, for different reasons, were critical and exacting. Accordingly, though he states in the catalogue of his works (*De Vir. Ill.* 135) that he had translated the Old Testament after the Hebrew original, we read of no publication before that time. In the next year (393) he speaks to Pammachius (*Ep.* 49) of his having sent some portions to Marcella, and says that the rest were kept in his closet (clausa armario), awaiting the judgment that might be pronounced on the sample submitted to his friends. It is probable, therefore, that the whole, or larger part, was gone through at an early date, and that it was given to his friends or to the public after a more mature revision, according as his health or his courage allowed. He distinctly purposed, however, to publish it from the first. In the preface to the first published books, those of Samuel and the Kings, he intimates that he is sending forth the first instalment of a complete work. "Hic Prologus Scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo in Latinum vertimus convenire potest." Yet the actual publication of it was made in a fragmentary and hesitating manner. At times he speaks of portions as extorted from him by the earnest requests of his friends (Pref. to *Gen.* vol. ix. &c.) Some parts of the work he represents as done in extreme haste; the books of Solomon he calls in the preface to them the work of three days (Pref. in vol. ix. col. 1307). Tobit and Judith were each of them the work of a single day. He shews himself in these prefaces extremely sensitive to the attacks to which the work was subject, and speaks of it often as an ungrateful task. In one case (Pref. to Ezra, vol. ix. ed. 1472), he begs his friends to read the work privately and not to publish it. He speaks (Pref. to Joshua, vol. ix. 506) of his wish to get it off his hands, so that he may return to his commentary on the Prophets. In the preface to the last translated book, that of Esther (vol. ix. ed. 1504), he makes no allusion to the fact that he was completing the great work of his life. Of the Apocrypha he translated only parts, and these, as has been shewn above, very cursorily (Pref. to Tobit, vol. x.); but this is due no doubt to his comparative indifference to the Apocrypha, his opinion of which is quoted in Article vi. of the Church of England, from the preface to the Books of Solomon (vol. ix. ed. 1308). But the work was, nevertheless, carried through to completion. The Books of Samuel and the Kings were published first, then Job and the Prophets, then Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Book of Genesis. All these were finished in or before the year 393; but here occurred a break, owing in part, no doubt, to the unsettlement and panic consequent on the invasion of the Huns in 395.

In 396 the work was resumed at the entreaty of Chromatius and Heliodorus, who sent him money for the support of the necessary helpers (notarios et librarios nostros sustentatos, Pref. to Books of Solomon). The Books of Solomon were then completed (398), and the preface indicates an intention to continue the work more systematically. But the ill-feeling excited by his translation made him unwilling to continue it, and his long illness in 398 intervened. He at that date tells Lucinius that he had given his servants the whole except the Octoteuch to copy (*Ep.* xlix. 4). But, from whatever cause, the work was not resumed till the year 403. In this and the ensuing year, the remainder was completed, namely, the four last books of Moses, Joshua and Judges, Ruth and Esther. His friends collected the translations into one volume, and the title of Vulgate, which had hitherto applied to the version before in use (Pref. to *Ezek.* vol. ix. col. 995, Pref. to *Esther*, vol. ix. 1503) in time came to belong to an edition which is in the main the work of Jerome.

Controversies.—We now turn to the great controversial works of this period, which occupied a share of Jerome's energies out of all proportion to their importance.

Jovinian.—The first of these was the polemical writing against Jovinian (q. v.). Jovinian was a Roman monk, who had originally been distinguished by his extreme strictness and asceticism, but had worked his way into freer opinions. He put off the monastic dress, and lived like other men. He refused to marry, though maintaining his right to do so, saying that he wished to be free. Whether this was meant, as his adversaries declared, as a selfish freedom or a freedom for devotion to Christian work does not appear. There is no ground, apparently, for the assertion of Jerome and others that he lived for mere luxury, or their insinuations of his encouragement of immorality; but his style of writing in the passage quoted by Jerome (*Cont. Jov.* i. 2, &c.) is suggestive of vanity and even absurdity. He issued in Rome the work which Jerome combated. It seems to have had some success; and it is said that some who had made vows of virginity were induced by it to marry; but he was condemned by the pope Siricius, and afterwards, going to Milan, was further condemned by Ambrose. Augustine also wrote two letters against him, in which he spoke of other tenets of his than those with which Jerome deals. The book of Jovinian was sent to Jerome about the end of the year 393, and he at once answered it in the two books *Contra Jovinianum.* Jovinian asserted that virgins, wives, and widows, if faithful, were equal in God's sight, and that eating and fasting were indifferent if accompanied by a thankful spirit; but with these he coupled propositions of a more doubtful, though speculative, character, the indefectibility of those who receive baptism aright, and the final equality of all the saved. As to these last propositions Jerome argued calmly and well, though with something of contempt, of which Jovinian's style was provocative. But with the anti-ascetic propositions he has no patience or moderation. "These," he says, "are the hissings of the old serpent; by these the dragon expelled man from Paradise." He shews no capacity for appreciating the position maintained by Jovinian as to virginity, which was expressed in the words, "Thou art a virgin; be it so; be not puffed up;" but speaks of him as a renegade, and as a dog who has returned to his vomit. The impression made by this violence on the minds of his friends, and on certain bishops to whom the work was shewn (*Ep.* l. 4) at Rome, was so unfavourable that Pammachius and Domnio wrote to him begging that the work might be modified before publication, and they withheld the copies in their hands till his answer arrived. Jerome wrote two letters to Pammachius and one to Domnio. He argues the whole question, supporting his opinion in his usual manner; he somewhat resents their interposition, and tells them that, as to withholding the books from publication, they might have saved themselves the pains, since they were already published in Palestine. He scoffs at the imputation made against him that his arguments went so far as to throw contempt upon marriage, and says, "If he who criticizes me wishes to know my opinion, tell him that I think that all should have wives who are afraid to sleep alone." This spirit he continued to justify to the last, and when, ten years later, he found opinions similar to those of Jovinian maintained by Vigilantius, he says of the former: "This man, after being condemned by the authority of the Roman church, amidst his feasts of pheasants' and of swine's flesh, I will not say gave up, but belched out his life."

Origenism.—The second great controversy in which Jerome was engaged at this time was that which arose about Origenism, which embraces in its wide sweep Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, John, bishop of Jerusalem, Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom, the pope Anastasius, and above all Jerome's former friend, Rufinus; and by which the churches both of the East and the West were long and deeply agitated. It divides itself, as far as Jerome is concerned, into two distinct parts; the first represented by his writing against John of Jerusalem, and extending from 494 to 499, when peace was made between them; the second represented by the three books directed against Rufinus, the first two of which were written in 401, the third in 402.

Jerome's own relation to Origen is not difficult to understand, though it laid him open to the charge of inconsistency. He had become acquainted with his works in the time of his first enthusiasm for Greek ecclesiastical learning, and had recognised him as the greatest name in Christian literature, worthy to compare with the greatest names of classical times (see esp. *Ep.* 33). The literary interest was to Jerome, then as at all times, more than the dogmatic; he felt himself thoroughly mastered by the genius and learning of the great Alexandrine; and his praise, like his subsequent blame, was without reason or moderation. He spoke with entire commendation not only of his commentaries, but of that section of his writings called the Τόμοι, or Chapters, which included the book περὶ Ἀρχῶν (which may be translated either on first Principles or on the Powers), on which the chief controversy afterwards turned. "In this work," he says (Pref. to trans. of Origen on *Jerem.* vol. v. col. 611), "he gave all the sails of his genius to the free breath of the winds, and receding from the shore, went forth into the open sea." But it was not the peculiarities of his dogmatic system, but the

boldness of his genius that struck the mind of Jerome. From the first he shewed a certain independence; he differs from Origen in the first of his writings which is derived from him (*Ep.* xviii. *de Seraphim et Calculo*), when he rejects Origen's interpretation of the seraphim as the second and third persons of the Trinity. Nor did he ever give his adherence to Origen's peculiar system. He quoted without blame in his commentaries even such statements as that about the possible restoration of Satan; but he never gave his personal assent to them. And even when, afterwards, he became a violent opponent of Origenism, he shewed himself capable of discrimination. Not only did he continue to use Origen's commentaries, but in some points of doctrine he commended his exposition. At the very height of the controversy he refers Paulinus (*Ep.* lxxxv.) to the περὶ Ἀρχῶν. His deliberate judgment may best be seen in his letter to Tranquillinus (lxii.), in which he says it is impossible to be wholly his friend or wholly his enemy, and finally bids his friend "to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" and in that to Avitus (cxxiv.), which contains a lucid exposition of the impugned parts of the περὶ Ἀρχῶν, adding the warning that those who go into such questions must expect to reach the kingdom of heaven "calciatis pedibus" (*ad fin.*). It must be allowed, however, that Jerome, with his vehement language, appears in the earlier times as a violent partisan of Origen, and in the later as an equally violent opponent. It must also be allowed that the change has the appearance of being the result, not so much of a great conviction, as of a fear of the suspicion of heresy.

John, Bishop of Jerusalem.—The dispute arose in Origen's own city of Alexandria. A large party of the clergy, and of the monks of Nitria, had a strong bias towards the anti-materialist views of Origen, while the Athanasian party, allied with Rome, tended to bare realism and anthropomorphism. Among the former John (the bishop of Jerusalem) had lived as a monk, while Epiphanius of Cyprus had been connected with Antony and Pachomius, whose influence coincided with the latter of these tendencies. Both Jerome and Rufinus had been, in their ascetic pursuits, allied to the Origenistic party; Rufinus had even shared with them the persecution which the orthodox had endured from the Arian Valens (Ruf. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 3), while Jerome had at a later time (386) sat at the feet of the Origenistic teacher Didymus. Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria, had been originally of the same tendency, but eventually became its violent opponent, and attempted to uproot it by persecution, not only at Alexandria but at Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. During the first year of Jerome's stay at Bethlehem, he was on good terms with both John the bishop and Rufinus, who had been established, with Melania, on the Mount of Olives since 377. John, who was made bishop in succession to Cyril, a few months before the arrival of Jerome and Paula in 386, was on familiar terms with Rufinus whom he ordained, and there is no sign that he was otherwise disposed towards Jerome. Jerome certainly still enjoyed for several years the friendship of Rufinus (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 33); and Rufinus entered into Jerome's literary pursuits, and was in communication with the monasteries of Bethlehem; nor is there any sign of a breach between them unless it be found in the fact that Jerome who (A.D. 381) had spoken of Rufinus in his Chronicle as known to the world in the year 380, as "insignis monachus," did not include him in his catalogue of church writers (A.D. 392). The origin of troubles was the visit to Jerusalem of a certain Aterbius, a vehement anti-Origenist, of whom nothing more is known (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 33). He scattered accusations of Origenistic heresy among the foremost persons at Jerusalem, and joining Jerome with Rufinus on account of their friendship, charged them both with heresy. Jerome did not scruple to make a confession of his faith, which satisfied this self-appointed inquisitor; but Rufinus refused to see him, and with threats bade him begone. This seems to have been in 393. In the next year Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, who in his book on the heresies had formally included the doctrines of Origen, visited Jerusalem, and on his visit the strife broke out. [JOANNES OF JERUSALEM.] Jerome recounts in a long letter to Pammachius, written four or five years later (*Cont. Joan. Jerus.*), the scenes in the Church of the Resurrection, in which Epiphanius's pointed sermon against Origenism was taken as reflecting so directly upon John that the bishop sent his archdeacon to remonstrate and to stop him; and John on his side, after he had delivered a long sermon against Anthropomorphism, was requested by Epiphanius amidst the ironical applause of the people, to condemn Origenism with the same earnestness; and again, Epiphanius on the breaking up of the assembly came to the monastery at Bethlehem declaring that John was a heretic, and, after a further attempt the same evening to elicit some anti-Origenistic confession from the bishop, finally left his house where he had been entertained, and came out at night to Bethlehem to take up his abode in the monastery. After these scenes, Epiphanius, convinced that John was on the very verge of heresy, advised Jerome and his friends to separate themselves from their bishop; and, that they should not be deprived of the ministrations of the church, provided for them by the ordination of Jerome's brother Paulinian. Paulinian was then somewhat under thirty years old, which was considered the proper age; and he did not wish to be ordained; but Epiphanius, taking him to the monastery of Ad, which he had founded in the diocese of Eleutheropolis, ordained him against his will, even using force to overcome his opposition (*Ep.* li. 1). Epiphanius, indeed, wrote a letter to John (in Jerome's letters, 51) to explain and defend his action; but this letter was the cause of further mischief. Its tone was not such as to produce reconciliation, since, though kind in its expressions, it seemed to imply that John was at least in some danger of heresy. And Jerome's dealings with it unintentionally increased the evil. He translated it for the benefit of his friend Eusebius of Cremona, who was then staying at Bethlehem, and the translation one day disappeared. Jerome believed that this was done by some one in the pay of Rufinus, and declared (*Apol.* iii. 4, *Ep.* lvii.) that Rufinus had justified the fraud. But it is not necessary to believe that such things were done in bad faith, since Jerome says that friends and enemies alike made

public whatever he wrote (*Ep.* xlix. 2). The distinction between private letters and those intended for publication was far slighter than with us (see *Cont. Ruf.* iii. 38). Rufinus, who had been closely associated with John throughout the visit of Epiphanius, and had received a warning in the letter of Epiphanius (*Ep.* li. 6), appears, on the same authority, to have circulated the letter at Jerusalem with adverse comments (*Ep.* lvii.), and thence to have sent it to Rome. Jerome defended his translation, which had been impugned as wrong and disingenuous, and in his letter (57) to Pammachius "on the best method of translating," gave an explanation of his method which is of great importance in estimating his translation of Scripture. He confesses that he had translated Epiphanius's letter somewhat loosely, but upholds the method which gives the actual sense rather than that of a servile literalism; and he gives as an example of his method the words in the letter:—*Ἔδει ἡμᾶς, ἀγαπητὲ, μὴ τῇ οἰήσει τῶν κλήρων φέρεσθαι*, which he had translated, "Oportebat nos, dilectissime, clericatus honore non abuti in superbiam." When we find that a serious accusation was made to rest on so slight a ground, we may rightly be sceptical in receiving the charges of mistranslation and falsification which were afterwards levelled against each other by Jerome and Rufinus.

John now appealed against Jerome and his friends as schismatics, to Alexandria and to Rome, and Theophilus of Alexandria at once took his side. He is said by Palladius (*Vit. Chrys.* c. 16) to have written to Siricius of Rome complaining of Epiphanius as an Anthropomorphite. He certainly sent his trusted and confidential emissary, Isidore, whom he afterwards treated as his bitterest enemy, to attempt to heal the dispute. But the mission was without effect. It appears that Jerome had been in communication with Theophilus (*Ep.* lxiii. 1), and, though Theophilus did not reply (*ibid.*), he was probably already meditating the change which made him within a few years the implacable enemy of Origenism. At all events, Isidore had no credentials to shew at Jerusalem; and a letter which he wrote to John, which shewed that he was coming as a mere partisan to take his side, was brought by mistake to Vincentius, Jerome's friend, and kept by him (*Cont. Jo. Jer.* 37). Jerome, therefore, while receiving Isidore with all civility, disregarded his authority, and the dispute or schism continued for about four years. Rufinus, indeed, being about to return to Italy in the company of Melania, made peace with his old friend before starting. We may take this to have been a sincere reconciliation, though it did not stand the test of later misunderstanding. As a pledge of their friendship they received the sacrament together in the Church of the Resurrection, and Jerome accompanied his friend some distance on his journey (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 33). But there was as yet no sign of agreement between Jerome and the bishop of Jerusalem. The count Archelaus, then the governor of Palestine, attempted to heal the discord, and asked them to an interview; but though Jerome and a large number of monks assembled on the appointed day, John declared himself unable to come (*Cont. J. Jerus.* 39). The alienation reached such a point that John forbad the monks of Bethlehem all access to the holy places, and even refused baptism to their catechumens and burial to their dead (*Cont. J. J.* 43). Jerome records that at the Easter of 398 as many as forty persons who had been prepared for baptism by his monks had to go to Diospolis to receive that Sacrament (*Cont. J. J.* 42). He also declares that John had threatened with excommunication any one who should say that the ordination of Paulinian was valid. He also affirms that John sought, by inciting against him the prefect Rufinus (potentissimam illam feram totius orbis cervicibus imminentem) to procure the banishment of Jerome (*Cont. J. J.* 43, *Ep.* lxxxii. 10). Yet there was no complete excommunication. Jerome states plainly that presbyters of the diocese of Jerusalem still came to the monastery, and that through them he still communicated with the bishop (*Ep.* lxxxii. 11, *ad Theoph.*); and this was very nearly at the close of the dispute, which passed away as suddenly as it arose. Theophilus, who had now undergone his great change, opened communication with Jerome, of which Jerome gladly availed himself, excusing himself for having received one Paulus, who had been expelled from his bishopric by Theophilus (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 17), and feeling himself able to stand his ground against John, whom he still speaks of somewhat angrily (*Ep.* 82). Theophilus put an end to the dispute, wishing, no doubt, to have the aid of Jerome in his anti-Origenistic campaign. The letter of Jerome against John of Jerusalem was abruptly broken off, and appears never to have been published; it was certainly unknown to Rufinus when, some years later, he wrote against Jerome. Paulinian, who had gone to Epiphanius in Cyprus (*Cont. J. J.* 44), returned to Bethlehem; and from this time forward there was peace. Soon after (*Ep.* lxxxvi.) we find Jerome commending a pastoral of Theophilus, and even interceding with him for his bishop, who, by receiving one expelled by Theophilus, had incurred some of that wrath which fell so heavily on Chrysostom. Jerome was from this time the minister of Theophilus in his communication with the West in the war against Origen. The series of letters (86 to 96) shew the progress of the movement. Jerome writes to encourage Theophilus; Theophilus writes to inform him that he has condemned the heresy. Jerome translates the pastoral letters of Theophilus to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus, and their replies, which affirm his condemnation of Origen; and the series closes with the letter of the new pope. Anastasius, who had been brought by Jerome's friends to condemn Origenism, to Simplicianus, the bishop of Milan, in which he states that he has been led to take this course by the passages of Origen pointed out to him by Jerome's friend Eusebius of Cremona. Later on we find Jerome so completely one with Theophilus as to allow himself to translate the diatribe of that prelate against Chrysostom (see *Ep.* 113, 114, and the fragments of Theophilus's letter in Facundus Hermianensis, lib. vi. c. 5, Migne's Patr. lxvii. 676). So completely did he give himself into the hands of the anti-Origenistic party.

Rufinus.—Meanwhile another controversy was being prepared, the parties to which were never reconciled. Rufinus, when he arrived in Rome with Melania in 397, found the interest in Origenism at its height. The pope Siricius, who had been elected when Jerome left Rome, was

not disposed to condemn Origen. Jerome even complains that he had been cajoled by some of the Origenistic party (*Ep.* 127), and men's minds were in uncertainty. Their ignorance on the subject was so great that Anastasius, who succeeded Siricius, even though he was induced to condemn Origen, yet plainly admitted in his letter to John of Jerusalem (Jerome, ii. 677, Vallarsi's Rufinus, [Migne's Patr. xxi.] 408) that he knew neither who he was nor what he had written. The more serious minds, therefore, welcomed gladly any one who from his knowledge of Greek could enlighten them as to this great but mysterious personage, who was in all men's mouths, but whom no one knew. Rufinus was asked by a pious man named Macarius to give an exposition of Origen's tenets, and to satisfy this requirement he made the translation of the περὶ Ἀρχῶν, which is now published in Origen's works, and is the only extant version. This translation was from the moment of its publication, and even before its publication, the subject of dispute. Rufinus declared that Jerome's friend, Eusebius of Cremona, with whom he was then on terms of familiarity, surreptitiously gained possession of a copy of it, and subjected it to unfavourable criticism (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 4). Jerome's friends, on the other hand complained that Rufinus had given a version of his author which was falsely favourable to him. He himself declares that he had only used the just freedom of a critic and translator in omitting passages which had been interpolated by heretics, with a view to make Origen speak their views, and in translating Eastern thoughts into Western idioms. Jerome could not rightly complain of a freedom of translation; he had himself used similar methods, and had even commended Ambrose's translation of the Hexaemeron, as having been so put together that he appeared rather to have followed the opinions of Hippolytus and of Basil (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 7). But the real complaint against Rufinus rested on personal grounds. He had prefixed to his translation a preface, in which he had called to mind that a great teacher had already translated many of Origen's works, and had praised him highly, and thus he seemed to associate Jerome with his work, and to shield himself under his authority. Jerome and his friends, being extremely sensitive of the least reproach of heresy, and having already taken a strong part against Origen, trembled for his reputation. Rufinus's preface was sent to him by Pammachius and Oceanus, with the request (*Ep.* lxxxii.) that he would point out the truth, and would translate the περὶ Ἀρχῶν as Origen had written it. Jerome yielded to their request, and accompanied his new translation with a long letter (84) to his two friends. This letter, though making too little of his former admiration for Origen, yet in the main states the case fairly, and without any asperity towards Rufinus. And the same may be said of his letter (81) to Rufinus himself, possibly in answer to one written to him by Rufinus (diu te Romae moratum sermo proprius indicavit), which speaks of their reconciliation, and remonstrates, as a friend with a friend, against the mention Rufinus had made of him. "There are not many," he says in conclusion, "who can be pleased with feigned praise" (fictis laudibus). This letter, unfortunately, did not reach Rufinus. He had gone to Aquileia with the ordinary commendation (literae formatae) from the pope. Siricius had died; his successor, Anastasius, was in the hands of Pammachius and Marcella (*Ep.* 127), who were moving him to condemn Origen. Anastasius, though entirely ignorant on the whole subject, was struck with the passages shewn to him by Eusebius in Jerome's translation of the περὶ Ἀρχῶν, which had been given him by Marcella (Ruf. *Apol. II.*), and proceeded to a condemnation of Origen. He also was persuaded to write to Rufinus [Rufinus (Migne's Patrologia, xxi.) 403], demanding that he should come to Rome and make a confession of his faith; and to John of Jerusalem, expressing his fear as to Rufinus's intentions and his faith (see the letter in Jerome's works, ii. 677, Rufinus, 408). Jerome's friends went further They kept the letter he had written to Rufinus in their own hands, so that he was prevented from learning Jerome's actual dispositions towards him. He only knew that Jerome's friends were in some way involving him in the condemnation which they had procured against Origen, and which the emperors themselves had now ratified (Anastasius to John, as above). To Anastasius therefore he replied in a short letter, in which he excuses himself from coming to Rome, but gives an explicit declaration of his faith. But from Jerome his mind was wholly alienated. He met Eusebius of Cremona at Milan, in the presence of the new bishop, Venerius, whom, as the successor of Simplicianus, the pope had requested to coincide in the condemnation of Origen; and when Eusebius read to the bishop the passages condemned in Jerome's version of the περὶ Ἀρχῶν, which he had received from Marcella, he exclaimed, and closed his ears against the misrepresentation and the judgment founded upon it. (Compare the scene in Ruf. *Apol.* i. 19, with the statement in Jer *Apol.* iii.) His friend, Apronianus, at Rome having sent him the letter of Jerome to Pammachius and Oceanus, he replied in the document which is called his *Apology*, in which all his bitter feelings against his former friend broke out. He did not scruple to use against him the facts known to him through their former intimacy, such as the vows made in consequence of his anti-Ciceronian dream, which he declared Jerome to have broken, and he allowed himself to join in the narrow and carping spirit in which Jerome's enemies spoke against his translation of the Scriptures. This document was privately circulated among Rufinus's friends at Rome. It became partly known to Pammachius and Marcella, who, not being able to obtain a copy, sent him the description they had gathered of its contents, with such quotations as they could procure. Jerome at once composed the two first books of his *Apology* in the form of a letter to his Roman friends. The tone of this work is that of one not quite willing to break through an old and reconciled friendship, but strong in its language, and at times contemptuous. Its chief value consists in the numerous personal details which it contains. In the first book Jerome defends himself against the charge of having adopted those tenets of Origen which had now been condemned throughout the world, and also against the charge of having returned to the study of the classics after swearing to give them up. He declares that even in such passages as that in his Commentary on Eph. iv. 16 (vol.

v. 620), where he gives as an instance of the restitution which may be expected, "Ut angelus refuga id incipiat esse quod creatus est," he did not intend to adopt Origen's views as his own; and that, when he quoted the classics, it was entirely from memory. Yet he gives no denial to Rufinus's assertion that he taught the classics to boys at Bethlehem. In the second book he criticizes Rufinus's mode of expression, and also his confession of faith made to Anastasius; he deals with the supposed falsifications of Origen, which he believes to have occurred not by the insertion of spurious passages by heretics, but by the omission of genuine passages by Rufinus; and he rebuts the charge of having falsified the text of Scripture by reference to the prefaces prefixed to his translations. A letter which was said to have been circulated in Africa in his name, stating that he repented of his faults in mistranslating the Scriptures from the Hebrew, he declares to be spurious, and insinuates that it was written by Rufinus himself.

The *Apology* of Jerome was brought to Rufinus at Aquileia by a merchant who was returning in two days. Rufinus answered in a letter which was meant for Jerome's eyes alone, and has not come down to us, except from the notice of it in Jerome's reply. It was sharp and bitter, and declared that he was able to produce facts which if known to the world would blast Jerome's character for ever; but it ended with a hope that Jerome desired peace. Chromatius at the same time wrote to Jerome, desiring that he would not continue the controversy (Jer. *Apol.* iii. 2). But Jerome was now thoroughly estranged. He had before seen only extracts from Rufinus's *Apology*. Now Rufinus himself sent him a true copy of it, and it stung him to the quick. He also treated as a threat Rufinus's declaration that he could produce facts against him which would destroy him. He sat down at once to reply. It was a matter of life and death to him, he said, and he could not keep silence. This third book of the *Apology* bears the traces of his haste and anger. It is written without any plan, and goes over the same ground as the former books. He declares that the copy of the περὶ Ἀρχῶν on which he had commented so severely, was not stolen and falsified by his friends, but the genuine work of Rufinus. He defends himself against the charge of perfidy in having feigned to be reconciled to Rufinus at Jerusalem. He dares Rufinus to bring out before the world the crimes which he pretended that Jerome had confessed to him in the privacy of friendship. At times he rises to a higher tone (c. 9). "We are both of us growing old. Why should we scandalize the churches by our strife? Let us confess that we were both of us wrong in our youthful ardour for Origen, and let us now agree in condemning him." But he soon returns to insinuations and retorts of the ordinary controversial kind, such as preclude all hope of reconciliation. The result was a final rupture. Rufinus made no reply, acting probably on the advice of Chromatius. Augustine, to whom Jerome sent the book, writes (Jerome, *Ep.* cx. 6) with the utmost sorrow at the scandal which it excited; he declares that he was struck to the ground with the thought that "persons so dear and so familiar, united by a chain of friendship which had been known to all the church," should now, in the face of the whole world, be tearing each other to pieces. The letter which Jerome supposed to have been circulated in Africa he had never heard of. And he writes in the tone of one who has an equal esteem for both the combatants, and only desires that they should be at peace. But peace never came. We have no further mention of Jerome, indeed, in the writings of Rufinus. But Jerome's ill-feeling endured to the grave, and beyond the grave. He never ceased to speak of his former friend with passionate condemnation and contempt. When Rufinus died in Sicily in 410 he alludes to the event in these words: "The scorpion lies underground between Enceladus and Porphyrion, and the hydra of many heads has at last ceased to hiss against me" (Pref. to *Comm. on Ezekiel*). Even in later years the spirit of Rufinus haunted him. He sees it revived in Pelagius (Pref. to *Comm. on Jeremiah*, bk. i.), and even in his letters of edification he cannot refrain from bitter remarks on his memory (*Ep.* cxxv. 18, cxxxiii. 3).

Vigilantius.—A fourth controversy in which Jerome was involved was that with Vigilantius (*Cont. Vig.* liber unus), a Spanish monk, into whom, as Jerome says, the soul of his former opponent, Jovinian, had passed—a controversy which was further embittered by mutual accusations of Origenism, and in which Jerome's violence and contemptuousness passes all bounds. Vigilantius had stayed at the monastery at Bethlehem in 396, having been introduced to Jerome by Paulinus. He is accused by Jerome of having abused his friendship by taking away manuscripts from Bethlehem (perhaps to Rufinus at the Mount of Olives), and then of spreading at Rome reports of Jerome's Origenistic tendencies (*Ad. Vig. Ep.* lxi.). He was afterwards, Jerome believed, instigated by Rufinus to write against him (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 19). In the letter written to Vigilantius in 396, Jerome explains in an abrupt manner their relations, and makes insinuations against Vigilantius of blasphemous interpretations of Scripture derived from Origen. He treats him as nothing short of a vulgar fool, without the least claim to the repute of knowledge or of letters. He applies to him the proverb Ὄνῳ λύρα, and turns his name to Dormitantius, and ends by saying he hopes he may find pardon when, as Origen holds, the devil will find it. Vigilantius is said by Gennadius (*de Scr. Eccl.* 35) to have been an ignorant man, though polished in words. But he was as far in advance of Jerome in his views of the Christian life as he was behind him in literary power. His book, written in 404, was sent to Jerome by Riparius, and Jerome wrote a reply (*Ep.* 109), in which he dismissed the matter with contempt. But afterwards, probably finding that the opinions of Vigilantius were making way, he, at the request of certain presbyters, wrote his treatise against him. It forms a single short book, and was dictated, he states, *unius noctis lucubratione*, his friend Sisinnius, who was to take it, being greatly hurried. Vigilantius maintained that the honour paid to the martyrs' tombs was excessive, that watching in their basilicas was to be deprecated, and that the alleged miracles done there were false; and, further, that the money collected for the "poor saints at Jerusalem" had better be kept at home; and, again

that the hermit life was cowardice; and, lastly, that it would be well that presbyters should be married before ordination. Jerome speaks of these accusations as being in themselves so openly blasphemous as to require neither argument nor the production of testimonies against them, but rather the expression of the writer's indignation. He does not even admit that there is a grain of truth lurking in them. "If you do not honour the tombs of the martyrs," he says, "you assert that they were not wrong in burning the martyrs." He himself believes the miracles, and values the intercession of the saints. He thinks Vigilantius's objection to long vigils and fasts comes from the associations of his former calling, which he states to have been that of an innkeeper. As to the collections for the poor saints, Jerome shews no sense of the tendency of such collections to breed poverty and dishonesty, but thinks the matter fully settled by quoting the words of St. Paul. He admits that the hermit life is cowardice, but he says it is better to run away than to fight with a chance of being beaten. This is certainly the treatise in which Jerome felt most sure that he was in the right, and it is the only one in which he was wholly in the wrong. With this closes our second period of Jerome's stay at Bethlehem, the period of his highest energy, and of his most violent controversies.

Augustine.—We turn gladly from these unworthy outbursts and lack of wisdom to the exchange of letters between Jerome and Augustine, which, though begun with something of controversial asperity, ended in edification and in mutual honour. Though the first part of these letters belongs to the second period, the time in which these two great men acted together in friendly co-operation belongs to that on which we now enter, from 404 to 420. Jerome had begun to hear of Augustine soon after his conversion (386); and Augustine, who was eight years his junior, had a great respect (which, however, did not prevent criticism) for Jerome and his work. Augustine's friend, Alypius, had stayed with Jerome in 393, and Jerome had heard with satisfaction of the great African's zeal for the study of Scripture and his rising fame, and had hoped that he might be his successor in his sacred studies. It seems that a few letters or messages of a courteous kind had passed between them, of which the letter of Jerome introducing Praesidius (103), though placed at a later date, may be taken as a specimen. In the year 394, Augustine, then coadjutor of the bishop of Hippo (whom he succeeded in the following year), having had his attention no doubt called to Jerome's works by Alypius, wrote the letter (among Jerome's, 56) which originated the controversy. It related to the interpretation of the passage in Galatians ii., which records the dispute of St. Paul and St. Peter at Antioch. The letter is written in a grave tone, but perhaps with something of assumption, considering the great position of Jerome. He commends him for translating Greek commentaries into Latin, and wishes that in his translations of the Old Testament he would note very carefully the places in which he diverges from the LXX. He then enters upon the point of controversy. Jerome, in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, had maintained that the dispute between the apostles was merely feigned, that Peter had pretended to act in such a way as to incur Paul's rebuke, in order to set before the church the incongruity and blameableness of a Christian continuing to keep the Mosaic law. This appeared to Augustine to amount to nothing less than to impute to the apostles an acted lie, and he shews what evil consequences would ensue if it were supposed that any teaching of the apostles could be taken as merely feigned, especially (as he says, apparently, in allusion to some of Jerome's writings) if in the passages in which St. Paul praises marriage he could be supposed to be merely doing so in order to please those who were not willing to adopt the true form of Christian self-denial. This letter, the tone of which would in any case have tried the temper of one so sensitive as Jerome, remained without an answer for nine years. It was subjected to accidents which, but for the magnanimity of Augustine and a certain placableness which Jerome hardly shewed in any other case, might have made it the cause of a controversy hardly less bitter than that with Rufinus. It was committed, together with other works of Augustine, on which he desired to have Jerome's opinion, to Profuturus, a presbyter, who being, before he sailed, elected to a bishopric in North Africa, turned back, and soon after died. He neither transmitted the letter to Jerome nor returned it to Augustine; but it was seen by others and copied, so that the attack on Jerome was widely known in the West, while it was entirely unknown to Jerome at Bethlehem. Meanwhile Jerome had replied to a short note of introduction given by Augustine to a friend by another note which, to Augustine's surprise, contained no allusion to the large and important letter of 394. Augustine, discovering that his first letter had not reached Jerome, wrote a second, (among Jerome's, 67) in which, besides asking questions as to Jerome's work on the ecclesiastical writers and on Origen, he enters into the question about St. Peter at Antioch, and asks Jerome to confess his error and, after the manner of Stesichorus, who was struck blind for defaming Helen, to sing a Palinode for the injury he had done to Christian truth. Paulus, to whom the letter was committed, proved untrustworthy. He alleged that he was afraid of the sea, and let the letter be circulated without being transmitted to Jerome. It was seen by a deacon named Sysinnius, bound up with others of Augustine's works, in an island of the Adriatic; and he, coming to Bethlehem some five years afterwards, either brought a copy of the letter or described its contents to Jerome. The letter could hardly fail to arouse the suspicions of Jerome. His friends suggested to him that Augustine was dealing treacherously, and wished to gain glory by attacking a celebrated man, and by seeming, through his silence, to gain an easy victory over him. He made no reply, wishing, as he says, if possible to believe that there had been some error before making any counter-attack. Meanwhile Augustine heard, through pilgrims returning from Palestine, of the state of the facts, and the feelings which had been aroused by them. He wrote a short letter to excuse himself (among Jerome's, 101), pointing out that what he had written was not, as seemed to be supposed, a book for publi-

cation, but a personal letter intended to express to a friend a difference of opinion on the interpretation of Scripture. He begged him to point out, in a similar way, any points of his writings which he might think wrong; and he concluded with an earnest wish that he could have some personal converse with the great teacher of Bethlehem. To this Jerome replies in a letter (102) in which friendship struggles with suspicion and resentment. His unwillingness to take a hostile step had combined with the death of Paula in postponing his reply; even now he hesitates to write till he is assured by Augustine himself that the letter he has received is really from him. He sends some of his works, including those last written, against Rufinus. As to Augustine's works, he says he knows little of them, but he intimates that he might have much to say in criticism of them. He insinuates that Augustine might be seeking honour by attacking him, but warns him by the comparison of the old Entellus in Virgil striking down the young Dares, that if he is to strike he can strike hard. To this Augustine replied in his letter (among Jerome's, 104), introducing the deacon Cyprian—a letter written with demonstrations of profound respect, but in which, after explaining how his first letter had miscarried, he again enters into questions of biblical literature. He commends Jerome's new translations of the New Testament, but begs him not to translate the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and enforces his wish by the story of a parish in Africa being scandalized and almost broken up by its bishop reading the prophet Jonah in Jerome's new version. In this version as then read the word *Ivy* was substituted for *Gourd* in the last chapter. When the bishop read the word "Ivy" the people rose and cried out "Gourd," and the bishop was at length obliged to resort to the received version, lest he should be left without any followers. Augustine recommends Jerome to translate from the LXX, with notes where his version deviates from the received text. Jerome again answers that he has never received Augustine's original letter, but has only seen what purports to be a copy. "Send me," he says, "your letter signed by yourself, or else cease from attacking me. As to your writings, which you put forward so much, I have only read the Soliloquies and the Commentary on the Psalms, and will only say that in this last there are things disagreeing with the best Greek commentaries. Let me beg you in future," he adds, "if you write to me, to take care that I am the first whom your letter reaches." Augustine now at last (in 404) sent by a presbyter, Praesidius, authentic copies of his two original letters (written nine or ten years before), accompanied by a letter, in which he begged that the matter may be treated as between friends, and might not, through the physical and other obstacles which had interposed ten years between his letter and the answer to it, grow into a feud like that of Jerome and Rufinus, which he deeply lamented. On the receipt of this, Jerome at once, though having only three days before Cyprian returned, wrote (*Ep.* 104) a full answer to Augustine's principal letters (in Jerome, 56, 67, 104, 110). He touched on all the points raised; and, on the question of St. Peter at Antioch, appealed to the great Eastern expositors of Scripture to bear him out. Augustine replied in a long letter (in Jerome, 116) on the chief question between them, to which he added many expressions tending to satisfy Jerome as to their personal relations. Jerome appears to have been more than satisfied; perhaps even to have been convinced. The only allusions in his later writings to the subjects of this controversy seem to favour Augustine's view. Augustine wrote two letters to him a few years later on the origin of souls (131), and on the meaning of the words, "He that offends in one point is guilty of all" (132). Jerome's reply (134) is one wholly of friendship. He refers to a request in one of Augustine's former letters (104) for translations from the LXX, by saying that these had been stolen from him. He excuses himself for not entering into the subject of the letter, partly by the troubled times through which he was passing, partly also by saying, "Each of us has his gift; there is nothing in your letters but what I admire; and I wish to be understood as assenting to all you say, for we must be united in order to withstand Pelagianism." On the other hand, Augustine shewed a remarkable deference to Jerome's opinion on the origin of souls, as to which he still hesitated (Jerome, *Ep.* 144) after five years to give a definite answer to his friend Optatus because he had not received an answer from Jerome; and he sent Orosius, probably with reference to this very question, to sit, as Orosius himself says, at the feet of Jerome (Oros. *de Lib. Arb.* 3). The remaining letters shew a constant increase of friendship. Alypius, who had been their first link to one another, is joined with Augustine in Jerome's last letter to him (143); the younger Paula, whom Jerome speaks of as Augustine's granddaughter, and Pinianus and the younger Melania, who were well known to Augustine, were with Jerome at Bethlehem. The two great teachers, though from somewhat different points of view, laboured together in combating Pelagianism; and those who had been to each other for a while almost as heretics stand justly side by side as the canonized doctors of Latin Christianity.

Last Period, 405 *to* 420. *Age and Troubles.*—This last period of Jerome's life, from 405 to 420, during which he enjoyed the friendship of Augustine, was full of external dangers, and towards its close again agitated by controversy. In 405 the Isaurians devastated the north of Palestine, the monasteries of Bethlehem were beset with fugitives, and Jerome and his friends were brought into great straits for the means of living. The winter was extremely cold, and Jerome (like Chrysostom in his Armenian banishment in this very year) was laid low by a severe illness in Lent, 406 (*Ep.* 114), which left him weak for a long time. In the next year the barbarian invasions began to pass on to the centres of the Roman world, and reached successively Greece, Spain, Italy, and Africa, with the intervening countries, including Jerome's native Dalmatia and Pannonia, till they culminated in the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410. In this last calamity, which seemed to be ushering in the end of the world (*Ep.* 123), Pammachius and Marcella died. A new emigration from Italy to the safer countries of Africa and Syria set in, and the more religious among the fugitives flocked to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem (Pref. to

Books iii. and vii. of *Comm. on Ezek.*). Jerome also was not quite unaffected by the evil political influences of the time. He represents himself as watched by enemies, who made it dangerous for him even to express his sense of the miseries of the empire. In his *Commentary on the Monarchies in Daniel* he made some reflections on the low state to which the Roman empire had fallen, and its need of support from the hands of barbarians; and these words were taken as reflecting on Stilicho, the great half-Vandal general, the father-in-law and minister of Honorius, and the real ruler of the empire. Stilicho, whom Jerome afterwards speaks of (*Ep.* cxxiii. 17) as "the half-barbarian traitor who armed the enemy against us with our own resources," appears to have heard of Jerome's expressions in his commentary, and to have taken great offence, and Jerome believed that he was meditating some revenge against him when he was put to death (Dei judicio, Pref. to b. xi. of *Comm. on Isaiah*) by order of his imperial relative.

Amidst these troubles the last decade of Jerome's life began. In the year following the sack of Rome Palestine itself suffered from an incursion of barbarians, and other heathen tribes, from which Jerome barely escaped (*Ep.* cxxvi. 2). He was very poor (Pref. to *Comm. in Ezek.* B. viii.), but made no complaint of this. His best friends had passed away. Paula had died in 403, Pammachius and Marcella in 410 (Pref. to *Comm. in Ezek.* b. i.). Of his Roman friends, Oceanus, Principia, and the younger Fabiola, alone remained (*Ep.* 120, 127), Eustochium had very possibly (as Thierry supposes) less authority than her mother in the management of the convent, and this left room for irregularities like those related in Jerome's letter (147) to Sabinianus (*q. v.*). Eustochium herself also died in 418) (Pref. to *Comm. on Jerem.* b. i.). Jerome's days were taken up by the business of the monastery and the hospice (Pref. to *Comm. in Ezek.* b. viii.), and could only dictate his commentaries at night; he was even glad when the winter came, and gave him longer nights for this purpose (*ibid.*). But he was growing weak with age, and had frequent illnesses, and his eyesight, which had originally failed nearly forty years before (Constantinople, 380), was so weak that he could hardly decipher the Hebrew letters at night (*ibid.*). Controversy also arose again with Pelagius (Pref. to *Comm. in Jerem.* b. i., ii., iii., iv.), and his relations with the bishop of Jerusalem can hardly have been smooth (*Ep.* 137). On the other hand, his brother Paulinian was still with him; the younger Paula, daughter of Toxotius and Laeta (*Ep.* 107, 134), survived him, and took the place of her aunt Eustochium in the management of the monasteries. Albina, and the younger Melania, with her husband Pinianus (*Ep.* 144), came to live with him; he had kindly relations with persons in many countries; and the only leading man of the Western church was his friend. Amidst all discouragements, he continued his Biblical studies and writings with no sign of weakness to the end.

Pelagianism.—The Pelagian controversy was forced upon his notice. As in the case of Origenism, he had not of himself antecedently formed any strong opinion on the points of the controversy; and, as in that case also, he had been connected in early life with some of the leading supporters of Pelagius (Pref. to *Comm. on Jerem.* b. iv.). But he was so well known that no great question could arise in the church which did not cause an appeal to him, and his correspondence necessarily embraced the subject of Pelagianism (*Ep.* 133, 138). Orosius, also, the friend of Augustine, came to reside at Bethlehem in 414, full of the council of Carthage, and of the thoughts and doings of his teacher; and when in 415 Pelagius himself, with Caelestius, came to Palestine, Jerome was in the very centre of the controversy. A synod was held under John of Jerusalem (*q. v.*) in July 415, which led to no result; and at another synod at Diospolis in the next year Pelagius was acquitted, partly, it was believed, from the Eastern bishops not being able to see their way in matters of Western theology, and in judging of Latin expressions. But the mind of the church generally was against him, and Jerome was called upon to give expression to this general sentiment. Ctesiphon from Rome wrote to him directly on the subject, and drew from him a long reply (*Ep.* 133). Augustine addressed to him two letters on points bearing upon the subject (131, 132), and in his letter on the origin of souls insinuated that Jerome's creationism might identify him with Pelagius' denial of the transmission of Adam's sin (*Ep.* cxxx. 6). Pelagius in his writings sometimes quoted Jerome as agreeing with him (Pref. to *Comm. on Jerem.* b. i.), sometimes attacked passages in his commentaries (*id.* b. iv.), and depreciated his translation of the Scriptures (Pref. to *Dial. against Pelag.*). Orosius also, who withstood Pelagius in the synod of Jerulem, but with little success, appealed in his book (*De Libero Arbitrio contra Pelagium*) to Jerome as a champion of the faith. Thus it became a matter of personal as well as of general interest to Jerome that the new heresy should be suppressed. He wrote, therefore, the dialogue against the Pelagians, an amplification of his letter to Ctesiphon, in which Atticus (the Augustinian) and Critobulus (the Pelagian) maintain the argument. The Dialogue is divided into three books. It turns upon the question whether a man can be without sin if he so wills. Its tone is much milder than that of Jerome's other controversial writings, with the single exception of the other dialogue (against the Luciferians), which stands first, as this stands last, of his longer treatises. But still he is dealing with a heretic, and heresy is under the ban of the church and of heaven. This terrible doom contrasts somewhat sharply with the balanced argument, in which it cannot fail to appear that Jerome is not like Augustine, a thorough-going predestinarian, but a "synergist," maintaining the coexistence of free will, and that he reduces predestination to God's foreknowledge of human determination (see the *Dialogue*, especially i. 5, ii. 6, iii. 18). Nevertheless, the partisans of Pelagius were irritated by this work, and pushed to bitterness and violence. The monasteries of Bethlehem were attacked by a crowd of Pelagian monks, some of their inmates were slaughtered, the buildings were partly thrown down and partly burned, and Jerome himself only escaped by taking refuge in a tower which was stronger than the rest. This violence, however, was their last effort. A strong letter from the pope Innocentius (137) to

John of Jerusalem (who died soon after, 418) admonished him that he would be held accountable for any future violence, and Jerome received at the same time a letter (136) from the pope assuring him of protection. Jerome's letters to Riparius (138), to Apronius (139), and to Augustine (141, 143), speak of the cause of Augustine as triumphant, and of Pelagius, who is compared to Catiline, leaving Palestine, though Jerusalem is still held by some powerful adversary, who is compared to Nebuchadnezzar (*Ep.* 144). It must, however, be admitted that in the East there was no strong feeling against Pelagius. Indeed his cause was upheld by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who in a work, of which parts have come down to us (see these in Jerome, vol. ii. pp. 807–814), argues against Augustine and Jerome (whom he designates by the name of Aram), as "those who say that men sin by nature and not by will." In the West also a work was written in reply to him by Anianus, a deacon of Celeda, of which a copy was sent to Jerome (*Ep.* cxliii. 2) by Eusebius of Cremona, but to which he was never able to reply.

Letters.—The letters of this last period of Jerome's life are mostly letters of counsel in reply to those who asked his advice. Among these may be mentioned the letter to a mother and daughter (117) living in Gaul, which is an attempt to reconcile the members of a family who were estranged from one another; the letter (118) to Julianus in Pannonia to comfort him for his losses, and exhort him to a strenuous life of self-sacrifice; the letter to Rusticus (122), whose wife was with Jerome at Jerusalem; the letter to another Rusticus (125), giving practical advice as to a monastic life; to Ageruchia (123), exhorting her to persevere in her estate as a widow, and giving as deterrents from a second marriage some touches of Roman manners, and a remarkable account of the sack of Rome, and to the virgin Demetrias (130), who had escaped from the burning of Rome, and had fallen into the hands of the count Heraclian in Africa; to Marcellinus and Anapsychias (128) of Augustine's diocese, introducing them to Fabiola and Oceanus at Rome; to Gaudentius (128) on the education of his daughter Pacatula; to Exsuperantius (145), a soldier whom Jerome persuaded to come to Bethlehem; and the letter, from which a whole romance of monastic life might be constructed, to Sabinianus (147), the lapsed deacon, who had brought disorder into the monasteries. Jerome wrote also the Memoir of Marcella (127), who died from her ill-treatment in the sack of Rome, addressing his letter to her friend Principia; but he was too much dejected, and too infirm, to write the Epitaphium of Eustochium, who died two years before him (418). The other letters of this period relate to scriptural studies; 119, to Minucius and Alexander, two learned presbyters of the diocese of Toulouse, on the interpretation of the words, "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed"; 120, to Hebidia, a lady of a remarkable family, whose father and grandfather were orators, poets and professors, and priests of Apollo Belen at Bayeux, on scriptural questions which she had sent to him; 121, to Algasia, another lady of Gaul; 140, to the presbyter Cyprian, an exposition of Ps. 90; 124, to Avitus, on the περὶ Ἀρχῶν; 129, on the question, "How can Palestine be called the Promised Land?" and 146, to Evangelus an African presbyter, containing the well-known theory of Jerome on the relative positions of bishops, priests, and deacons.

Commentaries on Greater Prophets.—These letters shew us the general scope of Jerome's work and influence in his later years. Of Bible work we have only the Commentaries on the Prophets. The Minor Prophets having been finished in 406, Jerome at once began his commentaries on the Greater Prophets. That on Daniel came first in 407, then that on Isaiah in sixteen books, written in the intervals of business and of illness, and issued at various times in the years 408 to 410; Ezekiel was taken in the years from 410 to 414, and Jeremiah in the following years. This last was cut short at ch. xxxii. by Jerome's last illness. The prefaces to these commentaries are very remarkable documents, and, as will have been observed from the constant references to them already given, are very serviceable for the chronology of Jerome's life. Those on Ezekiel record the sack of Rome, the death of Rufinus (B. i.), the immigration from Rome (B. iii. and vii.), the rise of Pelagianism (B. vi.); and B. ix. of the commentary itself speaks of the invasion of Rome by the count Heraclian. Though the *Comm. on Ezekiel* was finished in the year 415, Jerome was prevented from taking up that upon Jeremiah till after the death of Eustochium (418), and thus his last work was written in the year 419 which intervened between Eustochium's death and his own. Yet not only is the work full of vigour, but the prefaces shew a renewal of the old controversial ardour directed against Pelagius, whom he speaks of as "Scotorum pultibus praegravatus" (b. i. and iii.). This controversy, and the business of the pilgrims (b. iv.), shortened the time which he was able to give to this commentary (b. iii.), which, though he intended it to be short (B. i.), required his excuses in the last preface, that to b. vi., for its growing length.

Death.—It is generally believed that a long sickness preceded the death of Jerome, and that after the year 419 he was unable to work at all; that he was attended in his last illness by the younger Paula and Melania; that he died, according to the *Chronicle* of Prosper of Aquitania, on Sept. 20, 420; and that he was buried by the side of Paula and Eustochium near to the grotto of the Saviour's birth. His body was believed to have been carried at a subsequent period to Rome, and placed in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline. The legends which grew up around his memory, such as that, immortalized by the etching of Albert Dürer, of the lion who constantly attended him, and the miracles supposed to have been wrought at his grave, are innumerable. But since the best known account of them is to be found in letters purporting to have passed between Augustine (made bishop of Hippo 393) and Cyril of Jerusalem, who died in 386, they may be left to the professed collectors of legends. It will be more consonant to the aim of this work to close this article with a summary of his writings, and an attempt shortly to estimate his character as a writer and as a man and his influence on the life of the church.

REVIEW OF JEROME'S WORKS.

List of Writings.—This review may properly begin with a list of Jerome's works now extant. There is in the end of Vallarsi's edition, immediately before the general index, a complete table of contents, which may be usefully consulted. The list now to be given takes first the translations of the Bible, then the commentaries, then the miscellaneous works, and ends with the letters. The date of time and place at which each was composed, and the volume in Vallarsi's edition, is added.

I. BIBLE TRANSLATIONS:—

(1) *From the Hebrew.*—The vulgate of the Old Testament, written at Bethlehem, begun 391, finished 404, vol. ix.

(2) *From the Septuagint.*—The Psalms as used at Rome, written in Rome 383; and the Psalms as used in Gaul, written at Bethlehem about 388. These two are in parallel columns in vol. x. The Gallican Psaltery is collated with the Hebrew, and shews by obeli (-+) the parts which are in the LXX, and not in the Hebrew, and by asterisks (*), the parts which are in the Hebrew and not in the Greek.

The book of Job, forming a part of the translation of the LXX made between 386 and 392 at Bethlehem, the rest of which was lost (*Ep.* 134), vol. x.

(3) *From the Chaldee.*—The books of Tobit and Judith, Bethlehem, 398.

(4) *From the Greek.*—The vulgate version of the New Testament, made at Rome between 382 and 385. The preface is only to the Gospels, but Jerome speaks of, and quotes from, his version of the other parts also (*De Vir. Ill.* 135, *Ep.* 71 and 27).

II. COMMENTARIES:—

(1) *Original.*—Ecclesiastes, vol. iii., Bethlehem, 388; Isaiah, vol. iv. Bethlehem, 410; Jeremiah, i.–xxxii. 41, vol. iv. Bethlehem, 419; Ezekiel, vol. v. Bethlehem, 410–414; Daniel, vol. v. Bethlehem, 407; the Minor Prophets, vol. vi. Bethlehem, at various times between 391 and 406; Matthew, vol. vii. Bethlehem, 387; Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, Philemon, vol. vii. Bethlehem, 388.

(2) *Translated from Origen.*—Homilies on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, vol. v. Bethlehem, date doubtful; on Luke, vol. vii. Bethlehem, 389; Canticles, vol. iii. Rome and Bethlehem, 385–7.

There is also a commentary on Job, and a specimen of one on the Psalms, attributed to Jerome, vol. vii. And the translation of Origen's Homilies on Isaiah, also attributed to him, vol. iv.

III. BOOKS ILLUSTRATIVE OF SCRIPTURE:—

(1) Book of Hebrew Names, or Glossary of Proper Names in the Old Testament; Bethlehem, 388. Vol. iii. 1.

(2) Book of Questions on Genesis, Bethlehem, 388. Vol. iii. 301.

(3) A translation of Eusebius's book on the sites and names of Hebrew places; Bethlehem, 388. Vol. iii. 121.

(4) Translation of Didymus on the Holy Spirit, Rome and Bethlehem, 385–7. Vol. ii. 105.

IV. BOOKS ON CHURCH HISTORY AND CONTROVERSY (all in vol. ii.):—

(1) Book of Illustrious Men, or Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, Bethlehem, 392.

(2) Dialogue with a Luciferian, Antioch, 379.

(3) Lives of the Hermits: Paulus, Desert, 374; Malchus and Hilarion, Bethlehem, 390.

(4) Translation of the rule of Pachomius, Bethlehem, 404.

(5) Books of ascetic controversy, against Helvidius, Rome, 383; against Jovinian, Bethlehem, 393; against Vigilantius, Bethlehem, 406.

(6) Books of personal controversy, against John, bishop of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, 398 or 399; against Rufinus, i. and ii. 402, iii. 404.

(7) Dialogue with a Pelagian, Bethlehem, 416.

V. GENERAL HISTORY:—Translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, with Jerome's additions, vol. viii., Constantinople, 382.

VI. PERSONAL:—The series of letters, vol. i. *Ep.* i. Aquileia, 371; 2–4, Antioch, 374; 5–17, Desert, 474–9; 18, Constantinople, 381; 19–45, Rome, 382–5; 46–148, Bethlehem, 386–418.

The works attributed to Jerome, but not genuine, which are given in Vallarsi's edition, are: A Breviary, Commentary, and preface on the Psalms, vol. vii.; some Greek fragments, and a lexicon of Hebrew names, the names of places in the Acts, the ten names of God, the Benedictions of the Patriarchs, the ten temptations in the Desert, a Commentary on the song of Deborah, Hebrew questions in Kings and Chronicles, an Exposition of Job, vol. iii., three letters in vol. i., and fifty-one in vol. xi., together with several miscellaneous writings in vol. xi., most of which are by Pelagius.

Criticism.—In touching critically upon the character of Jerome's writings, the order of the enumeration given above may be followed.

1. As a translator, Jerome deserves the highest place for his clear conviction of the importance of his task, and the perseverance against great obstacles which he displayed. This is shewn especially in his prefaces, which are of great value as shewing his system. For the most part he took very great pains, but not with all alike. The Chronicles, for instance, he went over word by word with his Hebrew teacher; Tobit he translated in a single day. His method was, first, never to swerve needlessly from the original; second, to avoid solecisms; third, at all risks, even that of introducing solecisms, to give the true sense. These principles are not always consistently carried through. There is sometimes undue laxity, which is defended in the treatise *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi;* sometimes there is an unnecessary literalism, which arises from a notion that some hidden sense lies behind the words, but really deprives the words of sense. His versions were during his lifetime both highly prized and greatly condemned. His friend Sophronius translated a great part of them into Greek, and they were read in many of the Eastern churches in Jerome's lifetime. After his death his versions gradually won their way to universal acceptance in the West, and were finally, with some alterations (mostly for the worse), stamped with the authority of the Roman church at the council of Trent. [See Vallarsi's Preface to vol. ix., and Zöckler, part II. ii. *Hieronymus als Bibel Uebersetzer.*

2. As an expositor, Jerome lacks originality. His Commentaries are mostly compilations from others; and he gives their views at times without any opinion of his own. This, however, gives these works a special value as the record of the thoughts of distinguished men, such as Origen. His derivations are puerile. His interpretation of prophecy is the merest literal application of it to events in the church. He is often inconsistent, and at times seems to veil his own opinion under that of another. His allusions to the events of his own time as illustrations of Scripture are often of great interest. He wrote in great haste (Pref. to b. ii. of *Comm. on Eph.* and Pref. to b. iii. of *Comm. on Gal.*), and from this reason, as well as from his frequently weak health and weak eyes, and also from his great self-confidence, he trusted to his memory too much. His strength and his weakness may be seen in his correspondence with Augustine. He is strong in all that relates to the necessity of translating from the Hebrew, in verbal criticism, and in the quotation of the Greek commentators, but weak in the more philosophical and historical faculty required for the interpretation of such a passage as Gal. ii., which formed the chief subject of controversy between them.

3. The books on Hebrew names, Questions on Genesis, and the site and names of Hebrew places shew a wide range of interest, and are useful contributions to Biblical knowledge, especially the latter, which is often appealed to in the present day. But even here Jerome was too ready to take in the tales of the Jews rather than to exercise an independent judgment.

In theology, properly so called, he is weak. His first letter to Damasus on the Trinitarian controversies at Antioch, while it shews a clear perception of what the church taught, shews also a shrinking from dogmatic questions and a servile submission to episcopal authority. He accepted without question the damnation of all the heathen. His dealings with Origen shew his weakness; he surrendered his impartial judgment as soon as Origen's works were condemned. In the Pelagian controversy the slight sense shewn by him of the importance of the questions at issue contrast markedly with the deep conviction expressed in the writings of Augustine. In some matters, which had not been dealt with by church authority, he held his own; as in the question of the origin of souls, as to which he is decided as a creationist. He puts aside purgatory and scoffs at millenarianism. His views on the Apocrypha and on the orders of the Christian ministry have become classical.

4. For church history he had some considerable faculty, as is shewn by the dialogue with a Luciferian. His knowledge was great, and his sympathies large, when there was no question of church condemnations. His book *De Viris Illustribus* is especially valuable, and his defence of it against Augustine's criticism shews him a man of wider culture and greater knowledge than his opponent. But the lives of the hermits shew a credulity which would incorporate legend into history. In matters of controversy his ordinary method is to take as absolute truth the decisions of bishops and even the popular feeling in the church, and to use all his powers in enforcing these. His own life and the documents in which its details are imbedded are his best contributions to church history.

5. His knowledge of and sympathy with human history generally was very much like that of the monks of later times. He had much curiosity and considerable knowledge. His translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius shews his interest in history; but it is very uncritical. The mistakes of Eusebius are not corrected but aggravated by the translator; and his own additions shew that his critical faculty was not such as to guard against the admission of considerable errors; and his credulity constantly reveals itself. There is nothing in his writings which shews even the rudiments of a philosophy of history. He knew both the events of his time and facts lying beyond the usual range. He was acquainted, for instance, with the routes to India, and mentions the Brahmans (*Ep.* xxii. lxx. &c.) and Buddha (*Adv. Jov.* i. 42). Events like the fall of Rome made a deep impression upon him; but he deals with these very much as the monks of the Middle Ages dealt with the events of their time. He is a recluse; he has nothing of political sagacity, and no sense of human progress.

6. His letters are the most interesting part of his writings, and will always continue to be read with interest. They are very various; they are vivid in their expression of feeling and graphic in their pictures of life. The letters to Heliodorus (14) on the praise of hermit life; to Eustochium (22) on the preservation of virginity in the mixed life of the Roman church and world; to Asella (45) on his departure from Rome; to Nepotian (52) on the duties of the presbyters and monks of his day; to Marcella from Paula and Eustochium (46), giving the enthusiastic description of monastic life among the holy places of Palestine; to Laeta (107) on the education of a child whose grandfather was a heathen priest, whose parents were Christians, and who was herself to be a nun; to Rusticus (125), giving rules which shew the character of the monastic life in those days; all these are literary gems; and the Epitaphia of Blesilla (39), Fabiola (77), Nepotianus (60), Paula (108), and Marcella (127) form a hagiography of the best and most attractive kind.

Style.—His style is excellent, and he was rightly praised as the Christian Cicero by Erasmus, who contrasts his writings with the monkish and scholastic literature. It is vivid, full of illustrations, with happy turns, such as "lucus a non lucendo," 'Ονῳ λύρα, "fac de necessitate virtutem," "Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est." The scriptural quotations and allusions are often overdone and forced; but there is no unreality or cant in this; and he never loses his dignity except in the case of controversial personalities.

Character.—A few words must be added on Jerome's character and influence. He was vain, and unable to bear rivals; extremely sensitive as to the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and especially by the bishops; passionate and resentful; but at times becoming suddenly placable; scornful and violent in controversy; kind to the weak and the poor; respectful in his dealings with women; entirely without avarice; extraordinarily diligent in work, and nobly tenacious of the main objects

to which he devoted his life. There was, however, something of monkish cowardice in his asceticism, and his influence was not felt by the strong.

Influence.—His influence grew through his life and increased after his death. If we may use a scriptural phrase which has sometimes been applied to such influence, "He lived and reigned for a thousand years." His writings contain the whole spirit of the church of the middle ages, its monasticism, its contrast of sacred things with profane, its credulity and superstition, its subjection to hierarchical authority, its dread of heresy, its passion for pilgrimages. To the society which was thus in a great measure formed by him, his Bible was the greatest boon which could have been given. But he founded no school and had no inspiring power; there was no courage or width of view in his spiritual legacy which could break through the fatal circle of bondage to received authority which was closing round mankind. As Thierry says in the last words of his work on St. Jerome, "There is no continuation of his work; a few more letters of Augustine and Paulinus, and night falls over the West." [W. H. F.]

HIERONYMUS (5), monk and disciple of St. Benedict probably. His life was written cir. 612 by his contemporary Sebastianus, monk and disciple of St. Benedict. It was intended for church lections, and dilates on the pious childhood, youth, and old age of Hieronymus. It has been surmised that this work may be the biography known to have been written, teeming with errors, of the great Jerome; but Sebastian's Hieronymus presents no correspondence with this father to bear out the conjecture. (Petrus Diaconus Cassinensis, *de Vir. Illust. Cassinens.* cap. 4, in Migne, Patr. Lat. clxxiii. 1013, and note by Marus; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 420, xlix.; Ceill. xi. 634.) [C. H.]

HIERONYMUS (6), bishop of Parma, c. 775. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 97.) [A. H. D. A.]

HIERONYMUS (7), bishop of Pavia 778 to 787. For the story of his election see Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xii. 405. [A. H. D. A.]

HIERONYMUS (8), doubtful bishop of Tortona, c. 786. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 672.) [A. H. D. A.]

HIERONYMUS (9), ST., twenty-second bishop of Nevers, succeeding Waldo, or Galdo, and followed by Jonas. Although there is a legend which makes him contemporary with Charles the Bald, he really lived in the reign of Charles the Great. This is shewn by the charters in *Gall. Christ.* xii. Instr. 297–300, from which it appears that the latter monarch restored to the church of Nevers property which had been taken from it in the disturbances of the time, and that Charles the Bald confirmed this restitution. Hieronymus, besides restoring the churches given back to him by Charles, built the oratory of St. Stephen at Salviniacum, as appears from a deed of gift dated in 817, after his death (*Gall. Christ.* xii. Instr. 297). He is said to have died Feb. 5, and was buried in the church of St. Martin, at Nevers. His day of commemoration is given by the older authorities as Oct. 8, but the Bollandists and the more recent martyrologies place it on the 5th. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 167; Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, pp. 39–40, and sub fin. Paris, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 167.) [S. A. B.]

HIEROPHILUS, bishop of Plotinopolis in Eastern Thracia, on the Hebrus, translated to this see from that of Trapezopolis in Phrygia, according to Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. cap. 36. The date does not appear from the passage (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 809, 1185). He is the first known bishop of Trapezopolis, and sat before the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. He is also the first known bishop of Plotinopolis, his only known successor there being Georgius [GEORGIUS (37)]. [J. de S.]

HIEROTHEUS, a writer whose works are quoted by the Pseudo-Dionysius, who styles him his teacher. Two long extracts are preserved in the *De Divinis Nominibus* of the Pseudo-Dionysius (cap. 2, §§ 9, 10; cap. 4, §§ 15–17), and there are incidental references to Hierotheus in other places. In the first extract (cap. 2, § 9 fin.) his *Theological Institutes* (*θεολογικαὶ στοιχειώσεις*) are cited, and in the second his *Amatory Hymns* (*ἐρωτικοὶ ὕμνοι*). The writings of Hierotheus are due most probably to the school of Edessa, and should be dated about the middle or end of the 5th century. In confirmation of this view Dr. Westcott has noted a statement in Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 290, 291) that Stephen Bar-Sudaili, abbat of a monastery at Edessa, published a book under the name of Hierotheus, by the help of which he supported his own mystic doctrines. Assemani informs us that this abbat held the doctrine of final restoration as taught by Origen, and was abused for it by Xenaias and by James of Sarug bishop of Batnae (*Bibl. Or.* i. 303, ii. 30–33; Ceillier, x. 641; Westcott on Dionys. Areop. in *Contemporary Rev.* May, 1867). The mystical views put forward in the works both of Hierotheus and Dionysius easily lend themselves to the support of that theory. According to the statement in Assemani (ii. 291), Bar-Sudaili wrote under the name of Hierotheus in order to prove "finem poenarum aliquando futurum, nec impios in saeculum saeculorum puniendos fore, sed per ignem purgandos; atque ita et malos daemones misericordiam consequuturos esse, et cuncta in divinam naturam transmutanda, juxta illud Pauli, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus." In Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum* (iii. 704–707) will be found other fragments of this writer, translated from some Arabic MSS. Their theology savours much more however of the 4th and 5th centuries than of the first. Hierotheus, according to the legend which makes him the teacher of Dionysius the Areopagite, was born during the reign of Augustus, of a distinguished family at Athens. He was a Platonic philosopher and a member of the council of nine who composed the Areopagite senate. In common with the other members he had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Upon his conversion to Christianity he was appointed by St. Paul to be bishop of Athens. He subsequently left his see in order to preach the gospel to the heathen, and was present with James bishop of Jerusalem and St. Peter at the death-bed of the holy Virgin in St. John's house at Jerusalem (Dionys. *Divin. Nom.*

cap. 3, § 2 in Migne, Patr. Gr. iii. 690, and the explanation of this passage offered in the article DIONYSIUS, Vol. I. p. 846). At that scene, no one but the apostles surpassed Hierotheus in the inspired hymns to which he gave utterance. Thence he went into Spain, where he died after acting as bishop of Segovia. His commemoration was on Oct. 4 (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Bas. *Menol.*; *AA. SS.* Boll. Oct. ii. 325, iv. 775; Halloix, *Vit. Script. Orient. Eccles.* i. 600).

[G. T. S.]

HIERUNTIUS (GERONTIUS), bishop of Camerinum (Camerino) c. A.D. 465. He was present in that year at the council held at Rome by Hilarius. (Mansi, vii. 967, where the reading is Gerontius; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 549; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 233.) [R. S. G.]

HIGBALD (HIGGBALDUS, HYGBALDUS), bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 780–802. For some time Higbald was coadjutor to Cynewulf, and it was only on his death, in A.D. 783, that he became, *de jure*, bishop of Lindisfarne. He was consecrated at a place called Soccabyrig, perhaps Sockburne in Durham, or Sockbridge in Westmoreland. (*S. C.* ed. Thorpe, 95; Flor. Wigorn. 59; Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* 85.)

The chief occurrence in Higbald's episcopate was the devastation of Lindisfarne by the Danes on the 7th of June, A.D. 793. The church was sacked and desecrated, the brethren were slain, drowned, or carried off into captivity. Higbald, with some others, made his escape, and on his return was delighted to find Cuthbert's body untouched, which he had been unable to remove. The onslaught seems to have been sudden and unexpected, and little preparation was made either for escape or resistance. This was the first Danish inroad in the north, and caused the utmost dismay. Soon after the disaster Alcuin, in two interesting letters, expressed his eager sympathy with Higbald and his brethren, bidding them be of good courage, and set an example of faith and endurance. He promised also to ask Charlemagne to assist in the restoration of the captives (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 190–4). In a third epistle he addresses Cudrad, a priest of Lindisfarne, who had been fortunate enough to escape from the destroyers, urging him to adopt a stricter and more ascetic life (*id.* 194–5). Alcuin's sorrow relieved itself also in a long poem, in which he condoles with the brethren of Lindisfarne and their bishop (*Opp.* ed. Froben. 1777, ii. 238–40).

Alcuin was also a correspondent of Higbald's on less painful subjects. He writes to him about a person of the name of Candidus, a common friend, whom he had kept with him for a year, probably to educate (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 146–7). On another occasion (in A.D. 797) he sends him a long letter full of advice, in the course of which he alludes to the death of Egfrid king of Mercia (*id.* 353–8). This is addressed, not to Higbald, but to a bishop of the name of Speratus, about whom Jaffé observes: "Higbaldus idem sonat quod 'spe alacer.'" There is another letter in which both names are conjoined (*id.* 689–90).

[J. R.]

HIGBERT (HYGBERHT), the fourteenth bishop of Lichfield, and the single archbishop of that see (*M. H. B.* 623). He was appointed to the bishopric in the year 779 in succession to Berhthun, and appears in that year as witness to a grant made by Offa to his thegn Dudda, at Hartleford (Kemble, *C. D.* 137), and dated. He no doubt received consecration from archbishop Jaenberht. He was present at the council of Brentford in 781, and attested other charters of that year (Kemble, *C. D.* 141, 142, 143). In 787 he was at the legatine council, in which, probably, the elevation of the see of Lichfield to archiepiscopal rank was discussed and determined on. He signs the acts as still a simple bishop; the pall which Offa had demanded for him had not yet arrived, and the first grant in which he appears as archbishop is one of 788 (K. *C. D.* 152). In this and the following years his attestation is made to follow archbishop Jaenberht's (*ib.* 153, 154, 155, 156, 157). After Jaenberht's death and Ethelheard's appointment, Higberht occasionally takes precedence as the senior archbishop, as, for example, in Offa's grants at Clovesho in 794 to Worcester (*ib.* 164, 167). After the death of Offa, Ethelheard subscribes first, except in a document drawn up at Tamworth in 799, in which Higberht again takes precedence (K. *C. D.* 1020; see also a questionable act of 801, *ib.* 1023). Higberht's history, in connexion with the struggle for the archbishopric, will be found under JAENBERHT, ETHELHEARD, KENULF, and OFFA. Alcuin speaks of him as a pious father, and begged of Ethelheard that he might not, so long as he lived, be stripped of his pall (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 520); but if the Higberht, who, at the council of Clovesho in 803, signed among the Lichfield clergy as abbat, be the ex-archbishop, he was not spared this humiliation (*ib.* 546), and had already seen Aldulf consecrated as a simple suffragan bishop to succeed him. Higberht was then the only archbishop of Lichfield, and did not share the dignity with Aldulf, as William of Malmesbury supposed, and as even the learned Henry Wharton (*Ang. Sac.* i. 430) believed; nor with Humberht, who appears as archbishop in the *Vitae duorum Offanorum*, ed. Wats. p. 26. These writers have caused a vast number of errors to be accepted as authentic history. The truth is well stated by Baron in his notes on Johnson's *Canons*, i. p. 287. [S.]

HIGELRICUS, nineteenth bishop of Le Puy, succeeding Dulcidius and followed by Torpio in the first years of the 8th century. Le Cointe places the commencement of his episcopate in A.D. 705, and believes that he was still surviving in 732, but nothing is known of him. (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 705, xxi.; 732, lxxvii. tom. iv. pp. 442, 816; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 691.)

[S. A. B.]

HIGERIUS, eleventh bishop of Die (*Gall. Ch.* xvi. 511). [R. T. S.]

HILADUS (HELLADIUS, HILARUS), March 12, martyr at Nicomedia with eight others. (Wright, Syriac *Martyrol.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 425.) [G. T. S.]

HILARIA (1), martyr of Augsburg, c. 304, mother of the martyr St. Afra. Aided by three servants, Digna, Eunomia (or Eumenia), and Eutropia (or Euprepia), she rescued her daughter's body and conveyed it by night to the family tomb two miles from the city. The judge Gaius, being apprized of this, sent a body

of soldiers who, according to their orders, seized the party and, on their refusal to sacrifice, shut them up in the tomb and burnt them. They were commemorated Aug. 12. (Usuard; Ado; Tillem. *Mém.* v. 273; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* iii. 30; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 456; Velser. *Conversio et Passio SS. Mart. Afrae, Hilariae,* &c., 1591; Assem. *Mart. Or. et Occid.* ii. 225.) [C. H.]

HILARIA (2)—Dec. 3. Martyr at Rome with her husband Claudius a tribune, their sons Jason and Maurus, and seventy soldiers, under the emperor Numerian. They were all converted by the preaching of the martyr Chrysanthus. [CHRYSANTHUS.] [G. T. S.]

HILARIANUS (1), QUINTUS JULIUS (HILARION), a Latin Chiliast writer, cir. 397, author of two extant treatises, both written at the instance of friends, the first about the time of keeping Easter, the second on the duration of the world. The first treatise, *Expositum de Die Paschae et Mensis,* disappeared for several centuries. Then in the year 1712 Christopher Pfaffius had it printed at Paris in octavo by Jean Baptiste de Lespine, at the end of the epitome of the Divine Institutions of Lactantius. Pfaffius had found the MS. in the library of Turin. He has prefaced it by a dissertation to prove that it was written in A.D. 397, under the consulate of Caesarius and Atticus. Hilarian himself dates his second work in this year, and says that before publishing the first he had got together his materials for the second. At the time when the first was written the controversy seems still to have been lively. Hilarian supports the Latins against the Greeks, in agreement with pope Victor and the council of Nicaea.

The second treatise, *Chronologia sive Libellus de Mundi Duratione,* is founded on a dispute about the beginning of the end of the world. It was first edited by Pierre Pithou at Paris in 1586. The author counts 5530 years from the Creation to the Passion; gives the world 6000; and would therefore end it about A.D. 498. He makes Daniel's weeks extend to the destruction of Jerusalem, and agrees with the Millenarians about the 1000 years of the Apocalypse.

The following is a sketch of his chronology:

From the Creation to the Deluge	2237	years.
" " Deluge " " Call of Abraham	1012	"
" thence " " Exodus	430	"
" " " Samuel	450	"
" " " Zedekiah	514	"
The Captivity lasted	70	"
Thence to the Passion	857	"

He brings his chronology to the consulate of Caesarius and Atticus, in which year he says he revised his treatise. He believes that after the close of the apocalyptic thousand years will come the loosing of Satan, the seducing of the nations Gog and Magog, the descent of fire from heaven upon their armies; then the second resurrection, the judgment, the passing away of the old things, and the bringing in of the new heavens and the new earth; "impii in ambustione aeterna; justi autem cum Deo in vita aeterna" (c. 19). His style is barbarous. La Bigne doubted at first about admitting him into his *Bibliotheca.* The edition and the account given by Migne are taken from Galland, *Biblioth. Patr.* viii. (La Bigne, *Biblioth. Vet. Patr.* 1609, tom. vii.; 1618, tom. v. pt. i.; 1654, tom. vii.; 1677, tom. vii.; Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. col. 1094-1114; Cave, i. 252; Ceillier, vi. 288.) [W. M. S. & J. G.]

HILARIANUS (2), bishop of Hilta, a place in proconsular Africa, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 420, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HILARIANUS (3), bishop of Perga, the metropolis of the second Pamphylia, present at the synod held at Constantinople A.D. 536 under Mennas. (Mansi, viii. 877, 928 where the Latin is Hilarius, 938, 950 where the Latin is Julianus, 977; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1015.) [L. D.]

HILARIANUS (4) (HILARION)—Feb. 12. A boy martyr at Abitina in Africa, with his father Saturninus a priest, and many others. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 382, 390.) [G. T. S.]

HILARINUS (1) (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Adon.), HILARIUS (Usuard.)—July 16. A monk and martyr, under Julian at Ostia. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*) [G. T. S.]

HILARINUS (2), chief physician of Hippo Regius, and either then or at some other time holder of a municipal office (municipalis), commended by Alypius and Augustine to Aurelius (Aug. *Ep.* 41). He was perhaps the same person as the one to whom, as well as to Felix, Augustine wrote concerning Boniface, a presbyter, unjustly accused of misconduct, but there is no evidence to support this identity (Aug. *Ep.* 71). [H. W. P.]

HILARINUS (3), bishop of Trofinianum, an unknown town in the Byzacene, banished by Hunneric 484. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* p. 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 330.) [C. H.]

HILARION, Arian bishop of Jerusalem. [HILARIUS (4).]

HILARION (1), a hermit of Palestine in the 4th century (died 371). Jerome wrote his life in 390, quoting Epiphanius, who was Hilarion's disciple. Jerome certainly considered his Lives of the Hermits as historical (*Vit. Malchi,* i.); but the marvels of the Life of Hilarion have induced some to believe it to be a mere romance (Israel in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1880, p. 128, but see Zöckler's *Jerome,* 179). No attempt is made in this article to separate fact from fiction. The Life of Hilarion in any case shews the ideal on which monasticism was nourished in the 4th century.

Hilarion was born at Thabatha, five miles south of Gaza, about the year 300. His parents were heathen, and they sent him for his education to Alexandria. There he shewed great talents, and proficiency in rhetoric, which at that time comprehended nearly the whole of a liberal education. He was also of a disposition which made him beloved by all. He became a Christian, and, turning from the frivolous pleasures of the circus and the theatre, he spent all his leisure in frequenting the assemblies of the church. Hearing of the monastic retreat of Antony, he became his disciple for a time; but he found that the multitude of people who resorted to the celebrated father of monasticism made life with him a city life rather than one of

retirement. Though as yet but fifteen years old, he determined to become a hermit. He returned to Palestine, where he found his parents dead. He gave away his goods to his brothers and the poor, and went to live in a desert place seven miles from the Christian city of Majoma, near Gaza (which was afterwards called Constantia by Julian, in order to restore to it imperial instead of Christian associations). The boy hermit was clad in a sackcloth shirt, which he never changed till it was worn out, and a cloak of skins which Antony had given him, and a blanket such as was worn by the peasants. His daily sustenance was fifteen carices (a sort of figs), which he never ate till after sundown; and even these he denied himself, so as to curb the flesh, as often as youthful desire came upon him. He cultivated a little plot of ground, and made baskets of rushes, so as not to be idle. His disordered fancy summoned up a thousand temptations of Satan, demons of lust and feasting, terrors of wild beasts, visions of being driven by the devil as a beast is driven by its rider; but he overcame them all by calling on the name of Christ. He dwelt for twelve years in a little cabin made by himself of woven reeds and rushes; after that in a hut only five feet high, which was still shewn when Jerome was in Palestine, and was more like a sepulchre than a house. His austerities and abstinence, instead of diminishing, increased with advancing age. When robbers came to him, they found nothing worth taking; and, when threatened with death, he told them that that was what he most desired.

The fame of his sanctity spread rapidly, to which was added the reputation of a worker of miracles, and exorcist. To a barren woman he promised children, and in a year he saw her with her new-born child. Aristaenete, the wife of Elpidius, afterwards praetorian praefect, obtained through his aid the restoration to life of her three children, who had died of fever. A woman blind from her tenth year received sight through his imitation of our Lord's act in spitting upon her eyes. Incantations practised by those who had familiar spirits were counteracted by his prayers. A girl who had been bound by a love-spell imported from Egypt, was restored, and preserved in virginity. Men of all ranks (whose names and abodes are circumstantially recorded) suffering from hysteric affections, then attributed to demons, were healed. An officer of the Christian town of Majoma, whose duty it was to rear horses for the Circensian games, and who found himself always beaten through a spell laid upon his chariot by the votaries of Marnas, the idol of Gaza, won the race as soon as the saint had poured water upon his chariot wheels. Hilarion anticipated the feeling of Francis of Assisi for dumb animals; he affirmed that they suffered for the sins of men, and cast out from them the devils by which he believed them to be possessed. In his ministry of exorcism he believed himself capable of discovering by the sense of smell the particular demons and particular vices from which men were suffering. He had many disciples, whom he formed into societies, and went on circuits to visit them; and many stories were told of the shrewdness and penetration with which he rebuked their weaknesses.

But the crowds who flocked about him made him feel that he was no longer a hermit; and in his sixty-third year, the year of the death of Antony (which was miraculously made known to him), he resolved to set out on his wanderings. Men crowded round him to the number of 10,000, beseeching him not to depart. There was a cessation of business all through Palestine, the minds of men being wholly occupied with hopes and fears about his departure; but he left them, and, with a few monks as his companions, who seem soon to have fallen off from him, he went his way, never to return to Palestine. He first turned his face towards Babylon, and there became the comforter of the bishops who had been exiled by Constantius; then to Egypt, where he slept in Antony's cell on the anniversary of the saint's departure, and called down rain after a long drought. He desired to be hid, but it was impossible. He fled to the Oasis, where it was revealed to him that the heathen city of Gaza had prevailed on Julian to set a reward upon his head; when suddenly his disciple Hadrian came to him with the news that Julian was dead, and that he could safely return to Palestine. But the motives of Hadrian were wrong; he desired only the glory of bringing back the saint, who, looking upon himself as an outlaw and a fugitive, took ship with but one companion, and sailed for Sicily. There he lay hid for a time; but a demoniac who had sought him out made him known, and his disciple Hesychius, who had searched through the world after him, at last discovered him. Being now made known, he again set forth in search of solitude; but, wherever he went, his miracles betrayed him. A boa constrictor at Epidaurus, in Dalmatia, came forth at his word to a pyre prepared for it, and was consumed. A volcanic inundation of the sea subsided at his command. The people came flocking round him, and he fled by sea. After a miraculous escape from pirates, he at length arrived in Cyprus, the home of his friend Epiphanius. There he found a solitary place, so inaccessible that he was no more beset with visitors; and in this place, which is still called by his name, he lived the last three years of his life, being often in the company of Hesychius and Epiphanius. Amidst all his austerities, he acknowledged the supremacy of charity. Being once pressed by Epiphanius to partake of a fowl which was on the table, he said that, since he had taken the habit of a monk, he had made it a law never to eat of anything which had life. "And I," said Epiphanius, "since I have worn the same habit, have made it a rule never to lie down to sleep without first taking care that I was at peace with all men." "Your rule," said Hilarion, "is better than mine." On his death, his body was buried in the grounds of a lady named Constantia. But Hesychius disinterred it, and carried it to Majoma, in Palestine. Constantia died of grief, but the translation of the relics caused joy throughout Palestine, where the anniversary of the event was observed as a festival. We have thus an Eastern example of that rapacity in the search for relics and the annual observance of their translation, which became afterwards so common in the West. (*Vita S. Hilarionis*, in Jerome's *Works*, vol. ii. 13–40, ed. Vall.; Sozomen, iii. 14; vi. 32; *Vit. Patrum*, lib. v. c. 4, § 15, p. 568, in Migne's Patrologia,

vol. 73. His name occurs in the *Byzantine Calendar*, Oct. 21, as "Our Father Hilarion the Great.") [W. H. F.]

HILARION (2), abbat of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome founded by Gregory the Great in his own house. Gregory was trained in monastic rules in this monastery, first by Hilarion and afterwards by Maximianus. (Joann. Diac. *Vit. Greg. Mag.* lib. i. cap. 6, in Patr. Lat. lxxv. 65 b.) [C. H.]

HILARION (3), a presbyter, who with another named Eustratius proposed certain difficulties either to Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople (806–815), or to Theodorus Studita (ob. 826). Cotelier believed it was the former (*Monum. Eccl. Graec.* t. iii. 453, from the Codex Regius, n. 1770). The latter seems to be proved by the MS. Coislian. of the Royal Library, as well as another seen by Sirmond. Migne follows Sirmond in making the letter the 215th of Theodorus Studita (Patr. Graec. xcix. 1645–1664). Of the questions, seventeen in all, the following are specimens: might they communicate, pray, and eat with presbyters ordained at Rome, Naples, and in Lombardy who were ἀκήρυκτοι and ἀπολελυμένοι? Should they admit presbyters ordained in Sicily, beyond the bounds of their province? Might they enter churches to pray and chant, where the bishops had communicated with heretics? Might they enter cemeteries to pray beside the tombs of the saints, when they were possessed by heretical presbyters? How should they treat monks ordained by heretics? What was to be done with a presbyter ordained by a deposed bishop after his deposition? Could orthodox presbyters and monks impose penance? (Migne, Patr. Graec. xcix. 1645; Ceillier, xii. 287.) [W. M. S.]

HILARIUS (1) (Helarus), bishop of Aquileia, commemorated on March 16. He is said to have been a native of Pannonia, to have acceded A.D. 276, and suffered martyrdom by order of the prefect Beronius under the emperor Numerianus, cir. 283. He was succeeded by Chrysogonus of Byzantium. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. 418; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 27; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* viii. 23.) [R. S. G.]

HILARIUS (2), 6th bishop of Besançon, reported to have been sent by pope Sylvester to that place, which had been visited and richly gifted by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Hilarius built the cathedral, which was dedicated at first to St. Stephen and St. John; afterwards to St. John alone. There is a very doubtful tradition, that Macarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent a pall to Hilarius. But Besançon's metropolitan position was probably settled before that time, the general question having been treated at Nicaea (*Gall. Ch.* xv. 6). [R. T. S.]

HILARIUS (3), second or fifth bishop of Mainz, in the untrustworthy lists of the early bishops of that see. Trithemius (*Vit. S. Maximi Mogunt.* in Surius, Nov. 18) calls him saint and martyr. (*Gall. Ch.* v. 433; Potthast, *Biblioth.* suppl. p. 353; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 288.) [R. T. S.]

HILARIUS (4) (Hilarion), bishop of Jerusalem, intruded by Arian influence after the expulsion of Cyril. The succession at this period is very confused, and the name of Hilarius does not appear in some of the authorities. But he is given by Jerome (*Chron.* sub ann. 352), as well as by Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 45), Sozomen (iii. 13, iv. 30), and Theophanes (p. 39); and Epiphanius distinctly states that, at the time he was writing on the Manichaean heresy (c. 376) Hilarion, a favourer of Arian tenets, was occupying the see (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxvi. 20). (Cf. on this point, Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* vol. viii. "S. Cyrille de Jérus." note iv.) Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* iii. 157, 161 a) places him in 376 or 377; Clinton (*F. R.* i. 413, ii. 536) in 376. [E. V.]

HILARIUS (5), seventeenth bishop of Pavia, 358–376. Ughelli refers to Jerome Bossius, an historian of the bishops of Pavia in the 16th century, as stating that Hilarius held a synod against the Arians. The Bollandists under May 16 give a short account of him (*Acta SS.* Mai, iii. 577; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1078). Ceillier is inclined to identify him with the subject of the next article (Ceill. v. 510). [C. H.]

HILARIUS (6), the author, according to St. Augustine, who calls him "sanctus Hilarius" (Aug. *Cont. Duas Epist. Pelag.* lib. iv. cap. 4, § 7, sub fin.), of *Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Amb. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 54, in Patr. Lat. xvii. 92 c). On the attempts to identify him see Ambrosiaster. [C. H.]

HILARIUS (7) PICTAVIENSIS, ST. (Hilary of Poictiers; ὁ Πικτάβων ἐπίσκοπος, Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 9), a celebrated bishop and theologian of the 4th century. Died in A.D. 368.

Authorities. — 1. His own writings. The amount of information furnished by these is so considerable, that the biography of Hilary prefixed to the Benedictine edition of his works professes to be mainly drawn from this source.

2. St. Jerome, *de Viris Illustribus* (*seu Scriptorum Eccles. Catalogus*), cap. 100. Also *in Esaiam*, cap. lx., *in Psalm.* lviii. (A. V. lix.), in the prooemium in lib. ii. *Comment. ad Galatas.*

3. St. Augustine *de Trinitate*, lib. x. cap. 6, lib. xv. cap. 2.

4. Cassian *de Incarnatione*, lib. vii.

5. St. Gregory of Tours *de Gloriâ Confessorum*, cap. 2.

6. Fortunatus, whose identification is uncertain. [Fortunatus (17) and (18).]

The Benedictine editor and others cite the verses in which Fortunatus, referring to himself as a native of Poitiers, says:—

> "Pictavis residens, quâ Sanctus Hilarius olim
> Natus in urbe fuit, notus in orbe Pater."

7. Cassiodorus, *Institut. Divin.* lib. i. cap. 16.

For editions of the other authorities, see below for Hilary, and the articles Hieronymus, Augustinus, Cassianus.

8. Acts of certain Arian or semi-Arian councils, and certain orthodox ones, of which the records, being for the most part very imperfect, are mainly gathered from the writings of the

ecclesiastical historians Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, with the aid of comments by St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Basil, and fragments of lost works composed by Hilary. These councils are the following:—Council of Arles (*Arelatense*), A.D. 353. [Arian.] Council of Milan (*Mediolanense*), A.D. 355. [Arian.] Council of Béziers, then Biterra (*Biterrense*), A.D. 356. First council of Sirmium, now Szerem in Sclavonia (*Conc. Sirmiense*), A.D. 357; summoned against Photinus. [Its claim to be orthodox is admitted, though not always unreservedly, by many authorities, ancient and modern.] Council of Ancyra, in Galatia (*Conc. Ancyranum*), A.D. 358. [Semi-Arian.] An assembly (*conventus*) at Sirmium in or about A.D. 358. [Semi-Arian.] A council held somewhere in Gaul in A.D. 359. [Orthodox, censuring the transactions at Sirmium.] Council of Rimini (*Ariminense*), also in A.D. 359. [The famous gathering, in which the orthodox were duped into subtle concessions to Arianism, referred to in the well-known sentence of St. Jerome, *Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.*] Council at Nice, in Thrace, during the same year, rescinding whatever good resolutions had been passed at Rimini. Council of Seleucia (*Seleucianum*), also in A.D. 359. [Semi-Arian; but condemns the Aetians, or, as they were often called, Acacians.] Council of Paris (*Parisiense*), in A.D. 360, or, according to some, 362. [Orthodox. Condemns the subterfuges of Rimini, sends to the bishops of the East a letter re-stating the Catholic faith, and deposes the Arian bishop Saturninus from the see of Arles.] Letter of the bishops of Italy to their brethren, the faithful generally, in Illyria, A.D. 366. [Orthodox.] Council of Sigedin (*Singidunense*), in Hungary, A.D. 367. [Arian. An attempt to win over the semi-Arians.] These gatherings are all given in Labbe's *Concilia* (Paris, 1715), tom. i. pp. 697–747.

Life.—Hilary is believed to have been born, as observed above, actually in Poitiers. St. Jerome (*in Galat.*) distinctly asserts this, but some authorities prefer to name more vaguely the *province* of Aquitaine, rather than the *capital*. The apparent lack of any large middle class at this period inclines us to accept it as probable that those not humbly born may have been highly born, and Hilary is always considered to have sprung from an illustrious stock. He enjoyed the benefit of a good education in the Latin classics, and evidently cherished a special fondness for the writings of Quintilian.

About A.D. 350, Hilary being then a married man, but, it would seem, still tolerably young, appears to have renounced the errors of paganism, and to have become a Christian. It is true that his language on this subject, in the first book of his treatise *De Trinitate*, is not absolutely incompatible with the view suggested by the Benedictine editor, Dom Coutant, that he may possibly have been a careless and indifferent Christian, who at this date underwent a process of conversion, in the sense of turning earnestly to God. But it is a far more natural and obvious interpretation of Hilary's account of himself to understand, with the great majority of authorities, that he is describing a real and by no means a hasty change from actual heathenism. He depicts himself as gradually rising in the first place above the attractions to those mere enjoyments of ease and plenty which man has in common with the brutes; then aiming at knowledge of truth and the practice of virtue, in which he included the passive merits of patience, gentleness, and the like graces, as well as the active energies. A life to come, with at least equal or greater happiness, seemed to him the natural sequence of a career of goodness upon earth. But this reward must be the gift of God, a sole and supreme Being; for polytheism was, in his judgment, a system replete with absurdities. The books of Moses and the Psalms gave him abundant help in his desire to know God. But his consciousness of weakness, both of the body and the spirit, made him fear. Here the writings of apostles and evangelists came to his succour, more especially the Gospel of St. John, with its clear and emphatic teaching on the incarnation of the co-eternal Son. That there was a Christian atmosphere of thought around Hilary seems almost certain from the tone of his ethics and theology, while he was yet a heathen. But great as may have been the advantage thence accruing to him, his conversion, like that of many others in the early church—it is enough to name St. Justin Martyr and St. Augustine—was essentially due to the study of Holy Scripture.

After his baptism Hilary became an edifying example of a good Christian layman. He encouraged others also to hold firmly and to carry out in practice the faith which he had himself embraced. In social intercourse he at first literally obeyed that stern rule of severance from Jews and heretics which certain portions of apostolic teaching appeared to him to inculcate (2 St. John 10, 11; Titus iii. 10; 1 Cor. v. 11), but in later life he relaxed this severity, and formed his conduct upon that other part of St. Paul's example of becoming all things to all men that he might save some (1 Cor. ix. 19–23). He must have remained a layman for some few years. His wife's name is unknown, but a daughter, his only child, was called Abra (*al.* Apra *seu* Afra).

About A.D. 353 the see of Poitiers became vacant by the death of its occupant, believed by some to have been Maxentius, a brother of St. Maximin of Treves. As in the case of St. Ambrose and others, the popular voice fixed upon a devout layman as the new bishop, and Hilary was raised *per saltum* to the episcopate. He amply justified the choice. It is asserted in many modern biographies of Hilary that, from the time he became bishop, he lived an ascetic life, and was virtually, though not formally, separated from his wife. For this statement, no particle of direct evidence has been produced. All that can be said is that it is not impossible; that it did become a common practice, on elevation to the episcopate, especially in Egypt, at Rome, and in the East, a generation after the decease of Hilary,[a] but that earlier

[a] St. Jerome's language (*Lib. adv. Vigilantium* and *Lib.* i. *adv. Jovinianum*) is constantly cited, as by Ceillier and Alban Butler. But the repetition of such passages is a proof that no more direct evidence respecting Hilary is adducible. It is singular that these two biographers, and others who simply follow their lead, entirely ignore the statement of the case given by the historian Socrates; a statement made, not like that of Jerome in the course of a fiery controversy, but as part of a calm statement of the varieties of church dis-

examples did occur, and that Hilary may have been one of them.

Two years after his consecration a visit from St. Martin [MARTINUS], which was regarded as a compliment to the orthodoxy and zeal of Hilary, proved a prelude to an active struggle against the Arian party in Gaul, at that time headed by Ursacius, Valens, and Saturninus. Of these three, Saturninus occupies, in the writings of the orthodox, an evil pre-eminence, being represented as immoral, violent, and apt to seek the aid of the civil power against the defenders of the creed of Nicaea. That the spirit of controversy may have darkened the shades of his character is, of course, quite conceivable. But the Arians do seem, both in Gaul and elsewhere, to have taken the initiative in the appeal to the civil power; and the fact that Hilary unites with Sulpicius Severus in censuring Saturninus to a degree not extended to his comrades renders it unlikely that such charges are without foundation. The course, however, pursued by Ursacius and Valens, though less violent, was extremely fitful and uncertain. Their acquittal and subsequent re-condemnation of St. Athanasius, at the council of Milan in 355, naturally alarmed the faithful; and a majority of the bishops of Gaul, led by Hilary, formally separated themselves from the communion of these three. Many even among those who had leant towards Arianism now threw their lot with Hilary. The terms made with such were provisional, the condition being that they should be accepted and approved of by the confessors then suffering exile for the faith.

A council was held at Béziers, in Languedoc, at which Saturninus probably presided. Hilary (with some other orthodox bishops) was present, but declares that he was refused a hearing. The emperor Constantius received from Saturninus an account of this gathering, and at once resolved to banish Hilary to Phrygia, and with him one of his allies, St. Rhodanus, bishop of Toulouse. Hilary believed that the accusation laid against him before the emperor involved a charge of gross impropriety of conduct. As this event occurred soon after the council of Beziers, and before that of Seleucia, its date is assigned to the middle of the year 356.

This exile lasted somewhat more than three years. During this period Hilary enjoyed a good deal of liberty, and had much enforced leisure. The liberty he employed in examining the condition of religion in Asia Minor. His impression was exceedingly unfavourable, especially as regarded its episcopate. His leisure he devoted partly to composition and partly to an attempt to remove misunderstandings, especially between the bishops of the East and those of Gaul; for the Gallicans imagined all in Asia to be sheer Arians, while the Orientals supposed their brethren in Gaul to be lapsing into Sabellianism. Hilary's treatise *De Synodis* belongs to this period, having been written in 358 or 359, as does also his great work, *De Trinitate*.

The year 359, the fourth of Hilary's exile, witnessed the council of Rimini in the West, and that of Seleucia in the East. It appears to have been the intention of the emperor that the decisions of these two assemblies, if accordant, should conjointly be regarded as the decree of one oecumenical council.[b] Hilary was compelled by the secular authorities to attend that of Seleucia, Constantius himself having convoked it. He found there three sections: namely, the orthodox, the semi-Arian, and the ultra-Arian or Anomaean. Although his presence was of great service in explaining the true state of things in Gaul, the language of the Acacians so shocked him that he retired from the assembly. These Anomaeans were nevertheless condemned there.

From Seleucia, Hilary betook himself to Constantinople, and was permitted to have an interview with the emperor. Here the Arians, having joined the Anomaeans, were in great force, and, having gathered another council in the Eastern capital, tried to reverse their failure at Seleucia. A challenge on the part of Hilary to discuss the questions at issue publicly, in presence of the emperor, on the evidence of Holy Scripture was, as he informs us, declined; and Constantius sent his prisoner back to Gaul, without, however, formally annulling the sentence of banishment, or allowing him perfect liberty.

Speaking in a somewhat rough and general way, we may say that the energies of Hilary in Gaul were chiefly concerned with the Arians, but that his acts (though by no means all his writings) in Phrygia were more occupied with the semi-Arians. His attitude towards these two forms of error was, however, by no means identical. Arianism he regarded as a deadly heresy, with which anything like compromise was impossible. But with semi-Arianism, or at any rate with certain leading semi-Arians, he thought it quite possible to come to an understanding; and it will be seen in the account of his works how earnestly he strove to act as a peacemaker between them and the supporters of St. Athanasius and of the creed of Nicaea.

The three succeeding years (A.D. 360–362 inclusive) were partly occupied by Hilary in his journey homeward, which seems to have been rather dilatory, and, after his return, by efforts which, though of a conciliatory character, all aimed at the restoration of the faith as set forth at Nice. His joy at regaining Poitiers (where he was warmly welcomed) and at finding in health his wife, his daughter, and his disciple St. Martin, was dashed by the scenes he had witnessed during his progress. Constantius had

cipline in different countries. "As the clergy in the East all abstain on principle (γνώμῃ) and even the bishops if they desire it, but they do not however act thus by compulsion of law (οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκῃ νόμου τοῦτο ποιούντων). For many of them during the period of their episcopate have begotten sons in lawful matrimony." (*H. E.* lib. vi. cap. 22.) Döllinger, with characteristic fairness, does allude to this passage (*Ch. Hist.* period ii. chap. v. § viii.), and illustrates it by the well-known case of St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was born after his father had been for some time a bishop; but he maintains that Socrates is only speaking of the patriarchate of Constantinople. It is right to add that Ceillier gives the substance of the above extract in his article on Socrates. But he ought to have remembered it in his account of Hilary.

[b] This may be gathered from Hilary's own writings compared with those of Athanasius. It is well brought out in Newman's *Arians*. See especially chap. iv. sec. 4, pt. 2.

banished from their sees all bishops who had refused to accept the formula promulgated at Rimini (Socrates, *H. E.* lib. ii. 37; confirmed by Sozomen, iv. 19, and by St. Jerome in his treatise *adv. Luciferianos*). Hilary was not prepared, with the more ardent of his friends, at once to refuse communion to all who had been betrayed into accepting the Riminian decrees. He preferred the plan of gathering together in different parts of Gaul assemblies of bishops, with the view of mutual explanation. This course of proceeding was adopted, and appears to have been attended with great success. Hilary's former opponent, Saturninus, bishop of Arles, in vain attempted to thwart the effects thus produced. The tide of feeling and of conviction turned completely against Saturninus, and in a short time he found himself deserted, and practically, perhaps even formally, excommunicated by the Gallican episcopate.

Satisfied with the condition of matters in Gaul, Hilary ventured, despite the unrepealed sentence of banishment, to make a journey into northern Italy and Illyria, that he might bring these provinces into spiritual conformity with his native land. He arrived in Italy A.D. 362 and was greatly encouraged and assisted by St. Eusebius of Vercelli. [EUSEBIUS (93) VERCELLENSIS.] That these two friends created a considerable impression, especially in remote districts, into which a fair statement of the points at issue had not penetrated, seems undoubted. But their efforts did not attain the measure of success which had been won by Hilary in Gaul. It is possible that Lucifer of Cagliari proved an obstacle. That this ardent and ultra-Athanasian supporter of orthodoxy [LUCIFER CALARITANUS] disapproved of one of the conciliatory manifestos put forth by Hilary will be seen below; and as on another ground he had broken with Eusebius,[a] and was opposed to all communion with any who had accepted the decrees of Rimini, he could not have viewed their career with satisfaction.

Hilary, nevertheless, remained in Italy during part of the year 362, the whole of 363, and into the late autumn of 364. Valentinian, who became emperor in Feb. 364, found Hilary at Milan in the November of that year. A serious altercation between Hilary and the bishop of Milan, Auxentius, attracted the attention of the new emperor. The generally charitable tone adopted by Hilary towards his ecclesiastical opponents gives warrant for accepting his unfavourable report of the conduct of Auxentius. According to Hilary, the profession of the creed of Nicaea made by Auxentius in the course of this controversy was thoroughly insincere. But Auxentius persuaded Valentinian that he was acting in good faith; and, as a natural result, Hilary was commanded to return to Gaul. Hilary at once obeyed, but he addressed the rulers and the flocks of the church at large in a work setting forth his own convictions respecting the real character of the bishop of Milan.

[a] This other ground was the trouble at Antioch, for which the reader is referred to the articles EVAGRIUS (5) ANTIOCHENSIS and PAULINUS ANTIOCHENSIS. Eusebius of Vercelli did not agree with Lucifer in approving of the consecration of Paulinus as bishop of Antioch.

Hilary spent more than three years at Poitiers after his return from Italy. These later years, more especially the last two, were comparatively untroubled ones. He died calmly on Jan. 13, A.D. 368, though in the Roman service-books his day is marked as Jan. 14, that it may not interfere with the octave of the Epiphany. Before attempting to form an estimate of his character and of his services to the Christian faith, it is necessary to give some account of his writings.

Writings.—The writings of Hilary naturally fall into three classes, namely, I. Exegetical; II. Dogmatical; III. Controversial. One or two minor compositions must be treated separately, but the above divisions will be found to embrace the whole of his most important contributions to theology. It will be found more convenient to consider them under these heads than in a strictly chronological order. But the letters of the alphabet prefixed to each will serve to indicate what appears to be their sequence in respect of date.

I. EXEGETICAL.—1. (H) *Exposition of the Psalms* (*Commentarii in Psalmos*).—It is probable that Hilary at least intended to compose a complete commentary upon the Psalms. Whether he ever succeeded in carrying out this intention seems very doubtful. In any case only a portion is now extant, as the comments merely embrace (inclusively) the following Psalms:—i., ii.; ix.–xiii. (and perhaps xiv.); li.–lxix.; xci.–cl. (These numbers must be referred to the Vulgate reckoning, *e.g.* li. is lii., and lxix. is lxx. in the A.V.) The treatment is not critical. Origen and Jerome stand almost alone during the first five centuries of the Christian church as masters of Hebrew. But Jerome's translation was yet to come when Hilary wrote. As was natural, he leant mainly and somewhat too confidently upon the Septuagint. But he took full advantage of the comments of Origen; not indeed as actually interpreting them into Latin, but as availing himself of their tone and suggestions. Hilary tries to adopt a *via media* between urging on his readers the literal sense, and that reference of everything to Christ which marks the works of some later commentators, both patristic and mediaeval. But although it cannot claim the position of a critical commentary, it is impossible to open it without finding oneself in communion with a deeply sincere and high-toned spirit; and Cave and Alban Butler are thoroughly justified in asserting for it the stamp of a truly devotional temper. We can only give—and we take it almost at random—a single, but it is believed a fair, specimen of its manner. Hilary is commenting upon the words, "I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God" (cxl. 6 in A. V.; cxxxix. in Sept. and Vulgate). "Non levis atque exiguae fiduciae est Domino dixisse, *Deus meus es Tu.* Loqui istud mens libidinosa, avara, insolens, ebria non potest. Renuntiandum his omnibus, et à servitute eorum ac famulatû desinendum est, ut ab his desinentes dicere audeamus, *Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu.*" He proceeds to shew that we are authorised to make these words our own, but that Christ could use them in a very special manner, as He virtually did on many occasions, such as the raising of Lazarus, the multiplication of the bread and fish, and before drinking His cup of woe at night in Gethsemane. A remark on Ps. lvii. 3 (lviii. A. V.) shews that

Hilary would have shrunk from pressing to extremes what in the succeeding century would have been called Augustinian tenets. A curious ethnological statement occurs on Ps. cxix. (cxx.) 5, where he observes of those who "dwell in the tents of Kedar": "Hi sunt nunc Saraceni nuncupati." In after ages, from the days of Peter the Hermit, in A.D. 1099, to the death of the latest Crusader St. Louis in 1270, the inhabitants of Gaul were destined to become only too familiar with the name of these *Saraceni*, while they in turn were destined to pay an unconscious compliment to Gaul, in designating Europeans generally by the name of *Franks*.

2. *Commentarii in Matthaeum* (B).—This is the earliest commentary on one of the Gospels which the Western church produced; all previous ones being either, like that of Origen, in Greek, or, if in Latin, only partial, as some tractates of St. Cyprian. In the next century the work of Hilary was somewhat overshadowed by the commentaries produced by the genius of St. Augustine and the learning of St. Jerome in the West, and by the eloquence of St. Chrysostom in the East. But the honour due to Hilary must not on that account be withheld from him. Although, as in his comments on the Psalms, he may have made some use of the writings of Origen, there is much that is curious and sometimes acute as well as devout that seems to be really his own. Jerome and Augustine frequently quote it, as well as Vincent of Lerins and Hincmar, and some excerpts are woven from it by the most famous of schoolmen, Aquinas, into his well-known *Catena Aurea* of commentaries on the Gospels. Its date cannot be fixed with certainty, but it was probably composed in the earlier years of the author's episcopate, before his banishment to Phrygia in A.D. 356.

The following are some of the more curious features of this commentary. On the difficult expressions recorded by St. Matthew concerning divorce (v. 31, 32), Hilary seems to lean to the interpretation which regards Christian marriage as absolutely indissoluble. He would consequently forbid re-marriage even to the innocent party in the case of separation *à mensa et thoro*. On St. Matthew xiv. 19, Hilary refers to the holy Eucharist as "the heavenly food of eternal life" (*vitae aeternae cibum coelestem*). Of the multiplication of the loaves (xv. 36, 37), he writes in striking language, "Crescit deinde materies, nescio utrum in mensarum loco, an in manibus sumentium, an in ore edentium. *Mundi auctor hoc facto innotescit.*" (Cf. Trench on *The Miracles.*) His interpretation of the blessing given to St. Peter (xvi. 17–19) must be spoken of farther on. Of Hilary's endeavours to solve difficulties, such as *e.g.* that of the genealogies of our Lord, it may be affirmed that they indicate a real willingness to face them, and are not devoid of some measure of acuteness. But the solution offered is occasionally such as no opponent could be expected to accept, *e.g.* the assertion that fourteen rather than thirteen is the correct number of the generations between Jechonias and Joseph, because there are two generations in Jesus Christ, the temporal and the eternal. On "the brethren of the Lord," Hilary, like Dr. Mill and others in our own day, uses the powerful argument, that Christ would not have committed the Virgin Mother to the care of St. John, if she had had children of her own. But he adopts the questionable view, usually connected with the name of Epiphanius, that they were children of Joseph by a former wife.

The following passage seems worthy of citation. On arriving in his commentary to the Lord's Prayer (vi. 9–13), Hilary writes: "De orationis autem sacramento necessitate nos commentandi Cyprianus, vir sanctae memoriae, liberavit. Quanquam et Tertullianus hinc volumen optissimum scripserit; sed consequens error hominis detraxit scriptis probabilibus auctoritatem." The assumption that his readers would either know, or might easily procure the writings of St. Cyprian shews how much circulation such works were procuring among Christians. Nor is his brief reference to the merits and the errors of Tertullian less remarkable. The career of Tertullian is evidently assumed as known.

3. Since the publication of the Benedictine edition in 1693, an additional fragment on Psalm cxlviii. has been published by Cardinal Mai in his *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum* (Rome, 1852, tom. i. p. 471), also two short tractates (*ib.* p. 477), treating respectively of the genealogies of our Lord, of the Gospel according to St. John, and part of a sermon on *The Paralytic*, with two other brief fragments. An epitome of the two former is given by the editor of the new edition of Dom Ceillier (*Hist. Auteurs sacrés*, tom. iv. pp. 30–32).

Dom Pitra has also given in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* (tom. i. pp. 49–159, Paris, 1862) some commentaries which he assigns to Hilary, on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, and Titus. All, excepting that on the Galatians, are brief and fragmentary. That Hilary did write comments on all the Pauline epistles seems tolerably certain, but that these are the missing commentaries can hardly be considered as proven. Dom Pitra has given the ground of his decision in his preface (pp. xxvi–xxxv), and certainly what Hallam calls "the Benedictine spirit of mildness and veracity" demands respect, especially in a question of this nature. But the arguments of Dom Pitra do not seem to the present writer very cogent, and Mr. Swete in his recent edition of Theodore of Mopsuestia appears to have proved that the commentaries are the work of that author. A better case is made for the heads of a commentary on the 1st chapter of Genesis (*ib.* 159–165). It is more metaphysical than the general strain of Hilary's compositions; but not more so perhaps than some of the discussions—those on the soul for instance—in his *De Trinitate*.

Before we leave the subject of Hilary's exegetical writings, it is necessary to say a word on the ignorance ascribed to him by Jerome, not merely of Hebrew but of Greek. Hilary's friend Heliodorus [HELIODORUS (13)] is said by Jerome to have rendered Hilary assistance in the interpretation of difficult passages of Origen. Erasmus (followed by Cave) refuses to believe this assertion. Ceillier is perplexed, and considers Jerome inconsistent with himself. That Jerome can at moments make ill-natured overstatements is undeniable; and his language in the case before us is probably, to say the least, exaggerated. But Ceillier's editor may be justified in denying any positive inconsistency on

Jerome's part, when he ascribes to Hilary an imitation of Greek ornaments of style despite the appeals to Heliodorus. Such an appeal need not have involved more than an occasional discussion on the exact bearing of this or that observation of Origen. It may be observed that Hilary, though fond of allegory, begins with the literal sense, and does not, like Origen, seem to thrust it on one side.

Jerome's compliment to Hilary as "the Rhone of eloquence" (*Rhodanus eloquentiae*) is of course quite compatible with the complaint that his periods are too lengthy, and consequently sometimes unintelligible to any but learned readers. But Erasmus justly observes that the severity of style which we admire in the Latin authors of the highest rank was a charm seldom seized by any but those who were either natives of Rome, or else had breathed the air of the capital from an early age.

Hilary's somewhat excessive respect for the Septuagint probably led him to embrace, without due examination, the Alexandrian rather than the Palaestinian canon of the Old Testament. But although he occasionally cites some portions of the Apocrypha (as Judith, Wisdom, and the Books of Maccabees) as Scripture, it may be doubted whether he has anywhere founded an argument for doctrine upon them. He is earnest in urging on his readers the study of those Scriptures, which had been the means of his own conversion to the faith. At the same time he lays much stress on the need of humility and reverence on the part of those who would fain read them with profit. Both the Word and the Sacraments become spiritual food for the soul.

II. DOGMATICAL.—*Libri XII de Trinitate* (D). —For the words *De Trinitate* in this title some copies give *Contra Arianos*, others *De Fide*, and others some slight varieties of a like kind. But the title *De Trinitate* appears on the whole to be the most suitable; and it is remarkable that, as Hilary's commentary on St. Matthew is the most ancient extant exposition of the first gospel by a Latin father, so is the *De Trinitate* the first great contribution, in the Latin tongue, to the discussion of this great dogma of the Christian faith. The idea of *twelve* books is said by Jerome to have arisen, rather strangely, from the fact that Quintilian (to whose writings Hilary, as has been observed, was very partial) had divided into the same number his *Institutionis Oratoriae Libri*. The following is a brief epitome of Hilary's great contribution to dogmatic theology.

Book i. treats of natural religion, and the way in which it leads men up to revelation. Book ii. especially discusses the baptismal *formula* (St. Matth. xxviii. 19). Book iii. treats of the union of the two natures in Christ. Book iv. shews that this co-existence of two natures does not derogate from the unity of his Divine Person. Book v. urges, as against heretics, the testimony adducible in favour of the propositions stated in the preceding book from the teaching of the prophets (*ex auctoritatibus propheticis*). Book vi. is mainly occupied with refutations of the erroneous doctrines taught by Sabellians and by Manichaeans. Book vii. shews how the errors of Ebionites, Arians, and Sabellians mutually overthrow each other, thus expanding in detail a general principle asserted by the author in book i. § 26: "Lis eorum est fides nostra." Book viii. contains a demonstration of the unity of God, and shews that it is nowise affected by the Sonship of Christ: "Non auferens filio Dei nativitatem, sed neque per eam duûm deorum divinitatem introducens." Book ix. replies to the Arians in respect of certain texts to which they were in the habit of appealing, such as St. Mark xiv. 32, St. Luke xviii. 19, St. John v. 19, xiv. 28, xvii. 3. Books x. and xi. continue this line of argument, and discuss such passages as St. Matth. xxvi. 38, 39, 46, St. Luke xxiii. 46, St. John xx. 17, and 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. Book xii. is also expressly written against Arianism. It contains *inter alia* a passage of much beauty, which bears a slight resemblance to the devout and eloquent pleading contained in the 9th chapter of the Book of Wisdom. Hilary's aspiration begins as follows: "Auxilii et misericordiae tuae munus orandum est, ut extensa tibi fidei nostrae confessionisque vela flatû Spiritûs tui impleas, nosque in cursum praedicationis initae propellas."

It can hardly be doubted but that such a work, coming from the pen of one, whose life was so consistent with his writings, and who was at once bold and yet charitable, must have produced a very considerable effect. The number of Christians in the West who could read treatises in Greek, such as those of Athanasius, was comparatively small. Hence the importance of a *magnum opus* of this nature. The enforced leisure of Hilary enabled him indeed to produce in this work a longer, more methodical, and more consecutive anti-Arian argument than Athanasius himself had found time to indite.

Viewed intellectually, it must perhaps be ranked above the author's commentary on Scripture. Its recognition of the rights of reason as well as of faith, combined with its sense of human ignorance, and of our need of humility, its explanation of many of the difficulties of the subject and of the meaning of the terms employed; the endeavour (though not always successful) to adapt to his subject the imperfect instrument of the Latin language; the mode of his appeals to Holy Scripture—all form very striking features of this work. It contains moreover many felicitous descriptions, not only of the temper in which we ought to approach the study of these mysteries, but also of the spirit in which we ought not to approach it. The following *dicta* may give some idea of Hilary's sentiments on our degree of knowledge of the Almighty:—"Perfecta scientia est sic Deum scire, ut, licet non ignorabilem, tamen inerrabilem scias; credendus est, intelligendus est, adorandus est, *et his officiis eloquendus*" (lib. ii. cap. 7). This, again, is his description of those who rather patronise than really accept the faith:—"Multi enim sunt qui simulantes fidem non subditi sunt fidei, sibi fidem ipsi potius constituunt quam accipiunt sensu humanae inanitatis inflati" (iii. 26). He had before (i. 18) warned his readers to try to win the truth from Scripture rather than impose their sense upon it:—"Optimus enim lector est, qui dictorum intelligentiam expectet ex dictis potius quàm imponat, et rettulerit magis quàm attulerit." The book evidently produced a great impression. A

high compliment to its merits is paid by the historian Socrates when he speaks of the joint labours of Hilary and of Eusebius of Vercelli:—"Both nobly contended side by side for the faith. And Hilary, who was an eloquent man, set forth in his book the dogmas of the Homöusion in the Latin tongue . . . and powerfully confuted the Arian dogmas." (Ἄμφω μὲν οὖν γενναίως τῇ πίστει συνηγωνίσαντο. Ἱλάριός τε καὶ ἐλλόγιμος ὢν βιβλίοις τῇ Ῥωμαίων γλώττῃ τὰ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου παρέδωκε δόγματα . . . δυνατῶς δε καὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν δογμάτων καθήψατο.)—*H. E.* iii. 10.

Its indirect influence must also be taken into account. Many a teacher, who lacked the learning and the intellectual power to produce such a treatise, would be perfectly capable of availing himself of its stores in the composition of small tractates and homilies. Its very existence may be said to mark an epoch in the history of dogmatic theology in the Western church.

But its influence, however great during the lifetime of Hilary and the generation which immediately succeeded, was destined to suffer some measure of abatement in the next century and throughout both the earlier and the later middle age. About A.D. 416, some fifty-six years after the publication of the work of Hilary, appeared the fifteen books *De Trinitate* of the great bishop of Hippo. St. Augustine became so completely *the* doctor *par excellence* of the West, that the labours of Hilary, most effective at the time of their appearance, and probably a necessary condition of subsequent efforts in the same direction, became somewhat neglected and obscured. And not only is there impressed upon all the productions of Augustine that stamp of genius which must ever mark him among the few select masters of thought, but there also existed in relation to this particular work an advantage on the side of the later author. The errors of Pelagianism, perhaps some anticipations of Nestorianism, had certainly by the time of Augustine tended to bring out into clearer relief some particular phases and elements of Christian doctrine. The admission of developments in this sense is fully recognised by the Lutheran Dorner and by the Anglican Professor Hussey. Nor can it be called a novel theory. "By the very events," writes the historian Evagrius, "by which the members of the church have been rent asunder have the true and faultless dogmas (τὰ ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀμώμητα δόγματα) been the more fully polished and set forth, and the Catholic and apostolic church of God hath gone on to increase and to a heavenward ascent" (*H. E.* lib. i. cap. 11). "Many things," says Augustine himself, "pertaining to the Catholic faith, while in course of agitation by the hot restlessness of heretics, are, with a view to defence against them, weighed more carefully, understood more clearly, and preached more earnestly; and the question mooted by the adversary hath become an occasion of our learning."[d] The intentions of Hilary were so thoroughly good, that both his studies of Holy Scripture and the influence of the three later oecumenical councils would in all human likelihood have saved him from some serious mistakes, if he had lived to hear of their decisions. It is true, as the Benedictine editor points out, that Hilary's language in his comment upon Psalm liii. 8 condemns not only Apollinaris, but (by anticipation) Nestorius and Eutyches as well. Nevertheless, such mistakes as Hilary did make are all connected with the subject, which has been summed up in so masterly a manner by Hooker (*E. P.* bk. v. chaps. lii.–liv., especially § 10 of liv.), namely, the union of the two natures in the one divine personality of Christ. The chief of these mistakes are as follows:—

In the 10th book of his *De Trinitate*, Hilary seems to approach to a denial of the truth proclaimed in the Athanasian Creed (cp. the second of the Anglican 39 articles and the cognate documents of other communions), that the Incarnate Lord took man's nature from His Virgin Mother, of her substance. This is probably only an incautious over-statement of that other article of the creed, that "He was conceived of the Holy Ghost." For the language of Hilary in other passages of this very book and on Psalms cxxxviii. and lxv. implies a complete acceptance of the *Homo ex substantiâ Matris.*

There also appears to be some laxity of usage on the part of Hilary in regard to the terms *Verbum* and *Spiritus*. Certainly it would seem that the former word ought to be substituted for the latter in the following excerpt from the same book:—"Spiritus sanctus desuper veniens naturae se humanae carne immiscuit." Nevertheless, Dom Coutant is able to appeal to similar confusion of language in the writings not only of Tertullian and Lactantius, but even in those of St. Irenaeus and St. Cyprian. St. Gregory and St. Athanasius seem inclined to palliate it. Again, one of Hilary's chief assailants, Erasmus, accuses him (in lib. viii. *De Trin.*) of exaggerating the closeness of our union with the Father and the Son. But this language, though rash, is probably excusable. It might be, no doubt, pressed into pantheism. But this is hardly an error likely to have found sympathy from one who so earnestly defended the *Homöusion* of the Nicene Creed. That term marks off the nature of the union between the Son and the Father, as one to which the creature, however favoured and blest, can never attain. Hilary may have only meant to dwell strongly on the union vouchsafed to Christ's people through the incarnation and the sacraments.

A more serious error is Hilary's apparent want of grasp of the truth of our Lord's humanity in all things, sin alone excepted. At times he seems to speak of our Lord's natural body as if endued with impassibility (*indolentia*), and of His soul as if not obnoxious to the human affections of fear, grief, and the like. Attention was directed to this grave mistake in the succeeding century by Claudianus Mamertus in the 2nd book of his *De Statu Animae*, in the middle ages by a scholastic writer named John, a provost of some community, and later by Scultetus, and (with some severity) by Erasmus. The Protestants Daillé and Rivet take the same side. This and the other mistakes of Hilary are more or less

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[d] It seems right to remark that Dean Hook, in his University Sermons preached before 1838, called attention to this as a favourite opinion of St. Augustine's. Bishop Moberly, in his *Discourses on the Great Forty Days* (preface and discourse iv.) has shewn the difference between this view and the modern Roman theory of development.

palliated by Lanfranc, by the two great schoolmen, Peter Lombard and Aquinas, and by Bonaventure. Hilary also meets with indulgence from Natalis Alexander (*ubi supra*); and, above all, is defended by his Benedictine editor, Dom Coutant, who, as Cave justly remarks, "naevos explicare, emollire et vindicare satagit." A sort of tradition was handed down to Bonaventure by a schoolman, William of Paris, that Hilary had made a formal retractation of his error concerning the *indolentia*, which he had ascribed to our Lord. This seems very doubtful; nevertheless, the language of his later books, as that on the Psalms, appears to recognise the reality of both the mental and bodily sufferings of Christ.

It may be asked, not unnaturally, how it was that these mistakes did not attract more attention during Hilary's lifetime, or at the hands of his immediate successors. The reason appears to be that the public mind, whether in politics or in religion, is frequently so much occupied with some one or two prominent questions that others, not less important in themselves, are left comparatively unnoticed. Hilary's sojourn in Gaul was, as we have remarked, almost solely occupied with Arianism, of which he was an uncompromising opponent; while the period of his residence in Phrygia was almost equally engrossed with the cause of semi-Arianism, with which he tried to come to an understanding. His utterances on the problems subsequently raised by the heresies of Nestorius and of Eutyches look rather like the *obiter dicta* of a judge, who, being mainly occupied with the case before him, only gives a comparatively transient attention to incidental questions not immediately bearing upon the main points at issue. Only in this way can we understand the often cited words of Jerome concerning Hilary, as one whose writings "*inoffenso decurri pedi*"; as numbered among those "*in quorum libris pietas Fidei non vacillet*"; and the consentient testimony of Augustine, who styles him "Ecclesiae Catholicae adversus Haereticos acerrimum defensorem"; and, again, "non mediocris auctoritatis in tractatione Scripturarum et assertione Fidei virum."*

III. POLEMICAL. — 1. *Ad Constantium Augustum Liber Primus.*—This address, which is probably the earliest extant composition of Hilary, is a petition to the emperor for toleration [SONS OF CONSTANTINE; CONSTANTIUS II.]. It was evidently written before his exile, either at the close of the year 355 or early in 356. The copies which have reached us do not appear to be quite perfect. The concluding part is wanting, and a reference to something that he has said betrays the existence of some *lacuna* in the middle. But its general drift is clear enough. It is a petition for toleration for the orthodox in Gaul against the persecution of Arian bishops and Arian laymen. These assaults, unless Hilary is not to be believed, must have been in some respects of a coarse as well as cruel character. Hilary names some of the supporters of Arianism, both in the East and in Gaul. Among the latter, Ursacius and Valens occupy a painful prominence. Even on political grounds it is a mistake for the emperor to allow of such proceedings. Among his Catholic subjects will be found the best defenders of the realm against internal sedition or barbarian invasion from without. The excellent tone of this address is admitted on all sides. Both admirers and assailants of Hilary are struck with the expression of some of the pleas on behalf of toleration in cap. 6:—"Deus cognitionem sui docuit potius quàm exegit. . . . Deus universitatis est Dominus; *non requirit coactam confessionem.* Nostrâ potius, non suâ causâ venerandus est . . . . Simplicitate quaerendus est, confessione discendus est, caritate amandus est, timore venerandus est, voluntatis probitate retinendus est." Whether this petition produced any effect is a matter on which we have no distinct evidence. Baronius considers that a law of Constantius (given in the Theodosian code, lib. xvi. tit. 2), which exempts the cases of bishops from secular tribunals, and refers them to their episcopal brethren, may have been a result of Hilary's address. But the date of this law (Sept. 23, A.D. 355) militates against such an inference.

2. *Ad Constantium Augustum Liber Secundus.*—This second address is subsequent to its author's exile, having been presented to the emperor in A.D. 360. In it he protests his innocence of all charges brought against him. He is still *in effect* a bishop in Gaul, ministering to his flock through the clergy. He would gladly meet the man whom he regards as the author of his exile, Saturninus, bishop of Arles. He is also anxious to plead for the faith in the council now about to be summoned. He will argue from Holy Scripture, but he warns the emperor that

* These are among the passages noted under the section *Authorities*. The present writer is strengthened in his trust, that the above explanation of a difficulty is fairly correct, by observing the treatment which Hilary receives from Möhler, whose account of the *De Trinitate* he had not read when the above paragraph was penned. Few divines of this century would be less likely to think lightly of Docetic or Nestorian or Eutychian heresy than Möhler. Yet so completely is this eminent thinker engrossed for the moment with the subject of Arianism in his *Athanasius der Grosse*, that his highly appreciative account of the *De Trinitate* (which occurs towards the end of the 5th book of that work) does not so much as allude to Hilary's mistakes. Hilary has, however, found in this 19th century a still more enthusiastic defender than Möhler in that eminent Lutheran divine, the learned and philosophic Dorner. In his great work on the *Person of Christ* (first period, third epoch) Dorner devotes more than twenty pages to a consideration of the teaching of Hilary on the Incarnation. In opposition to Baur of Tübingen, who was certainly inclined *in pejus interpretari* the writings of the bishop of Poitiers, Dorner puts the very best possible interpretation on every word and phrase of Hilary. In Dorner's estimation Hilary has not "met with the consideration which he deserves;" is "one of the most original and profound of the Fathers;" and has set forth "a view of Christology, which is one of the most interesting in the whole of Christian antiquity." Although it is possible that Dorner has allowed himself to be too much carried away by affection for Hilary, his treatment of the subject deserves the fullest consideration. In declaring that by his appreciation of the divine and human elements in our Lord, Hilary "evinced himself to be, in the true sense, a teacher of the Church," Dorner was, singularly enough, anticipating pope Pius IX., who a few years since pronounced Hilary "to be a doctor of the Church." How much is implied in a title thus given, we must leave to our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians to settle among themselves. They appear, at present, to agree on this point as much as about the Vatican decrees. The title may signify a great deal or exceedingly little.

every heretic maintains that his creed is agreeable to Scripture. He is deeply conscious of the injury wrought to Christianity in the sight of the outer world by the distractions of so many rival councils and professions of faith. His description of the chaos thus produced seems to have much delighted two writers, of whom one at least has no sympathy with his earnestness and devotion, Locke and Gibbon. The passage (cap. 4 of this tractate) is too important to be omitted:—"It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us, because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them arbitrarily. The Homöusion is rejected, and received, and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin." These sad dissensions are connected with the list of councils given at the beginning of this article, in many of which Hilary took part, though he was only actually present at some of them.[f]

3. *Contra Constantium Augustum Liber.*—This book is addressed to the bishops of Gaul. There can be little doubt that Jerome is mistaken in asserting its composition to be later than the death of Constantius. Internal evidence sufficiently confutes the idea. It is, however, very probable that its existence did not become widely known until after the death of that emperor in A.D. 361. Concerning the tone of the previous addresses, there is no question. "It would be unjust to Hilary," says Milman, "not to acknowledge the beautiful and Christian sentiments scattered through his two former addresses to Constantius, which are firm but respectful; and if rigidly, yet sincerely, dogmatic. His plea for toleration, if not consistently maintained, is expressed with great force and simplicity." (*Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. chap. v. note.)

But in this third production, Hilary's tone is utterly changed. He has given up all hope of exercising any influence on the mind of Constantius. The emperor too, on his side, has altered the traditional line of policy against opponents. It seems to have occurred to him, as from time to time will often happen, that the day for harsh measures has gone by; that it is most undesirable to inflict any punishments which will enlist public sentiment on the side of those whom he desires to thwart, and that the resources of a palace must now be brought to bear in an utterly different way. Constantius is here charged, not with the employment of anything like persecution, but with the enticements of bribes, of good dinners, of flatteries and invitations to court.

It is possible that these blandishments did affect some minds, which would have been proof against imprisonment or death. Hilary is found to be excited by it to a degree nowhere else observable throughout his varied and elaborate compositions. For once he will appear to many to have laid aside his usual self-restraint, perhaps to have lost his temper, and to have forgotten his usual respectfulness and charity of language. Constantius has become, in his eyes, an Antichrist, who would fain make a present of the world to Satan. He appeals to former evidences of his sincerity and moderation towards opponents, but this is no occasion for such gentleness. Much does he long for the days when the little-horse, and the stocks, and all the other instruments of torture, were plied against the truth. They nerved men to resist, and, if need were, to die. "At nunc pergamus contra persecutorem fallentem, contra hostem blandientem, contra Constantium antichristum; qui non terga caedit, sed ventrem palpat; non proscribit ad vitam, sed ditat in mortem; non trudit carcere ad libertatem, sed intra palatium honorat ad servitutem"[g] (§ 5).

On no subject is there larger room for unfairness and for self-deceit, than on the judgments which we form concerning sarcasm and invective. If they are employed on behalf of a cause which is dear to us, the irony is a lawful weapon, and we point to the use and the defence of it by Pascal, or appeal for sanction to the withering sarcasms of an Elijah against the worshippers of Baal. In like manner the invective is a holy anger, a righteous severity—

"Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum."

It is not merely the scourge wielded by a heathen Juvenal or Tacitus, it is the natural language on fitting occasions of God's prophets of all time; and it receives its loftiest sanction in that solemn, though most pathetic, outburst which preceded the departure of the Prophet of prophets from the doomed temple in Jerusalem. But when they are being launched against us, the irony is apt to become in our eyes the most obvious token of mere irreverence, and the denunciation, instead of challenging respect, is of itself an absolute demonstration of the violence and weakness of our adversaries.

Before we accept, then, the judgment of historians upon Hilary, or upon any other champion of a cause who has allowed himself to be hurried away into the language of vehemence or scorn,

[f] It is curious to find in this letter, among Hilary's dignified assertions of his innocence of the charges alleged against his career in Gaul, an appeal to the testimony of Julian:—"Exsulo . . . non crimini sed factioni. Nec levem habeo querelae meae testem dominum meum religiosum Caesarem tuum Julianum." But Julian was still outwardly a Christian, and Hilary had not that suspicion of his sincerity which St. Gregory of Nyssa declares that he had always felt.

[g] That we may not seem to conceal anything, we subjoin a few more of Hilary's most violent expressions:—"Cesset itaque maledictorum opinio et mendacii suspicio. Veritatis enim ministros decet vera proferre. Si falsa dicimus, infamis sit sermo maledicus (§ 6) . . . Proclamo tibi, Constanti, quod Neroni locuturus fuissem, quod ex me Decius et Maximianus audissent. Contra Deum pugnas, contra ecclesiam saevis, sanctos persequeris, praedicatores Christi odisti, religionem tollis; tyrannus non jam humanorum, sed divinorum es . . . Christianum te mentiris, Christi novus hospes es, Antichristum praevenis, et arcanorum mysteria ejus operaris" (§).

it is only fair to ask whether his critics do or do not hold for truth the principle for which the writer was contending. It does not follow, indeed, in the instance before us, that the tone of Hilary's letter is defensible. But it is only simple justice to bear in mind that to Hilary, as to his contemporary and fellow-labourer, Athanasius, the question came in this form: "Is, or is not, the Christian religion worth preserving?" That the faith of Nicaea did involve the very kernel of Christianity is no mere conviction of theirs. It is, in our own day, the admission of many bystanders and even of opponents of Christianity. "La religion chrétienne," writes one, "c'est-à-dire, la rédemption des hommes par un Dieu fait homme." "The essence of the belief," writes another, "lies in the divinity of Christ." "It is," says a third most justly, "the main principle of the Christian religion." As a rule, however, the severest censure of Hilary seems to proceed, not from avowed adversaries of the faith—for they can at least conceive that what moves them so strongly in the way of opposition may influence others as keenly in the way of defence—but from the sceptics, who have no religious convictions of their own, and are unable to imagine that such convictions can be cherished by others. Moreover, some of them imply that, if they, like Hilary, had been exiled for three years upon false charges, they would never have lost their temper, or forgotten the proprieties of language. On this point it may be permissible to have doubts. It is right also to bear in mind that, among the charges brought against the emperor by Hilary, are those of having condemned orthodox presbyters to work in the mines, and of having caused the death of the saintly bishop of Treves, Paulinus, by banishing him to heretical districts, where he had been compelled to beg his bread. The entire letter shews that Hilary had lost all hope of any aid to the faith being granted by Constantius, and it is at least just to give its due weight to the remark of Möhler, that, "if we drive men to despair, we ought to be prepared to hear them speak the language of despair."

As regards Constantius, he seldom obtains a good word from any authorities, whether heathen or Christian, ancient or modern. "The vain and feeble mind of the emperor"[h] did, however, at least in his later days, shew itself in its best light in the presence of fierce recriminations. It is probable that Constantius would have tolerated the invectives of Hilary with the same equanimity as those addressed to him by Lucifer of Cagliari. But Constantius died before any copy had reached him.

Before quitting these letters to Constantius, it is necessary to refer to one other point of considerable importance. In the second letter the emperor is praised by Hilary for his anxiety that his faith should be scriptural. But this is precisely what the bishop of Poitiers maintains that he is teaching. "Fidem, Imperator, quaeris: audi eam non de novis chartulis, sed de Dei libris." But Constantius must remember that the heretics make precisely the same claim. Marcellus, Photinus, Sabellius (all of whom the emperor's allies resisted and denounced), maintained that their tenets were scriptural. Nay, even Montanus, by the ministry of his mad women, defends from this source his doctrine of another paraclete, "Omnes Scripturas sine Scripturae sensu loquuntur, et fidem sine fide praetendunt." Constantius, however, in demanding that the teaching of the church shall be in accordance with Scripture (*secundum ea quae scripta sunt*) is understood by many to have meant that all creeds (possibly even all preaching) should be limited to terms expressly used in Scripture. This demand was not unfrequently made by the semi-Arians. But it will not bear examination. To have granted it would have caused no cessation of controversy, because the very point at issue was, what was the meaning of the terms employed in Scripture. No religious community has found it possible, in any age, to draw up its formularies under such a limitation. Moreover, it came with a bad grace from semi-Arians, whose own watchword, the *Homoeusion*, was certainly not to be found in Scripture, and with a still worse grace from Arians, who had quite a list of terms—those, namely, condemned in the first form of the Nicene Creed—which were wholly extraneous to Scripture. Both schools probably lay open to the complaint made by Kant against those religionists of his own age and country who, according to him, said, "Do not take your belief from man, but go straight to the Bible, the Word of God"; but who always practically added, "But mind, you must not find anything there that we do not find, because, if you do, you are wrong."[i]

4. *De Synodis* (C).—This may be considered as what lawyers would call "the short title," by which is commonly designated Hilary's tractate *De Synodis Fidei Catholicae contra Arianos et praevaricatores Arianis acquiescentes*. It is also occasionally referred to as *De Fide Orientalium*; and sometimes, though less frequently, as *De Synodis Graeciae*, or even simply as *Epistola*. Internal evidence furnishes a satisfactory approximation to the date of its composition. Hilary alludes to coming councils to be held, by order of Constantius, at Ancyra and at Rimini. Now, the emperor made a partial change in this arrangement, and for Ancyra substituted Seleucia. (Nicomedia had at one time been proposed, but the terrible earthquake of Aug. 24, in A.D. 358, overthrew the city.) Consequently Hilary's manifesto, which displays entire ignorance of this change,[j] must have been written in 358 or very early in 359.

The *De Synodis* is a letter from Hilary, an exile in Phrygia, to his brother bishops in Gaul. They had asked him for an explanation of the numerous professions of faith which the Orientals seemed to be putting forth. Hilary,

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[h] Gibbon.

[i] For the convenience of considering in one whole the three works addressed to Constantius, we have placed out of its order the *De Synodis*, which chronologically should come between the *Liber Primus* and the *Liber Secundus ad Constantium*. On like grounds, in order to keep together the polemical writings of Hilary, we discuss the epistle to his daughter after that against Auxentius and the *Fragmenta*, instead of before them, which it was in point of date.

[j] We learn this from Socrates: *Ἐδέδοκτο πρότερον ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους συνάγεσθαι. Ἐνέκοψε δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκεῖσε συνέλευσιν σεισμὸς ἐπιγενόμενος μέγιστος, ἀφ' οὗ συνέβη τὴν Νικομηδέων πόλιν πεσεῖν.* (*H. E.* ii. 38.)

although (as we have seen from his subsequent second letter to Constantius) deeply conscious of the harm being wrought by these proceedings, wrote back in this case a thorough *Irenicon;* for such must the *De Synodis* among all his writings especially be considered. Praising his Gallic brethren for their firmness in opposing Saturninus, and for their just condemnation of the second formula proposed at Sirmium, he desires that both they and their brethren in Britain (*provinciarum Britanniarum episcopi*) should come to Ancyra or to Rimini in a conciliatory frame of mind. Just as the orthodox *Homöusion* may be twisted into Sabellianism, even so may the unorthodox *Homoeusion* be found patient of a good interpretation. It may be shewn to those who are well disposed that, rightly understood, in asserting complete similarity it in reality involves identity. The faith professed at Sardica was, he maintains, substantially sound. It asserted the external origin of the Son from the substance of the Father, and condemned the heresy of Photinus, "quae initium Dei filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur." Hilary in turn appeals to the more peace-loving among the semi-Arian bishops to accept both terms in their true sense. "Date veniam, Fratres, quam frequenter poposci. *Ariani non estis; cur negando homöusion censemini Ariani?*" (§ 88.) And here comes in that remarkable statement, that for his own part he had never, before his exile, heard the Nicene Creed, but had made it out for himself from the Gospels and other books of the new Testament. "Regeneratus pridem, et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens, fidem Nicaenam nunquam, nisi exsulaturus, audivi: sed mihi homöusii et homoeusii intelligentiam Evangelia et Apostoli intimaverunt. Pium est quod volumus. Ne damnemus patres, ne animemus haereticos, ne dum haeresin appellimus, haeresin nutriamus."

This proposal does not seem to go much beyond the well-known words of Hilary's fellow-labourer in the same cause, the great St. Athanasius himself.[k] But a peace-maker is often suspected on one side, sometimes upon both. His first letter to Constantius, his commentary on St. Matthew, his confessorship as shewn in the fact of his exile, did not save Hilary from suspicion. In some quarters he was held to have conceded too much to the semi-Arians, and this sentiment found a spokesman in the well-known Lucifer of Cagliari[l] [LUCIFER CALARITANUS], the earnest but somewhat harsh-minded representative of that extreme wing of the supporters of the faith of Nicaea which might be called more Athanasian than Athanasius. Some apologetic notes, couched in a tone of much courtesy and gentleness, appended by Hilary to a copy sent to Lucifer, were published for the first time in the Benedictine edition of Hilary (Paris, 1693).

5. *Liber contra Auxentium* (G).—This book was written in A.D. 365, under Valentinian, who had become emperor in the preceding year. Hilary, as has been remarked, was convinced that the profession of orthodoxy made by Auxentius was thoroughly insincere. The emperor, looking at the matter from a point of view not, it must be allowed, unnatural for a statesman, declined to entertain this question. He accepted the position avowed by Auxentius, entered into communion with him, and ordered Hilary to leave Milan. Hilary, as we have already stated, obeyed the imperial order at once, but, as the sole resource left him, published this address to the members of the church at large. Hence the other titles by which it is known, namely, *Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem*, and *Epistola ad Catholicos et Auxentium.*

This treatise forms a curious commentary upon church history, bringing out, as it does, into vivid relief the utterly changed character of the temptations to which the Christians of this age were now exposed as compared with those of the ante-Nicene period. Hilary's view must be considered as a rather one-sided one. He sees clearly the evils of his own day, but hardly realises what must have been the trials to ordinary Christians of the times of a Nero, a Decius, a Galerius. The concluding part makes out a strong case against Auxentius. It is difficult to believe but that he must have been an Arian at heart. Hilary, like some of his contemporaries, declares in this work that the ears of the people have become purer than the heart of the bishops. He begs those who shrink from breaking off communion with Auxentius, whom he calls an angel of Satan, not to let their love of mere walls and buildings seduce them into a false peace. Antichrist may seat himself within a church; the forests and the mountains, the lakes and the prisons, are safer. It must be remembered, in palliation of Hilary's strong language respecting the bishop of Milan, that he regarded him not as an open foe, but as a betrayer of truth by false pretences. Rufinus, who speaks of Hilary as a "confessor fidei Catholicae," entitles this work "librum instructionis plenissimae."[m]

6. *Fragmenta Hilarii.*—These fragments were first published in 1598 by Nicolaus Faber, who got them from the library of Father Pithou. That they possess considerable value in the elucidation of the history of the period embraced by Hilary's episcopate may be gathered from the frequent references made to them in all the best modern histories of the church. (A glance, for instance, at the works of Canons Robertson and Bright would serve to shew thus much.) It is claimed for them that they are the remnants of a book by Hilary mentioned by Rufinus, and described by Jerome as *Liber contra Valentem et Ursacium*, which contained a history of the councils of Rimini and Seleucia. On this book Hilary expended much labour, having begun it in the year 360 and completed in 366. The fifteen fragments collected together occupy some eighty folio pages. They are, with one exception, recognised as genuine by Tillemont and by Ceillier.

Whether, however, all the other documents cited in these fragments can be depended upon has become a matter of controversy. Now,

[k] We refer to the well-known passage (*De Syn.* 41) in which Athanasius is prepared to treat as brothers those who receive everything resolved at Nicaea except the *homöusion*. He was convinced that they would in time perceive its value and accept it.

[l] That we are justified in this identification seems clear from the facts—(1) that only one person named Lucifer is mentioned in the writings of Hilary; (2) that he is in one passage termed *episcopus Sardiniae*. This is just as if a bishop of Valetta were called bishop of Malta.

[m] Rufinus, *de Adulteratione Librorum Origenis.*

respecting the genuineness of the commentaries given by Dom Pitra, which we have already noticed, opinions may fairly differ; and happily there is in that case no disturbing influence at work. But the question respecting these fragments stands in a very different position. If, with Tillemont and Ceillier, we accept them as all but entirely authentic, then the case against Liberius [LIBERIUS] is certainly darkened. But this is precisely the conclusion which certain modern critics (such as *e.g.* the anonymous editor of Dom Ceillier) are for very obvious reasons most anxious to avoid. We are bound at least to consider their criticisms.

It must be conceded that the genuineness of the fragment marked as fourth among the fifteen contained in the collection has long been questioned. This may be seen from the notes appended to it in the Benedictine edition. It claims to be a letter from the pen of Liberius. Dom Coutant is inclined to consider it *ficta et adulterina*, and to regard it as what Ceillier openly terms it, "une lettre que les Ariens publièrent sous le nom du pape Libère." How far this conclusion is influenced by the wish to discover flaws in the evidence for a letter by a bishop of Rome, which, to say the very least, leans towards Arianism, may be difficult to decide. To the present writer it does seem as if sufficient doubt has been created respecting it to render it unsafe to trust as a weapon of controversy. The same may be perhaps said, though with more hesitation, of the first of three letters also attributed to Liberius, in fragment the sixth.

Now the appearance of even one or two questionable documents does undoubtedly tend to throw some shade of discredit upon the collection in which they are found. But the arguments adduced against the rest of the documents do not seem forcible, or sufficient to disturb the respect which has heretofore been paid to them.[a]

7. *Epistola ad Abram Filiam suam.* (About A.D. 358.)—Hilary's daughter, Abra, had written to her father during his exile. Either from her letter, which has not come down to us, or from other source, Hilary had learnt that there was some prospect of Abra, though only in her thirteenth year, being sought in marriage. He draws a mystic portrait of the heavenly bridegroom, which is evidently intended to suggest the superiority of a religious celibacy. But he leaves the matter entirely to her free choice, only desiring that the decision should be really her own. He encloses a morning and an evening hymn. On any difficulties found in the letter or in the hymns, Abra is to consult her mother. The *Hymnus matutinus*, a very brief one, is still extant. That for the evening, *Hymnus vespertinus*, is more disputed, but Cardinal Mai makes a fair case for it, though it does not satisfy the judgment of Dom Coutant and Dom Ceillier. Two other hymns by Hilary, commencing respectively, "Hymnum dicat turba fratrum" (a hymn on the life of our Lord) and "Jesus refulsit omnium" (on the Epiphany) are given by Thomassy in his *Hymnarium*. Dom Pitra, *ubi supra*, also gives some verses of considerable beauty on our Lord's childhood, which seem to be Hilary's.

It is right to say that the letter to Abra is considered doubtful by some critics, and rejected by Cave. Possibly there may be room for some degree of prejudice both for and against its genuineness and authenticity, as it may be thought to favour, however slightly, the views of those who maintain that Hilary, after his elevation to the episcopate, led an ascetic life. A second objection, that it is less dignified in style than its author's other writings, does not deserve much consideration. A parent writing to a daughter of twelve years of age can hardly be expected to address her in the same terms as he would employ towards a synod of his episcopal brethren. The present writer does not see sufficient evidence for the rejection of the letter from the works of Hilary.[a]

It remains to speak of works by Hilary which have been lost, and of others which have been erroneously ascribed to him. Among the lost works is a *Commentarius (seu Homiliae) in Jobum.* These comments on Job were mainly borrowed, and apparently in some cases directly translated, from the writings of Origen. They were extant in the generation immediately succeeding that of Hilary, as they are more than once mentioned by Jerome (as in his *Epist. ad Marcellam*), and a remark is quoted from them by Augustine, and another by his adversary Pelagius. 2. *Hymnorum Liber.* Hymns in praise of apostles and martyrs, mentioned with honour by Isidore of Seville in his *De Officio Ecclesiastico.* 3. *Liber mysteriorum*, mentioned (as are also the books preceding and following) by Jerome. 4. *Ad praefectum Sallustium sive contra Dioscorum Liber.* Jerome's reference to this book (*Epist.* 83 *ad Magnum*), which was perhaps of an apologetic nature, is complimentary as regards its literary as well as other merits. A *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum* was attributed to Hilary; but if he really composed such a commentary, it had disappeared even in the time of Jerome. As might be expected, when we consider the circumstances of his life, many epistles of Hilary have evidently been lost.

Among books erroneously assigned to Hilary may be named the following:—*Libri de Patris et Filii unitate; Liber de Essentiâ Patris et Filii;*

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[a] The writer has not seen the work to which Ceillier's editor refers for a further case against the fragments. But its title appears to indicate the nature of its contents: *Dissertation sur la chute prétendue du pape* SAINT *Libère.* Par l'abbé de Béchillon. (Poitiers, 1855.) The comment of the Duc de Broglie seems very reasonable. "As for the letters collected by St. Hilary, there is no doubt that they have been seriously interpolated, and that the actual state of the text is not entitled to great confidence; but the basis (*le fond*) must necessarily be true and the falsification contemporary, otherwise they could not possibly have obtained currency or credit, especially with St. Hilary himself. It seems to us then impossible to destroy the concurrence of testimonies which attest the fall of Liberius; but we admit that it is very difficult to determine the extent and the character of his false step." (*L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au* IVe *Siècle*, part. iii. chap. 4, note.)

[a] Fortunatus declares that a maiden of rank in Phrygia, by name Florentia, was suddenly converted during Hilary's sojourn in Phrygia; that she induced her parents to become Christians and to allow her to act towards Hilary as his adopted daughter during his exile. This story lacks confirmation, but it may nevertheless be true.

Confessio de Trinitate. Trombelli has published as Hilary's a little pastoral address and a sermon *De Dedicatione Ecclesiae.* But they are not generally accepted as genuine, and have been decidedly rejected by Schönemann. For the *Carmen in Genesin,* ascribed by some to the bishop of Poitiers, see HILARIUS (17) OF ARLES.

The best edition of Hilary is the Benedictine one by Dom Coutant (Paris, 1693), to which such frequent reference has been made, or its reprint with some few additions by Maffei (Verona, 1730). Erasmus had, however, published one at Basle (1523), and there is an earlier, though greatly inferior, one by Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1510). The *De Trinitate,* combined with the treatise of Augustine on the same subject, was printed at Milan in 1489, and reprinted a few years later at Venice. A few of Hilary's *opuscula* were also contained in this edition.

In conclusion, it must be observed that, though Hilary in his *De Trinitate* (lib. vi. 36–38) speaks of Peter's *confession* as the foundation of the church, he in other writings, more especially in his commentary on the Psalms, is inclined to make Peter himself, whom he terms *caelestis regni janitorem,* the foundation. Such variation, as is well known, is far from uncommon. Among ourselves, writers so different as Bishop Pearson and Dean Stanley both interpret the passage as referring to St. Peter personally. But if, as is by no means impossible, Hilary took the Cyprianic view of the episcopate, he might (as Cyprian did) speak of himself or of any bishop as being in some sense a successor of St. Peter. Still in the *fragmenta* we find contained a letter from the fathers of Sardica to pope Julius, which certainly does refer to the Roman see as the head see. If Hilary approved of the document thus recorded, he may very probably have allowed to Rome a primacy, at any rate, in the West. But this is a somewhat slender foundation to build a superstructure upon; and it is singular to find Ceillier's editor, in his anxiety to damage the authority of the *fragmenta,* somewhat injuring the credit of the only one brief sentence in the extensive works of Hilary which can be cited as a recognition, however indirect, of the Roman primacy. He says: "On signale un grand nombre d'erreurs dans le second fragment, qui contient une lettre du concile de Sardique à toutes les églises et une autre au pape Jules" (Ceillier, iv. p. 63, note).

In practice Hilary did not often take his stand upon authority. The metropolitan see of Arles was in his time occupied by the Arian Saturninus, Hilary's chief opponent in his earlier day. He had not long been in the episcopate when, by force of character, by will, by intellect, by confessorship, he came into the first rank of champions. The idea of controversy being settled by the *fiat* of any one bishop, whether of Rome or any other see, had never dawned upon his mind. No leave was asked when he descended into Italy to confront Auxentius. Everywhere he fights, or treats, somewhat in the style of a volunteer; and we venture to think that any one, who studies his life and his works without a pre-conceived bias, will entirely sympathize with the remark of the Roman Catholic Möhler when he applies to Hilary the well-known *dictum* of Gibbon concerning Athanasius, that "in a time of public danger the dull claims of age and rank are sometimes superseded."

It may be doubted whether in our English church histories Hilary occupies quite so prominent a place as he does in ancient authorities, as, for instance, in the writings of Augustine—who names him in company with Cyprian, and in those of Jerome, Socrates, Rufinus and Cassiodorus. He has been more fortunate abroad. Möhler does him full justice; Villemain praises his eloquence: De Broglie thoroughly recognises his deserved prominence, and Dorner is enthusiastic in his eulogies: Guizot, while acknowledging his great influence, yet, by a strange and rare piece of carelessness, ascribes to him only pamphlets. [J. G. C.]

HILARIUS (8), bishop of Telmessus, one of the bishops of Lycia who had expressed a desire to separate themselves from their heterodox brethren, and join in communion with Amphilochius of Iconium, A.D. 375. (Basil. *Epist.* 218 [403]; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 971.) [E. V.]

HILARIUS (9), a bishop of Isauria, who witnessed Gregory Nazianzen's will. (Greg. Naz. *Test.*) [E. V.]

HILARIUS (10), the name assigned to the eleventh of the mythical archbishops of London in the list drawn up by Jocelin of Furness, and copied by Stow. (Ussher, *Antiquitates,* p. 67; Godwin, *de Praesulibus,* ed. Richardson, p. 170; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacr. Angl.* p. 152.) [S.]

HILARIUS (11), the name of a bishop who subscribes the acts of the first council of Toledo, A.D. 400. Gams (*Kirchengeschichte,* ii. 309; *Series Episcoporum,* 23) considers him to have been bishop of Cartagena (*Coleccion de Canones de la Iglesia Española,* ii. 182; Mansi, iii. 1002; Innoc. Pap. Ep. 3, in Patr. Lat. xx. 486 b). [F. D.]

HILARIUS (12), a bishop of an unnamed diocese mentioned in a letter of Chrysostom to Olympias (Chrys. *Epist.* 14, ad fin.). Chrysostom reposed great confidence in him, and found his presence at Constantinople so useful that he was only prevailed upon to give him written permission to visit his diocese, where his presence was urgently required, on the understanding that he was to return as speedily as possible. His loyalty to Chrysostom caused him to be brutally treated by his own clergy, and, regardless of his great age, he was banished to the remotest parts of Pontus. Palladius records of him that for eighteen years he had not tasted bread, subsisting simply on vegetables and porridge (Pallad. p. 195). [E. V.]

HILARIUS (13), apparently a deacon in a list of bishops and deacons of Macedonia addressed by Innocent I. 414 (Innoc. ep. 17, in Patr. Lat. xx. 527 A; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 25). [C. H.]

HILARIUS (14), bishop of Altinum (Altino) c. A.D. 422. In that or the preceding year he was present with other bishops at the consecration of the first church of Rialto. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia,* ix. 517.) [R. S. G.]

HILARIUS (15), a bishop, sometimes confounded with his more celebrated namesake the bishop of Arles, but the latter did not become a

bishop till A.D. 429, whereas the letter of Augustine which entitles his correspondent "consacerdos," i.e. colleague in the episcopate, cannot have been written latter than 417, as will appear below. He has also been identified (as by Baron. ann. 439, xliv.; cf. *Gall. Chr.* vi. 7, Mansi, v. 1189 note) with Hilarius who wrote to Augustine from Syracuse [HILARIUS (34)]. But it is evident from the letters themselves that Hilarius of Syracuse was a different person from the bishop to whom Augustine wrote. This latter was most probably bishop of Narbona, chief city of the province of Narbonensis Prima, who, following the example of Proculus, bishop of Massilia (Marseilles), claimed in his own province the title and rights of metropolitan in opposition to Patroclus bishop of Arles, on whom pope Zosimus conferred authority over the provinces of Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, as well as that of Viennensis Secunda, A.D. 417. Whether Hilarius obeyed this mandate does not appear, but his claim was revived, A.D. 422. When the clergy and people of Lotera (Lodève) on the death of their bishop complained to pope Boniface I. that the bishop of Arles, the same Patroclus, attempted to force a bishop upon them against their own wishes and that of their metropolitan, the bishop of Narbonna, Boniface annulled his predecessor's decree, and pronounced a decision in favour of the independence of the provinces above mentioned. (BONIFACIUS, Vol. I. p. 328; Ceillier, vii. 538, viii. 11; Tillemont, 258, vol. xiii. p. 678; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xxiii. 45, xxiv. 31; Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* § 94, vol. i. p. 447, Eng. Tr.; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 6; Zosimus, *Ep.* 8, ap. Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1570, 1571, 1585.)

St. Augustine wrote to Hilarius concerning Pelagianism, A.D. 416. After commending to his attention Palladius, the bearer of the letter, he expresses his preference for the method of treatment by reconciliation rather than exclusion from the church, and mentions the letter addressed by a recent council at Carthage to pope Innocent of Rome against these opinions, and also one to the same effect from the bishops of Numidia. Without entering at length into the arguments against them, which the approaching departure of the ship forbids him to do, he contents himself with calling attention to the petitions in the Lord's Prayer for forgiveness of sins and protection against temptation (Aug. *Ep.* 178 al. 94). [H. W. P.]

HILARIUS (16), bishop of Rhegium Julium (Reggio) c. A.D. 434. He is said to have held a provincial synod with thirteen other bishops, which was confirmed by Sixtus III. of Rome. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ix. 433.) [R. S. G.]

HILARIUS (17) ARELATENSIS (HILARY OF ARLES), ST., a highly distinguished prelate, bishop of Arles and metropolitan. He was born about A.D. 401, and died in A.D. 449 in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Name.—The name may have been formed either from the Greek ἱλαρὸς (cheerful), or from its Latin equivalent "hilaris" or "hilarus." But the fact that it first appears in quarters where the use of Greek largely prevailed, renders it probable that, though borne by subjects of the Roman emperors, it was Greek in its origin. That it is not a name of early occurrence might be suspected, inasmuch as designations suggested by external peculiarities were at first much more common than those implying mental qualities. In fact it does not appear to be met with in history before the 4th century of the Christian era.

Authorities.—1. References to himself in his biography of his predecessor, Honoratus of Arles.

2. *Vita Hilarii.*—This biography is ascribed in an Arles MS. to Ravennius (*al.* Reverentius), the successor of Hilary in his see, but it is usually assigned to St. Honoratus bishop of Marseilles, a disciple of Hilary. Gennadius expressly asserts it and Ceillier (viii. 434) is considered to have established the validity of this claim. It is given in the *Chronologia Lirinensis*, by Surius under May 5, and in the Bollandist collection (*Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 25).

3. Gennadius, *Illustrium Virorum Catalogus*, § 67.

4. St. Leo, in his epistles, especially the epistle numbered 89 in some editions (as *e.g.* that of Cologne, 1561), but 10 in that of Quesnel (Paris, 1675), and in that of the Ballerini (Verona, 1753–55).

5. Acts of the council of Riez in Provence (*Concil. Regense*, al. *Reiense*, seu *Rhegiense*), held in A.D. 439; and of the council of Orange (*Arausicanum*) in A.D. 442, over both of which Hilary presided; also those of the council of Vaison (*Vasense*) in the same year. (Labbe, *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 1747, p. 1783.)

6. Notices of a council summoned at Vienne by Hilary in A.D. 444 on the case of Chelidonius; and of a counter council in A.D. 445, summoned by Leo at Rome, which claimed to reverse the decision pronounced by Hilary and his brethren. Of these councils we do not possess the acts, but they are respectfully referred to by Hilary's biographer, and by Leo. (See Labbe, *ubi supra*, index A.D. 444; and compare Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, tom. v. p. 168, art. viii. *De Concilio Romano in causâ Hilarii Arelatensis*; also the more recent historians of the period.)

7. Notices of St. Hilary are also to be found in the writings of St. Eucherius [EUCHERIUS (1)] (who dedicated to Hilary his book *De Laude Eremi*), of St. Isidore, of Sidonius Apollinaris, and others; and very specially in certain writings of St. Prosper and St. Augustine, to which references will be found below.

Life.—Hilary (known to history as Hilary of Arles, from the see of which he became bishop) was born, as we have said, in Gaul in the earliest period of the 5th century, probably in A.D. 401. The place of his birth is unknown, but he appears to have been a native of that part of Gallia Belgica, which at a later date was called Austrasia. Although the names of his parents have not come down to us, there seems no doubt that he was of noble family. Hence, as in the case of several other famous men, who in maturer years have adopted a very severe course of life, the great contrast between the early nurture of Hilary and the hard simplicity of his monastic and episcopal career has been admiringly pointed out by his biographers.

The education of Hilary was such as became his station. It was, according to the standard of the age, a thoroughly liberal one, and included the study of philosophy and of rhetoric. That in this latter department of culture he became no

mean proficient is proved by the flowing and graceful style of the one assured composition of his pen, which has been preserved.

The early ambition of Hilary's mind lay in the direction of secular greatness. Both station and culture gave him every prospect of success, and he appears to have ably discharged the duties of some dignified offices in the state, though we are not informed of their precise nature. At a later period of the world's history, Hilary would, in all probability, have tried, like an Alfred or a St. Louis, to sanctify temporal authority, and to infuse into earthly politics the salt of religious principle. But such ideas did not dawn upon the mind of his age. The very notion of sanctified intellect being cherished in the country parsonage, in the university professoriate, on the judicial bench, or in the council-chambers of an emperor, belongs to a much later epoch. In Hilary's time, and long after it, an ardent devotion to religion was almost inseparably connected with flight from the world; though the duties of the episcopate might indeed call its holders from hallowed retreats, and necessarily involve some connexion with temporal rulers and affairs of state.

Hilary must have been still a very young man, when the example and the entreaties of his friend and kinsman, Honoratus of Arles, induced him to renounce all secular society, and betake himself to the solitude of the isle of Lérins. The struggle had, by his own shewing, been a severe one, but Honoratus having had recourse to private and special prayer, after one of the many conferences he had vainly held with Hilary, at length found his friend prepared to join him.

The temperament of Hilary was evidently one of those to which may be applied the well-known phrase originally employed by Caesar concerning Brutus, *quicquid vult, valdè vult*. Having resolved to enter the monastic state he sold his estates to his brother, and gave the proceeds partly to the poor, partly to some monasteries which needed aid. At Lérins he became a model monk in the very best and highest sense, both as regards external conduct and inward devotedness of spirit. But after a short period, probably not exceeding two years, his friend Honoratus, who had allured Hilary to the lonely island, endeavoured to withdraw him from this retreat. This change of conduct on the part of Honoratus arose from the fact that he had been chosen (A.D. 426) bishop of Arles, and desired the comfort and assistance of Hilary's companionship in the discharge of his new duties. As letters proved unavailing, Honoratus went in person to fetch Hilary, and succeeded.

This companionship, however, did not last long. Honoratus died on January 16 in A.D. 429, and Hilary at once prepared to return to Lérins. But the citizens of Arles, accompanied by a troop of soldiers, detected him (it was said) by a miracle, and compelled him to occupy the vacant see. And thus, says his biographer, Hilary undertook the office of a watchman (*speculatoris suscepit officium*. Compare Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7, in the Vulgate).

Hilary, as bishop, lived in many respects like a monk, though by no means as a recluse. Lightly and simply clad, he traversed on foot the whole extent of his diocese and of his province. When at home he dwelt in a seminary with some of his clergy. The redemption of captives occupied much of his care. For their sakes he would earn money by the toil of his own hands, tilling the earth and planting vines.

For the same object, like many other prelates of hallowed memory, he did not scruple to sell on emergencies sacred church vessels, substituting for them others of meaner material. He continued his studies, and was constant in meditation and prayer. As a preacher, Hilary evidently produced a great impression, not only by the excellence of the matter contained in his sermons, but likewise by his intonation and powers of delivery. Indeed a poet of the day, by name Livius, went so far as to declare that if St. Augustine had come after Hilary he would have been judged inferior.

Fulfilling as a teacher, in many respects, the ideal to be set forth in after-time by Chaucer, Hilary evidently did not fail in bestowing reproof:—

> "If were any person obstinat,
> What so he were of highe or low estat,
> Him wold be snibben sharply for the nones."

But his biographer assures us that his rebukes, though terrible, were reserved for the proud and worldly—"extitit rigidus, sed superbis;"—and tells us of Hilary interrupting a sermon in order to denounce, as unworthy of the Holy Communion, a magistrate whom he had fruitlessly rebuked in private for partiality in his judicial capacity.

The canons passed by the councils of Riez and of Orange, over which Hilary presided in A.D. 439 and 442 respectively, are not of very great importance, being, in the main, of a disciplinary character. A rather curious case was, however, treated at Riez. A presbyter, by name Armentarius, had been consecrated bishop of Embrun ("Ebredunum seu Ebrodunum"), by two bishops only, in contravention of the Nicene canon, which required the presence of three. The consent of the comprovincial bishops and of the metropolitan (*i.e.* Hilary himself) was also wanting. Armentarius was excluded from the see, but, proving penitent, was permitted, under some humiliating restrictions, to act as a chorepiscopus. A special canon, the seventh, insists strongly on the rights of the metropolitan.

It seems undeniable that Hilary was inclined to press the claims of this last-named office to a degree which must be considered one of usurpation; partly, perhaps, in regard to the geographical extent of the jurisdiction claimed by him for the see of Arles, and certainly with respect to the rights of the clergy, the laity, and the comprovincial bishops. But before proceeding to the consideration of the important contest with pope Leo, in which Hilary became involved, it may be well to interpose a few words on the semi-Pelagianism of which he has been accused.

In the year 429, the very year in which Hilary became bishop, two letters (numbered respectively as 225 and 226 in the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine) were addressed to the great bishop of Hippo, one by Prosper, and one by another Hilary, a layman. In the former, Prosper, after recounting various shades of dissent manifested in Southern Gaul from the Augustinian teaching on predestination, expressly names Hilary, bishop of Arles, as among the recal-

citrants. But in mentioning this dissent, Prosper not only refers in terms of high encomium to Hilary ("praecipuae auctoritatis et spiritalium studiorum virum"), but intimates that in all other respects the bishop of Arles was an admirer and supporter of Augustine's teaching. He believed. indeed, that Hilary had some intention of writing to Augustine for explanation on the points at issue. The epistle of Hilary, the layman, though its statement is more brief and general, entirely confirms that of Prosper. It is to this expression of sentiment that St. Augustine is alluding, when, in the 21st chapter of his book, *De Dono Perseverantiae* (tom. x. p. 852, ed. Ben.), addressed to the above-named correspondents, he avows his gratitude for the affection displayed towards him, though he is surprised at the dissent from his own view. To shew his own consistency in the matter, Augustine appeals to his reasonings in a letter addressed to Simplicius, bishop of Milan, before the rise of the Pelagian heresy.

If, on this evidence, and also from the respect shewn by him to Faustus of Riez [FAUSTUS 11)], we are compelled to class Hilary of Arles with the semi-Pelagians, it must be recognised that he is a supporter of their views in their very mildest form. Few learned divines of any Christian communion in our own day would contend that it was incumbent on us to accept, as a test of orthodoxy, all the anti-Pelagian propositions set forth by St. Augustine. That Hilary had some grounds for fearing that Augustine's teaching might imperil the acknowledgment of man's free agency is admitted by many of our historians, as, for instance, by Canons Bright (*Hist. of Church*, p. 307) and Robertson (*Hist. of Chr. Church*, bk. iii. chaps. ii. and vii.). That Hilary's sentiments on the subject did not involve him in personal alienation, is shewn by the circumstance that St. Germain of Auxerre [GERMANUS], who went twice over to Britain to contend against Pelagianism, was a companion of the bishop of Arles on, at least, one of his tours through Gaul.

It was out of this tour, undertaken by Hilary as metropolitan, that there arose the important contest between the bishop of Arles and the bishop of Rome, which ended in procuring for the Roman see a great increase of authority, both in respect of territory and of power. The struggle is in many respects a remarkable one. Each side was well championed. Leo and Hilary were men of saintly piety, earnest and energetic in the discharge of their duties. Both conscientiously believed themselves to be in the right; both, it must be added, were apt to be hasty and high-handed in carrying out their views of ecclesiastical government. It will be necessary, in the first place, to state the facts admitted on both sides.

Hilary found at Besançon (Vesontio), or, according to some, at Vesoul, a bishop named Chelidonius (*al.* Quelidonius or Celidonius, but the guttural would probably be preserved in the Gaul of that age), the validity of whose position was assailed on two grounds, both certainly savouring of the singular and formal rigorism of the day. The Levitical precept (Lev. xxi. 7, 13, 14, slightly modified in Ezekiel xliv. 22), which forbade a priest to marry a widow, was now extended so as to include the case of an aspirant to the episcopate, even if he had so acted while yet a layman. Again, the rule that bishops should not judge in a case of blood was pressed in such wise as to exclude from the prelacy men who had previously, as lay magistrates, on some occasions pronounced a sentence of capital punishment.

Hilary held a council at Vienne in A.D. 444. Its acts have not been formally recorded, but we learn from Hilary's biographer, and also from the testimony of Leo, that by its sentence Chelidonius was deposed from the episcopate. Thereupon Chelidonius appealed to Rome, and betook himself in person thither. Although it was now mid-winter, Hilary went on foot across the Alps. After having performed his devotions at the tombs of the apostles, he presented himself to Leo, and respectfully requested the bishop of Rome to act in conformity with the canons and usages of the universal church. Persons who had been juridically deposed were known to be serving the altar in Rome. If, on inquiry, Leo found this to be the case, let him, as quietly and secretly as he pleased, put a stop to such violation of the canons. If Leo would not do this, Hilary would simply return home again, as he had not come to Rome with a view of bringing forward any action or accusation. It seems probable, however, that he would have listened to Leo if the Roman bishop had been content with suggesting a rehearing of the cause in Gaul, a degree of interference often allowed even to secular rulers by bishops, who may be considered thoroughly anti-Erastian.

Leo declined to take this view of affairs. Although Gaul was not, any more than Africa, a portion of the Roman patriarchate, the Roman pontiff resolved to assert over that region a claim similar to that which he had just failed to establish in Africa [LEO]. He summoned a council, or at least a kind of conference, in which Hilary, for the sake of peace, consented to take part. Several bishops were present, as also Chelidonius himself. Hilary, with much plainness of speech, defended his conduct. Leo had him put under guard; but the bishop contrived to escape from his guards, and (apparently in February, A.D. 445, so far as we can make out the precise dates) returned to Arles. Leo proceeded with the case; found the charge of marriage with a widow *not proven* against Chelidonius; and formally (as he had already done informally) pronounced him restored to his rank of bishop and to his see.

But not content with the reversal of Hilary's sentence, Leo proceeded to deprive the bishop of Arles of his rights as a metropolitan, and to confer them on the bishop of Vienne. He made two further charges against Hilary; one that he had traversed Gaul attended by a band of armed men; the other, that he had hastily, without waiting for any election on the part of the clergy and laity, consecrated a new bishop in the room of Projectus, a bishop (according to Hilary, within his province), who was at that time ill. Moreover, Leo availed himself of his great influence with the reigning emperor, Valentinian III., to obtain an imperial rescript directed against Hilary, as one who was injuring the peace of the church and rebelling against the majesty of the empire. This celebrated document, which virtually promises the support of the

secular arm to the claim of the Roman pontiff to be a universal bishop, was issued in A.D. 445, and runs as follows: "Ut Episcopis Gallicanis omnibusque pro lege esset, quidquid apostolicae sedis auctoritas sanxisset: ita ut quisquis episcoporum ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexisset per moderatorem ejusdem provinciae adesse cogeretur." This important rescript was addressed to the celebrated general Aetius.

It is obvious that few ecclesiastical writers can pretend to come, with wholly unbiassed minds, to the criticism of this controversy. We may almost expect to be able to anticipate the comments likely to proceed from the pen of a Roman Catholic, a Lutheran, or an Anglican divine. To a certain extent this anticipation would prove correct. Protestant historians, as a rule, take the side of Hilary. But Roman Catholics are much divided. Writers of the ultramontane school, as Rohrbacher or the Italian Gorini (cited in the recent edition of Dom Ceillier), are severe upon Hilary, and profess to regard the emperor's rescript as an English judge might look upon a clause of an act, which had only stated explicitly some principle always recognised, and converted common law into statute law. But the Gallicans, as Quesnel and Tillemont, stand up strongly in defence of Hilary; and it is not too much to say that the language of Tillemont against Leo is far stronger than that of dean Milman. The following remarks must, of course, be read with that abatement, which must be made for the prejudices of one who does not suppose it likely that he should entirely be able, on a question of this nature, entirely to divest himself of all party bias and prejudices.

On the side of Hilary it must be said, that his conviction that the see of Arles gave him metropolitical power over the whole of Gaul, was based upon no small amount of cogent testimony. The case in favour of this view has been ably summed up by Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccles.* sec. v. cap. v. art. 8), and by the Rev. W. Kay in a note subjoined to the Oxford translation of Fleury (London, 1844). But if it hold good for the case of Chelidonius, it is not equally clear for that of Projectus. That Hilary should make his escape from Rome, when he found the secular authority employed to detain him, was only natural and most justifiable. That he should himself take soldiers with him in making his own visitations may be reasonably ascribed (in accordance with the suggestion of Fleury) to the disturbed state of the country. In the affair of Projectus he may have strayed beyond the ill-defined limits of his province, and most certainly violated canonical rule. But there is no reason to doubt that such a man as Hilary, in so acting, really believed that Projectus would not recover, and was anxious to provide against an emergency. As for the exceeding freedom of language employed by Hilary in the presence of Leo, a freedom which greatly shocked Leo and probably some others among the audience,[a] it must be remembered that the bishop of Arles was always accustomed to speak very plainly. Moreover, as a friend of Hilary, the prefect Auxiliaris subsequently observed: "Roman ears were very delicate."

Those who are willing to accept these pleas on behalf of Hilary do not thereby commit themselves to unreserved censure on the action of pope Leo. The encouragement to interference in the affairs of Southern Gaul was undeniably very great. Strong as was the case for the jurisdiction of Arles over most of the Gallican sees, its authority over Narbonensian Gaul had long been contested, and claimed for the bishop of Vienne. At least one contest between Gallic bishops, that of Patroclus of Arles against Proculus of Marseilles, had already been carried to a former bishop of Rome, Zosimus, in A.D. 422 (some two and twenty years before the case of Hilary), though the result had not been encouraging to the partisans of Rome, inasmuch as Zosimus misjudged it, and his successor, Boniface, referred it back again to the prelates of Gaul.[b] But Leo, though at times dwelling more upon St. Peter's confession of faith than on his personal position, yet in all his letters bearing on the contest with Hilary, repeats continually the text (St. Matt. xvi. 18) on which other bishops of Rome had dwelt so much, and which stands emblazoned in the cupola of St. Peter's. He appeals to it, as if no other interpretation had ever been heard of, as if it were in itself the sole and sufficient justification for his conduct.

In addition to all other advantages Leo enjoyed, as we have seen, the unhesitating support of the emperor. His recourse to such aid has been severely censured; and Tillemont has declared concerning the famous law of June 6, A.D. 445, in words which have often been cited, that "in the eyes of those who have any love for the church's liberty or any knowledge of her discipline, it will bring as little honour to him whom it praises, as of injury to him whom it condemns" (Tillem. *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. xv. art. xx. p. 88). But it must be owned that few ecclesiastics have been able to resist the temptation of availing themselves of the support of the state, when it is sure to be exercised in what they believe to be a right direction. Certainly, Baronius (as Tillemont naturally adds) is fully justified in appealing to this act of Valentinian as a proof of the powerful aid lent by the emperors towards establishing the greatness and authority of the popes.

Still on the part of Valentinian III. this step is not surprising. Leo was, even as a citizen, a man of great mark and political weight at Rome; and to a Roman emperor of the 5th century, already accustomed to see in the bishop of Rome a man wielding a kind of co-ordinate authority with himself, it would seem as natural that the orthodox clergy of Southern Gaul, who were all of pure Roman or Gallo-Roman race, should carry out the mandates of the see of Rome, as that prefects and secular officers should obey the orders of the court of Ravenna. The fact that Gaul was not properly included in the patriarchate of Rome, however important from an ecclesiastical point of view, would probably seem to the emperor a fine

[a] They were regarded, says Hilary's biographer, as words "quae nullus laicorum dicere, nullus sacerdotum posset audire."

[b] These points are stated with much fulness and candour by Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, vol. i. chap. iv.).

distinction not worthy of being taken into account. It has been urged that the circumstance of pope Hilarius, the successor of Leo, having appealed to Valentinian's rescript, rather than to any earlier document in support of the claims of Rome over Gaul, is tantamount to an admission that any pretension of such nature was previously unknown. But it is possible to press this argument too far. A claimant of authority may be glad to lay hold of a weapon so serviceable as a recent decision, which is clear, dogmatic, and seemingly supported by the conjoined sanction of church and state, without necessarily admitting thereby that he could not allege anything from antiquity. That Chelidonius at once bethought himself of appealing to Rome, and that Hilary expected to be compelled to rehear the case, are evidences that the crosier of the Roman see had by this time in some degree overshadowed the independence of the Gallican episcopate. But it is nevertheless true that the extent of Leo's claim was a real novelty, and marks an epoch in the history of the pontificate.

That Leo was not only sincere in his conviction respecting the rightfulness of his claim, but that he also believed its development to be a blessing, and perhaps a necessity, for Christendom is very possible. Nevertheless, if our acquaintance with the remarkable gifts of this great pontiff, with the learning, the acuteness, the courage, which vindicate his claims to canonization, dispose us to judge gently his conduct in the contest with St. Hilary, it must be said that we are extending to St. Leo a degree of charitableness, of which he has not in this case set us an example. To put the worst possible construction on all the acts of such a man as the bishop of Arles was a grievous fault. But of this fault, in a very aggravated form, Leo must, before any fair tribunal, be pronounced unquestionably guilty. The letter of the pope, which goes most fully into the case, is simply unpardonable. To call the departure of Hilary from Rome a base flight (*turpis fuga*) is strong language. But that Leo, himself so prone to make use of the secular arm, should complain of Hilary for travelling accompanied by soldiers; and that he should attribute Hilary's hasty consecration of a successor to Projectus to a desire to kill the invalid bishop, and deceive the substituted presbyter, is an outrage upon all fairness and decency.[a]

Of the remaining four years of Hilary's life, after his return to Gaul, we know little more, than that they were as incessantly occupied with the discharge of his duties as the earlier ones. Practically the acts of Leo do not appear to have affected his position (see Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. c. vii. pt. i. and Fleury), and Hilary never acknowledged their validity. Yet that they were not wholly ignored is shewn by an appeal to Leo, made after Hilary's death, for the restoration of its ancient metropolitical rights to the see of Arles. The attempts of Hilary to conciliate Leo by the remonstrances of friends availed but little. But when, after the death of Hilary, which occurred on May 5, A.D. 449, the prelates of the provinces announced to Leo that the election of a successor had fallen on Ravennius, who had been duly consecrated, Leo wrote an acknowledgment, which sounds like a virtual retractation of his imputations on the motives and character of Hilary, and at length most justly entitled him a man "of holy memory."

Writings.—The great importance of one composition ascribed to the pen of Hilary renders it desirable to consider the uncertain before the certain writings. Waterland, as is well known, devotes one chapter of his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed* to an argument in support of the belief that Hilary of Arles was the author of the (so-called) *Creed of St. Athanasius.* This view, if it could be proved, would of course be a fact of great importance, not only with reference to the career of Hilary, but also in its general bearing upon church history, and theological science. But Waterland does not "pretend to strict certainty" on the subject, and it cannot be alleged that subsequent research has raised his view above the position of an ingenious conjecture. To regard the authorship of Hilary as unproven does not, it need hardly be said, necessitate the adoption of a late date (see *The Athanasian Creed*, by the Rev. G. W. Ommaney, M.A., London, 1875), nor the rejection of the view that this creed may owe its origin to Southern Gaul.

Among other doubtful works assigned by some to Hilary of Arles must be classed certain poems on sacred subjects. These are as follows:—1. *Poema de septem fratribus Maccabaeis ab Antiocho Epiphane interfectis.* This may be found in Sicard's *Antidot. cont. omn. Haereses*, 1528 (there ascribed, however, to Victorinus Afer), in a *Sylloge Poetarum Christianorum*, published at Lyons in 1605, and in more than one *Bibliotheca Patrum.* 2. A poem, more frequently attributed to Prosper Aquitanus, and generally included in his works, entitled *Carmen de Dei Providentiâ.* 3. *Carmen in Genesim.* This poem (which, like the two preceding, is in hexameters) has been more often ascribed to the earlier Hilary, the bishop of Poitiers. Accordingly it was printed in the edition of that father's works by Miraeus (Paris, 1544), in several collections of patristic writings, and separately by Morellus (Paris, 1559) and Weitzius (Franconiae, 1625). The Benedictine editors reject it with some indignation from the genuine works of Hilary of Poitiers; remarking, however, that this decision does not involve an adjudication of it to Hilary of Arles. But despite faults—theological, grammatical, and metrical—the poem is curious as being a real attempt at that blending of the Christian and the classic elements of literature, which was displayed in after ages so brilliantly, though after all with questionable success, by such able scholars as the Jesuit Casimir and the Presbyterian Buchanan. Two lines refer, with some terseness of expression, to the three children and the prophet Daniel.

> "Hinc inter flammas pueri cantare parati,
> Et puer impasti quem non tetigere leones."

One other brief narrative has been ascribed to the pen of Hilary, but it is more than doubtful. Arles kept a commemoration of a local Christian

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[a] As this may seem an overstatement it is desirable to give the *ipsissima verba.* "Non ergo Hilarius tam studuit episcopum consecrare, quam eum potius qui aegrotabat, occidere; et ipsum, quem superposuit, malè ordinando, decipere."

celebrity, St. Genesius, who (like Porphyrius in the time of Julian) was believed to have been suddenly converted, while ignorantly mimicking Christian rites upon the stage. On one of these anniversaries, a bridge over that branch of the Rhone, on which the city stands, broke down. This was no uncommon occurrence, but the narrator declares that, on this occasion, though a crowd of men, women, and children was passing over, no one was injured. To what else, he asks, can such a result be ascribed, save to the intervention of Christ, vouchsafed doubtless to the intercession of His martyr Genesius? This narrative is given by the Bollandists in their account of St. Genesius, under the date of Aug. 25. They argue on chronological grounds against the opinion of Quesnel, who ascribes the document to Honoratus. But this negation, which is probably well-founded, does not prove Hilary to be its author. Neither in tone nor style does it resemble the remnant of Hilary's compositions, and, with the majority of critics, we feel disposed to regard it as spurious.

But although the above-named specimens of verse and prose must all be ranked as extremely doubtful, we have the authority of Hilary's biographer for asserting that he did compose some poetry (*versus*), wrote many letters, an explanation of the creed (*Symboli Expositio*—this is a main element in Waterland's argument), and also sermons for all the church's festivals (*Homiliae in totius anni Festivitates*). These were apparently extant when Honoratus wrote. We have now only the two following:—

1. *Epistola ad Eucherium Episcopum Lugdunensem* [EUCHERIUS (1)].—This brief letter was published by Barralis, A.D. 1613, in the *Chronologia Lerinensis*. It is also given in the *Bibl. Patr. Max.* tom. vii. issued at Lyons in 1667; and was reissued by Quesnel and by John Salinas. (The last-named, a canon of the church of St. John Lateran at Rome, brought out a complete edition of Hilary of Arles, in 1731, in conjunction with the works of Vincent of Lérins.) It would not be easy, within the short compass of some fifteen lines, to give a more favourable idea of modesty, and of a friendly admiration of his correspondent, than is here accomplished. To Hilary's regret, the demand of a restoration of certain books by Eucherius has only left him time for a cursory but most admiring perusal. He trusts that the heavy and persistent rains now falling may not damage the volumes; would be glad of a visit from their author, that he might ask for explanation of some difficulties; and, failing that, would even be thankful to be allowed the sojourn with him of some youthful student, whom Eucherius has trained.

2. *Vita Sancti Honorati Arelatensis Episcopi.*—This may be read in the collections named above (at p. 1228, tom. vii. of the Lyons collection), and with varying texts in the Bollandist collection, *Acta Sanctorum*, for Jan. 16, and at p. 11 of tom. ii. The following is a fair specimen of its style. (Something of what many would consider a modern feeling may be traced in the appeal to the *moral* miracles exemplified by Honoratus, and in the reference to the crown of martyrdom attainable in times of peace.) "O magna et inclyta, Honorate, tua gloria! Non indiguit meritum tuum signis probari. Ipsa enim conversatio tua, plena virtutibus et admirationis novitate praecelsa, perpetuum quoddam signum ministravit. Multa quidem tibi divinitus signorum specie, indulta novimus, quicunque propius assistebamus, *sed in his tu minimam partem tuam computabas;* majusque tibi gaudium erat, quòd merita et virtutes tuas Christus scriberet, quam quòd signa homines notarent. *Habet et pax Martyres suos;* Christi enim tu perpetuus, quam diu in corpore moratus es, testis fuisti." [J. G. C.]

HILARIUS (18) (HILARUS), bishop of Rome from Nov. 19 (or 17, Bolland.) 461 to Sept. 10, 467, during nearly six years, having succeeded Leo I. after a vacancy of nine days. He was a native of Sardinia, the son of one Crispus, and at the time of his election archdeacon of Rome. He had been sent, when a deacon, as one of the legates of pope Leo to the council at Ephesus called Latrocinium (449), held by order of the emperor Theodosius under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria. When all the other members of this council had been intimidated into signing a blank paper, to be filled up with a sentence of condemnation and deposition against Flavianus of Constantinople, the papal legates alone refused to sign. Flavianus had previously, on his condemnation being pronounced by Dioscorus, delivered an appeal in writing to these legates; on which occasion Hilarius is especially mentioned by Prosper, Leo's secretary, and in the acts of the council, as having boldly protested against the sentence. After the council, Flavianus having died from the violent treatment he had undergone, Hilarius, fearing with reason the like usage, escaped from Ephesus by night in disguise, and travelled by by-roads till he was safe in Italy. His conduct on this occasion has procured for him the title of Confessor. A letter from Hilarius, addressed after his return to the empress Pulcheria, gives an account of these transactions (Baron. ad ann. 449, and *Act. Concil. Chalced.*). His short pontificate is chiefly memorable for his assertion of the authority of the see of Rome in Gaul and Spain. His predecessor, Leo, during his struggle with St. Hilary of Arles for supremacy over the churches of Gaul, had obtained from the emperor Valentinian III. a famous rescript (445) confirming such supremacy to the fullest extent both in Gaul and elsewhere [LEO]; and to such extent it was accordingly claimed by Hilarius. Soon after his accession (Jan. 25, 462) he wrote to Leontius, bishop of Arles and exarch of the provinces of Narbonensian Gaul, announcing the event, and referring to the deference due to the Roman see. In times past there had been disputes about jurisdiction between the bishops of Arles and Vienne, in the course of which the popes had asserted their claim to adjudicate; and pope Zosimus (417–419) had assigned to the bishop of Arles, as his own vicar, jurisdiction over the aforesaid provinces, including Vienne, Lyons, Narbonensis prima and secunda, and the maritime Alps. In the same year Hilarius wrote a second letter to the same Leontius in reply to one received from him. Leontius had warmly and deferentially congratulated the pope on his accession, exhorting him to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and to continue the favour shewn to the see of Arles, and protect it against opponents of its jurisdiction. The pope, in his

reply, commends his correspondent's deference to St. Peter, and desires that the discipline of the Roman church should prevail in all churches, so that, as there was but one faith, there should be but one discipline. A third letter, still in the same year, brings such discipline to bear. The occasion of it was this. Rusticus, metropolitan of Narbonne, had nominated his archdeacon Hermes as his own successor, but had failed in obtaining from pope Leo an approval of his nomination. Nevertheless, on the death of Rusticus, Hermes had been accepted by the clergy and people of Narbonne as their metropolitan bishop. On this, Frederic, son of Dietrich, king of the West Goths, himself an Arian, who had previously prevented this same Hermes from obtaining the see of Biterrae (Béziers) to which Rusticus had appointed him, wrote to acquaint the pope with the "wicked usurpation" and "execrable presumption" of Hermes in intruding himself into the see of Narbonne. Accordingly Hilarius wrote this third letter to Leontius. Its purport was to blame him for allowing the transaction without reporting it to the apostolic see, the appointment by a bishop of his own successor being regarded as uncanonical. It begins: "We are amazed to find you so forgetful of Christian law as not to have acquainted us with the iniquitous things that have happened in a province belonging to your monarchy, that we might correct what you cannot or will not." He repeats the language of Frederic, calling the intrusion of Hermes a wicked usurpation and execrable presumption, and requires Leontius to send to Rome a statement of the affair, signed by himself and other bishops (Hil. *Ep.* vii. Labbe). The matter was now brought before a synod assembled at Rome by Hilarius (462), where many bishops happened to be present at the time to celebrate the anniversary of the pope's accession. In this synod the promotion of Hermes was declared uncanonical, and he was accordingly degraded from the rank of metropolitan, but, "out of great indulgence, and for the sake of peace," allowed to retain his see. The power of ordaining bishops was transferred during the life of Hermes to the oldest bishop of the province, but was to return to the see of Narbonne after his death. Hilarius notified this decision in a letter dated Dec. 3, 462, to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonensis prima and secunda, and the Pennine Alps, which letter also contained regulations for the discipline of the church in Gaul; among other things that the bishops of the aforesaid provinces were to assemble yearly under the presidency of the bishop of Arles (Hil. *Ep.* viii. Labbe).

In 463, Hilarius again interposed in the affairs of the Church in Gaul; and on this occasion not only Leontius, but also Mamertus, metropolitan of Vienne, a man celebrated for his saintliness, fell under his displeasure. The old disputes about jurisdiction between Arles and Vienne have been already spoken of. The city Diae Vocontiorum (Die in Dauphiné) had been assigned by pope Leo to the jurisdiction of Arles; but Mamertus had, notwithstanding, ordained a bishop of that see. Hilarius again derived his information from an Arian prince; this time from Gundriac, the Burgundian king. Accordingly he wrote another severe letter to Leontius, censuring him, as before, for not having apprized the holy see, and charging him to investigate the matter in a synod, and then send to himself a synodal letter giving a true account of it. Mamertus seems to have continued to assert his claim to jurisdiction in spite of the pope; for in the February of the following year (464) we find two more letters from Hilarius, a general one to the Gallican bishops, and another to various bishops addressed by name, in the former of which he accuses Mamertus of presumption and prevarication, threatens to deprive him of his metropolitan rank, and disallows the bishops whom he had ordained till confirmed by Leontius. The second of these two letters is noteworthy for the fact that in it the pope rests his claim to supremacy over Gaul on imperial as well as ecclesiastical law; alluding, we may suppose, to the rescript of Valentinian above alluded to. "He (*i. e.* Mamertus) could not abrogate any portion of the right appointed to our brother Leontius by my predecessor of holy memory; since it has been decreed by the law of Christian princes that whatsoever the prelate of the apostolic see may, on his own judgment, have pronounced to churches and their rulers, for the quiet of all priests of the Lord and the observance of discipline itself in the removal of confusions, is to be reverently received and tenaciously observed; nor can those things ever be upset which shall be supported by both ecclesiastical and royal injunction." (Hilar. *Epp.* ix. x. xi. Labbe.)

It is a curious circumstance of this dispute, as well as of the earlier one between Leo the Great and Hilary of Arles, that the principal persons concerned in them, those so severely objurgated by the popes as well as the popes themselves, are in the Calendar of Saints. Baronius finds it needful to account for St. Leo and St. Hilarius having so bitterly inveighed against St. Hilary and St. Mamertus by saying that popes may be deceived on matters of fact, and, under the prepossession of false accusations, persecute the innocent. (Baron. ad ann. 464.)

In 465 Hilarius exercised over the Spanish Church the authority already brought to bear on that of Gaul, but in the Spanish case on appeal. Two questions came before him. First, Silvanus, bishop of Calchorra, had been guilty of three offences against the canons. He had ordained bishops without the knowledge or consent of his metropolitan, Ascanius of Tarragona; he had ordained one bishop in another province; he had latterly conducted such ordinations alone, unassisted by other bishops. Ascanius and his suffragans had in 464 sent a synodal letter on the subject to the pope, requesting directions. (*Inter Hilar. Epp. Ep.* ii. Labbe.)

Secondly, Nundinarius, bishop of Barcelona, had nominated one Irenaeus, bishop of another see, as his own successor; and, after his death, the nomination was confirmed by the metropolitan Ascanius and his suffragans. But, as if feeling some doubt on the matter, they wrote to the pope, on the suggestion of Vincentius, duke of Tarragona, desiring his concurrence, and acknowledging the primacy of St. Peter's see. Both these letters were considered in a synod of bishops again being held at Rome on the anniversary of his accession. On the second case it was decided that Irenaeus should quit the see of

Barcelona, and return to his former one, and that some one of the clergy of Barcelona should be selected by Ascanius and consecrated. The reason alleged was not only the unlawfulness of translations, but still more the necessity of putting a stop to the notion, said to be not uncommon in Spain, of the episcopate being capable of being devised by will, as if it were hereditary. The other case, that of Silvanus, in regard (as the pope said in his letter on the subject) to the necessity of the times, and because the whole case against him was not altogether clear, was leniently dealt with. The Spanish bishops were ordered to condone his uncanonical acts, and the bishops ordained by him were confirmed by the pope, on condition of their being neither deuterogamists, nor persons who had married others than virgins, nor illiterate, nor maimed, nor such as had undergone public penance. But similar proceedings were prohibited for the future. (Hilar. *Epp.* i. ii. iii. and *Concil. Rom.* xlviii. Labbe.)

In 467 the new emperor Anthemius, having come to Rome to take possession of the Western empire, was induced by one Philotheus, a heretic of the Macedonian persuasion, whom he had brought with him, to issue a general edict of toleration for heretics. This edict was, however, revoked before coming into effect; and pope Gelasius (*Ep. ad Episc. Dardan.*) says that this was due to Hilarius having in the church of St. Peter remonstrated with the emperor, and induced him to promise on oath that he would allow no schismatical assemblies in Rome. In the same year Hilarius died.

He appears in the Roman Calendar as a saint and confessor, his day being Sept. 10. In remembrance of his deliverance at Ephesus from the trials that procured him the title of confessor, he built, after he became pope, in the baptistery of Constantine near the Lateran, two chapels dedicated to St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, to the latter of whom he attributed his deliverance. The chapel to the Evangelist bore the inscription, "Liberatori suo Johanni Evangelistae, Hilarus famulus Christi." (Bolland. *citing* Caesar Rasponus.)

Anastasius Bibliothecarius describes at length his various costly gifts to churches, and ornamentation of them; and speaks of his foundation of monasteries to St. Laurentius and St. Balneus, of an oratory to St. Stephen "in baptisterio Lateranensi," and of two libraries in the same place. He adds, "In urbe Roma constituit ministeriales qui circuirent constitutas stationes"; also, that he was buried at St. Laurentius' church in a crypt near the body of the blessed bishop Sixtus. It is said to have been at his instance that Victorinus Aquitanus compiled his Paschal cycle, "considerans Theophili Alexandrini episcopi cyclum jam in declivum labentem." (Baron. ad ann. 463, quoting Gennad. *de Vir. Illustr.* c. 88.) Baronius adds (*in loc. citat.*) that Bede attributes the cycle rather to Victor, bishop of Capua; "sed complures testantur haec de Victorino." The extant writings of Hilarius are his letters referred to above. A letter quoted as his in the acts of the second council of Nice, adducing a passage from St. Chrysostom in favour of image-worship, is spurious. Anastasius mentions his decreta sent to various parts, confirming the synods of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, condemning Eutyches, Nestorius, and all heretics, and confirming the domination and primacy of the holy Catholic and apostolic see. In the Roman council held under him A.D. 465, above referred to, five canons were promulgated, debarring deuterogamists, those who had married other than virgins, penitents, illiterate, or maimed persons from ordination, and forbidding dying bishops to nominate their successors. (*Concil. Rom.* xlviii. Labbe.)

[J. B—y.]

HILARIUS (19) (HILARUS), bishop of Ameria (Amelia), was present A.D. 465 at the council held at Rome. He was succeeded in the following year by Tiburtinus. (Mansi, vii. 959; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 335; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* v. 196.) [R. S. G.]

HILARIUS (20), bishop of Conversano, present at the third synod under pope Symmachus in Oct. 501, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who adopts, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele (§ 220). (Mansi, viii. 253.)

[A. H. D. A.]

HILARIUS (21), bishop of Photice, who signed the synodic epistle of Vetus Epirus to pope Hormisdas in 516. (Mansi, viii. 405; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 143.) [C. H.]

HILARIUS, bishop of Mende. [HILARUS.]

HILARIUS of Novaria. [FYLACRIUS.]

HILARIUS of Perga. [HILARIANUS (2).]

HILARIUS (22), seventh bishop of Digne, succeeding Portianus, and followed by Heraclius, was present at the fifth council of Orleans, A.D. 549, the second of Clermont in the same year, and the fifth of Arles in 554. (Mansi, ix. 136, 144, 703; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 1113.) [S. A. B.]

HILARIUS (23), first bishop of Carcassonne, commemorated June 3. His age is uncertain, save that the ancient martyrology of this church places him under the Arians—an indefinite expression, however, since the Visigoths ruled the district from the 5th to the 8th century, and were not converted from Arianism till the end of the 6th. Hilarius may have lived about the latter date. He is commemorated at Carcassonne conjointly with St. Valerius, but there is reason to conjecture that they are in fact the same person (*Gall. Ch.* vi. 863; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 291). [R. T. S.]

HILARIUS (24), metropolitan bishop of Salamis (Constantia), in Cyprus. He probably lived during the first half of the 7th century, celebrated both as a man of sanctity and of learning, and as a converter of heretics to the Church. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1048; Lusignano, *Chorograffia di Cipro*, p. 25.) [L. D.]

HILARIUS (25), bishop of Complutum (Alcalá de Henares) from about 623 to about 648. He appeared at the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633), his signature preceding those of forty-five bishops. He also subscribed the acts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh councils, in all of which he took the first place among the suffragans present. His pontificate must have lasted about twenty-five years, and is contemporary with the

great outburst of monastic enthusiasm in the neighbouring Vierzo under St. Fructuosus. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 405, 413, 423; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 184.) [Asturius.] [M. A. W.]

HILARIUS (26) (Alarius, Alaricus), bishop of Auria, or Orense. His signature appears as sixth among those of the third council of Braga, in A.D. 675, which was attended by eight bishops, and twenty-sixth among those of the thirteenth council of Toledo, which was attended by forty-eight bishops (*Esp. Sag.* xvii. 45; *Coleccion de Canones de la Iglesia Española*, ii. 512, 660). [F. D.]

HILARIUS (27), bishop of Toulouse, commemorated May 21; remarkable for his devotion to the memory of St. Saturninus. He is placed next or next but one to Saturninus, who is assigned to the 3rd century, but his period is not ascertained. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 11; *Gall. Chr.* xiii. 4; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 132.) [R. T. S.]

HILARIUS (28) I. and II. respectively first and seventh bishops of the Veromandui, before the 6th century when the see was fixed at Noyon. (*Gall. Ch.* ix. 979.) [R. T. S.]

HILARIUS (29), martyr with Proclus in the reign of Trajan; commemorated July 12. They were natives of Ancyra, zealous and successful preachers of the faith. When Proclus, who was the first seized, was being led to execution, he met Hilarius, who was his kinsman, and saluted him, whereupon Hilarius was apprehended and beheaded. (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 163.) [C. H.]

HILARIUS (30), a Roman official, writer of the imperial order to the vicar of Africa concerning the journey back of bishops from Arles (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 212, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HILARIUS (31), a deacon of Rome, sent by Liberius bishop of Rome as legate with Lucifer bishop of Cagliari and Pancratius a presbyter to the emperor Constantius. He was at Milan in that capacity when violent measures were taken against the Catholics by the Arians in the council of A.D. 355. He was personally a great sufferer for his loyalty to the faith of Nicaea. (Hieronym. *de Vir. Illust.* 95, in Migne, Patrol. Lat. xxiii. 697; Mansi, iii. 243–247.) He subsequently joined the followers of Lucifer, and wrote in their interest on the re-baptism of heretics (Hieronym. *Dial. adv. Luciferian.* 21, 27, in Patr. Lat. xxiii. 175, 182); but seems to have become reconciled before the death of Damasus, A.D. 384. He is thought to have been the author of the *Comment. in XIII. Epp. Beati Pauli* attributed to St. Ambrose [cf. Hilarius (6), Ambrosiaster], and also of the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* appended to the works of St. Augustine. (Patr. Lat. xxxv. 2206; Bellarmine, *de Script. Eccl.* 76; Garnier, Appendix ii. ad part ii. *Op. Mar. Mercat.* in Patr. Lat. xlviii. 316–320.) [T. W. D.]

HILARIUS (32), a friend of Basil's school-days, for whom he had always felt affection and admiration. We have one letter of Basil's to him, written A.D. 375, expressing the severe disappointment it had been to him on his arrival at Dazimon to find he had left it a few days before, as he had much desired to confer with him on the troubled state of the church and his own private distresses. His sorrow at missing him was much increased by the failure in the transmission of a letter Hilarius had written to him on ecclesiastical matters. Hilarius was in bad health, and Basil exhorts him to patient endurance. (Basil. *Epist.* 212 [370].) [E. V.]

HILARIUS (33), ST., priest and confessor at Oisé (Aviciacus), a village about eight miles from Sens. According to tradition he died at the close of the 4th century at Oisé, where his body lay till the year 841, when St. Aldricus archbishop of Sens translated it to Sens (Sept. 23). Nothing trustworthy is known of him, or even where he lived. The legendary *Lectiones* make him a relative and godson of Hilary of Poitiers. His day of commemoration is July 1. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. i. 39–42.) [S. A. B.]

HILARIUS (34)—Sept. 27. Martyr at Sion in Valais during the Vandal irruptions in the 4th or 5th century. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HILARIUS (35), or HILARUS, a presbyter, who sent to St. Augustine, c. A.D. 414, a letter with sundry questions as to opinions held by certain persons at Syracuse, chiefly relating to Pelagianism. They are as follows:—

1. Whether man can be free from sin, and of himself keep God's commandments?
2. Whether an infant, dying without baptism, can be saved?
3. Whether a rich man, even if he keep God's commandments, can enter into the kingdom of heaven without first parting with his riches?
4. Whether oaths are lawful?
5. Whether the church, which ought to be spotless (Eph. v. 27), is the one which is visible, or the one to which we look forward? For some held that it is possible for the visible church to be so (Aug. *Ep.* 156).

To these questions Augustine replies at length (*Ep.* 157).

I. As to freedom from sin, let those who think this possible look at 1 John i. 8. Let them remember the prayer which our Lord gave to His apostles, and to all Christians, in which forgiveness of sins forms one of the petitions; also the confession of sin made by Daniel (Dan. ix. 20). A broad distinction must be made between the guilt of those who, having been preserved by God's grace from great crimes, have endeavoured to make amends for their faults by prayers and alms, and those who, on the ground that no one is free from sin, give themselves up to self-indulgence. As to capacity of righteousness without help, this notion is refuted (*a*) by the Lord's Prayer, which prays that we may not be led into temptation; (*b*) by the ninth commandment, which forbids sinful appetite; (*c*) by the close connexion of the law with Christ, Who is said to be its completion (Rom. x. 4), though the Jews put Him to death; (*d*) by the terms of our Lord's mission, Who came as the great physician, to call not righteous persons but sinners to repentance. Those who want Him not are like insane persons, of whom we know that the greater the disease the less is their call for the physician. Our free-will, therefore, belongs to us, not in order that we may reject Divine help,

but that we may seek it in prayer. We possess nothing but what we have received (2 Cor. x. 17). Let us, therefore, not presume upon our gifts, for God resists the proud, but use the means which He gives for improving them.

II. As to salvation of unbaptized infants:—if the sin of Adam has infected the race from birth (Rom. v. 12–19), and there can be no new birth except in Christ, this principle must necessarily apply to infants, though it must be completed by release from the guilt of subsequent transgression by application of the same remedy. Thus it was to Christ, God and man, and not to mere obedience to law, nor to exercise of free-will, that the patriarchs looked by faith for salvation. As by Adam came death, so by Christ alone comes salvation. It is on the same ground only that we can hope for pardon, whether as infants or as actual transgressors, for it is only through Christ that the former can be released from the guilt of sin. This doctrine is opposed by many, by some even at Carthage, especially by Celestius, who, however, was compelled unwillingly to admit the necessity of Christ's redemption even for infants.

III. As regards the case of rich men, the question appears to be met (*a*) by the instances of Abraham and Jacob, (*b*) by the fact that in the parable Lazarus was not accepted because he was poor, nor Dives rejected because he was rich; and if in reply to this it be said that in the former cases men had not yet been bidden, as afterwards they were by the Gospel, to sell their goods and give the value to the poor, the answer is, that in order to attain eternal life our Lord bade the man who asked Him what he was to do, not to sell his goods but to keep the commandments. It was in order to attain perfection that Christ recommended the former course to him. So St. Paul exhorts rich men to make good use of their wealth, and though both he and our Lord warn us of the danger of riches, yet the latter reminds us that with God nothing is impossible (Matt. xix. 16, 22, 26; 1 Tim. vi. 17, 19). A distinction must also be drawn between "leaving" and "selling" (Matt. xix. 29). A Christian ought to be ready, if necessary, to "leave," *i.e.* give up everything for Christ's sake, riches, relatives, wife, even though he may not be called on to do so (Luke xiv. 26, 27, 33). There is reason to think that some of those who are so loud in condemning the rich are themselves living on their contributions. But as for himself, says Augustine, he has acted on the principle of giving up his possessions, although he had but little to give up: but it was not a point of little or much; that he had gained by the sacrifice he was well assured; yet he would not condemn others.

IV. V. The other questions must be passed over briefly. The church contains good and bad fish. Oaths should be avoided as much as possible, but there are many expressions used by St. Paul which are equivalent to oaths, as "God is my witness," and the like. It is best never to swear, but while there is no sin in swearing truly, it is a grievous offence to swear falsely (Aug. *Ep.* 157). [H. W. P.]

HILARIUS (36), chartularius, *i.e.* record-keeper to Pelagius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 578–90, through whom a petition was presented to that pope from the African Donatists (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 610, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HILARIUS, Welsh saint. [ELIAN, ILAR.]

HILARIUS, of Inis Locha-cre. [ELAIR.]

HILARUS, pope. [HILARIUS (18).]

HILARUS (1) (HILARIUS), one of the two clerks (exceptores), employed at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411, on the part of the proconsul, to prepare and verify the lists of the persons present and to take notes of the proceedings. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 344, 410, 465, 466, 480, 483, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

HILARUS (2), Donatist bishop of Sullita, or Suliana, in Byzacene, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 451, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HILARUS (3), bishop of Bofeta, or Buffada, in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. He had formerly been a Donatist, but had become a Catholic, and had at that time no rival in his see. With this change Alypius taunted Petilianus when he was obliged to acknowledge it (*Mon. Vet. Don.* i. 120, 121). [H. W. P.]

HILARUS (4), a layman of Carthage, of tribunitian rank, who found fault with the practice which prevailed there of singing hymns at the altar either before or after the oblation. The complaint is mentioned by Augustine, but his reply is not extant (Aug. *Retract.* ii. 11). [H. W. P.]

HILARUS (5) (HILARIUS), a Gallic bishop joining in a synodic epistle of Ravennius bishop of Arles to pope Leo in Dec. 451, and addressed with the others by Leo in reply. (Leo Mag. epp. 99, 102, in Patr. Lat. liv. 966, 969.) [C. H.]

HILARUS (6), notary, sent as legate with Ennodius bishop of Pavia and others by pope Hormisdas to the emperor Anastasius in 515. (Mansi, *Concil.* viii. 395, B D.) [C. H.]

HILARUS (7) (HILARIUS, popularly ST. CHELIRS), ST., sixth bishop of Mende, following Leonicus and succeeded by St. Evanthius, entertained St. Leobinus, afterwards bishop of Chartres at Mende, circ. A.D. 520 (*Acta S. Leobini*, i. 3, Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 350), and was present at the first council of Clermont A.D. 535, where he subscribed himself as "episcopus ecclesiae Gabalitanis," *i.e.* Javouls (Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* viii. 863, Florence, 1759–98). It has been suggested that an ode of Venantius Fortunatus "ad Hilarium episcopum" was addressed to him (lib. iii. c. 21; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 142 n.), but it probably was written after his death.

The Bollandists publish from old MSS. a short life of him, which they consider bears the marks of having been written soon after his death. It is, however, of an extremely legendary character. According to it, though his name was given to him from his disposition, from an early age he subjected himself to austerities and ingenious tortures. About two miles from Mende he built a cell, where he lived with three brethren. Later he built a monastery near the Tarna, and

gathered a great company of monks there. Here he fought against the pagan revels of January, which still survived in the neighbourhood. The monotony of his life was broken by many visits to the monastery on the isle of Lérins. When the Sicambri (*i.e.* Franks) invaded his district, he mitigated the horrors of war, especially by redeeming captives from slavery. The Life makes no mention of his acts as bishop of Mende. The date of St. Hilarius's death is unknown, but it must have taken place before 541, when St. Evanthius was already sitting. He was commemorated Oct. 25 (Usuard., Wandalbert). His remains were in 777 transferred by Fulradus, abbat of St. Denys, to the new monastery of Salona. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. xi. 619 seqq.; *Gall. Christ.* i. 86.) [S. A. B.]

HILARUS (8), subdeacon. In a letter to Anthemius, another subdeacon, Gregory directs that for having made false accusations Hilarus is to be deprived of his office, publicly beaten, and sent into exile. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xi. indict. iv. 71 in Migne, lxxvii. 1021.) [A. H. D. A.]

HILARUS (9), the archpriest and guardian of the Roman see, who with the pope elect, John IV., wrote to the Irish bishops in 640 on the Paschal controversy. (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 19.) [S.]

HILBERTUS (HILDEBERTUS), ST., fourth abbat of Fontanelle, succeeding St. Ansbert, and followed by St. Bainus (*circ.* 700). At his suggestion the monk Aigradus undertook to write the life of his predecessor St. Ansbert, which still survives, though apparently retouched by a later hand (Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 1048, Paris, 1668–1701). He also built a church, in honour of the same saint, about four miles from the monastery, where a wooden cross had formerly stood. St. Hilbert was buried in the church of St. Paul, but translated afterwards to the greater church. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 167.) [S. A. B.]

HILDA, properly HILD named after a Saxon war-goddess, was the daughter of Hereric, nephew (not grandson, as Florence of Worcester understood "nepotis" in Bede, iv. 23) of Eadwine or Edwin, afterwards king of Northumbria. As a member of the house of Aelle or Ella, king of Deira, Hereric, like his uncle, was persecuted by Aethelfrith or Ethelfrid the Fierce, who had united Deira to Berenicia. With his wife Bregswid, whom Florence calls Beorhtswith, he found shelter in the little British district of Elmete, in the present West Riding of Yorkshire, then governed by a king named Cerdic. Here he became the father of two daughters, Hereswid or Hereswith—afterwards the wife of Ethelhere, the brother and successor of Anna, king of the East Angles, and, as Bede tells us, the mother of a later king, Aldwulf—and Hilda, whose birth in 614 was preceded by a dream which was afterwards interpreted as foreshadowing to Bregswid the spiritual "light" which her expected child was to diffuse. Hereric was soon afterwards poisoned by order of, or with the connivance of, the British king Cerdic, to whom all Saxons, exiled or triumphant, would be objects of enmity. Edwin punished this murder by the annexation of Elmete and the expulsion of Cerdic (Nennius, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76), and Hilda, as a girl of thirteen, received baptism with her grand-uncle (himself only twenty-nine years her senior) from the hands of Paulinus on Easter Eve in 627. She resolved, about A.D. 647, to embrace the monastic life and spent a year in East Anglia, hoping to be able to join her sister Hereswid, who had withdrawn into the convent of Chelles, near Paris; but Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, recalled her to Northumbria, and she passed another year with a very few companions, under monastic rule on land of one "hide" or "familia" on the north bank of the Wear. She was then appointed to succeed Heiu, who had been abbess of a small convent called Heruteu (the Isle of the Hart) at Hartlepool, A.D. 649. She "took pains to rule it according to such maxims of monastic discipline as she could learn from wise men. For bishop Aidan and all the religious who knew her, were accustomed to visit her, to hold her in regard, and to give her instructions, for the sake of her innate wisdom and her love for the (monastic) service of God" (Bede, iv. 23).

At the end of 655, after the decisive battle of Winwidfield, Hilda received the infant princess Aelfled from the hands of her father, king Oswy, to be trained as a nun (Bede, iii. 24), and two years later, having obtained an estate of ten hides at the place called Streaneshalch, which Bede interprets "the Bay of the Lighthouse," and which we know by its Danish name of Whitby, she fulfilled with energy the task of organizing this new community; and it was under her roof that the famous conference on the Paschal question was held in the spring of 664. Hilda was then an adherent of the Scotic Easter, but she joined in the general adoption of the more accurate and "Catholic" rule. Her monastery, like the later foundations of Coldingham, Barking, Repton, Wimborne—like the great Irish house of St. Bridget at Kildare,—and like those of Autun, Brie, Fontevrault, and others, included monks as well as nuns, both classes being under the rule of the abbess, and the nuns taking precedence of the monks (Kitchin, *Hist. France*, i. 252); and Hilda, who for her eminence in piety and grace was called "the Mother" by all who knew her, trained all the inmates in "the practice of justice, piety, chastity, and all other virtues, but especially of peacefulness and charity; so that, after the model of the primitive church, no one there was rich or poor, all persons had all things in common, for nothing appeared to be the property of any individual. So great, also, was her prudence, that not only all common people in their necessities, but even sometimes kings and princes sought counsel of her and found it." Thus Bede, who adds, in illustration of the good effects of Hilda's government, that bishops began to look to Streaneshalch for their future clergy, and five of the monks, Bosa, Aetla, Oftfor, John (St. John of Beverley), and Wilfrid (second of the name), were in course of time raised to the episcopate. Many persons living at a distance were benefited by Hilda's example. She appears to have shared in the general feeling of Northumbrian churchmen, which condemned Wilfrid when he appealed to Rome against the division of his diocese without his consent: she even joined with archbishop Theodore in sending persons to accuse him before pope Agatho (Eddius, *Life of Wilfrid*, c. 52). It was probably in these later years of her life that

she heard from her reeve the strange story of the development of poetical powers in the herdsman Caedmon, and in presence of many learned men examined Caedmon himself, heard him recite his song, and caused him to assume the habit as a monk of the house. She had the trial of a long last illness, which began in 674—four years previously to the first troubles of Wilfrid; a succession "of feverish attacks wore out her strength; but she ceased not during six years to praise her Maker, and to teach the flock entrusted to her that Christians should serve Him obediently while they had health, and in sickness or adversity should never omit to render their thanks to Him." At length, in the autumn of 680—the year of the council of Hatfield, of Wilfrid's return home, and of his severe imprisonment—Hilda, who had but recently founded at Hackness a small nunnery dependent on the mother-house, felt that her work and her endurance were about to end. She received her last Communion, "exhorted her nuns to keep Christian peace with each other and with all, and while uttering her farewell counsels looked cheerfully on death, or rather, in the words of the Lord, passed from death unto life," November 17, 680. [W. B.]

HILDEBALDUS (HILDIVALDUS, HILTIBALDUS), twenty-third or twenty-fourth archbishop of Cologne, succeeding Ricolfus and followed by Hadabaldus, was one of a number of the higher clergy, whom Charles the Great admitted to intimacy and employed on diplomatic missions (see Theodulfus, *Carmen ad Carolum*, iii. 1; Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 319, in which he follows the royal family, and allusion is made to his presence at the king's table). At the council of Frankfort in A.D. 794, Charles, having obtained the pope's licence, proposed to make him the royal chaplain in succession to Angilramnus, with the sanction of the assembled prelates. The date of his accession to the see is uncertain, but must have been previous to this council, since in the canon he receives the title of episcopus (*Canon* liii., Baluzius, *Capitularia*, i. 270). For the story of Charles's first acquaintance with him, see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (i. 540), who quotes the *Cölnische Chronik* (fol. 115 a). He was one of the deputies who, in A.D. 799, was sent to meet pope Leo on his journey to Paderborn, and, after accompanying him on his return to Rome, assisted at the inquiry instituted by Charles into the outrage committed upon him by the Roman populace (Anastasius quoted in Eckhart, *Franciae Orientalis*, i. 789; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 634). He consecrated St. Liudger to the see of Münster, A.D. 802, after with difficulty overcoming his reluctance. To the latter's objection that a bishop should be blameless, Hildebald humbly replied that he himself was far from being so (*Vita S. Liudgeri*, i. 20, Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 411). In 811 his signature appears first among those of the bishops who attested Charles's will (Einhard, *Vita K. M.* xxxiii., Pertz, ii. 463). In 813, together with Richolfus, bishop of Mainz, he presided over the council of Mainz (Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* xiv. 64, Florence, 1759–98). The following year was that of Charles's death. Seven days after the fatal illness had seized him he sent for Hildebald—"familiarissimum pontificem suum"—that he might receive from his hand the sacraments before his death (Theganus, *Vita Lud. Imp.* vii., Pertz, ii. 592). Hildebald seems to have retained his office of royal chaplain and his influence under Louis the Pious, as in 816 we find him commissioned with Theodulfus, bishop of Orleans, and others to meet pope Stephen V. and escort him to Rheims (*Vita Lud. Imp.* xxvi., Pertz, ii. 620). Hildebald was also abbat of Monsee in the diocese of Passau, where he succeeded Henricus in or before the year 803, and was followed by Lantbertus on his resignation of the active duties between 814 and 818 (see the *Traditiones* of the monastery quoted by Eckhart, *ibid.* ii. 155–6). The year of his death is usually given as 818, but the *Annales S. Emmeramni* (Pertz, i. 93) place it in the following year (cf. Eckhart, *ibid.*). According to Gelenius, quoted by Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 818, xx. tom. vii. 492–3), he was buried in the church of St. Gereon by the altar of St. Maurice; and the same authority states that the new metropolitan church of Cologne was built by him (Le Cointe, *ibid.*). Baluzius gives a *praeceptum* for the institution of bishoprics in Saxony, which purports to be signed by Hildebald, royal chaplain, but the date (789) proves it to be spurious, as the office was not conferred on him till five years later (*Capitularia*, i. 245). The same remark applies to another given on p. 259.

Though Hildebald and his predecessors for some way back are usually spoken of as archbishops, it is doubtful whether Cologne had yet acquired a metropolitan jurisdiction. The change is generally fixed between 794 and 799. The canon of the former year calls him episcopus merely, while Angilramnus of Metz is archiepiscopus. But after the latter date he is more frequently spoken of by the higher title, though in the *Annales S. Emmeramni*, which record his death in 819, he is episcopus only. Rettberg concludes that the subject needs further investigation (*Kirchengeschichte*, i. 540; cf. Eckhart, *Franciae Orientalis*, i. 756). Gams, while mentioning that the usual view makes Hildebald the first archbishop, expresses his belief that the occupants of the see of Cologne were archbishops at least as early as the 6th century (*Series Episc.* 269). [S. A. B.]

HILDEBERTUS (1), instructor of Coelius Sedulius, said by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 319, 576) to have flourished A.D. 460. By a strange mistake Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 353, and *Men. Scot.* Dec. 21), followed by Tanner (*Bibl.* 403), who gives a long list of works ascribed to him, has confounded him with that Hildebert who was bishop of Le Mans and afterwards archbishop of Tours, in the beginning of the 12th century. Colgan, on the other hand, would seek to identify him with St. Ailbhe. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 316, c. 2, 319 nn. 4, 5; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 221, Dec. 21; Spotswood, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* 8.) [J. G.]

HILDEBERTUS, bishop of Meaux. [HILDEVERT.]

HILDEBERTUS (Sigebert, *Chron.* ann. 697), brother of Clovis. [CHILDEBERT III.] [C. H.]

HILDEBERTUS, abbat of Fontenelle. [HILBERTUS.]

HILDEBERTUS (2) (EMEBERTUS), ninth bishop of Cambrai and Arras, between St. Vindicianus and Hunaldus. His death is placed on June 24 in 713 or 715. (*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 35, 49; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 5, 8; Le Glay, *Cameracum Christianum*, 10.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEBERTUS (3), according to the *Gallia Christiana*, twenty-first bishop of Cologne, between Hildegarius and Berthelinus, but his place in the series is very doubtful. It appears to rest solely upon the testimony of an epitaph in the church of St. Gereon (quoted in the *Gallia Christiana*, iii. 631), and even that is most questionable, since the name Hildebertus involves an error of prosody, while that of Hildegarus, or Hildegerus, the twentieth in the see, which later critics would substitute for it, is metrically correct. Those who believe in his existence impute to him the contention with St. Boniface as to the see of Utrecht (HILDEGARIUS). He is omitted by Potthast and Gams. (Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 539; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 631.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEBOLD of Cologne. [HILDEBALD.]

HILDEBRAND I., ninth bishop of Séez, succeeding Leudebaudis, and followed by Rodobertus, is said to have been sitting in 575, but nothing is known of him. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 676; Gams, *Series Episc.* 625.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEBRAND, bishop of Benevento, circ. 622–633. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 26.) [A. H. D. A.]

HILDEBRAND, king of the Lombards. [HILDEPRAND.]

HILDEBRAND, archbishop of Cologne. [HILDEBALD.]

HILDEFONSUS, HILDEFUNS, bishop of Toledo. [ILDEFONSUS.]

HILDEGARDA (HILDEGARDIS, HILDIGARDA), the 2nd wife of Charles the Great, of a family of high rank among the Suevi. For her pedigree from Gotefrid duke of the Alemanni see Theganus, *Vita Ludovici Pii*, 2, Pertz, *Scriptores* ii. 590. She had a brother named Oudalricus. According to her epitaph she was married at a very early age, and died young. She gave birth to four sons, one of whom scarcely survived its birth. Those who lived were Charles, Pippin, and Louis afterwards surnamed the Pious, the successor of his father. She also had three daughters, Hruodrudis, Bertha and Gisla. In A.D. 780 she accompanied Charles on his visit to Italy. She died on the 30th of April, 783, and was buried in the church of St. Arnolfus at Metz. Her most laudatory epitaph is preserved. The same year Charles married Fastrada. (Einhardus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. xviii., Pertz *Scriptores*, ii. 453; *Monum. Carolina*, ed. Jaffé, 525; Pauli, *Gesta Episc. Mettens.* Pertz, ii. 265; Monach. Sangall. *Gesta Kar.* i. 13, Pertz, ii. 736; and see the various *Annales* in Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 12, 17, 32, 41, 63, 64, 67, 70, 92, 160–1, 164–5, 350, 352; ii. 223, 240; Abel, *Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen*, i. 211.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEGARIUS (1), twenty-first occupant of the see of Sens, between Mederius and Annobertus. In the tenth year of Dagobert (631) he subscribed the charter of St. Eligius for the foundation of the monastery of Solenniacum (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 662). In a charter given about A.D. 636 to the monastery of the Holy Cross at Rebaix, by St. Faro, bishop of Meaux, a fragment of which has survived (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 1137), the name of Ghildegarius, or Childegarius, archbishop of Sens, appears among the subscriptions, as also in another for the monastery of St. Fara (Eboriacense), purporting also to be given by St. Faro, but plainly a forgery. (See Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 1133 n.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEGARIUS (2) (HILDIGARIUS, HILDEGERUS, CHILDEGARIUS), bishop of Cologne, between Agilulfus or Regenfried, about 750 and Hildebert, or more probably Berthelinus. In A.D. 753 he accompanied Pippin on an expedition against the Saxons, and was killed at a fort called Juburg, or Iburg. This occurrence is mentioned in various *Annales* to be found in Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 10, 11, 26, 27, 116, 138, 139, 331, 346. He seems to be the prelate alluded to as recently dead in a letter of St. Boniface to pope Stephen III. assigned to the year 753 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 787; *Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, 259). If, as seems probable, the epitaph quoted by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (iii. 631) as belonging to Hildebertus, is really to be ascribed to Hildegarius (HILDEBERTUS), he was buried in the church of St. Gereon. The titles of beatus and martyr have been attributed to him on account of his violent death at the hand of barbarians. He is commemorated June 28 and Aug. 8, the days of his death and burial respectively. In the spurious life of St. Swibert it is stated that Hildegar, on a Saxon expedition, fell from his horse in full armour and was injured, but was healed on visiting the tomb of that saint. He is again mentioned with reference to the canonization of St. Swibert (*Vita S. Swiberti* in Surius, *de Probat. Sanct. Hist.* 1 Mart. ii. 28, 32; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 631; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 539 Potth. *Biblioth.* Suppl. p. 299). [S. A. B.]

HILDEGARIUS (3) (HILTIGARIUS), forty-third bishop of Trent, between Amator and Daniel; in Potthast's list by Voldericus. He was sitting in the year 802 (misprinted in Ughelli, 902). He is said to have restored the shrine of St. Vigilius, and buried the relics of some martyrs in it. (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, v. 512, Rome, 1653; Potth. *Biblioth.* suppl. p. 423.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEGERUS, bishop. [HILDEGARIUS.]

HILDEGODUS (HILDIGUNGUS), 32nd bishop of Soissons, between Deodatus I. and Rothadus I., one of the subscribers of the *Placitum* of Attigny in A.D. 765. (Mansi, xii. 675; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 339.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEGRINUS. [HILDIGRIMUS.]

HILDEGUARD, bishop. [HILDOARD.]

HILDELITHA, abbess. [HILDILID.]

HILDEPRAND (Hildebrand), nephew of Luitprand king of the Lombards, associated with his uncle during the latter part of his reign. Very little is known of him. He assisted to take Ravenna c. 729, and when the town was recaptured with the help of the Venetian fleet he was taken prisoner. During the illness of Luitprand, in 735, he was called to the throne as joint king. On his uncle's death he reigned apparently for a few months, and then was cast out to make way for Ratchis, 744. But the accounts and the chronology are uncertain. (*Codex Carolinus*, ed. Jaffé, p. 15; Paulus Diaconus, vi. 54, 56; *Pauli Continuatio Tertia*, 19, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 207; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. ii. 73.) [A. H. D. A.]

HILDERIC (1) (Hildrix), son of Hunneric king of the Vandals (by Eudocia the daughter of the emperor Valentinian III.) and grandson of Genseric. He succeeded his first cousin, Trasamund, as king of the Vandals, on May 28, A.D. 523. Though his predecessor had obliged him to take an oath that he would not restore to the orthodox party their churches and privileges, the first act of his reign was to grant them complete freedom of worship. The exiled bishops were recalled, Boniface was consecrated bishop of Carthage in the church of St. Agileus, and the Catholics were allowed to fill the sees which had become vacant during the persecution. (Appendix to Prosper's *Chronicle*, *Vita Sancti Fulgentii*, and *Chronicle* of Victor Tununensis in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 607, lxv. 145, lxviii. 953.) These measures have caused it to be supposed that Hilderic, owing to the influence of his mother, was really a Catholic himself, but they appear to have been due to his mild disposition which bordered on feebleness. He could not endure the name of war to be mentioned, and entrusted all military affairs to his cousin Hoamer, who was surnamed the Achilles of the Vandals. His reign was marked by a great defeat of the Vandals by the Moors in the Byzacene province, and by the breach of the Vandal alliance with the Goths and Theodoric, whose sister Amalafrida, the widow of Trasamund, was thrown into prison on a charge of conspiracy. She died in confinement, and it was suspected that her end had been hastened by violence. All her escort of Goths were put to death (Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, ix. 141, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxix. 765). The relations, however, between Hilderic and Justinian were of the most friendly character. The heir presumptive to the throne was Gelimer, the eldest of the house of Genzo, Genseric's second son, a good soldier, and a clever and unscrupulous man. Taking advantage of Hilderic's weakness he gradually encroached on his authority, and finally in the eighth year of his reign persuaded the Vandals to depose him, alleging that his unwarlike disposition and his defeat by the Moors, and also his intention to hand over the sovereignty to Justinian instead of allowing it to pass to the rival branch of the royal family made such a step necessary. Gelimer then ascended the throne and imprisoned Hilderic, Hoamer, and his brother Evages. The only reply Gelimer vouchsafed to Justinian's remonstrances was to increase the rigour of their confinement and to cause Hoamer's eyes to be put out; and as soon as he heard of the landing of Belisarius he sent orders to his brother Ammatas, who commanded at Carthage, for the execution of Hilderic and Evages, Hoamer having previously died. They were accordingly put to death in their prison, A.D. 534. (Procopius, *de Bell. Vand.* i. 9, 17.) A rare silver coin of Hilderic's is described by Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, iv. 138. [F. D.]

HILDERIC (2), second recorded bishop of Spires, between Josse and Athanasius or Athanaricus. He was present at a council of Paris held in 614, according to Gams, in whose *Series* he appears (p. 313). He is omitted from the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 313), and is unknown to Le Cointe and Rettberg (*Kirchengeschichte*, i. 213, 639). He does not occur in the list of Potthast (*Biblioth.* suppl. 411), nor in Remling (*Gesch. der Bischöfe zu Speyer.*) [S. A. B.]

HILDERIC, bishop. [Hughierius.]

HILDERIC (3), duke of Spoleto c. 738. He was put into the duchy by king Luitprand, in the place of Transamund, who had rebelled against him and fled to Rome. The next year Transamund returned, killed Hilderic, and reinstated himself. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 55; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. ii. p. 60.) [A. H. D. A.]

HILDERIC (4), abbat, disciple of Paulus Diaconus, whose epitaph he wrote in a set of heroic acrostic verses, running to the letters in "Paulus Laevita doctor praeclarus et insons." (Paul. Diac. in Patr. Lat. xcv. 430.) [C. H.]

HILDERIC (5), thirty-third bishop of Meaux, succeeding Brumerus, about A.D. 800. In a letter to Charles the Great, Hincmar says that on account of the great age and long-standing sickness of Hilderic, by reason of which the interests of religion and knowledge, and the sacred edifices, were suffering from neglect, the episcopal duties were entrusted to Hucbert, the precentor of the palace. (Surius, *de Prob. Sanct.* Oct. tom. v. p. 742.) Hucbert succeeded him on his death, about 823. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1603.) [S. A. B.]

HILDEVERT (Hildebert, Datlevert), twentieth bishop of Meaux, between St. Faro and Herlingus, said to have been born of noble and pious parents, named Adalbertus and Eva, who entrusted his education to St. Faro. In the life of St. Faro by Hildegar bishop of Meaux, about 70 years later, there is a story that Datlevertus, as he is there called, built a church of great magnificence beside that of St. Faro, with the object of overshadowing it and bringing it into contempt, but the latter saint, on the night before it was to be dedicated, incited so fierce a storm that it fell to the ground and was destroyed. A synod of bishops, moreover, suspended the builder. (*Acta SS. Benedict.* saec. ii. p. 620, Paris, 1668–1701.) He died about A.D. 680, and is said to have been buried in a church which he had built about six miles from Meaux, but was afterwards removed to the cathedral. He was commemorated May 27. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 712.) [S. A. B.]

HILDIGARIUS. [Hildegarius.]

HILDIGRIMUS (HILDEGRINUS), 31st bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, between Bovo and Adelelmus. He was brother of St. Liudger bishop of Münster, and son of Thiatgrim and Liasburga, Frisians of high rank, brother of Heriburga, and uncle of Gerfrid bishop of Münster, Thiatgrim bishop of Halberstadt and Theotmar abbat of Monte Cassino. He was a disciple of his more famous brother, and during the persecution by the Saxon duke Wutukint or Witichind in 784, accompanied him to Rome, and shared his retirement of two years and a half at Monte Cassino. Nor were they separated during St. Liudger's mission to the Frisians (Altfridus, *Vita S. Ludgeri*, Migne, Patr. Lat. xcix. 778, seqq.). Finally he succeeded St. Liudger as second abbat of Werden in the diocese of Cologne. The year 804 is given as about the date of Hildigrim's elevation to the see of Châlons. He lived till the 19th of June, 827, and was buried in his monastery church at Werden, where he was succeeded by St. Gerfridus. For St. Hildigrim as abbat, see *Gall. Christ.* iii. 725; and for the deeds relating to Werden in which his name occurs see Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, i. pp. 16–19. Hildigrim is supposed to have been the first bishop of Halberstadt (see *Gall. Christ.* ix. 8; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 889; Potthast, *Biblioth.* suppl. 327), but the opinion is fraught with difficulties. Chroniclers of the 11th century recount that in the year 781 Charles the Great entered Saxony, divided it into eight bishoprics, and over one of them, Seligenstadt, set Hildigrim as bishop, who within the year transferred the see to Halberstadt (*Annalista Saxo*, Pertz, *Scriptores*, vi. 560, 565, 573; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, Pertz, *ibid.* iii. 38; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, iv. 45, Pertz, *ibid.* iii. 787). But in a charter of 797 Hildigrim describes himself as a deacon merely (Lacomblet, *ibid.* i. pp. 6–7, No. 9). Add to this the silence of the three 9th-century biographers of St. Liudger, who know Hildigrim only as bishop of Châlons. We may conclude with Rettberg that Hildigrim has no real connexion with Halberstadt (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 471 seqq.). His day of commemoration was the 19th of June, the day of his death. [S. A. B.]

HILDILID (HILDELITHA), 2nd abbess of Barking. Bede, who extracted several miraculous stories from a book of Barking, mentions the long rule of Hildilid, her translation of the bones of the saints, male and female, who rested in the monastic ground, into the church of St. Mary, and a miraculous cure of a blind woman which took place during her time. (*H. E.* iv. 10.) She succeeded Ethelburga, the sister of Earconwald, in the abbess-ship, but the date of that event is uncertain. If the charter of Oethilred (Kemble, *C. D.* 35) to Ethelburga be genuine, her promotion must have been later than 675. Florence of Worcester, however, mentions it in the year 665 (*M. H. B.* 532); and again in 675 (*ib.* 535), and according to another account it must have been after the death of Earconwald, who is said to have been visiting his sister, when he was seized with his last illness (*Mon. Angl.* i. 436). She was one of the virgins to whom St. Aldhelm dedicated his book on the praises of virginity (*Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 1), and her name occurs in a letter written by Boniface (Wynfrethus) to Eadburga, abbess of Minster, as the authority on which the visions of a man who had been raised from the dead at Wenlock are reported. (*Mon. Mogunt.* p. 53; *Epp. Bonif.* ed. Würdtwein, ep. 20.) According to the legendary life of St. Earconwald, Hildilid was a foreign lady, invited by the bishop to instruct his sister in her monastic duties; from this Reyner (Apost. Bened. pp. 64, 65) infers that she came from Chelles. Mabillon (*AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pt. 1, p. 288) has an article on Hildilid, in which the 24th of March is assigned as the day of her commemoration; see also Boll. *AA. SS.* 24 March, vol. iii. pp. 484–487. The year of her death is uncertain, but it must have preceded that of Bede, and indeed the letter of Boniface, written about 717 or 718, almost implies that she was then dead. Cuthburga, the first abbess of Wimborne, was one of her pupils at Barking. (Will. Malmesb. *G. R.* ed. Hardy, p. 49.) See also Flor. Wig. ad ann. 675; *M. H. B.* 53; Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. ii. § 73. [S.]

HILDIVALDUS. [HILDEBALDUS.]

HILDMER (HILDMAER), a prefect of Egfrid king of Northumbria, and a person of great piety, at whose house Cuthbert, who was greatly attached to him, was a frequent guest. Bede describes a cure which the saint is said to have wrought upon Hildmer's wife, who was possessed by a devil (*V. S. Cuth.* c. 16; *Anon. Life*, ed. Stevenson, 270–1). On another occasion we are told that Hildmer himself was healed of a disease by tasting some bread which Cuthbert had blessed. (*Id.* c. 31.) [J. R.]

HILDOARDUS, fifteenth bishop of Cambrai and Arras, succeeding Albinus, and followed by Halitgarius, was consecrated A.D. 790, and conferred on his church many benefits, among them a charter which he obtained from Louis the Pious exempting the church property from state burdens, and confirming the privileges granted by the two previous kings (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 49–51). Among the bishops assembled at the dedication of the monastery of St. Riquier in A.D. 795 or 799 there was present a Hildiguardus, who may possibly be this prelate. About 808, at the bidding of Louis the Pious, he consecrated the church of St. Gislenus, in Hannonia, after its restoration. In 813 he subscribed the council of Rheims, and in the following year was present at that of Noyon. In 816 he obtained from Louis a charter confirming the church of Cambrai in its possessions. He did not long survive the last-mentioned date. (Mansi, xiv. 75, 141; Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 18, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 126; *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, lib. i. 39, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 49–51; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 799, ii. ix., 816, ii. tom. vi. 679, 681; vii. 363; *Gall. Chr.* iii. 10.) [S. A. B.]

HILDRADUS, abbat. [HYLDRADUS.]

HILDRIC, bishop of Meaux. [HILDERIC.]

HILDUARA, a Gothic queen, wife of GUNTHIMAR. She is known to us from a letter of the comes Bulgara or Bulgchramn, addressed to Gunthimar in 611 or 612, partially printed

by Florez (*Reynas de Espana*, i. 16). The comes has just heard of the death of Hilduara, and writes, "In her we mourn the governess of the poor, the devout worshipper of the Catholic faith, a noble woman, of gracious aspect, of beautiful appearance and benignant mind." These notices of the Gothic queens are very rare and scanty. [See articles EGILONA; GOISVINTHA; LIUBIGOTONA; RECIBERGA.]

[M. A. W.]

HILDULFUS (HIDULFUS, HYDULPHUS, IDOLFUS, IDOU), ST., founder of the monastery of Moyen Moutier (Medianum), in the Vosges, and reputed archbishop of Treves. There are three lives of this saint extant. The first purports to consist of passages from, or an abridgment of, the original *Acta* written by his disciples, and is attributed to the monks of Moyen Moutier in the year 964. It is published in Belhomme's *Historia Monasterii Mediani*, p. 50, and in the *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 221. The second and third, also given by Belhomme and the Bollandists, are based upon the first.

According to these authorities Hildulfus was sprung from a noble family of either Nervian or Norican, *i.e.* Bavarian race, was ordained at Regensburg while Pippin was king of France, and succeeded Milo archbishop of Treves. After some years he resigned his see and built the monastery Medianum. Hither flocked many monks, and amongst them St. Spinulus, and Hildulfus's brothers John and Benignus. There visited him his brother Erard bishop of Regensburg. At this time he baptized and restored to sight Odilia the daughter of duke Hetico or Etico of Alsace, who was born blind. In the course of time Hildulfus was taken with a fever and died. From the *Chronicon Senoniense* (c. xi.–xv., *Spicilegium*, ii. 607–9) may be added that after the death of his friend Deodatus, Hildulfus left his own monastery (probably to the care of Leutbaldus, see Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 700, n. lvii.), and ruled that of Jointures for twenty-eight years until his death. The memory of the intercourse of the two foundations was kept up by annual ceremonies until the 17th century (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. iii. 880 n.).

This story of his life teems with chronological and other difficulties. The reign of Pippin, and the succession to Milo at Treves, fix his epoch in the middle of the 8th century, while the baptism of St. Othilia or Odilia, the foundation of Moyen Moutier, and the friendship with Deodatus all belong to the last half of the seventh. The majority of writers, following Belhomme (*ibid.* p. 11, cf. *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 386, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 211, and Gams, *Series Episc.* 318), have made choice of the earlier of the two dates, and, ignoring the lives, as well as the *Historia Trevirensis* (*Spicilegium*, ii. 211, Paris, 1723) and the *Chronicon Senonense* (c. xi.–xv., *Spicilegium*, ii. 607–9), place his episcopate between that of St. Numerianus and St. Basinus, circ. A.D. 666–671. The further difficulty that his name is omitted from the oldest catalogue of the archbishops they ascribe to his retirement from the see. Rettberg, who has discussed the question at some length (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 467–9, 523), points out that in both the lives of St. Maximin, though he is given the title of bishop, no see is added, and he is associated with two other prelates, who cannot be identified (*Vita S. Maximini*, c. ii., Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 23, et alia, Auct. Lupo Servatio, Surius, May 29, tom. iii. 491), and that all other notices of his archbishopric are either very late or, like the spurious charter for the monastery of St. Deodatus (see Hontheim, *Hist. Trevir.* i. 84), plainly untrustworthy. The story of his relationship to Erard, bishop of Regensburg, which is also inadmissible, he suggests may have resulted from the collocation of the two at the baptism of St. Odilia, though in her 11th-century biography Erard alone is mentioned (Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. 2, 489–90). On the whole he concludes that Hildulfus has no right at all in the list of the archbishops of Treves, and at most must bear the rank of anchoret and founder of the monastery. Nor does his appearance in the legend of Geneviève of Brabant substantiate his claims (cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* 2 Apr. i. 57). [S. A. B.]

HILDUTUS, Welsh abbat, master of St. Gildas. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 181, c. 3.) [ILLTYD.] [J. G.]

HILIN, clerical witness to grants to bishop Trychan, and the see of Llandaff, early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 190, 193, 453, 455.) [J. G.]

HILLA, an early benefactor of Glastonbury, who in a charter dated 744 gave lands at Baldheresberge and Scobbanwirthe to the monastery then governed by abbat Tunberht. (Kemble, *C. D.* 92; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47; W. Malm. *Antt. Glast.* ed. Gale, p. 311.) The charter seems to be spurious, although the attestations may have been taken from a genuine act. [S.]

HILLARIUS, Irish saint. [ELAIR.]

HILLIDIUS, bishop. [ILLIDIUS.]

HILLUS, 4th bishop of Séez, between St. Landericus and Hubertus, towards the close of the 5th century. (*Gall. Chr.* xi. 675.) [S. A. B.]

HILMICHIS, armour-bearer of Alboin, king of the Lombards. He was persuaded by the queen Rosamund to plot the death of the king. The traditional story is given at length by Paulus Diaconus. He states that the actual murder was committed by Peredeo. Agnellus (*Lib. Pont. Eccl. Ravenn.* 96) attributes it, possibly with more truth, to Hilmichis (see note in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 339). Hilmichis wanted to become king, but was rejected by the Lombards, and fled with Rosamund to Ravenna. She was persuaded by Longinus the exarch to marry him, but in trying to poison Hilmichis was detected by him, and compelled to swallow the same poison. (*Origo Gentis*, 5; Paulus Diaconus, ii. 28, 29.) [A. H. D. A.]

HILTBERT, abbat. [HILBERT.]

HILTIBALDUS. [HILDEBALDUS.]

HILTIGARIUS. [HILDEGARIUS.]

HILTIGISUS (HILTIGISILUS), a bishop who was present at the fifth council of Paris, in A.D. 615, and subscribed the canons with the appended description "de Tholosâ" (Gams, *Series Episc.* 636, 637). It is doubtful whether he belonged to Toulon or Toulouse, or to neither of those sees.

in the *Series* of Gams he is inserted under both dioceses, and in the *Gallia Christiana* is omitted from both. (*Gall. Chr.* i. 743, xiii. 8.) [S. A. B.

HILTRUDIS, ST., the daughter of Wilbertus and Ada of Poitou, born about the middle of the eighth century. King Pippin presented her parents with an estate near Laetitiae or Laesciae (Notre Dame de Liesse) in Hainault, and there they built a monastery, of which their son Guntradus became abbat. Their daughter Hiltrudis, to avoid the marriage which they pressed upon her with Hugo, a prince of Burgundy, fled into the woods, and was at length allowed to take the veil. She entered the monastery of Laesciae, living for seventeen years behind the monks' oratory, renowned for her austerities and benevolence. On her death a monument was put up to her by her brother Guntradus and his monks. The monastery, after going through many vicissitudes, was restored in the 17th century, when a statue and inscription were placed within it in honour of the saint, by the then members of the fraternity. She was commemorated on Sept. 27. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 488; Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. ii. 381; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Sept. 27.) [I. G. S.]

HILWARIS, Scotic virgin, companion of St. Odda, and honoured as patron of Rhoda, where she lies beside St. Odda. She flourished A.D. 713, and her feast is Nov. 28. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 341.) [J. G.]

HIMBERTUS (HIRSBERTUS) appears as sixteenth in the list of the bishops of Beauvais given by the *Gallia Christiana*, succeeding Maurinus or Marinus, and followed by Clemens, about the middle of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 695.) [S. A. B.]

HIMBERTUS, bishop. [HUMBERTUS.]

HIMELINUS (HEMELINUS, HYMELINUS), ST., a priest commemorated March 10 at Vissenack, near Tillemont in Brabant, where he was buried. He is said to have been Irish by origin and related to St. Rumoldus bishop of Mechlin. A short anonymous life of him, published by the Bollandists, places his life in the time of king Pippin. Beyond however the statement that he visited Rome, it furnishes nothing but a string of miracles. His name appears in some of the later martyrologies, but his existence rests on no good authority. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 46; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, c. xix. vol. iii. 194, 197.) [S. A. B.]

HIMERIUS, catholicus of Alexandria. [HEMERIUS.]

HIMERIUS (1), a celebrated sophist during the reigns of the emperors Constantius and Julian (Photius, cod. 165). He was a native of Prusias or Prusa in Bithynia, the son of Ameinias a rhetor of that city (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* s. n. *Himer.* ed. Boissonade, i. 95, s. n. *Prohaeres.* ib. 87; Suidas, s. v. *Himer.*) He was educated at Athens (Him. eclog. x. 16; orat. vii.); and ultimately married a lady who seems to have been connected with some of the most illustrious families of that city (eclog. vii. 4). For some reason he left Athens after having exercised the profession of a sophist there for some time, and retired into Boeotia, where he was residing when the tidings reached him of the death of his son Rufinus, a youth who had already distinguished himself by his remarkable attainments. On hearing of this, he composed an oration which shews him to have been a man of great tenderness of feeling as well as of considerable learning and eloquence (orat. xxiii.). He afterwards exercised his profession at Constantinople (oratt. vii., xvi.), but returned to Athens, where he was the rival of Prohaeresius (Suidas, u. s.). Among his pupils there were Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen, probably also Julian afterwards emperor. (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 26; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 17.) In his prosperity Julian shewed Himerius great kindness, and seems to have been sincerely attached to him. (Eunap. u. s.; Zosim. *Hist.* iii. 2; Himer. orat. v.)

Himerius died blind at a great age, leaving a daughter whose name is unknown, but of whose affection for her brother he speaks (orat. xxiii. § 12). He was a very decided pagan (*e.g.* oratt. vii. xxiii.), but does not appear to have openly opposed Christianity. Photius (cod. 165 fin.) says that he secretly carped at it. The most complete edition of the *Remains* of Himerius is that of Dübner, and the fullest account of his life, that of G. Wernsdorf prefixed to his edition of the *Remains*, 1790. Westermann, *Gesch. d. Beredtsamkeit in Griechenl. u. Rom*, i. 339.) [T. W. D.]

HIMERIUS (2), magister officiorum to whom Basil bishop of Caesarea wrote an earnest letter praying his interest in behalf of their common friend Hera (*Ep.* 275 al. 416, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xxxii. 10, cf. *Epp.* 273 al. 216, 274, al. 217). From the terms in which Basil speaks of their friend it would appear that Hera was a bishop, and from those in which Basil addresses Himerius the latter would seem to have been a magister officiorum, and certainly a Christian. It is therefore clear that this Himerius is not the contemporary sophist of the same name (Wernsdorf, *Vit. Himerii*, xxxvi. xxxvii., prefixed to his edition of the works of Himerius the sophist). [T. W. D.]

HIMERIUS (3) (in the oldest MSS. EUMERIUS, in some COMERIUS), bishop of Tarragona before 385. To him was addressed the first extant papal decretal by pope Siricius in the year 385. Himerius had sent a letter containing questions on fourteen doubtful points to pope Damasus in the last year of his pontificate. The letter, however, reached Rome after the death of Damasus, and was answered by Siricius in a letter containing fifteen chapters, fourteen of which are in categorical answer to the enquiries of Himerius. Cap. i. forbids the rebaptism of Arians (who had been represented by Himerius as embracing Catholicism in considerable numbers in Spain), and threatens those who disobey the "generalia decreta" sent by Liberius to the provinces with exclusion "a nostro collegio synodali sententia." Cap. ii. forbids the administration of baptism, except at the two seasons of Easter and Whitsuntide. The pope understands that no rule on the subject has been observed in Spain, but that baptisms take place at Christmas, at the feast of the Epiphany, and on saints' days, an irregularity which must be corrected in future. (Epiphany was the

favourite time for baptisms in the early Spanish Church; conf. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (1), 427, note, (2) 190; Neale, *Tetralogia Liturg.* p. 224). In the case of infants, however, or of any extreme need—perils of shipwreck, siege, invasion, or sickness—baptism is to be administered promptly and without delay. Cap. iii. decrees the exclusion from the church of those who, forsaking their Christian profession, have returned to the worship of idols or to participation in the public sacrifices. If they repent, they are to be admitted to "the grace of reconciliation" at death. Cap. iv. forbids the violation of betrothal vows ("conjugalis velatio"). The betrothed maiden must not pledge herself again to any other, "quia illa benedictio, quam nupturae sacerdos imponit, apud fideles cujusdam sacrilegii instar est, si ulla transgressione violetur." Gams concludes from this, taken in connexion with can. 8 of the first council of Saragossa (A.D. 380), that at this time in Spain both brides and consecrated virgins were veiled. Tejada y Ramiro, however, for *velatio* proposes to read *violatio* (*Colecc. de Can.* ii. 730). Cap. v. concerns relapsed penitents, who are to be excluded from the table of the Lord, to whom, however, the viaticum may be administered at death. Cap. vi. treats of those monks and nuns (monachae) who have broken their vows of chastity. Such offenders are to be excluded from the church and from the society of their monasteries, and are to do penance "retrusae in suis ergastulis." Conf. this chapter with can. 6 of the council of Saragossa, drawn up five years earlier, where the first historical mention of Spanish monachism occurs (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 126). Cap. vii. is concerned with offences against continence on the part of the clergy. The Spanish clergy, says the pope, plead the liberty of marriage accorded to the Levites under the old dispensation as an excuse for their own practice. He meets their arguments, and lays down the general rule that from the day of their ordination all priests and deacons must live chastely. Offenders are to be deposed from their offices. Cap. viii. and ix. are concerned with the disqualifications for ordination, while cap. x. gives general directions as to the training of the clergy. Whoever is destined for the priesthood must be baptized in childhood, and afterwards enter the order of lectors. As acolyte and subdeacon he may marry, but if he wishes to become a deacon, he must take the vow of chastity. Five years after he obtains the office of deacon, he may be made presbyter, and ten years later he may become a bishop. Cap. xi. and xii. are further concerned with the morals of the clergy. Cap. xiii. desires that monks should enter the ranks of the clergy, and pass in due order through the clerical grades. (Conf. with can. 6 of the first council of Saragossa, Tejada y Ramiro, *l. c.*) Cap. xiv. forbids public penance on the part of the clergy, and excludes all who have performed such penance from ordination. The fifteenth chapter is of miscellaneous contents. Himerius is exhorted to ensure the due observance of the canons and decretal constitutions for the future, and to make known the decisions of the pope's letter not only to those of his own diocese (*i.e.* province of Tarraconensis), but to those of the four remaining provinces, Carthaginensis, Baetica, Lusitania, and Gallicia. Such a task falls naturally to Himerius "pro antiquitate sacerdotii tui," a phrase which seems to shew that the bishop was an old man at the time. Besides its importance for general church history, the letter of pope Siricius is important in Spanish church history as shewing that by the end of the 4th century the division of Spain into five ecclesiastical provinces was fully recognised, as proving that the church of Tarraco possessed metropolitan rights over the Tarraconensis of Constantine, and as suggesting by inference that the other provinces, Carthaginensis among them, were equally with Tarraconensis subject to one metropolitan. It may probably be assumed with safety that at this time, just before the barbarian invasions disturbed the old order of things, the ecclesiastical system of Spain exactly answered to the civil, and that, as Tarraco was the civil and ecclesiastical head of Tarraconensis, so also was Cartagena of Carthaginensis. From the destruction of Cartagena by the Vandals, in 425, forty years after this letter of Siricius, we may date the beginning of the claim of Toledo. [MONTANUS, GUNTHIMAR, JULIAN.] Himerius is the second known bishop of Tarraco, the martyr FRUCTUOSUS (died 259) being the first. He was not present at the council of Saragossa in 380, though the pope's reference to his age proves him to have been bishop at the time, and Saragossa was of course within his province. (Isid. *de Vir. Ill.* cap. 16, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiv. 629; Baronius, A.D. 385, vi.; *Esp. Sagr.* xxv. 35; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* p. 20.) [M. A. W.]

HIMERIUS (4), bishop and metropolitan of Nicomedia, A.D. 431. Firmus bishop of Caesarea Capp. mentions a chorepiscopus named Alypius as soliciting a reconciliation through Himerius. Firmus here gives Himerius the epithet θεοσεβής, and from the respectful expressions of the letter Muratori infers that the incident happened before Himerius became involved with the Nestorian party (Firmus, ep. 5 and note, in Pat. Gr. lxxvii. 1486). The name of Himerius frequently occurs in the documents of the council of Ephesus, but little is known of him personally, and that little is well summed up by Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 589), who remarks that he is the first bishop of Nicomedia occurring with the title of metropolitan (cf. Mansi, v. 776). Wernsdorf also notices him among the Himerii, in his life of Himerius the sophist prefixed to his edition of that author (p. xxxv.). The following sketch will exhaust, we believe, the references to Himerius in Mansi. His name occurs among the fathers of the council (Mansi, iv. 1395, v. 593). He signed the contestatio of June 21 in reference to John of Antioch and the oriental bishops (v. 766); he formed one of the conciliabulum of that party (iv. 1399); he joined them in the address to the church of Hierapolis (v. 776); he shared in their excommunication, July 17 (iv. 1323, 1426). In the *Synodicon adversus Tragoediam Irenaei* (vid. Theodoret in Pat. Gr. lxxxiv.; Mansi, v. 776–869; Baluze, 705–795), his name occurs in chapters 13, 23, 26, 28, 31, 70, 71, 87. In chap. 71 Theodoret, then one of the same party, congratulates him on his past firmness and exertions for the "apostolic faith." Another passage mentioning

Himerius in the same chapter is freely quoted by Pelagius II. (ep. 5 olim 7, § 20, in Pat. Lat. lxxii. 754 D). In ch. 70 Theodoret begs to be mentioned to Himerius by Helladius bishop of Tarsus, and in ch. 87 by John of Antioch, as being still a loyal adherent of the party. Nevertheless it appears, as remarked by Le Quien, that Himerius as well as Theodoret, became reconciled to Cyril and returned to orthodoxy; for in ch. 190, which enumerates the bishops who were suffering deprivation and exile for their opposition, the name of neither is found. Diodorus, the preceding known bishop of Nicomedia, is not dated by Le Quien; Eunomius, who followed Himerius, was sitting in 449. [C. H.]

HIMERIUS (5), disciple of St. Lupus bishop of Troyes, known to us from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris addressed to his father Sulpicius. He is there spoken of as "antistes," but if we are to understand that he was a bishop his see is unknown. The word, however, is sometimes applied by Sidonius to abbats. The letter is highly eulogistic of his wisdom, learning, piety, asceticism, and other good qualities. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* vii. 13 in Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii. 582 B.) [S. A. B.]

HIMERIUS, bishop of Treves. [JAMBLICHUS.]

HIMERIUS (6), bishop of Ameria (Amelia) in Umbria, c. 520. (Ughell. *Ital. Sac.* i. 296; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 197; mentioned in *Mart. Rom.* June 17.) [A. H. D. A.]

HIMILTRUDIS, mother of Ebbo archbishop of Rheims (A.D. 816–851), commemorated in a spirited epitaph ascribed to Ebbo himself. It is to be found in Flodoard (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 19, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 128), and places her birth on the banks of the Rhine early in the reign of Charles the Great, and her death in the reign of Louis the Pious. She assisted Ebbo her only son in his diocese for nearly ten years before her death, and helped to rebuild the metropolitan church of Rheims. (Cf. *Gall. Christ.* ix. 34; Ceillier, xii. 332.) [S. A. B.]

HINCHO, fourth in the list of the bishops of Lisieux, between Launobaudus, and Leodeboldus, one of the bishops who signed the *praeceptum* of Emmo, archbishop of Sens, for the monasteries of St. Columba and St. Pierre le Vif, in A.D. 658 or 659. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1170; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 764.) [S. A. B.]

HINGUETENUS, ST., ninth bishop of Vannes, succeeding Budocus, and followed by St. Mereadocus, perhaps towards the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 918.) [S. A. B.]

HINNA (HYMNA), represented as a holy abbess in the third and fourth lives of St. Brigida as given by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 541, 561, 566), but the name is probably a form of Kinnia or Cinne. [CINNE.] [J. G.]

HIPPARCHUS, martyr at Samosata with Philotheus, Habibus, Jacobus, Paregrus, Romanus and Lollianus. Their martyrdom is fixed at A.D. 297 by Assemani (*Acta SS. Mart. Or. et Occ.* vol. ii. 123–147), and attributed to the order of the Caesar Galerius. The Persians under Narses their king invaded the Roman dominions in A.D. 296, and after some temporary success were decisively defeated by Galerius in 297. Making a triumphant progress through Syria and Mesopotamia Galerius ordered all persons living in Samosata to assemble in the Temple of Fortune in the midst of the city, and there to sacrifice. Some time prior to the publication of this edict, two of the city magistrates, Hipparchus and Philotheus, had embraced Christianity and built themselves an oratory in their own residence. One day, after the edict had been promulgated, the other five mentioned above, who seem to have all been quite young men and as yet unbelievers, paid a visit to the two magistrates, and found them praying before a cross. After some discussion they were converted, and immediately baptized by a priest named Jacobus, who was summoned by a letter from Hipparchus, and told to bring with him "urceum aquae, hostiam, et cornu olei unctionis." The absence of the magistrates from the ceremonies having been noticed they were all arrested, and after various tortures, lasting from April 10 to June 25, they were crucified. From the expression quoted above Assemani argues for the antiquity of the rite of consecrating the water of baptism beforehand, which was then carried about in the font, since otherwise, it would only have been imposing unnecessary trouble upon the priest, as it cannot be imagined that in such a house a fit and proper vessel for baptism could be wanting. He quotes in support of his view Cyprian, *Epist.* 70; Tertull., *Lib. de Bap.* cap. 4; Cyrill. Hierosol., *Catech.* iii. 3, and several other passages, almost all of which will be found quoted and discussed in the article FONT, BENEDICTION OF, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. pp. 13 sq.) Though Assemani contends for A.D. 297, after the final defeat of Narses and capture of his wives and children, as the true date of, and for Galerius as the agent in, this martyrdom, it may be doubted if there is not a confusion in the Acts between Galerius and Maximinus. Their names were very much alike, one was Caius Maximianus Galerius, the other was Caius Valerius Maximinus Galerius. If such be the case this would place the martyrdom about the year 308, when Maximin was ruling in Syria and raging fiercely against the faith. He naturally would not tolerate Christianity among the magistrates of the metropolis of the province. This date would remove another difficulty involved in the fact that Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 4) tells us that it was only a few here and there who suffered death for Christ prior to the year 303, and that these were all soldiers. The Acts as recorded in Assemani (*Acta Mart.*) are in Syriac and Latin. They profess to be written by the priest who baptized the converts, and by the tutor of Gallus, a nobleman of the city. The former was present in disguise at the execution (Ceillier, ii. 469). [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (1), a martyr of Apulia under Antoninus, commemorated at Placentia on Jan. 30. (Ferrarius, *Catal. General. SS.*, from the tabulae of the church of Placentia; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1026.) [C. H.]

HIPPOLYTUS (2) ROMANUS. It has seldom happened in ecclesiastical history that one

who enjoyed so much celebrity in his lifetime as Hippolytus has been so obscurely known to the church of subsequent times. He was at the beginning of the 3rd century unquestionably the most learned member of the Roman church. He was a man of very considerable literary activity; his works were very numerous, and their circulation spread from Italy to the East, some of them having been translated into Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and perhaps other languages. His widely known name assumes various disguises, shortened into Poltus in the popular memory of Italy, in Egypt taking the more stately form Abulides. There is evidence also that he took a very active part in the affairs of his own church. But the contemporaries who came into contact with him seem not to have been men of literary ability; and if the controversies in which he engaged called forth any writings from them, none of them long survived. Consequently there are no contemporary witnesses to give us any information concerning his personal history. A century after his death Eusebius evidently knows nothing of Hippolytus beyond what he can infer from such works of his as had reached him. The works of Hippolytus were soon superseded by those of other writers more able and more learned. They ceased to be much read, and copies of them were not multiplied. Scarcely one has come down to us without mutilation, and concerning almost every work which we assign to him there has been controversy whether it be really his. But the celebrity of his name survived, and it became the subject of various legends, the statements of which have not always been carefully distinguished from the authentic history of the saint. In the scantiness of trustworthy information there has been dispute whether Hippolytus was a presbyter or a bishop; and if a bishop, of what see; what was the scene of his labours, Italy or Arabia; whether he was orthodox or a schismatic; whether he was a martyr, and if so, by what death he died. It is of comparatively recent years that the recovery of the work on heresies, now by general consent attributed to him, has cleared away some of the obscurity which hung over his personal history, though there still remain many questions to which we can give but doubtful answers.

The earliest notice of Hippolytus is by Eusebius in two passages (*H. E.* vi. 20, 22). In the first passage, speaking of ecclesiastical writers of whom letters were then preserved in the library at Jerusalem, he mentions Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, the author of letters and of other works besides; and adds, "likewise Hippolytus, who was bishop of another church somewhere," and goes on to mention the anti-Montanist dialogue between Caius and Proclus. In the second passage he gives a list of the works of Hippolytus which he had met with (not including any letters), this being probably the list of those preserved in the library at Caesarea, but adds that many other works by the same author might be found elsewhere. The first passage was so translated by Rufinus as to convey the idea that Hippolytus, as well as Beryllus, was an Arabian bishop, and this is, no doubt, why Hippolytus is cited as bishop of the metropolis of the Arabians by Gelasius (*De Duabus Naturis*, Lagarde, no. 11, p. 91) at the end of the 5th century. The theory that Hippolytus was an Arabian bishop was revived by Le Moyne, and accepted by Cave and other critics of eminence; but it really seems to have no foundation, more than the collocation of names in Eusebius already mentioned. A mistake of the same kind, it has been thought, has arisen from a collocation of names in Jerome's *Chronicle*, who notes as illustrious writers flourishing under the reign of Alexander, Geminus presbyter of Antioch, Hippolytus, and Beryllus bishop of Bostra. Döllinger supposes that it is only owing to a confusion hence arising that a Hippolytus presbyter of Antioch has found his way into the martyrologies. See, however, HIPPOLYTUS (7). Jerome in his *Catalogue* shews independent knowledge of works of Hippolytus not mentioned by Eusebius, but, notwithstanding all his opportunities for acquaintance with the traditions of the Roman church, he has nothing to tell about the personal history of Hippolytus, and merely repeats the statement of Eusebius that he had been a bishop, but says that of what see he had not been able to learn. Elsewhere (*Epist. ad Damasum*, vol. i. p. 156) and in the preface to his *Commentary on Matthew* (vol. vii. p. 7), he gives Hippolytus the title of martyr; and in the *Epistle to Magnus* (i. 427) he couples him with Apollonius. The Benedictine editors, following some old MSS., describe both as Roman senators; but there is little doubt that according to the true reading the title belongs to Apollonius alone. Hippolytus is barely mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 31, p. 205); but Theodoret quotes several passages from his writings, describing him as the "holy Hippolytus, bishop and martyr" (*Dial. I.* vol. iv. p. 54; *Dial. II.* p. 130; *Dial. III.* p. 232; see also *Haer. Fab.* iii. 1). The description of Hippolytus by Pseudo-Chrysostom (*De Pseudoprophetis*, vol. viii. 79, app.) as ὁ γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος is worth quoting only as shewing the celebrity which long attached to his name in the East. Indeed he came to rank as a father of the apostolic age. Cyrillus Scythopolitanus twice adds to his name the description τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων (Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 354, iv. 82), a description which he probably derived from Palladius (Rosweyd, *Vit. Pat.* p. 781; Lagarde, *Hippolytus*, p. 204). How Palladius came by it we discuss no. 21 *infra*. Eastern tradition usually describes Hippolytus as bishop of Rome. "One may consider it as a rule in the Greek MSS.," says Döllinger, "that when any more exact designation is added to his name, Hippolytus is given as bishop of Rome." Of the fragments collected in De Lagarde's edition the majority are entitled merely "of Hippolytus," or "of Hippolytus, bishop and martyr," but about twenty describe him as bishop of Rome, and only three place him elsewhere. The earliest author who can be named as so describing him is, if we may trust a catena, Apollinaris in the 4th century (see Lagarde, no. 72, p. 171). Later he is so quoted by Eustachius of Constantinople, who wrote before 582, by Leontius of Constantinople (*De Sectis*, 503), Anastasius Sinaita (*Hodegus*, p. 356), Germanus of Constantinople, John of Damascus (*Opp.* Le Quien, ii. 757), Syncellus (p. 597) and others. It is even possible that he may have been so described in MSS. read by Eusebius, for Eusebius

knew too well the recognised list of Roman bishops to accept this designation as correct; and therefore we might have thus the explanation of his account that he was a bishop, but he could not tell of what see. Hippolytus likewise appears as pope and bishop of Rome in the Greek menologies, and is also honoured with the same title by the Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian churches (for the authorities for this statement see Döllinger, pp. 86, 87). In modern times the received designation for Hippolytus has been bishop of Portus; but the earliest authorities for so describing him are as late as the middle of the 7th century, viz. the Paschal *Chronicle* (p. 6) and Anastasius,* and there is no Western authority. Now there were current in the East at the time the acts of CHRYSE (Vol. I. p. 515), in which the martyrdom of one Hippolytus at Portus is related, and it is very conceivable that either Anastasius, or the Paschal chronicler, finding in his authorities Hippolytus described as bishop of Rome, and knowing that this could not be right, thought to make a correction by substituting for Rome the Roman Portus, where a Hippolytus was believed to have been martyred. Le Moyne attempted to combine the account which connected Hippolytus with Arabia with the account that he was bishop of Portus Romanus by the hypothesis that by the latter name was meant the harbour at Aden in Arabia. But in truth the testimonies that he was bishop of Portus are too few and too late to deserve much respect, and the origin of the idea that he was an Arabian bishop has been already explained. A mass of evidence proves that Hippolytus in whatever capacity had Rome for the principal scene of his activity; but that he could have been bishop of Portus near Rome is hard to reconcile with the fact that Jerome, for whom the martyrs of Rome and its neighbourhood had so much interest, knew nothing as to the see of which Hippolytus was bishop, and that pope Gelasius was equally ignorant.

If the earliest witnesses have no certain information to give as to the place where Hippolytus laboured, at least they leave us at no loss to determine the time when he lived. Eusebius tells that he was the author of a work on the Paschal feast, in which he gives a sixteen-years' Easter table, and accompanies it with a chronology, the boundary of his calculations being the first year of the emperor Alexander, i. e. A.D. 222. Now, in the year 1551, in some excavations made on the Via Tiburtina, near Rome, a marble statue was brought to light, representing a venerable person sitting in a chair, clad in the Greek pallium. The back and sides of the chair contain Greek inscriptions. The back has a list of works presumably written by the person represented. One side has a sixteen-years' cycle, exactly corresponding to the description of Eusebius, and beginning with the first year of Alexander. Other evidence puts it beyond doubt that this cycle is really that of Hippolytus. The list of works sufficiently agrees with the list of works ascribed to Hippolytus by Eusebius and Jerome; and in point of fact no doubt is entertained that Hippolytus is the person intended to be commemorated. The list of Paschal full moons in the cycle gives accurately the astronomical full moons for the years 217–223 inclusive. For the next eight years the true full moons are a day or two later than those given in the table, and after that deviate still further; so that after two or three revolutions of the cycle the table would be found useless. We have reason to conclude, then, that this table must have been framed about the time which it specifies, A.D. 222; and, again, that the chair must be a nearly contemporary monument; for however Hippolytus might at first be honoured by the Roman church for the boon he conferred on it by giving it a table for finding Easter, it is not conceivable that that table would be put on permanent record with the view of doing its author honour, after it had been tried long enough to make its worthlessness apparent. A further argument for the antiquity of the chair is drawn from the fact that the language of the inscription is Greek. We know otherwise that the Roman church at its commencement contained a large section, if not a majority, of foreigners, whose habitual language was Greek. This inscription must have been placed before that section had disappeared, and before Latin had become the exclusive language of the church. A further proof of antiquity is furnished by the list of Hippolytine writings itself, which is completely independent of those of Eusebius and Jerome, and which, it may be safely asserted, no one in the West could have been able to draw up at any long interval after the death of Hippolytus. The date thus fixed for the publication of one of the works of Hippolytus agrees with what we otherwise know, that he was a contemporary of Origen, Jerome telling us that it appeared from a homily of Hippolytus then extant, that it had been delivered in Origen's hearing. We know from Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14) that Origen visited Rome, though he does not enable us to fix the date more nearly than that it was in the reign of Caracalla, and episcopate of Zephyrinus, i. e. some time in the years 211–217. In one of these years he might easily have heard Hippolytus preach. We must place the commencement of the activity of Hippolytus as early as the 2nd century. Photius tells us that the treatise of Hippolytus "Against all the Heresies" professed to be a synopsis of lectures delivered by Irenaeus. There has been a diversity of speculation as to the circumstances under which Hippolytus could have heard Irenaeus lecture. It has been conjectured that he might have been a pupil of Irenaeus before either had left Asia Minor (though the dates make this little probable), or that he companied with him in Gaul. But the simplest supposition seems to be that Hippolytus heard Irenaeus lecture in Rome. Eusebius tells of one visit of Irenaeus to Rome about 178. A note in a Moscow MS. of the martyrdom of Polycarp (Zahn's *Ignatius*, p. 167) represents him as teaching at Rome several years before. There is then nothing unlikely in the supposition that Irenaeus came again to Rome, and there delivered lectures against heresies. The time could not have been long after the beginning of the last decade of the 2nd century. It has been shewn (Vol. I. p. 506) that the author of the cycle engraved on the chair must also have been the author of a chronicle, a Latin translation of which is extant, the last event recorded in which is the death of the emperor Alexander, which occurred

* On this Anastasius, who is omitted in Vol. I., see MAXIMUS.

in 235. In the same year an entry in the Liberian Catalogue of bishops of Rome records that Pontianus the bishop, and Hippolytus the presbyter, were transported as exiles to the pestilent island of Sardinia. It is difficult to believe that the Hippolytus here described as presbyter is not our Hippolytus. It is no doubt possible that he may have returned from exile, and afterwards suffered martyrdom in some other way; but the probability is that both he and Pontianus gained the title of martyrs by dying in the mines to which they had been condemned. From the "depositio martyrum" of the Liberian Catalogue, it appears that the bodies of Pontianus and Hippolytus were both deposited on the same day (Aug. 13), the former in the cemetery of Callistus, the latter in that on the Via Tiburtina, and it is natural to think that one body as well as the other was brought from Sardinia to Rome. The translation of Pontianus, we are told, was effected by pope Fabianus, probably in 236 or 237. A very different account of the martyrdom of Hippolytus is given by Prudentius (*Peristeph.* 11), who wrote at the very beginning of the 5th century. His story is that Hippolytus had been a presbyter, who was involved in the Novatian schism, but that on his way to martyrdom, when his loving followers who accompanied him in great numbers asked him which sect was the better, he recanted his former teaching, and exhorted them to abandon Novatian and unite with the Catholics. He is brought before the ruler (whether emperor or prefect is not stated), who was then at Ostia. The tyrant had been vainly trying to shake by torture the constancy of Christians. Then, when his wearied satellites were forced to give up their unavailing efforts, he vents his rage in sentences of death. One he orders to be beheaded; another to be crucified; some to be cast over precipices; others burned alive; others drowned. Then Hippolytus is brought before him, his captors declaring that he was the head of the Christians, who would be all terrified into submission if he were put to some unusual death. The judge inquires his name, and on learning it sentences him to be torn in pieces by wild horses, like Hippolytus of old. Prudentius describes the subterraneous tomb of the saint, and states that he saw on the spot a picture representing this execution. He mentions that this martyrdom was commemorated on the 13th August. He gives an account of the crowds who flocked to the commemoration, and also a description of a stately church, with a double row of pillars, which, however, Döllinger considers was not the church of St. Hippolytus, as a reader of Prudentius might suppose, no trace of such a church being found in any of the early lists of Roman churches, but of St. Laurence, a saint whose cultus attained much greater celebrity, who was also buried on the Via Tiburtina, his church being adjacent to the tomb of Hippolytus.

The account of Prudentius does not agree with that of any of the martyrologies, and Baronius in fact accuses Prudentius of having mixed up three different Hippolyti, viz. our bishop; a military officer who had charge of St. Laurence before his execution, and was converted and baptized by him; and the presbyter of Antioch already mentioned, who, like the Hippolytus of Prudentius, is said to have returned to the church from Novatianism. There is no reason for thinking Prudentius less entitled to credit than the martyrologies, which are much later, and it has been already explained how the story of an Hippolytus of Antioch probably arose. But the story of Prudentius himself (who makes gross mistakes in the case of other non-Spanish martyrs) rests on no better authority than an "aiunt," and seems to be but his poetical version of the tale which he found in circulation at the tomb of Hippolytus more than 150 years after his martyrdom. In making Hippolytus a Novatian he is chronologically wrong, for that schism did not arise until after the death of our Hippolytus; and the strange modes of death by which he makes Hippolytus and the other martyrs suffer are alien to Roman customs, especially at a time after the edict of Caracalla, when the inhabitants of the empire had all received the privileges of citizenship. The story of Prudentius, however, throws light on the genesis of the story of the martyrdom of Hippolytus the military officer. We cannot reasonably believe that there were two martyrs both named Hippolytus, both buried on the Via Tiburtina, both of whom, on the same day, Aug. 13, suffered by being torn in pieces by wild horses. But we learn from Prudentius that close by the church of St. Laurence there was a tomb of Hippolytus, adorned by a pictured representation of such a death. This we may well believe had been originally intended to depict the sufferings of the mythological Hippolytus, and, being inscribed with that name, had been copied or transferred by Christians to adorn the resting-place of a martyr of whom nothing but the name was known. From this picture, and its proximity to the church of St. Laurence, was generated the myth of a Hippolytus connected with the martyrdom of St. Laurence. It is plain that the tale told by Prudentius was by this time forgotten. But the tale told by Prudentius is plainly also the offspring of the picture, and when we remember that we have authentic evidence of the deposition, on August 13, on the Via Tiburtina of the remains of a Hippolytus who is coupled with Pontianus, we must conclude that this was the real owner of the tomb, and that in the century and a half which passed before Prudentius visited it, all but his name and the day of his feast had been forgotten.

It is time now to speak of the light which has been cast upon the history of the saint by the recovery of the treatise against heresies, the portion of which, previously extant, had been known under the name of Origen's *Philosophumena*. We make no scruple in treating this as the work of Hippolytus, for this is the nearly unanimous opinion of critics, Lipsius being, as far as we are aware, the only one who still hesitates, and cautiously cites the author as Pseudo-Origenes. From this work it appears that the writer took an active part in the affairs of the Roman church, in the episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus. The story he tells of the origin and actions of the latter pope will be found in the article on his name (Vol. I. p. 391). Suffice it here to say, that Döllinger has shewn that, without imputing wilful misstatement to Hippolytus, it is possible to put on all the things he relates about Callistus a very much more favourable interpretation than he has done; and

with regard to the charge that Callistus in trying to steer a middle course between Sabellianism and orthodoxy had invented a new heresy, the retort may be made that it was Hippolytus himself, who in his dread of Sabellianism had overpassed the line of orthodoxy, and laid himself open to the charge of Ditheism. But the point to which Döllinger called attention, with which we are most concerned here, is that Hippolytus in this work never recognises Callistus as bishop of Rome. He says that Callistus had aspired to the episcopal throne, and that on the death of Zephyrinus "he supposed himself to have obtained what he had been hunting for." But Hippolytus treats him only as the founder of a school (διδασκαλεῖον) in opposition to the Catholic church. This is the very word that Hippolytus uses with regard to Noetus (*Cont. haer. Noeti*, Lagarde, p. 44), of whom he says that when expelled from the church he had the presumption to set up "a school." Hippolytus tells, however, that Callistus and his party claimed to be the Catholic church, and that they gloried in their numbers, though this multitude of adherents had been gained by unworthy means, namely, by improper laxity in the reception of offenders. He relates that Callistus had received into his communion persons whom he himself had excommunicated. He adds that this school of Callistus still continued when he wrote, which was plainly after the death of Callistus, and he refuses to give its members any name but Callistians. From this language we can draw no other conclusion than that the breach between Hippolytus and Callistus proceeded to open schism; Hippolytus, not owning Callistus as bishop nor as belonging to the church, claiming for himself and his followers the title of the church, and only regarding Callistus and his confessedly larger party as a heretical school. It would follow that Callistus also would regard Hippolytus as no longer a member of the church, but only as the head of a "school;" and it is to be feared not only as a schismatic but a heretic; for after the public charge of Ditheism, which stung Hippolytus so much, that he refers to it twice over, he could scarcely have tolerated his opinions as within the limits of permissible speculation. But the question arises, if Hippolytus did not regard Callistus as bishop of Rome, whom did he so regard, for it is not credible that he believed that Rome had been permitted to remain many years without a bishop. To this question it is difficult to give any answer but Döllinger's; Hippolytus claimed to be bishop of Rome himself. In the introduction to his work, Hippolytus claims to hold the episcopal office; he declares that the pains which he took in the confutation of heresy were bestowed on account of the duty which lay on him as successor of the apostles, partaker of the grace of the Holy Spirit that had been given to them, and which they transmitted to those of right faith; clad with the dignity of the high priesthood and office of teaching and guardian of the church. Afterwards, as has been said, we find him exercising the power of excommunication, and casting persons out of the church, who thereupon join the school of Callistus. Thus we seem to have a key to the difficulty how it was that Hippolytus could be described in the Liberian Catalogue only as presbyter, and yet be known in the East universally as bishop, and very widely as bishop of Rome. His claim to be bishop was not admitted by the church of Rome, but was made in works of his, written in Greek and circulating extensively in the East; whether by expressions of his in the works themselves, or more probably in the titles prefixed to them by his ardent followers. We have also a key to the origin of the tradition that Hippolytus had been a Novatian. He had been in separation from the church, though the exact cause of difference came to be forgotten. Against another hypothesis, that Hippolytus was at the same time bishop of Portus, and a leading presbyter of Rome, Döllinger urges, besides the weakness of the proof that Hippolytus was bishop of Portus, that there is no evidence that Portus at the time had a bishop, and that, according to the then constitution of the church, the offices of presbyter and bishop could not be thus combined. As to the time of the schism, Döllinger contends that it could not have occurred immediately on the election of Callistus, because Hippolytus declares that Callistus, through fear of him, had excommunicated Sabellius, and this influence is only intelligible on the supposition that he was still in the ranks of the Roman clergy. But he supposes that later, probably on the occasion of the altercation already referred to, Callistus may have excommunicated Hippolytus and his followers as Ditheists, and Hippolytus then allowed himself to be elected bishop of Rome by his followers. The argument does not appear to us conclusive; for on Döllinger's theory Hippolytus could not well accuse Callistus of being afraid of him, whose next step was to excommunicate him; but if Hippolytus had already separated from Callistus on account of his Sabellian leanings, Callistus might naturally be afraid of giving countenance to the imputation. Further it may not be too minute to urge that Callistus says in the plural number δίθεοί ἐστέ, language which seems to imply that Hippolytus was then the head of a party distinct from the church. Lastly, there is exactly the same reason for saying that Hippolytus refused to recognise Zephyrinus as bishop, as that he rejected Callistus; for he speaks of the former also as "imagining" that he governed the church. In consistency then Döllinger ought to have made the schism begin in the time of Zephyrinus, and so De Rossi does, adding a conjecture of his own, that the leader of the schism had been Victor's archdeacon, and had in that capacity obtained his knowledge of the early life of Callistus, and that he was actuated by disappointment at not having been made bishop on Victor's death. On the other hand, as we shall presently point out, to make a schism of which no one in the East seems to have ever heard begin so early ascribes to it such long duration as to be quite incredible. At whatever time it began, it continued after the death of Callistus, some time after which the account in the treatise on heresies was plainly written. We cannot tell how long this schism may have lasted. Döllinger thinks it even possible that it may have continued up to the time of the deportation of Pontianus and Hippolytus to Sardinia. He regards with some favour the hypothesis that this banishment might have been not on account of their religion, but a measure taken to preserve

the peace of the city threatened by dissensions and disputes for the possession of churches between the adherents of the rival leaders. Later at least we find such an interference of heathen authorities provoked by Christian dissensions under the episcopates of Marcellus and Eusebius. The Liberian Catalogue states that Pontianus "discinctus est" in Sardinia, which may mean that he died, but has been more generally understood to mean that he resigned his see; and Döllinger suggests that Hippolytus may have resigned his pretensions at the same time, and that so the quarrel was happily made up. All this is very doubtful. On the death of Alexander, who was favourable to the Christians, though it is not likely that his successor, Maximin, who was absent in Germany, sent home any orders for the persecution of Christians, yet there would be a new city prefect and a change of policy in Roman administration, by which the Christians, as adherents of the late emperor, were very likely to suffer. It seems to us then most likely that Pontianus and Hippolytus were banished early in the reign of Maximin as the two leading members of the Christian community.

We own we find it hard to refuse to accept the explanation of von Döllinger, which makes Hippolytus the first anti-pope; but we cannot dissemble that the difficulties arising from the fact that the existence of so serious a schism has been absolutely unknown to the church from the 4th century to the 19th, are so great, that if we knew of any other way of satisfactorily explaining the language of Hippolytus we should adopt it in preference. We are not told who consecrated Hippolytus as bishop; in the case of Novatian we are told of three bishops being brought from country towns of Italy to ordain him, and we can scarcely suppose that there were fewer in the case of Hippolytus. A schism which bishops thus took the lead in inaugurating must have been a serious one: it lasted at least five or six years, and if we make it begin in the time of Zephyrinus as we seem bound to do, perhaps twenty years, and it had as its head no insignificant person, but the most learned man of the Roman church, and the one whose name was most likely to be known to foreign churches. Yet the existence of this schism was absolutely unknown abroad. All Greek lists of the popes, as well as the Latin, include Callistus, and make no mention of Hippolytus. And the confessed ignorance of Eusebius about the see of Hippolytus is proof enough that he was not in possession of the key to the difficulty. In the Novatian disputes which commenced about fifteen years after the death of Hippolytus, when many must still have been alive who could remember the controversy between him and Callistus, we do not read a word of allusion on either side to the comparatively recent schism of which a man holding rigorist views resembling those of Novatian was the head. We ask ourselves was the question who was bishop of Rome regarded at the time as a matter of such purely local concern that controversy on the subject could go on at Rome for years together and the outside world know nothing of it, and *that* although the unsuccessful claimant was a person on other grounds very widely known. Let us recall what took place on the election of Novatian, not twenty years after the death of Hippolytus. Letters were despatched by both the rival claimants to the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria; legates sent by the contending parties into Africa; schisms made in provincial towns, a bishop who took the part of one candidate being confronted by a bishop of the opposing party. If the absence of evidence ever entitles us to assert a negative, we may safely say that nothing of this kind took place during the episcopate of Callistus. No foreign arbiters were appealed to, and the schism, whatever it was, did not spread beyond Rome. And yet is it conceivable, if Hippolytus really set up a rival chair to Callistus, that he whose books and letters widely circulated in the East, and who must have been much better known there than his opponent, should have made no attempt to enlist on his side the bishops of the great Eastern sees? Once more, is it likely that if Hippolytus had been the author of a long-continued and dangerous schism at Rome, the predominant party should have completely condoned his offence, that he should have been honoured for centuries as a saint and a martyr, and that his name should have come down to our times with scarce a stain on his reputation as an orthodox member of the Catholic church, until words of his own came to light to cast doubt on it? We feel it ungracious to point out improbabilities amounting almost to impossibilities in the theory now most generally received, when we must own ourselves ill able to replace it with anything more satisfactory. We can only suggest that perhaps difference of language may have to some extent mitigated the asperity of feeling caused by these controversies. It is now generally recognised that in the earliest Roman church the predominant element was Greek. But this was no longer the case at the end of the 2nd century. Christianity had then ceased to be merely the religion of a foreign colony in Rome, and had laid hold of the native population. Pope Victor, whose name bespeaks his Latin origin, wrote in Latin; and from his time on, the Greek section of the Roman church was an ever decreasing minority. Yet this section, swelled as it was by the foreign Christians whom mercantile or other business brought to Rome, must have been not inconsiderable in numbers; and it is reasonable to believe that when Latin first supplanted Greek as the liturgical language of the church of Rome, a Greek service for the use of those who only understood that language was still kept up. We know that a Greek baptismal profession, Greek lessons, Greek hymns continued to be used at Rome at a much later time. If there were at the time we are discussing a Greek congregation at Rome, the head of it is very likely to have been Hippolytus, all whose extant writings are in Greek, and of whom we have no evidence that he wrote anything in Latin. The head of such a congregation might naturally be entrusted with the episcopal power of admitting or excluding members, since doubtful cases could scarcely be investigated by a Latin-speaking pope. And the supposition that he may have received episcopal consecration, besides giving an explanation of the enigmatical dignity ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπος ascribed by

Photius to Caius[b] would give a less violently improbable account of the claim of Hippolytus to episcopal dignity than the theory that he had been consecrated as anti-pope. As he was probably the last holder of his anomalous office, it is not surprising if no remembrance was retained of its exact constitution; but it is in the nature of things probable that the period when the church of Rome was Greek and when it was Latin should be separated by a certain bilingual period; and it is not unnatural that the arrangements made for the church during that interval should be forgotten when the need for them had passed. The severity of the persecutions at Rome under Decius and Valerian seems to have obliterated much of the recollections of the history of the early part of the century. But whether Hippolytus was bishop or presbyter, it remains that he wrote his attacks on Callistus in Greek and addressed them to Greek-speaking people, and that there is no evidence that he made any assault on the unity of the Latin-speaking church. This may account for the faintness of the impression which his schismatic language produced, and for the facility with which it was pardoned. Hippolytus was clearly a man who did not restrain his language. If he owned Zephyrinus as bishop, the most unruly presbyter of our own church could not shew less belief in the infallibility of his bishop than Hippolytus does in that of Zephyrinus. It does not appear to us that Hippolytus could ever have had a chance of success as a rival candidate against Callistus. To say nothing of the disadvantages he was under as a foreigner never thoroughly naturalised, the Roman church in choosing a bishop who would have to administer large revenues always looked more to practical ability than to knowledge of speculative theology; and so usually the archdeacon had the best chance of election. Callistus was a trained man of business, and his being sought out by Zephyrinus, and placed in an important office, shews that he was known to possess administrative ability. Hippolytus seems to have been a mere man of books; but such a one would naturally be indignant when a man whom he looked on as uneducated in theology intruded into what he regarded as his own special department, and gave what seemed to him erroneous definitions. That the arrogance and intemperance which he then displayed did not deprive him of permanent honour in the Roman church, is to be accounted for by the leniency with which men treat the faults of one who has real claims to respect. Hippolytus was a man of whose learning the whole Roman church must have been proud; he was of undoubted piety, and of courage which he proved in the good confession which he afterwards witnessed. The way of return would not be made difficult for such a man at any time that he really wished all dissension to be at an end.

Some obscure traces of this controversy remained for some time. That Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* iii. 3) speaks of Callistus as one who made some additions to the heresy of Noetus is to be accounted for by his having the tenth book of the work of Hippolytus, and that only; for the summary there given makes mention of Callistus as a heretic, but gives no indication that the pope was intended, a point of which Theodoret has no suspicion. An independent tradition of these disputes is contained in the acts of a pretended council at Rome under Sylvester (acts probably forged in the 6th century), in which a heretic Callistus is condemned for Sabellianism, and a deacon Hippolytus for Valentinianism. This charge of Valentinianism was one which, as we shall presently see, was likely enough to have been brought against Hippolytus by Callistus and his party, so that the forgers of these acts appear to have really had some true traditions to go upon, however much these may have been distorted and misunderstood. From this source was probably derived what is stated in the Felician catalogue of the popes, that pope Sylvester assembled 277 bishops and condemned Callistus, Arius, and Photinus. In some MSS. of the decree of pope Gelasius concerning apocryphal books, the name of Callistus is found in a list of heretics, but as it is joined with that of Donatus, we must regard as the true reading that of the majority of MSS., Celestius, who is mentioned as a Donatist by Augustine and by Optatus, the latter of whom calls him Celesius (Theiner, *Ep. Rom. Pont.* i. 470). Again, Bonizo, a writer of the 11th century, in his catalogue of Roman bishops (Mai, *Nov. Pat. Bibl.* vii. part iii. 34) makes a statement about Callistus which a comparison with Hippolytus (*Ref.* ix. 12, p. 290) proves to have been derived from a trustworthy source. "Hic jam accusationem Episcoporum voluit difficillimam esse, et ut infames et suspecti et inimici in eorum ne suscipiantur accusationem omnino prohibuit. Eos haereticos nominat qui dicunt sacerdotes post lapsum, si dignam egerint paenitentiam non posse redire ad pristinos ordines."

The preceding discussions have told all that is known of the life of Hippolytus. It will be seen that we know nothing of him except as a resident at Rome, and if he was not born in Rome as the child of Greek parents, we know not when nor from what place he came. Some omissions in his account of heretics might lead us to think that he did not continuously reside at Rome from his first attendance on the lectures of Irenaeus, but any such inference must be very doubtful. De Smedt has conjectured that he derived his account of the early history of Callistus only from the report of Carpophorus;[e] but whatever Hippolytus may have learned from this source he certainly claims to speak as a contemporary and with a first-hand knowledge of what he relates.

We now proceed to enumerate the works of Hippolytus. In this task we have been greatly helped by the list of Caspari, *Taufsymbol und Glaubensregel*, iii. 377.

(1) We place first as perhaps that which is most completely associated with the name of Hippolytus, his sixteen years' cycle (mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in passages already

[b] It is even possible that this title may really belong to Hippolytus, for it may have been founded on expressions in a lost writing really belonging to Hippolytus but wrongly ascribed to Caius, a mistake which the same writer has made in another case.

[e] The name Carpophorus is found on an inscription as that of a freedman of Marcus Aurelius (De Smedt, p. 99).

referred to), and the little treatise in which he explained it. This is among the list of works given on the statue, Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ πίνακι. That the cycle engraved on the statue is undoubtedly the very cycle of Hippolytus is not only proved by the facts that it begins with the first year of Alexander in conformity with the account of Eusebius, and that, as we pointed out, Vol. I. p. 507, it interprets the seventy weeks of Daniel in the manner peculiar to Hippolytus; but the thing is placed beyond doubt by its literal agreement with a Syriac version of the cycle of Hippolytus preserved in a chronological work by Elias of Nisibis (Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 89). The cycle of eight years used by Greek astronomers for harmonizing lunar and solar years has been explained (Vol. I. p. 508), and is much older than Hippolytus. What was novel in the scheme of Hippolytus was his putting two eight-years cycles together in order to exhibit readily the days of the week on which the full moons fell. He assumed that after eight years the full moons returned to the same days of the solar month, and he took notice that after sixteen years the days of the week moved one backwards; that is to say, the full moon in the first year of the cycle being Saturday, April 13, after sixteen years it would be Friday, April 13, and so on.[d] He joined together on his table seven sixteen-years cycles, after which the full moons return to the same day of the week as well as of the month. The cycle of Hippolytus is not astronomically correct, and, as the Syriac writer just mentioned correctly states, the error accumulates at the rate of three days for every sixteen-years cycle. Of this Hippolytus has no suspicion, and he supposed that he could by means of his cycle determine all paschal full moons future or past; for instance, that he could tell the exact day of the week and year on which took place the first passover and all other passovers mentioned in the Old Testament. It has been explained (Vol. I. p. 506) how by marking these passovers on his cycle Hippolytus has enabled us to recover his whole chronological system as well as his mode of interpreting Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks. The days marked on the cycle are those of the true astronomical full moons for the years 217–223 inclusive. The third year of the cycle, however, has a double date, March 21, 22; but the week-day marked corresponds to the 21st, and the table of Easter days, also engraved on the statue, is calculated on the supposition (when it makes any difference to the calculation) that March 21 is the correct day. On the other hand, the Syriac gives only March 22. No one has explained why this year of the cycle should be given a double day; but remarking that the true full moon in 216 fell on March 21, in 224 on March 22, it seems to us likely that Hippolytus became acquainted with the eight-years cycle in 215 or 216, that he then registered the actual full moons for eight years, and supposed that he had all the information necessary. Finding, however, the full moon in 224 to fall on March 22, not 21, he corrected a fault which he attributed to an inaccuracy in his first year's observation, and did not know that it resulted from the inherent fault of the cycle itself. If this be so, it gives 224 for the date of publication of the cycle. The cycle on the statue, it has been already said, is given in Greek, but it is clearly a Western production. The dates are given by the Roman method of Kalends, Nones, and Ides; a Western rule is followed, that if the full moon fall on a Saturday, Easter Sunday is not the next day, but that day week (the object being never to celebrate Easter earlier than the 16th day of the moon), and the equinoctial limit is made the 18th March instead of the 21st as at Alexandria (Ideler, *Chronologie*, ii. 213). In passages cited from Hippolytus by the Paschal Chronicle (p. 6, or p. 12 Dindorf), Hippolytus maintains that our Lord did not eat the Jewish passover before His Passion, but suffered on the 14th day of the moon, being Himself the true passover. Accordingly it is assumed on the cycle that the Passion falls on the full moon day, and Hippolytus, evidently counting the year as A.D. 29, that of the consulship of the two Gemini, marks the day March 25, which, according to his calculation, is the day of the paschal full moon for that year. Actually this is a week astray, the true day being March 18. We are safe in presuming that whenever March 25 is mentioned as the day of the Passion, the cycle of Hippolytus is the source of the account.[e]

(2) Eusebius in the passage where he has spoken of the work on the paschal feast just considered (τὸ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα), goes on to give a list of the *other* works of Hippolytus he had met with, among which is one περὶ τοῦ πάσχα. The use of the definite article in the first case might lead us to think that Eusebius only knew one such work of Hippolytus, which he mentions the second time according to its place in his collection of works of Hippolytus. But it may be considered certain that Hippolytus treated doubly of the paschal celebration; in the work just reviewed giving rules for finding Easter; in another writing, which probably was an Easter-day sermon, treating of its doctrinal import. A passage was cited in the Monothelite controversy at the Lateran Council in 649 from Hippolytus's ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ πάσχα (Homilia Dominicae Paschae); see Lagarde's *Hippolytus*, no. 143, p. 203; and another extract is given in the book of Timotheus Aelurus against the council of Chalcedon (Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.* p. 88). Both of these extracts are of a dogmatic,

[d] The Syriac fragment gives an obscurely worded rule for finding the day of the week, and does not contain the explanations necessary to make it intelligible. But we believe that the following rule represents what Hippolytus intended: "Attach to the eight years of the cycle respectively the numbers, 6, 2, 5, 2, 5, 1, 5, 1; then for any year add together its number in the cycle, the attached number, and the number of intercalary months introduced since the beginning of the reckoning; the sum, casting out sevens, will be the number of the day of the week on which the paschal full moon falls." The complexity of this rule indicates that Hippolytus must have used it before he hit on the simple plan of putting two eight-years cycles together.

[e] This Hippolytine date for the Passion passed into the Acts of Pilate, and thence, as we are told by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 50, see also Philaster, *Haer.* 58), some made it their practice to commemorate the crucifixion always on this day. It is obvious that if early trustworthy tradition had preserved the day of the solar year on which our Lord suffered, the church would not have perplexed herself with calculations of paschal full moons.

not a chronological character. The passage just referred to from the Paschal Chronicle purports to be taken from the first book of the treatise on the holy paschal feast (Lagarde, *Hippol.* no. 13, p. 92). The nature of the passage is such that either it might be a piece of Scripture exposition taken from a doctrinal work, or it might form part of a chronological work in which the question was discussed whether our Lord suffered on the 14th or 15th day of the month. But the chronological discussion concerning Easter would scarcely supply matter for more books than one. We do not attempt to decide, therefore, whether Hippolytus treated of the paschal feast chronologically and dogmatically in separate treatises, or in different books of a single treatise.

(3) Among the works ascribed to Hippolytus on the statue is a chronicle. The list runs χρονικῶν πρὸς Ἕλληνας, and it has been contested whether this describes two separate works, or a chronicle written with a controversial object (see Vol. I. page 505); but the question may be regarded as settled by the remains of the chronicle itself, which shew it to have been written for the instruction of Christians, and not as a polemic against heathenism. In the article Chronicon Canisianum, a full account of this chronicle has been given, and of the reasons which shew that it and the cycle on the chair must have had the same author. The chronicle records the death of the emperor Alexander, and therefore it is plain that the deportation of Hippolytus and Pontianus to Sardinia could not have taken place under Alexander as the later papal catalogue has it, but under Maximin. It follows, also, that this chronicle is likely to be the latest work of Hippolytus, and therefore that a passage common to it, and the later treatise on heresy (Vol. I. p. 507), was not taken from it, but from an earlier work, a supposition which presents no difficulty. It appears from the summary of articles prefixed to the chronicle that it originally terminated with a catalogue of the bishops of Rome, with the lengths of their episcopates. This is absent from its place in the Filocalian collection, which contains the earlier part of the chronicle; doubtless because further on a fuller catalogue is given ending with pope Liberius. But the earlier part of the catalogue ending with pope Urban, A.D. 230, bears internal marks of being derived from a source different from that of the rest of the list. The list gives the consuls of the first and last year of each bishop: down to Urban the consuls of the first year of each bishop are never the same as those of the last year of his predecessor, but are those of the succeeding year. With one exception there are no historical notices in this part of the chronicle. After the death of Urban a different mode of treatment begins. Frequently the days of the ordination and of the death of the bishops are noted: the years of the death of one bishop, and of the accession of the next, are no longer referred to two successive consulates but ordinarily to the same; and historical notices appear bearing all the marks of contemporaneousness, and making the list into a short chronicle. Hence Mommsen concludes that the list down to Urban is derived from an older document, which contained no names of consuls (and in fact the title of this section in the chronicle of Hippolytus contains no intimation that there were any such notes of time); that the compiler, finding the names of consuls given in the second part of the lists which he put together, completed the earlier part by adding in names of consuls, using for that purpose a table of consuls still to be found in another part of his collection, but in the process committing several palpable mistakes. That the earlier part is derived from the chronicle of Hippolytus, contained in the same collection, is not only probable in itself, the earlier part not proceeding beyond what Hippolytus might have written, but is made almost certain by the commencement of the Liberian list, which begins with a statement that our Lord suffered on the 25th March in the consulship of the two Gemini, the very date deduced from the cycle on the stone. We can tell why Hippolytus should have fixed on the 25th March, namely, because it was the day of the paschal full moon in the year 221, and he supposed it to have been the same every eight years previously; but there is no reason why any one else should have fixed on this which is certainly not the true date. The great peculiarity of the Liberian list is that it places Cletus after Clement, and counts Cletus and Anencletus as distinct. For a reason that will appear further on, we have thought it important to give the evidence connecting this peculiarity with Hippolytus (see Vol. I. p. 555).

(4) We pass now from the chronological to the anti-heretical writings. First, we consider the treatise against all heresies, which may have been the earliest work of Hippolytus. It is mentioned both in the lists of Eusebius and of Jerome, and a passage is quoted from it in the Paschal Chronicle, though it is not in the list on the chair as we have it, which shews that we cannot build any conclusion on the absence of a name from that list. The fullest account of this treatise is given by Photius (*Cod.* 121). He describes it as a small book, βιβλιδάριον, against thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans and ending with Noetus and the Noetians; that it purported to be an abstract of discourses of Irenaeus; that it was written in a clear, dignified style, though not observant of Attic propriety; and that, besides other incorrect statements, it denied Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the case of this work Lipsius (*Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*) has performed a rare, if not a unique, literary achievement, namely, the restoration to some extent of a lost work by means of the *unacknowledged* use made of it by later writers. The investigation is founded on a careful comparison of the treatises on heresy by Epiphanius and Philaster, from which it is deduced that things common to both, which it had been supposed Philaster had borrowed from Epiphanius, were really taken by both from a common source. It is not chronologically impossible that Philaster might have used the work of Epiphanius. This work contains two notes of time—one near the beginning, shewing that it was commenced in the year 374, the other in the 66th of the eighty sections, shewing that that part was written in the year 376. The work, therefore, could not have been published before the end of that year or the beginning of the next. We cannot fix with equal precision the date of Philaster's work, but 380 is a not improbable date, and it may be asserted that the work of

Epiphanius did not precede it by any such interval as to make it very probable that the bishop of Brescia must have been acquainted with it. But on a closer examination it is found that the things common to Epiphanius and Philaster, all are met with only within certain well-defined limits; that elsewhere their treatment of the subject is entirely independent, and that though Philaster shews the greatest anxiety to make his work complete, swelling as much as possible his list of heresies, he leaves unmentioned a multitude whose names he could have learned from the work of Epiphanius, if he had ever seen it. To illustrate the method pursued, let us take the case of the pre-Christian sects, with an enumeration of which both Epiphanius and Philaster commence, the one counting twenty, the other twenty-eight. The list of Epiphanius is Barbarism, Scythism, Hellenism, Judaism; then Stoics, Platonics, Pythagoreans, Epicureans; then Samaritans, Essenes, Sebuaeans, Gortheni, *Dositheus; Sadducees*, Scribes, *Pharisees*, Hemerobaptists, Ossenes, Nazarenes, *Herodians*. The list of Philaster is Ophites, Cainites, Sethites, *Dositheus, Sadducees, Pharisees;* Samaritans, Nazarenes, Essenes, eighteen other Jewish heresies, *Herodians*. On comparing these lists we see that there are four names common which occur in the same order in both, and that there are three other names common—Samaritans, Essenes, and Nazarenes—which are differently placed in the two lists. Now let us take into comparison the list of heresies which is appended to Tertullian's treatise on prescription, and here we find, in the corresponding place, only the four names Dositheus, Sadducees, Pharisees, and Herodians. Thus, then, the theory suggests itself that Epiphanius and Philaster used a common authority, which in this place had only these four names; and that they enlarged the list differently, each interpolating the names of such other sects as he was able to find. This conclusion gains strength as we proceed with the examination. We find the list of Pseudo-Tertullian running like a thread through the other two lists, the names in it being found in the same order in the other two, but with other names variously interpolated as already described. When we get beyond the point to which the list of Pseudo-Tertullian reaches, all agreement between Epiphanius and Philaster ceases. If the same heretics are mentioned by both, they are only such as could not be left out by any one writing about heresy, and there is no agreement as to the places assigned to these names. On the other hand, with respect to the names in which Epiphanius and Philaster follow the list of Pseudo-Tertullian, the agreement extends to the matter as well as to the selection of names; and it is under these heads exclusively that the things common to the two writers are found. We cannot resist the conclusion that the two writers have used a common authority; but the first sight inference that that authority was Pseudo-Tertullian is disproved by the fact that Epiphanius and Philaster have much in common which is not found in the third writer. It follows, then, that all three used a common original, to which Pseudo-Tertullian has adhered the most closely, dealing with it rather in the way of abridgment than of enlargement, except that he adds the names of some heretics who taught at Rome at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century. Now the list of common names begins with Dositheus and ends with Noetus. When we count the number of these names we find them to be about thirty-two. We say "about," because as there is room for question whether or not one or two names are to be included in the list, the number cannot be stated with such absolute precision as to exclude the reckoning thirty-one or thirty-three. None of the heresies mentioned is later than Hippolytus, and that Epiphanius at least made use of an authority written at Rome may be inferred from the fact that, speaking of Marcellina, who, Irenaeus tells us, came to Rome, he says "came to us," an expression which is only to be accounted for by his having verbally copied a Roman authority. While, then, we count it as demonstrated that Epiphanius, Philaster, and Pseudo-Tertullian used a common authority, we consider that the reasons stated make it probable in a very high degree that that authority was the earlier anti-heretical treatise of Hippolytus. Lipsius is able, then, by collecting the common matter of Epiphanius, Philaster, and Pseudo-Tertullian, not only to give a list of the thirty-two articles of that treatise, but also to recover much of their substance. He even attempted to carry his divination further, and comparing his restored Hippolytus with Irenaeus to infer that they too used a common authority, probably the lost work against heresies by Justin Martyr. But this attempt to see a lost work by twice-reflected light is too difficult for even the author to have confidence in his success. Considering that in his latter work Hippolytus merely combines what he found in Irenaeus with his own reading of heretical works, we think it likely that in his earlier treatise he had no authority but the lectures of Irenaeus. But it seems to us probable enough that these lectures, delivered by Irenaeus after the publication of his great work, and treating, not specially of Valentinianism but of heresies generally, were based on an earlier treatise.

With regard to the time when the work on the thirty-two heresies was published, we have the following indications. The tract of Pseudo-Tertullian mentions the following names of heretics, which do not occur in the other authorities, and therefore, in the opinion of Lipsius, were not contained in the original: Proclus, Aeschines, Blastus, the second Theodotus, Praxeas and Victorinus (?). These heretics appear all to have been at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, and no later heretics are mentioned. We thus obtain Rome as the place, and the episcopate of Zephyrinus, A.D. 199–217, as the time when the list was appended to the tract of Tertullian. If we agree with Lipsius that the treatise of Hippolytus did not contain these names, it must have been written before they became famous, and we can therefore hardly place it later than the episcopate of Victor. But we think that one at least of these names could not have been omitted by Irenaeus or his disciple. If we ask whether Quartodecimans are likely to have been included in a heretical list by Irenaeus, the title of his work against Blastus *On Schism* may remind us that the same man might consistently contend for the toleration of foreign churches, yet condemn strongly the schismatical

introduction of the foreign practice at Rome. It was by insisting on this that Blastus caused the troubles at Rome which probably led to the measures taken by pope Victor to put down Quartodecimanism. It seems then more likely that the name of Blastus was mentioned by Hippolytus than that it was added several years after his schism had ceased to be formidable. On the whole we think it most likely that it was in the early years of Zephyrinus that Hippolytus published his notes of the lectures of Irenaeus against heresies, with the view of leading up to an assault on Noetianism, which was at Rome the most formidable heresy of the day. And considering that, according to the opinion of Lipsius himself, the original of the tract of Pseudo-Tertullian was written in the lifetime of Hippolytus, it seems to us simplest to believe that it was written by Hippolytus, and that it was (see No. (5)) the summary of the contents of the Syntagma.[f]

(5) A work, or rather a fragment, bearing in the MS. the title of "Homily of Hippolytus against the Heresy of one Noetus," was first printed by Vossius, in a Latin translation made by Turrianus; and afterwards the Greek was printed by Fabricius from a Vatican MS. On examination it appears to be not a homily, but the conclusion of a treatise against more heresies than one. It begins: "Certain others are privily introducing another doctrine, having become disciples of one Noetus." It goes on then to refute the Noetian objection that the assertion of the distinct personality of our Lord contradicts those texts of Scripture which declare the absolute unity of God. At the end of this discussion he says: "Now that Noetus also has been refuted, let us come to the setting forth of the truth, that we may establish the truth, against which all so great heresies have arisen, without being able to say anything." Pope Gelasius quotes a passage from this work, as from an anti-heretical treatise, "Hippolytus in memoria haeresium." Fabricius then suggested that we have here the last chapter of the treatise against the thirty-two heresies, containing the confutation of Noetus, together with the exposition of the truth in opposition to all the heresies, with which the work concludes. The rhetorical style of this latter part would account for its being taken for a homily. The fragment contains an identification of the method of Noetus with that of Theodotus, which harmonizes well with the supposition that this fragment is from the work in which the section on Noetus follows close after that on Theodotus. On the other hand, Volkmar and Harnack have contended that the treatise, of which this fragment is the conclusion, must have been directed against Monarchian heretics only, as it is only against the doctrine of such heretics that the conclusion of the fragment sets forth the truth. We think this argument too weak to balance the fact that we nowhere read that Hippolytus composed such a special treatise. A more weighty argument is that Photius describes the work against the thirty-two heresies as a little book (βιβλιδάριον), while, if we regard this fragment as a single chapter (allowing it to be even much the largest chapter), the work must have been one of considerable bulk. It may be believed that in the case of each of the earlier heresies, a work *against* heresies must have contained, in addition to a short description of the heresy (which is what Lipsius usually gathers from the secondary authorities), some attempt to confute it. We are inclined to accept the solution of this difficulty proposed by Lipsius, namely, that the little book which Photius met with was not the σύνταγμα itself, but only a summary of its contents, not differing very greatly from that of which Pseudo-Tertullian may be regarded as giving a translation. We know other cases in which anti-heretical treatises were accompanied by such summaries, and in which these got into independent circulation. It is only with such a summary of the work of Epiphanius that Augustine was acquainted; and it has been told already that Theodoret only knew the summary of the later work of Hippolytus. The expressions μετρίως and ἁδρομερῶς, with which in his later work Hippolytus describes his former mode of treatment, do not of necessity imply that the former work was a short one, but only that he had then refrained from giving that complete exposure of the secret doctrines of the heretics which he gave subsequently.

The writing which we are discussing furnished Epiphanius with the materials for his article on Noetianism. Indeed he copies it in a mechanical manner, which is somewhat ludicrous. Our fragment begins by saying that Noetus lived not long ago. Epiphanius begins in the same way, but goes on to explain that "not many years ago" means 130 years or so. It is not to be understood, however, that Epiphanius transcribes Hippolytus, but he follows him all through, using his arguments, and sometimes his words, but bringing all into conformity with what theological accuracy in his own time demanded. There is also a close affinity between this fragment and Tertullian's tract against Praxeas. It has been questioned (see Volkmar, p. 136; Harnack, p. 202) whether the resemblances are greater than might be expected to occur in the writings of men of kindred opinions, replying to the same arguments of a common antagonist. It seems to us that Lipsius (*Quellen*, p. 184) has clearly established a literary dependence of one on the other; nor can we think it doubtful that Tertullian is the borrower. It is remarkable that Tertullian never names Hippolytus, though this is not the only evidence that he used his writings, and though there was much agreement in their doctrine.

The orthodoxy of the tract against Noetus might seem to be guaranteed by the use made of it by pope Gelasius. It seems unsuspected by Tillemont, Ceillier, Lumper, and others who have discussed it. It was formally defended by bishop Bull, and the tract was published by Routh (*Ecc. Script. Opusc.*) as a lucid exposition of orthodox doctrine. When, however, it came to light that the teaching of Hippolytus had been censured by pope Callistus, Döllinger had no difficulty in pointing out features in it open to censure. Though Hippolytus acknowledges the

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[f] On the subject of this section, in addition to the work of Lipsius already referred to, should be consulted the reviews of it by Harnack *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1874, p. 145, and in a separate tract, *Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus*, with Lipsius' reply, *Quellen der aeltesten Ketzergeschichte*.

Logos to have been from eternity dwelling in God as His intelligence, he yet appears to teach that there was a definite epoch determined by the will of God, prior no doubt to all creation, when that Logos, which had previously dwelt impersonally in God, assumed a separate hypostatic existence, in order that by Him the world should be framed, and the Deity manifested to it. Thus, beside God there appeared another; yet not two Gods, but only as light from light a ray from the sun. Hippolytus also teaches [see HERMOGENES; TERTULLIAN] that it was only at the Incarnation that He who before was the Logos properly became Son, though previously He might be called Son in reference to what He was to be. Döllinger imagines that this emanation doctrine of Hippolytus may, in the controversies of the time, have been stigmatized as Valentinian, and that thus we are to account for the fact already mentioned that a late authority connects this heresy with his name.

(6) In the year 1842 Minoides Mynas, in execution of a commission given him by the French government, brought to Paris from Mount Athos, besides other literary treasures, a 14th-century MS. containing what purported to be a refutation of all heresies, divided into ten books. Owing to mutilation, the MS. begins in the middle of the fourth book; but from the numbering of the leaves it is inferred that the MS. had never contained any of the first three books. Miller, who published the book in 1851 for the University of Oxford, perceived that these newly-recovered books belonged to the same work as what had been published under the name of Origen's *Philosophumena*, by Gronovius, and afterwards in the Benedictine edition of Origen, though it had been perceived that the ascription to Origen must be erroneous, as the author claims the dignity of high priesthood, and also refers to a former work on heresies, while no such work is said to have been composed by Origen. Miller accordingly in his edition reprinted the *Philosophumena* as the first book of the Elenchus, but ascribed the whole to Origen. It is to be remarked that the tenth book, which gives a summary of the whole, makes no mention of the contents of the second, third, or fourth books, so that we are left to conjecture as to the contents of the second and third books. The plan of the book is to refute heretics by shewing that their doctrines were derived from heathen sources. The description of the doctrine of the heretics only commences with the fifth book; the first book contains the doctrines of the Greek philosophers; the fourth expounds the system of the astrologers; the second and third books must, therefore, have dealt with some other form of heathenism, possibly Chaldee or Babylonish. The publication of Miller's edition gave rise to very active discussion, which was all the more lively on account of the bearing on modern controversies of that part of the ninth book which charged a bishop of Rome with heresy. Miller's ascription to Origen was generally rejected; an anonymous dissertation in an English periodical claimed the work for Caius, and this view was adopted by Baur and others. Jacobi, on the other hand, in a German periodical, put forward the claims of Hippolytus, a theory which was embraced by Bunsen (*Hippolytus and His Age*, 1852; 2nd ed., *Christianity and Mankind*, 1854) by Wordsworth (*St. Hippol. and the Ch. of Rome*, 1853, 2nd ed. 1880) and may be said to have been completely established by Döllinger (*Hippolytus und Kallistus*, 1853), a work to which we refer by the pages of Mr. Plummer's English translation. Some additional light was thrown on the subject by Volkmar's *Hippolytus und die römische Zeitgenossen*, 1855, a work intended as the first part of a treatise on the ante-Nicene heresies, with which, however, the author has not proceeded. Other writers for whom the authorship has been claimed are Tertullian, to whom De Rossi inclines in the conclusion of a series of able papers on this work in his *Bullettino di Arch. Christ.*, 1866;[g] and Novatian, the case for whom is argued by Armellini, *de Prisca Refutatione Haereseon*, 1862. In the present state of the controversy we think it needless to give reasons for rejecting the claims of others, considering it enough to state the positive evidence for the authorship of Hippolytus, evidence which we regard as quite conclusive. From the book itself we infer that the author lived at Rome during the episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus, and for some time afterwards; that he held high ecclesiastical office, and enjoyed much consideration, being not afraid to oppose his opinion on a theological question to that of the bishop, and able to persuade himself that fear of him restrained the bishop from a course on which he otherwise would have entered. Hippolytus satisfies these conditions better than any one else for whom the authorship has been claimed. Further, the hypothesis that Hippolytus was the author gives the explanation of the prevalent Eastern belief that he was bishop of Rome, of the tradition preserved by Prudentius that he had been once in schism from the church, and of the singular honour of a statue done him; for his position as head of a party would make it intelligible why his adherents should delight to glorify his learning and prolific industry.[h] These arguments might make the authorship of Hippolytus highly probable, but the case is turned into certainty by the fact that the work on heresies connects itself with six distinct works of Hippolytus.

(a) *The Treatise against the thirty-two Heresies.*—The author begins by saying that he had a long time before (πάλαι) published another work against heresy, in which he had dealt with the subject in a rougher way, refraining from that minute exposure of the secret doctrines of the heretics which he was then about to make. Of those for whom the authorship has been claimed, Hippolytus is the only one whom we know to have published a previous work on heresies. The distance of time that would separate the two works would be twenty years, if not more.

[g] Bunsen gives a good engraving of the statue of Hippolytus; De Rossi gives from an ancient glass an interesting portrait of his antagonist, Callistus, the only one of the 3rd-century popes whose likeness has been preserved.

[h] It seems to us, however, more likely that the statue was erected soon after his death, by consent of all parties, near the place where his remains were buried, and where it was subsequently found. In a list of works published during the time of schism, the treatise against heresy would have been prominently mentioned. The present list omits mention of all the works which could have given offence to his former opponents.

This and the difference of plan which he announces are enough to account for some differences both in contents and in method of treatment between the earlier and the later treatise. On the other hand, Volkmar, p. 89, gives decisive proof of the affinity of the two treatises, enumerating seven points in which they agree together, differing from other authorities.

(b) *The Treatise on the Universe.*—At the end of the work (x. 32, p. 334) the author refers to a previous work of his περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας. Now among the works ascribed to Hippolytus on the statue, we read πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός. When we come presently to speak of this work we shall discuss what Photius says about it; suffice it here to say that there is no room for doubt that the book described by Photius is the same as that referred to by our treatise, and that Photius tells that the book which he describes contained a polemic against Plato, from which we may conclude that it was the same as that whose title is inscribed on the statue. Wordsworth (p. 56) points out several verbal coincidences between our treatise and the extant remains of the treatise described by Photius which leave no doubt that both proceed from the same author. Photius remarks that the author of the work on the universe was also the author of *The Labyrinth*, there being at the end of the latter work a statement that its author had written the former. Photius states that he had found in the margin of his MSS. both works ascribed to Caius, but will not himself be positive that the work on the universe referred to in *The Labyrinth* is the same as this one. We have already said that Volkmar has established that Theodoret was acquainted with the tenth book of our treatise, but not with the preceding nine. This tenth book, then, must have been in separate circulation. Theodoret gives it no title, and appears not to know the author's name. Now the tenth book begins with the words, "The labyrinth of heresies." We may, then, reasonably conclude that what Photius knew as *The Labyrinth* was our tenth book, which, for want of another title, was known by its first word. It is not likely that a different book, for some unknown reason called *The Labyrinth*, should also have ended with a claim to the authorship of the treatise περὶ τοῦ παντός. Photius mentions that *The Labyrinth* was by some inscribed as Origen's.

(c) *The Chronicle and the Treatise on the Psalms.*—It has been mentioned (i. 507) that the enumeration of the seventy-two nations among whom the earth was divided (x. 30), and which the author states that he had previously given in other books, precisely agrees with that given in the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus. This chronicle was in all probability later than the *Refutation of Heresies*, and therefore could not have been the previous work referred to. But Hippolytus wrote commentaries on the book of Genesis, where this enumeration would naturally be given in treating of ch. x., and he appears to have been, like many prolific writers, apt to repeat himself. This same enumeration is given in his commentary on the Psalms (No. 29 *infra*).

(d) *The Tract against Noetus.*—On comparing this tract with the exposition of the truth given at the end of the treatise, the identity of doctrine, and sometimes of form of expression, is found to be such as decisively to prove common authorship. The same doctrine is found, that the Logos, which had from eternity dwelt in the Deity as His unspoken thought, afterwards assumed a separate hypostatic existence, differing from created things not only in priority but also because they were out of nothing, He of the substance of the Godhead; and being the framer of the universe according to the divine ideas (in the Platonic sense of the word) which had dwelt in Him from the first. That the Son's personal divinity was not by the original necessity of His nature, but given by an act of the divine will, is stated more offensively than in the earlier tract. He says to his reader "God has been pleased to make you a man, not a god. If He had willed to make you a god He could have done so; you have the example of the Logos." The principal difference between the language of the former work and of the latter is, that in the former, not the latter, the exposition of doctrine treats of the Holy Spirit. Döllinger accounts for this by the fact that the latter work being addressed to heathen, the mention of this specially Christian doctrine was there less suitable. Lipsius points out that in those passages of the former work where the Holy Spirit is mentioned, the subject is the relation between the Father and the Son, and the mention of the third Person of the Trinity is irrelevant. He concludes, therefore, that the passages which contain this mention are interpolations intended to correct an omission displeasing to the orthodoxy of later times. We cannot refute this suspicion, but we may remark that while (if the passages be not genuine) Hippolytus, who speaks elsewhere of the Holy Spirit several times in this treatise on heresies, cannot be censured for not introducing a mention of Him out of place; it is quite possible that, when speaking of the first two Persons of the Trinity, he might be led on to speak also of the third even though his subject did not demand it. Volkmar goes farther than Lipsius in rejecting, as interpolations, parts of the tract against Noetus.

(e) *The Treatise on Antichrist.*—In the second chapter of this treatise (Lagarde p. 2), when telling how the prophets treated not only of the past but of the present and the future, he uses language in some respects verbally coinciding with what is said on the same subject in the Elenchus (x. 33, p. 337).

We consider that the evidence which has been produced does not come short of a demonstration of the Hippolytine authorship. The title of the work we are considering would be φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος; the name Philosophumena properly applying to the first four books, the Elenchus to the six latter. The chief value of the book to us consists, in addition to the light it casts on the disputes which disturbed the church of Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century, in the extracts it has preserved from otherwise unknown Gnostic writings, which the author inserted in order to shame these sects by an exposure of their secret tenets. The attack which the work contained on the character of pope Callistus was fatal to its circulation. No doubt when a reconciliation was effected at Rome all parties were desirous to suppress the book. The first book was preserved, which contained a harmless and useful account

of the doctrines of heathen philosophers; and the tenth book, which presented no cause for offence (there being nothing to indicate that the heretic Callistus mentioned in it was intended for the bishop of Rome), also found some circulation, and was seen by Theodoret and Photius. But these two writers are the only ones in whom we can trace any knowledge even of the tenth book, which was certainly not used by Epiphanius. The rest of the work appears not to have been met with by any writer whose works have come down to us, and but for the chance which preserved a transcript of a single copy that found its way to the East, the work would have altogether perished.

Much of what was written immediately after the discovery of the Elenchus has now become antiquated. We content ourselves, therefore, with referring generally the reader who may be interested in the history of the discussion to the theological periodicals for 1852–4, in which articles on the subject are numerous. An able summary of the principal points in the controversy is contained in De Smedt's dissertation, *De Auctore Philosophoumenon* in his *Dissertationes Selectae*, Ghent, 1876. The treatise against heresies was edited a second time, with much critical care, by Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859. This edition marks the pages of Miller's edition, by which, accordingly, we refer to the work. An edition was also published by Cruice, Paris, 1860. Miller and Schneidewin spent no pains on the previously known first book. This has been edited in a thoroughly satisfactory manner by Diels (*Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879), who also investigates the sources whence Hippolytus drew his account of Greek philosophy.

(7) *The Little Labyrinth.*—Eusebius (*E. H.* v. 27) gives some long extracts from an anonymous work against the heresy of Artemon. Internal evidence shews that the writer was a member of the Roman church; and he speaks of things that occurred in the episcopate of Zephyrinus as having happened in his own time. On the other hand, Zephyrinus is described as Victor's successor, language not likely to be used if Zephyrinus were at the time bishop, or even the last preceding bishop. The writer's recollection too does not appear to go back to the episcopate of Victor. He deduces that bishop's opinion from his public act, the excommunication of Theodotus, but does not pretend to any personal knowledge of his own. The date would therefore be some little time after the episcopate of Callistus. Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* ii. 5) refers to the same work, describing it as one written against the heresies of Artemon and Theodotus. He appears when writing not to have looked beyond Eusebius, all the things he cites from it being to be found in the extracts which Eusebius has preserved, but he has an independent knowledge of the work, and we learn from him that it was known in his time under the name of the *Little Labyrinth*, and was attributed by some to Origen, though in Theodoret's opinion this assumption was disproved by the difference of style. Photius (*Cod.* 48), as we have seen, ascribes to Caius a book called *The Labyrinth*, which we have identified with the summary of the Elenchus; he does not mention the *Little Labyrinth*, but adds that it was said Caius had composed a special treatise against the heresy of Artemon. It does not appear that Photius had himself seen the latter treatise. We have no reason to think that the *Labyrinth* of Photius and the *Little Labyrinth* of Theodoret were the same; on the contrary it is likely that the latter was identical with the treatise against Artemon, which Photius expressly distinguishes from his *Labyrinth*. As the name "labyrinth" appears not to have been the proper title of the summary of the Elenchus, but only a convenient designation, taken from its first word, for a book without a title, so also may have originated the name "little labyrinth." This book too may have begun either with the words "little labyrinth," or with the word "labyrinth," and have been called "little" to distinguish it from another larger work called by the same name. As the time and place of the author agree with those of Hippolytus, so it is natural to think that the two works known by the name of *Labyrinth* had the same author; and the writer from whom Eusebius gives extracts tells of the two Theodoti who are mentioned by Hippolytus in both his works against heresy. But there are strong arguments against the identification. (*a*) This writer speaks of Victor as thirteenth bishop from Peter, whereas if he had adopted the reckoning which counts Cletus and Anacletus as distinct, a reckoning which we have seen reason to ascribe to Hippolytus, Victor would have been fourteenth. (*b*) He speaks all through of Zephyrinus with greater respect than we should expect from the author of the Elenchus, and he speaks with strong disapproval of one Natalius who allowed himself to be induced by love of the first place, and by a salary[1] to accept the office of counter-bishop in a heretical communion, in apparent unconsciousness that he could himself be charged with having occupied a similar position. (*c*) The writer mentions among "the brethren who wrote against the heathen in defence of the truth, and against the heresies of their time." Justin, Miltiades, *Tatian*, and Clement. One could scarcely write thus who was aware that Tatian had been one of the heretics of his time. Now at the time of this composition the heresy of Tatian might well have been forgotten, and he might only be known to Caius as the author of the "address to the Greeks"; but Hippolytus has articles on the heresy of Tatian both in his earlier and his later treatise. (*d*) The writer's dislike to the use of technical logical terms, and to the study of heathen philosophy by Christians, is what we should hardly expect from the author of the *Philosophumena*.

None of these reasons is absolutely conclusive against the Hippolytine authorship; yet when these topics of internal evidence are combined with the fact that we have some external evidence for the authorship of Caius and none for that of Hippolytus (for the fact that Photius was wrongly informed as to the authorship of the work on the universe is no proof of the erroneousness of what seems to have been quite independent information as to the authorship of the treatise against Artemon); we must in this alternative, Caius or Hippolytus, give our verdict for Caius.

[1] This Latin word is similarly used by Apollonius (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18).

(8) *The Work against Bero and Helix* (see HELIX).—It has been already stated that a certain Anastasius of the 7th century is the earliest authority for designating Hippolytus as bishop of Portus. He so calls him in sending to Rome extracts made by him at Constantinople, from what purported to be a treatise of Hippolytus περὶ θεολογίας καὶ σαρκώσεως against the above-named heretics, his adversaries having hindered him from getting possession of the entire work. Döllinger (p. 295) has given conclusive reasons for regarding this as no work of Hippolytus, but as a forgery not earlier than the 6th century. We hear nothing either of these heretics or of this work against them before the 7th century, although it afforded testimonies against monophysitism of which it is incredible that earlier writers would not have availed themselves if they had known of them. The technical language of these fragments is also that which was developed by the controversies of the 5th century, and is quite unlike the language of the age of Hippolytus. It was doubtless Anastasius who supplied another passage from the discourse περὶ θεολογίας produced at the Lateran Council in 649.

(9) A Syriac list of the writings of Hippolytus given by Ebed Jesu, a writer of the very beginning of the 14th century (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 1, p. 15), contains a work whose Syriac title is translated by Ecchelensis, *De Regimine*, by Assemani, *De Dispensatione*. Adopting the latter rendering and taking "dispensatio" to be equivalent to οἰκονομία, we should guess the subject of the work to be our Lord's Incarnation. It may therefore be identical with that last considered. If the other rendering be adopted, the work would relate to church government, and might be identical with some of the writings of which we speak, No. 21.

(10) *The Treatise against Marcion.*—This work is mentioned in the catalogues of Eusebius and of Jerome, but no fragments of it have been preserved.

(11) On the statue, however, we have enumerated a work περὶ τἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν. This may well have been an anti-Marcionite composition, and possibly the work mentioned by Eusebius.

(12) *Defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.*—We may probably class among the anti-heretical writings, the work described in the list on the chair as ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως. This is also included in the list of Ebed Jesu, who enumerates "a defence of the Apocalypse and gospel of the apostle and evangelist John." The work on the Apocalypse mentioned by Jerome we take to be different, and we notice it among the exegetical works. Hippolytus in his extant remains constantly employs the Apocalypse, and his regard for it is appealed to by Andrew of Caesarea (*Max. Bibl. Patr.* v. 590). It is doubtful whether the opponents of the fourth gospel and the Apocalypse were not among the 32 heresies of the Syntagma. Such a heresy is not mentioned by Pseudo-Tertullian, who appears to have closely followed his original, but the ascription of these books to Cerinthus is reckoned as a heresy by Philaster (*Haer.* 60), and by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51). It is possible that Epiphanius in his long article on the Alogi may have made use of the treatise now under consideration; at least some of the objections which he notices have the air of belonging to an earlier date than his own. It has been supposed that CAIUS was the writer, replied to by Hippolytus, who ascribes the Apocalypse and the gospel to Cerinthus; but (see Vol. I. p. 385) the arguments for supposing that Caius rejected the Apocalypse are inconclusive; and it is in the highest degree improbable that he, an orthodox member of the Roman church, rejected the gospel of St. John.

(13) One argument in support of the view just referred to, is that Ebed Jesu (*u.s.*) enumerates among the works of Hippolytus *Chapters* (or heads) *against Caius*, which it has been conjectured were identical with the work last considered. To this it is enough to say that Ebed Jesu reckons in his list the two works as distinct. But it has been a puzzle what other heresy of Caius Hippolytus could have confuted. It has been conjectured with little probability that a work against Cainites is intended.[k] At the end of the article CAIUS, we have given Lightfoot's explanation, which, however, on reflection, does not satisfy us; and although much of what is told of Caius is so completely a duplicate of what is true of Hippolytus, as to give plausibility to the theory that both names belonged to the same person, whose works circulated, some under one name, some under the other; yet the evidence for the separate existence of Caius cannot be got rid of without a good deal of forcing, and if we give faith to the catalogue of Ebed Jesu, we cannot maintain the identity of persons who appear to have been in controversy with one another. Earlier critics naturally assumed that if Hippolytus were in controversy with Caius, Hippolytus must have been on the side of the church, and Caius must have been a heretic or schismatic. This assumption is not reasonable now that we have learned that Hippolytus was for a considerable time at variance with the bulk of the Roman church, of which we have reason to think Caius was a leading presbyter, and the ablest literary man left behind by Hippolytus. It is therefore quite credible that written controversy may have taken place between them, which on their subsequent reconciliation, both parties were willing should perish.

(14) It is hard to draw the line between controversial and dogmatic books. Thus, with regard to the treatise cited by Anastasius Sinaita (Lagarde, No. 9, p. 90) περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, which may be the same as that described on the statue as περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως and by Jerome as *De Resurrectione*, we cannot tell whether it was a simple explanation of Christian doctrine, or directed against the errors of heretics or heathens.

(15) A controversial character more clearly belongs to another work on the same subject, a fragment of which is preserved in Syriac (Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.* p. 87). This fragment contains what Stephen Gobar (Photius, *Cod.* 232) noted as a peculiarity of Hippolytus, and which is found also in both his treatises against heresy, that he makes Nicolas the deacon himself, and not any misunderstood saying of his, the origin of the errors of the Nicolaitans. Here he is charged with maintaining that the resurrection has passed

[k] This seems to be Harnack's view. (Herzog, iv. 806, 2nd edit.)

already, and that Christians are to expect none other than that which took place when they believed and were baptized. The Syriac entitles this work as addressed to Mamaea the queen, who is explained to have been the mother of Alexander (*i.e.* Alexander Severus). It is no doubt from the same work that Theodoret makes a couple of quotations (Lagarde, No. 10, p. 90), also relating to the resurrection. Theodoret calls the work from which he quotes a "letter to a certain queen," and therefore it is possible that the name Mamaea may have only been conjecturally added by the Syriac writer, who knew that Hippolytus was contemporary with Alexander Severus. It is natural to think that the work under consideration was identical with one mentioned in the list on the chair also addressed to a lady, whose name suggests that she was a member of the imperial family. The title there runs *προτρεπτικὸς εἰς Σεβήρειναν*. Döllinger gives as the most probable guess as to the lady intended, Julia Aquilia Severa, the second wife of Elagabalus. It is not unlikely that this work may have contrasted the Christian certainty of immortality with the hopelessness of heathenism.

(16) One work at least Hippolytus specially directed to the heathen, and though this is not included in the list of Jerome he probably alludes to it (*Ep. ad Magnum*, i. 423) where he classes Hippolytus with others who wrote "contra gentes." In the list on the chair we read *χρονικῶν πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός*. Here we might take *πρὸς Ἕλληνας* as the title of a distinct work, or we might take these words either with what precedes or with what follows. That the last is the true construction appears both from the title given in one of the MSS., in which a fragment is preserved, *ὁ λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος κατὰ Πλάτωνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας*, and from the fact that the same fragment contains addresses to the Greeks. This, then, is evidently the treatise *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*, mentioned at the end of the Elenchus, and of which Photius speaks in a passage already referred to (*Cod.* 48). He there tells that the treatise was in two short books, that it shewed that Plato was inconsistent with himself, and also shewed that the Platonic philosopher Alcinous had spoken falsely and absurdly about the soul, and matter, and the resurrection, and that it proved that the Jewish nation was much older than that of the Greeks. The copy used by Photius was entitled as by Josephus, but he remarks that this is inconsistent with the language of the work concerning our Lord, and that he had found in marginal notes that the work was really by Caius the author of the *Labyrinth*; that the work, being without author's name, was differently ascribed; to Josephus, to Justin Martyr, to Irenaeus,[1] as the *Labyrinth* itself was sometimes inscribed as Origen's. But the opinion of Photius's anonymous annotator must give way to the testimony of the list on the chair, which assigns the work on the universe to Hippolytus; and to the other arguments (see No. (6) *c*), which shew the *Labyrinth* to be the work of the same author.

[1] The existing remains are variously attributed to Josephus, to Irenaeus, and to Meletius.

The theory of the universe embodied in this work made all things consist of the four elements, earth, air, fire, or water. Things formed of more elements than one are subject to death by the dissolution of their component parts, but things formed of one element (as for instance angels, who are formed of fire alone) are indissoluble and immortal. Angels also being of fire have no female, for it is from water the generative principle is derived. Man is made of all four elements, his soul being formed of air, and called *ψυχή*, because this element is colder than the other three. The principal extant fragment was first printed by Hoeschel in the notes to his edition of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (Lagarde, § 6, p. 68). Another very short fragment is preserved by Joannes Philoponus (Lagarde, § 57, p. 124). The former fragment contains a description of Hades; it is a place under ground where souls are detained until the day of judgment. The gate is guarded by an archangel. When the angels appointed to that service conduct thither righteous souls, they proceed to the right to a place of light called Abraham's bosom, where they enjoy continued present pleasures with the expectation of still greater happiness in the future. The wicked, on the other hand, are hurried down to the left into a place of darkness where is the lake of fire, into which no one has yet been cast, but which is prepared for the future judgment. There they not only suffer present temporary punishments, but are tormented by the sight and smoke of that burning lake, and the horrible expectation of the punishment to come. The sight of the righteous also punishes them, between whom and them a great gulf is fixed. And again while the bodies of the righteous will rise renewed and glorified, theirs will be raised with all the diseases and decay in which they died.

Bunsen conjectures that some points in his account, for which Hippolytus has not Scripture authority, might have been taken by him from the Apocalypse of Peter. The fragment as published by Fabricius is enlarged by Wordsworth (*Hippolytus*, p. 306) from a Bodleian MS. previously however printed by Hearne. In the Fabrician form it seemed to come to a proper end with a doxology. Wordsworth has added a kind of postscript also ending with a short doxology which is a kind of expansion of the apocryphal text, "In whatsoever things I find you in these will I judge you," that is, that the future, whether of the backsliding righteous man, or of the repentant sinner, will depend on the state in which death finds him. And so these words are also explained by Justin Martyr (*Trypho.* 47) and by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives salv.* 40). In this work Hippolytus, who seems to have been fond of referring to his previous writings, when speaking of our Lord refers to other works in which he has treated of the same subject in more detail (*λεπτομερέστερον*), a word which reminds us of the *ἁδρομερῶς* of the beginning of the Philosophumena. The subject is one on which Hippolytus must have touched in so many writings that it is not easy to say to which in particular he refers. When we have mentioned one more controversial work we shall give the names of two or three which may answer the conditions of this problem.

(17) *The Demonstration against the Jews.*—

The Greek text of a fragment of a work bearing this title was first published by Fabricius (vol. ii. 1), from a copy supplied by Montfaucon from a Vatican MS. There is no external evidence to confirm the ascription in the MS. of this work to Hippolytus. The mutilated list on the chair begins -ους ;[a] but it is bare conjecture which completes this into πρὸς Ἰουδαίους. There is nothing in the fragment which forbids us to suppose Hippolytus to have been the writer. It shews that the Jews have no reason to glory in the sufferings which they inflicted on Jesus of Nazareth, for that it had been foretold that the Messiah should so suffer, and that these sufferings had been the cause of the misery afterwards endured by the Jewish nation. Fabricius conjectures that our fragment is a part of a commentary on Psalm lxix.; but on scarcely sufficient grounds, that Psalm being only treated of as far as the writer's argument requires. He goes on to give testimonies from the Book of Wisdom, which he cites as really Solomon's, in this agreeing with another fragment of Hippolytus (Lagarde, § 135, p. 200). De Magistris, published (*Act. Mart. ad Ost. Tib.*, app. p. 452) as if it were part of this treatise, the treatise (*Adversus Judaeos*) commonly printed among the spurious works of Cyprian (iii. 143, Hartel), but there is no reason to think that this was by Hippolytus, or that it is a translation from the Greek.

We pass now to dogmatic writings.

(18) Jerome in his list of the writings of Hippolytus gives "Προσομιλία de laude Domini salvatoris." This is the homily which he tells us mentions that it was delivered in the presence of Origen. Jerome goes on to say that it was in imitation of Hippolytus that Ambrose urged Origen to the publication of his commentaries on Scripture, a passage which gave rise to some confusion on the part of Photius, who makes Hippolytus hold the relation to Origen really occupied by Ambrose. As a homiletic commentator on Scripture, Hippolytus (as the list of his exegetical writings will shew) was no less indefatigable than Origen, and there is nothing incredible in the statement that the labours of one may have stimulated those of the other.

(19) *The work on Antichrist.*—Of all the writings of Hippolytus this is the only one that has come down to us in a perfect state, or nearly so. It appears in Jerome's list with the title *De Antichristo;* Photius calls it περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀντιχρίστου, and the title which it bears in the MS. from which the first printed edition was made, is περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου. The work is addressed to one Theophilus, and the author cautions him against communicating to unbelievers what he was about to teach him, quoting Paul's directions to Timothy, "the things thou hast heard of me commit thou to *faithful men.*" The doctrine of the treatise as to the coming overthrow of the Roman power would give good reason for this caution. Having made some introductory remarks on the manner in which the Word had inspired the prophets whose testimony he was about to use, he proceeds to the subject in hand. Jerome's title is that which best describes the treatise, of which Antichrist is almost exclusively the subject, except that the later title has some justification in the parallel between Christ and Antichrist, with which he begins, shewing how the deceiver had sought in all things to liken himself to the Son of God. He was to be, like Christ, a lion (Deut. xxxiii. 22), a king, a lamb (Rev. xiii. 11), he was to come in the form of a man, and to be of the circumcision; he was to send out false apostles and gather in a people, and as the Lord had given a seal to those who believe in Him, so should he, &c. The writer then quotes fully all the prophecies that speak of Antichrist and arrives at the conclusion that he shall be of the tribe of Dan; that Daniel's four kingdoms are the Babylonian, Median, Grecian, and Roman; that the ten toes of the image are ten kings among whom the Roman empire should be divided, that from among these Antichrist should arise, and should overthrow three of the kings, viz., those of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, and make an expedition against Tyre and Berytus; and then should gain the submission of the Jews, hoping to obtain vengeance by their means, that he should shew himself forth as God, and persecute to the death those who refuse to worship him, that he should reign three years and a half, and then that he and his kingdom should be destroyed by Christ's second coming. For the problem of the number of the beast, while other solutions mentioned by Irenaeus are noticed, that of Λατεῖνος is preferred. This is one of many coincidences shewing that Hippolytus used the treatise of Irenaeus against heresies, which are enumerated (§ iv.) by Overbeck in an able monograph on this tract *Quaestionum Hippolytearum specimen.* Overbeck discusses also the points of contact between this tract and Origen, arriving at the conclusion that these may be accounted for without supposing either writer indebted to the other. The most striking resemblances are the doctrine (*De Ant.* 45) that the Baptist on being beheaded by Herod acted also as our Lord's forerunner to the souls in Hades (Origen, *de Engast.* xi. 327, Lomm.; see also Hermas, *Simil.* ix. 16), on which point certainly it seems possible that Hippolytus borrowed from Origen; the application of the natural history of the partridge to explain Jer. xvii. 11 (*De Ant.* 55; Orig. in Jer. xv. 303), and the application of the natural history of the lion's cub to deduce our Lord's three days in the grave from Gen. xlix. 9 (*De Ant.* 8; Orig. *in Gen.* viii. 289). Overbeck infers from the hostility to the Roman empire exhibited in this tract that it was written in a time of persecution, and conjectures that its date was about that of the edict of Severus against the Christians, A.D. 202. Before the recovery by Gudius of the genuine work on Antichrist there had been printed by Picus as the work of Hippolytus, one entitled on the End of the World, and on Antichrist, and on the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is now recognised to be spurious, but the forger must have been acquainted with the genuine treatise.

(20) The text of a homily *on the holy Theophany* was communicated to Fabricius by Gale from a MS. still preserved at Cambridge. There is also extant a Syriac translation of great part

[a] We have not thought it worth while to repeat other conjectures as to the filling up of this blank, or of the second line, of which we have only the termination -νας. It requires little ingenuity in an interpreter to find in these lines any works he pleases.

of this homily, viz. to the end of chap. 7 (Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. of Brit. Mus.* ii. 842). The ascription of the MSS. is not confirmed by any external evidence. This homily is not mentioned in any of the lists of the Hippolytine works, nor is it quoted by any ancient author. We do not, however, see anything in the homily which Hippolytus might not have written, and Wordsworth has pointed out a remarkable coincidence with the Refutation, viz. that in both man is spoken of as becoming a god by the gift of new birth and immortality. The homily commences with rhetorical comments on St. Matthew's narrative of the Saviour's baptism, proceeds then to speak of the privileges conveyed by baptism when the life corresponds to the profession, and, lastly, with an exhortation to his hearers to partake of these blessings. The other homilies we notice among the exegetical writings which, for all we know, may have been all homiletical.

(21) In the list on the chair we have enumerated *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις.* There is room for doubt whether we have here the title of one work or two. For different speculations on the subject see Fabricius, p. 83. The two principal theories about the work on the Charismata are (*a*) that it treated of the Montanist claims to inspiration; (*b*) that it was a book of canons; this theory being founded on the fact that the 8th book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see DICT. CHRIST. ANT. I. 124) begins to treat *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, and then in three MSS. (all, however, traceable to a common source) has the heading *διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου.* It is beyond need of argument that this part is not the work of Hippolytus, but it would be natural to conjecture that the treatise of Hippolytus might have at least furnished materials for the first two chapters of this book of the Apostolic Constitutions, which treat of Charismata. But these are just the chapters which do *not* bear the name of Hippolytus, and there are a number of verbal coincidences between these and the previous books of the Apostolic Constitutions (see Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbol*, iii. 389), and none with the genuine works of Hippolytus. Still, the widely prevalent ascription of Apostolic Constitutions to Hippolytus makes it probable that the work whose title is given on the chair contained something of the kind. Jerome (*Ep.* 52, *ad Lucinium*, vol. i. p. 432) tells that Hippolytus had written on the questions whether Saturday ought to be a fast day, and whether the Eucharist ought to be received daily, questions which may well have been treated of in a work on church canons. The Syriac versions also ascribe Apostolic Canons to Hippolytus (Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.* ii. 949, 1033, 1037). Wansleb in 1572 published titles of thirty-eight canons which he found current in Egypt under the name of Abulides, but owned that he could not in the least conjecture who Abulides was. Subsequently he was identified with our Hippolytus, and these canons were published in full (Arabic, with Latin translation) by Haneberg in 1870. This editor maintains that they are correctly ascribed to Hippolytus, an opinion which he is not likely to succeed in establishing, though he has pointed out some things in the collection which probably date from the time when Christianity was still a persecuted religion. These canons describe Abulides as the first patriarch of the city of great Rome, and we see that some confusion has occurred in making Hippolytus take the place of Clement as a reporter of Apostolic Constitutions. It is likely that this function was attributed to Hippolytus in Egypt before the time of Palladius, and that it is in this way we are to account for his strange description of Hippolytus as an immediate disciple of the Apostles. And if we enquire further how the name of Hippolytus came to be prefixed to Apostolic Constitutions, no answer seems more probable than that the work *Apostolic Tradition*, whose title is given on the chair, really did give a collection of rules purporting to have been made by the Apostles.

(22) On the chair we have words, which have been read *ᾠδαὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς.* Instead of the first word Scaliger reads *ὁδός*, and Bunsen conjectures *ὁμιλίαι.* In no other case are two different works put down on the same line of the inscription, otherwise it would be most simple to understand the four last words of the line as referring to the exegetical works which extend over the whole of Scripture, and to infer from the word *ᾠδαί* that Hippolytus was the writer of Christian hymns. Thus, in the passage extracted by Eusebius from the *Little Labyrinth*, we have *ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαί.* If the line describes only a single work it may denote hymns, one in praise of each of the books of Scripture, and perhaps giving a poetical account of its contents. We pass now to the exegetical writings.

(23) *On the Hexaemeron.*—This work is given in the lists both of Eusebius and of Jerome. The latter states (*Ep.* 54. *ad Pammach. et Ocean.* vol. i. p. 525) that Ambrose had made use of it in his work on the same subject.

(24) *εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον* (Euseb.). *In Genesim* (Jerome).—This is the book from which we suppose the account of the seventy-two nations of the earth to have been taken.

(25) *On Exodus.*—This we only know from Jerome's list. No quotations from it have been preserved, unless we adopt a doubtful suggestion by Magistris that Theodoret's citations from the *λόγος εἰς τὴν ᾠδὴν τὴν μεγάλην* are from a commentary on the Song of Moses (Ex. 15).

(26) There is extant a fragment (Lagarde, 51) of a commentary on "the blessings of Balaam;" and Trithemius also ascribes to Hippolytus a commentary on the book of Numbers. An Arabic catena on the Pentateuch, of which a portion was published by Fabricius, ii. 33–44, and more recently the whole of the book of Genesis by Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs*, contains numerous extracts from an Hippolytus whom it describes as the expounder of the Targum. It is as hard to say why our Hippolytus should be so described as to guess what other Hippolytus could be meant. There is a general assent of critics that the scholia do not belong to our Hippolytus. Bardenhewer, however (p. 33, *vid. inf.*), finds things in them which remind him of his manner, and thinks it possible that these notes may have worked up some materials really derived from Hippolytus.

(27, 28) Theodoret cites several passages from the *Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah.* Another part of the book of Samuel was the subject of a special treatise called by Jerome *de Saul et Pythonissa*, and in Greek εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστρίμυθον, for so an imperfect line on the chair is generally, as we believe, correctly completed. According to a fragment published by Magistris, Hippolytus maintained that Samuel did not really rise, but that a demon assumed his form, and by his own sagacity foretold Saul's death, though with a mistake as to the time. The opposite opinion was maintained by Origen.

Following the order of the books of the English Bible we come next to

(29) *The Commentary on the Psalms.*—The existence of this work is testified by Jerome, and also by the inscription on the chair. Yet elsewhere when writing to Augustine he gives a list of commentators on the Psalms (*Ep.* 112, vol. i. p. 754), he wholly leaves out Hippolytus, counting Eusebius as the next Greek commentator after Origen. We cannot say whether this was mere forgetfulness, or whether Jerome only read, of Hippolytus, homilies on particular Psalms, and some general observations on the whole book of Psalms. In his catalogue Jerome gives to the work of Hippolytus the title not, as in some other cases, *In Psalmos* but *De Psalmis*, which might suggest that the work of Hippolytus was not a commentary but only treated generally of the Psalms. Jerome however describes the work on Daniel, which certainly was a commentary, as *De Daniele*, and the Greek title of the work on the Psalms would seem to have been Εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς. Theodoret quotes passages from the commentary on the 2nd, 23rd, and 24th Psalms, and on the ᾠδὴ μεγάλη, which may mean the 119th Psalm. It is very possible these quotations may be from separate homilies, and not from the present work. A fragment published by Bandini comments on the 78th Psalm. Several other fragments of doubtful genuineness are given by Magistris (Migne, x. 722). Of more than doubtful genuineness is one (Lagarde, 125, p. 187) which purports to be introductory to the whole book, treating of the inscription, authorship, division, and order of the Psalms. Overbeck (p. 7) had given reasons for thinking this not to be the work of Hippolytus, but an Alexandrian composition later than the Hexapla of Origen.[a] And this may be said to be placed beyond doubt by the Syriac fragment (Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.* p. 83), which we accept as representing a genuine extract from the introduction of Hippolytus, and from which it appears that the writer of the Greek fragment had certainly made use of the introduction of Hippolytus, but had worked up his materials in his own way. For instance, the Syriac begins by telling how David's four chief singers had each under him seventy-two players on instruments, these mystically corresponding to the seventy-two nations among whom the earth was divided; thirty-two of Ham, twenty-five of Shem, fifteen of Japhet. This touches on a favourite discovery of Hippolytus (see Vol. I. p. 507). The same idea appears in the Greek (Lagarde, pp. 193, 194), but in a different place, and much less distinctly enunciated. Eusebius also reproduces it, but so indistinctly as to suggest that he did not take it directly from Hippolytus. Hippolytus classifies the Psalms according to their authors and inscriptions, and explains that they are all called David's, though he did not write them all, because he was the originator of the institution of temple psalmody, in the same way as the book of Esther is called after her, and not after Mordecai, of whom it has much more to tell, because Esther, by her act of self-sacrifice, was the originator of the whole deliverance. Hippolytus points out that the Psalms are not in chronological order, and accounts for this by the supposition that Ezra did not find them all at once, and that he placed them in books as he found them. The Greek, on the contrary, supposes that the chronological order was deranged in order to establish a mystical connexion between the number of a Psalm and its subject. Eusebius here follows Hippolytus.

(30) *On Proverbs.*—This work is mentioned in Jerome's list. Some fragments have been preserved in catenae (Lagarde, pp. 196–199). Lagarde has omitted fragments published by Mai (*Bib. Nov. Pat.* vii.). These will be found in Migne, p. 6. There are a few points of resemblance between these and the treatises on Antichrist and on the Universe, though not of a decisive character. Döllinger, p. 318, deduces the doctrine of Hippolytus on the Eucharist from two passages. The first is from the spurious part of the treatise against the Jews, No. 17. The second is from one of the present fragments on "Wisdom hath builded her house." Ritschl (*Enst. Altk. Kirch.* 2nd ed. p. 563) maintains that this also is spurious, holding that the framer of the catena only means to quote as from Hippolytus the two sentences, χριστὸς—περιθέμενος (lines 13–18, Lagarde). Further light has been thrown on the subject by the publication of a shorter version of the same fragment by Tischendorf (*Anecdota Sacra*, p. 227), whence it appears that all the Eucharistic language which we have a right to ascribe to Hippolytus is "He has given His divine flesh and His holy blood for us to eat and drink for the remission of sins."

(31) (32) Jerome enumerates a commentary on Ecclesiastes; both Eusebius and Jerome one on the Song of Songs. Lagarde gives one fragment from the former (No. 136, p. 200), and four from the latter (No. 35, p. 200; and *Anal. Syr.* p. 87). One of these states that Hezekiah suppressed the works of Solomon on natural history, because the people sought in them for the recovery of their diseases, instead of seeking for help from God.

(33) (34) (35) Jerome enumerates a commentary on Isaiah; Eusebius one on parts of Ezekiel. Assemani states (*Bibl. Or.* i. 607) that there is Syriac testimony to the existence of one on Jeremiah. Possibly in the last case a mistake may have arisen from the citation of passages of Jeremiah explained in other works; as, for instance, Jer. xvii. 11, is explained in the treatise

[a] A Syriac catena attributes a portion of this scholium to Origen (Cowper, *Syriac Miscellanies*, p. 57). If this ascription be correct, it would afford an interesting instance of a use of Hippolytus by Origen. The scholium is older than Eusebius, who transcribes the opening sentence in the introduction to his Commentary on the Psalms.

on Antichrist. Of the fragments remaining of these commentaries we may note a curious calculation, that whereas in the miracle of Joshua the day was lengthened by only twelve hours, in that of Hezekiah it was lengthened by twenty; viz. by the ten for which the sun went back, and the ten more by which it returned again; and also note that in expounding the four living creatures of Ezekiel (Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.* p. 90), while he follows Irenaeus in assigning one to each of the Evangelists, he does not, like him, assign the lion, the eagle, and the man to John, Mark, Matthew respectively, but, as has been done in later times, to Matthew, John, Mark.

(36) *On Daniel.*—This work is included in Jerome's list. It is the subject of an article by Photius; is quoted by several other writers, and large fragments of it remain. It is the subject of one of the most valuable of recent contributions to Hippolytine literature, a tract by Bardenhewer, Freiburg, 1877, in which he collects all the notices of this work, discusses the different extant fragments, and by their means restores the original as far as it is possible to do so. Catenae quote passages from the commentary of Hippolytus on Susanna, but the early lists do not mention this as a separate treatise, and Bardenhewer is probably right in thinking that it was the commencement of the commentary on Daniel, to which book that of Susanna was commonly prefixed in bibles of the time. The list of Ebed-Jesu attributes to Hippolytus an exposition of Susanna and of Daniel the Little. This writer's list of Old Testament books includes Daniel, Susanna, and Daniel the Little. There is no evidence what is meant by the last: Bardenhewer conjectures the story of Bel and the Dragon. If this be so, no fragments of the commentary remain. The work was divided into books, for a portion of the commentary on the Song of the Three Children is quoted by Eustratius as from the second book; but we cannot tell the number of books, nor their arrangement. Some of the fragments make it probable that the work had been homiletic.

Hippolytus supposes Susanna to have been the daughter of the high priest Hilkiah (2 Kings xxii. 4), and sister to the prophet Jeremiah, and he probably, like Africanus, identified her husband with the Jehoiachin who was kindly treated by Evil-Merodach. But his interest is much less in the historical than in the typical explanation, for he was of the opinion so general with the Fathers, that the persons, institutions, and events of the Old Testament included, beside their literal meaning, a typical representation of things corresponding in the new dispensation. Susanna then was the Christian church; Joacim, her husband, represented Christ; the garden, the calling of the saints; Babylon, the world; and the two elders, the two peoples that plot against the church, viz. the Jews and the Gentiles. The bath was baptism; the two handmaids, faith in Christ and love to God, through which the church confesses and receives the laver. The passage throws some light on the baptismal usages of the time.

The remains of the commentary on our canonical Daniel contain a theory attested by Photius, that our Lord had come in the year of the world 5500, and that its end should be in the year 6000, that is to say, not until 500 years after the Incarnation. In Scripture proof of this calculation, Hippolytus appeals to the 5½ cubits which he finds in Ex. xxv. 10; to the sixth hour, John xix. 14, which denotes half a day or 500 years; and to Rev. xvii. 10. This 5500 years must be understood as round numbers, for the Chronicle of Hippolytus counts the exact number of years as 5502. An extant fragment on Daniel is more clearly at variance with the Chronicle in making our Lord's life thirty-three years. This must have arisen in a transcriber's correction, for however strange it is that Hippolytus, who attached such value to St. John's Gospel, should not have deduced from it a longer duration for our Lord's ministry, the Chronicle and the cycle on the chair agree in making His earthly life but thirty years. We must not wonder at the tendency of transcribers to alter the chronology, as they supposed for the better, when we find Bardenhewer himself proposing to alter the 245 years which the fragment gives for the kings of the Medes into 230. We learn from the Chronicle that 245 years was the computation of Hippolytus; 230 was that of Africanus. In explaining the seventy weeks of Daniel, Hippolytus divided them—seven weeks from the first year of Cyrus to the return of the people under Ezra, sixty-two weeks from Ezra to Christ, and one week at the end of the world. This interval between Ezra and Christ does not agree with historical calculation, and we have noticed (Vol. I. p. 507) the singular fact that Hippolytus was aware of this himself. Both in his Chronicle and in the cycle on the chair he gives 563 years for the interval between Ezra and Christ, while in the cycle he gives for the same interval, "according to Daniel," 433 years, but gives no hint what way he had of reconciling the discrepancy. We see that the commentary on Daniel must have been written before 224, which is the date we have assigned to the cycle, but how much earlier we cannot tell. Bardenhewer places it as early as 202, judging from the language which the commentary on Susanna uses as to the persecutions of the church. We are ourselves disposed to place it a good deal later. Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 7) tells us that Judas, writing about 203, thought that Antichrist would immediately appear, for that the minds of the generality of Christians at the time were greatly disturbed by the violence of the persecution then raging. We think we must allow at least a dozen years to pass for the persecution to have spent its force, and the minds of Christians to cool down, before the theory was likely to suggest itself that the coming of Antichrist was still two or three centuries off.

(37) *On Zechariah.*—We only know of this work from the list of Jerome and from the prologue to his commentary on Zechariah.

(38) *On Matthew.*—We know of this work from the prologue to Jerome's commentary on Matthew; and Theodoret quotes from a discourse on the parable of the talents, which, however, may have been a separate homily. Bardenhewer claims for the treatise on Daniel a fragment which had been supposed to belong to the commentary on Matt. i. 11, and which states that Matthew, wishing to keep the descent of our Lord pure, skipped over the sons of Josiah and passed to his grandson Jechoniah. The five sons of

Josiah are enumerated in the same way in the chronicle as in this fragment.

(39) *On Luke.*—Two fragments are given by Mai (Lagarde, p. 202), and Theodoret has preserved part of a homily on the two thieves.

(40) *On the Apocalypse.*—This work is in the list of Jerome, is mentioned by Jacob of Edessa (Eph. Syr. *Opp. Syr.* I. 192), and by Syncellus, 358. Some fragments of it are preserved in an Arabic Catena on the Apocalypse (Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.* app. pp. 24–27).* It appears that Hippolytus (who is described as pope of Rome) interpreted the woman (Rev. xii. 1) to be the church; the sun with which she is clothed, our Lord; the moon, John the Baptist; the twelve stars, the twelve apostles; the two wings on which she was to fly, hope and love. He understood the verse xii. 10 to speak, not of an actual swallowing up by the earth of the hostile armies, but only that they wandered about in despair. He understood by the wound of the beast (xiii. 3) the contempt and refusal of obedience with which Antichrist would be received by many on his first appearance; and by the healing of it the subsequent submission of the nations. The two horns (xiii. 11) are the law and the prophets, for this beast will be a lamb outwardly, though inwardly a ravening wolf. Of the number of the beast, besides the Irenaean solutions, Lateinos, Euanthas, and Teitan, he gives one of his own, Dantialos, a name possibly suggested by the theory that antichrist was to be of the tribe of Dan. The kings of the East (xvi. 12) come to the support of Antichrist. Armageddon is the valley of Jehoshaphat. The five kings (xvii. 13) are Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, and his four successors. The next is the Roman empire, whose time was not yet completed; the seventh, who had not yet come, was Antichrist.

This enumeration includes all the works that, there is evidence, were composed by Hippolytus, unless we add the letters which it would seem Eusebius was acquainted with. We reject the story of the virgin of Antioch and Magistrianus, ascribed to Hippolytus by Palladius (Lagarde, p. 204). It is the same story as that of Theodora and Didymus (Ruinart, p. 396). Ambrose agrees with Palladius in laying the scene at Antioch. It is sufficient to mention the tracts on the twelve apostles and on the seventy disciples. For other spurious works see Lumper viii. 107. The list of genuine writings, however, is quite long enough to establish the immense literary activity of Hippolytus, especially as an interpreter of Scripture; and though the samples we have incidentally given are enough to shew how different were his principles of interpretation from those of our time, he was not in respect to them at variance with the general opinion of his own age, and no doubt his labours must have given a great impulse to the study of God's word. As a writer he must be pronounced active rather than able or painstaking; Diels describes his work as usually "minimo labore aliunde surreptum"; the service which he does us in reporting the contents of lost writings is often marred by the unskilfulness with which he makes his abstracts; he forms his own opinions rashly, pronounces them dogmatically, and adheres to them obstinately. Yet when every drawback has been made, he must be owned to be deserving of the reverence which his literary labours gained for him from his contemporaries, and of the honour paid him at his death. For centuries afterwards his name was obscured; but his glory blazed out again when in the time of Charlemagne his relics were transferred to France. For some interesting particulars of this translation see Benson, *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, i. 190. We bring this article to a close by quoting his account of the visit of pope Alexander III. to his shrine in the church of St. Denys in 1159. "On the threshold of one of the chapels he paused to ask 'Whose relics it contained?' 'Those of St. Hippolytus,' was the answer. 'I don't believe it, I don't believe it, non credo, non credo,' replied the infallible authority. 'The bones of St. Hippolytus were never removed from the holy city.' But St. Hippolytus, whose dry bones apparently had as little reverence for the spiritual progeny of Zephyrinus and Callistus as the ancient bishop's tongue and pen had manifested towards these saints themselves, was so very angry that he rumbled his bones inside the reliquary with a noise like thunder, 'ut rugitus tonitrui putaretur.' To what lengths he might have gone if rattling had not sufficed we dare not conjecture. But the pope, falling on his knees, exclaimed in terror, 'I believe, O my Lord Hippolytus, I believe, pray be quiet. Credo domine Hippolyte credo, jam quiesce.' And he built an altar of marble there to appease the disquieted saint."

Literature.—A collected edition of the remains of Hippolytus was first published by Fabricius in two volumes, Hamburg, 1716, 1718. They have been since published in Galland, *Bibl. Vet. Pat.* vol. ii. and in Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. x. The edition generally referred to in this article is Lagarde's, Leipzig and London, 1858. Lagarde has also published some Syriac and Arabic fragments in his *Analecta Syriaca* and Appendix. A few fragments omitted by Lagarde will be found in Migne. Articles on Hippolytus are to be found in Tillemont, vol. iv.; Ceillier, vol. i.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vii. 183, ed. Harles, where is to be found the best account of the older bibliography; and Lumper, vol. viii. where is reprinted Ruggieri's essay on Hippolytus. Separate dissertations on Hippolytus have been written by Hänell, *de Hippolyto Scriptore*, 1838, and Kimmel, *de Vita et Scriptis Hippolyti*, 1839. Caspari's list already referred to supersedes these earlier lists. The discovery of the "Refutation" made a good deal of the older literature antiquated. We have referred in the section on that work to some of the more important of the writings which that discovery elicited. The more important of the special dissertations on the other works have been referred to under their respective sections. [G. S.]

* A short account of this Arabic commentary is given by Ewald (*Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur*, pp. 1–11). The particulars here given are derived from a translation of the Hippolytine fragments with which I was favoured by the Dublin Professor of Arabic, Mir Aulad Ali. One of the fragments not only contains a mention of the book of *the Acts of the Apostles*, but also describes the *Epistle of Jude* as addressed "to the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad." These passages would be important in the history of the Canon if we could be sure they came from Hippolytus; but there seems better reason for referring them to the later commentator.

HIPPOLYTUS (3)—Aug. 22. According to Baronius a bishop of Portus, and martyr by drowning under the emperor Alexander Severus. On Aug. 24 he commemorates St. Aurea, who was flung into the sea, and whose body was buried by the blessed Nonnus, which was the original name of Hippolytus before he was baptized, according to the Greek text of the *Acts of St. Aurea*, or *Chryse*, published by Magistris in 1795, so that Baronius buries St. Aurea by means of a man who was executed two days before. Döllinger, in *Hippolytus and Callistus*, pp. 39–48, minutely criticizes the story. His theory is that the *Acts of St. Aurea* are the production of a romancing Greek of the 6th century, or later. The heroine of the history is an imperial princess —Aurea. The persecutors are the emperor Claudius and the prefect of the city Ulpius Romanus. In the *Acts* the first Claudius appears to be meant, as they make one of the actors, Censorius, say, "Christ in our days hath come down into the world." The prefect tortured and scourged the princess at Ostia, and finally threw her into the sea with a stone round her neck. The holy Nonus, however, who is also called Hippolytus, draws her corpse out of the water, buries her before the gates of Ostia, reproaches the prefect, and is by his command bound hand and foot and drowned in a pit near the town walls of Portus, whereupon, for the space of an hour, voices as of children were heard to cry, "Thanks be to God." The *Acts of St. Aurea* were accessible only in Latin in Mombritius till the Greek edition was published in 1795. The Greek text is, in Döllinger's opinion, the original, and the source whence the later Greeks and Baronius derived their idea that Hippolytus the presbyter was bishop of Portus. They are of course of no direct historical value. [CHRYSE.] [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (4)—Dec. 2. A martyr noted by the *Roman Mart.* and Baronius. He is said to have lived an ascetic life in a cave outside the city. His sister Paulina and her husband Hadrias having been baptized, they were condemned by the judge Secundianus to torture and death. But the *Acts* of these martyrs are worthless, as Pearson has shewn in *Annal. Cypr.* Döllinger discusses the case of this martyr in *Hippolytus and Callistus*, p. 48. [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (5)—Aug. 10 (Bas. *Men.*), Aug. 13 (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Usuard.). An apocryphal martyr, invented in the 5th or 6th century. His story, as given in the martyrology of Ado, is taken from the spurious acts of St. Laurentius the Roman archdeacon, where we are told that upon the arrest of that saint he was delivered by the prefect Valerian into the custody of Hippolytus, a high military officer, who was converted by the numerous miracles which St. Laurentius performed, and was at once baptized by him. He then emancipated his slaves, and performed the funeral rites of St. Laurentius on the third day after his martyrdom, for which he was summoned before the emperor, who asked him if he had turned magician in carrying off the body of Laurentius, to which he replied that he had done it not as a magician but as a Christian. The emperor thereupon ordered his family, his servants, and his nurse, Concordia, to be beheaded without the walls at the Porta Tiburtina, and himself to be torn asunder by wild horses. According to the *Acta Laurentii*, the wife and daughter of the emperor Decius, Tryphonia and Cyrilla, seeing the emperor horribly tormented by a demon for his cruelty to Hippolytus and his family, earnestly sought baptism, whereupon Tryphonia forthwith died in peace, while Cyrilla was strangled. Döllinger, in *Hippolytus and Callistus* (Plummer's translat.), pp. 28–39 and 51–60, discusses the rise and development of this legend, which has largely helped to confuse the story of the genuine Hippolytus, the Roman presbyter and writer of the 3rd century. His theory concerning the martyr is briefly this. St. Laurentius was buried on the Via Tiburtina. There, in the 5th century or probably earlier, a church had been erected in his honour, near to which the presbyter Hippolytus had also been buried. Later on this person was forgotten, at any rate became unknown to the vulgar. Some heathen monument, on which the tragical end of the son of Theseus of that name was sculptured may have been found in the neighbourhood, and been supposed by the Christians to represent his martyrdom. Possibly it was even the name alone with which the current story, still under the influence of heathen recollections, connected itself, and gave us the saint torn to pieces and mangled by horses (Cf. Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 426). A tombstone with the name of Concordia was then assigned to the nurse of Hippolytus, who was also made into a martyr, while a room found there became the prison where Hippolytus had kept Laurentius. In the *Notitia* of the 9th century we therefore read, "Inde in Boream sursum in monte Basilica Sancti Hipoliti est, ubi ipse cum familia sua tota xix. Mart. jacet. Carcer ibi est, in qua Laurentius. Ibi est Trifonia uxor Decii Caesaris et Cyrilla filia ejus; inter utrasque Concordia et Sanctus Genesius et multi martyres ibi sunt." Döllinger fixes the composition of this story between the time of pope Liberius and that of Leo the Great, a period of about seventy years. The oldest document in which this mythical martyr appears, may have been the semi-heathen, semi-Christian calendar of Polemius Sylvius, which falls within the year 448. Among the few saints' days noted therein, we find the martyrdom of Laurentius and Hippolytus on Aug. 13. The whole subject is in a state of great confusion in the martyrologies, which Döllinger has striven, with his usual critical power and vast knowledge, to arrange in some consistent order. At the same time the impartial reader must feel sorely perplexed between the opposing theories of Döllinger and Bunsen. (Cf. for the more modern traditions on the subject of this martyr, Aug. Hare's *Walks in Rome*, ii. 139.) [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (6), the bearer of a letter to Rome from Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 45). It was doubtless an imperfect recollection of this Hippolytus which caused Baronius, who is followed by others, to imagine a connexion between Hippolytus Romanus and Clement of Alexandria. [G. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (7)—Jan. 30. His story, as given by Usuardus, runs thus: "At Antioch there suffered the blessed martyr Hippolytus, who deceived for a while by the Novatian schism,

but being restored by grace of Christ, returned to the church, for which he died as an illustrious martyr." Of this martyr Döllinger (*Hippol. and Callist.* pp. 48, 49, 50) thus disposes: "He never existed at all, although he is mentioned in Martyrologies, especially from the 9th century onwards. An Hippolytus of Antioch is entirely unknown to any Greek authorities, even to St. Chrysostom, who, being himself of Antioch, so constantly mentions things and persons in his native city. The name of Hippolytus of Antioch is not found in any of the Martyrologies which have come down to us from times prior to the 8th century. All statements respecting him go back to the so-called Martyrology of Jerome, a compilation which notoriously is not the work of that doctor of the church, and which we know only in the condition in which it was in the 8th century, with no lack of mistakes, confusions, and reduplications. But how did this fictitious presbyter of Antioch get into this compilation? From the Chronicle of Eusebius, translated by Jerome, which formed the basis of the Martyrology, and whose short notice of Hippolytus gave occasion to the error. In his Chronicle we read under the year 250, *Geminus presbyter Antiochenus et Hippolytus et Beryllus Episcopus Arabiae Bostrenus, clari scriptores habentur.* Nothing being known of Geminus and the *et* having dropped out of the manuscript, the *Presbyter Antiochenus* was appropriated to the more celebrated name of Hippolytus. Thus has arisen the presbyter Hippolytus of Antioch, who is utterly unknown to the Greeks, and out of whom also Ado, by transferring to him the well-known narrative of Prudentius (*Peristephan.*), made a Novatianist." (Cf. Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 428.) Döllinger's theory about this martyr must however collapse in presence of the fact that the ancient Syrian Martyrology published by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for Oct. 1865 and Jan. 1866, notes at Jan. 30, Hippolytus, a martyr in the city of Antioch. The manuscript from which Wright took the Martyrology was transcribed in the year of the Greeks 723, *i.e.* A.D. 412. He fixes the date of its composition to the end of the fourth century. There is no mention however of his Novatianism in the Syrian Martyrology. (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1865, p. 45.) Hippolytus of Antioch may possibly have been the messenger sent by Dionysius of Alexandria to Rome with an Epistle about the office of deacons. He may have attended the synod of Antioch to which Dionysius mentions that he had been invited (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 46). This synod was rejected for its decision on rebaptism of heretics by Stephen bishop of Rome. This may account for Hippolytus being called a Novatian in Western martyrologies like Usuard and Ado, (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 5; Hefele, *Councils*, lib. i. cap. ii. sec. 6), as Novatian was very strict on points of rebaptism (Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii.). [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (8)—Feb. 3. A martyr, according to Baronius, in Africa with Felix Symphronius, and others, possibly about the time of Cyprian. (*Mart. Rom.*) [G. T. S.]

HIPPOLYTUS (9), notary of the Roman see, sent by Gregory the Great with letters to queen Theodelinda. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iv. indict. xii. 2, 4; Migne, lxxvii. 669, 671.) [A. H. D. A.]

HIPPOLYTUS (10), bishop of Lodi 759 to 761. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xii. 287.) [A. H. D. A.]

HIPPONICUS, a Keeper of the Records (scriniarius), to whom St. Nilus addressed a letter in which he says that many pray to God to deliver them from their bodies, as though the body dragged the soul into sin, in spite of a man's will; but that they should rather pray for deliverance from their evil habits and desires. (Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Ecclés.* viii. 217; Nilus, *Epist.* i. 137.) [I. G. S.]

HIREBERTUS, bishop. [HIMBERTUS.]

HIRENA, HIRENE. [IRENE.]

HIRMYNHILDA (Elmham, ed. Hardwicke, p. 296; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 246), abbess. [EORMENGILDA.] [C. H.]

HIRUNDINUS, bishop of Misua, in Proconsular Africa, was banished to Corsica by Huneric after the convention at Carthage, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 231.) [R. S. G.]

HISACIUS (Anast. *Hist. Eccl. ex Theoph.* 56, Bonn, 1841), confessor. [ISAACIUS.] [J. G.]

HISCIPIO (HISPICIO), sixth in the series of the bishops of Carcassonne, his predecessors being unknown for more than a century. He subscribed the council of Narbonne held in 788, and is said to have lived till 798. He was succeeded by Rogerius. (Mansi, xiii. 823; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 864.) [S. A. B.]

HISERMUNDUS, bishop of Rieti, c. 773. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 302.) [A. H. D. A.]

HISMAELIS, Welsh saint. [ISMAEL.]

HISTOPODES. Suggested by Gothofred, and adopted by Suicer, as the true reading, instead of "Spadones" in the *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 17. The edict relates to the Eunomiani, who certainly were no "Spadones" (Epiph. *H.* lxxvi., Theodoret. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 3; Aug. *de Haer.* liv.). Gothofred accounts for the application of the epithet Ἱστόποδες to these heretics by their practice of immersing the head first when administering baptism (Epiph. *u. s.*), and explains it by "Pederectus" or "Erectipedes" (*not. in d. l.* Suicer, Thesaur. s. v. Ἀναβάπτισις, i. a. Εὐνόμιος, i. 4). [T. W. D.]

HISTORIANS, ECCLESIASTICAL. In this article only writers of ecclesiastical histories properly so called are included, together with a few writers of important biographies, such as almost amount to ecclesiastical histories. Writers of mere Chronica are treated elsewhere [CHRONICA]. A fuller account of each ecclesiastical historian, together with complete lists of their works and the best editions of them, is given under their respective names. Here only the *historical* works of each writer are noticed.

With the partial exception of Hegesippus, nothing like a history of the church or any branch of it seems to have been attempted during the first three centuries; for of the Chronicles of Julius Africanus and Judas (Eus. *H. E.* VI. xxxi. 2, vii. 1) we know too little to say whether they were in any degree of the nature of an ecclesiastical history. Several causes contributed to

this:—1. The prevalent belief that Christ would soon return to judgment; 2. The pressure of the work of converting the world; 3. The comparative scarcity of literary ability in the church;[a] 4. The insecurity of life hindering study. Not till the 4th century does the writing of ecclesiastical history really begin. Eusebius, the father of it, was followed by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret simultaneously in the East, by Rufinus and Jerome in the West. But the great writers of the 4th century wrote to settle the burning questions of their own day, whether of doctrine or of discipline, rather than to record events. The greatest names are not among the writers of church history. The controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries produced at least six ecclesiastical historians in the East; but, excepting fragments, only the work of Evagrius has survived. During the 6th and 7th centuries, the passion for Lives of Saints prevailed both in East and West, and was most prejudicial to sober history.[b] The West, moreover, had returned to semi-barbarism, and its literature was under the discouraging influence of Gregory I. Scarcely anything original was produced. Liberatus and Gregory of Tours are almost the only writers of ecclesiastical history, the *Tripartite History* of Cassiodorus being merely a compilation from the Greek. Isidore of Seville has varied learning, but very little originality; his successors have still less. Both learning and originality revive a century later in Beda, in whose age almost all the best writers, with the exception of a few Franks and Italians, came from Britain. In the West the practice of writing church history may be said to have spread from the centre of the empire to the extremities, and then to have returned to the centre again. From Rufinus in Italy we pass to Sulp. Severus, Hilary of Arles, Gennadius, Gregory of Tours, and Fortunatus in Gaul; thence to Isidore, Ildefonsus, and Julianus in Spain; then to Beda in Britain; and finally to Paulus Diaconus in Italy again. From early in the 7th century till long after the close of the 9th there was no writer of church history in the East. In the whole of the mediaeval period Nicephorus Callisti is the only name worth mentioning. Indeed for more than a century and a half (630–800) there is no Greek historian or annalist of any description, a fact perhaps without a parallel in the literary history of any highly civilised people. The materials for the ecclesiastical historian of this period must be gleaned from the acts of councils, the didactic and polemical works of theologians, and a few original letters.

The Greek writers of ecclesiastical history in the first eight centuries will first be given in chronological order, and then the Latin writers. To each series is appended a list of writers of profane history during the same period, together with their dates and the period covered by their works: much material for the ecclesiastical historian is to be found in them, and sometimes in them only.

[a] Alexandria, the great literary centre, was not an atmosphere favourable to the composition of history.

[b] Jerome was perhaps the originator of this style of literature: his *Vitae* were to that age what novels are to the present. Two centuries later the novels were the only things read.

Greek Writers.

HEGESIPPUS, c. A.D. 120–185. A converted Jew, who traced a parallel between Jewish sects and Christian heresies, and made the first beginnings of ecclesiastical history. *Works*—(1) His *ὑπομνήματα* in five books have perished, with the exception of nine fragments, eight preserved by Eusebius and one by Photius (collected by Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 207; also in Grabe's *Spicilegium*). (2) That Hegesippus wrote a work on the succession of the bishops of Rome is an opinion that rests on a rendering of Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxii. 3; *γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου. Διαδοχήν*, the reading of the MSS. is said to mean a list or catalogue. Rufinus may indicate that the reading in his time was *διατριβήν*. He translates *permansi ibi*.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, or PAMPHILI, c. A.D. 263–340. The "Christian Herodotus" and "Father of Ecclesiastical History," an honour justly claimed by himself (*H. E.* I. i. 4). Of Western Christianity he knew comparatively little. [EUSEBIUS (23), p. 324.] For gaining information about the church in the East he had almost unrivalled advantages. He had large personal experience, and Constantine placed at his disposal the archives of the empire, especially those throwing light on the persecutions. Papias, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria had given accounts of various scenes in church history, more or less intermixed with doctrinal and other matter. Eusebius was the first to attempt a united and complete history, into which he introduced large quotations from the writings of other authors. *Works*—(1) *Ecclesiastical History* (*ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*) in ten books, from Jesus Christ to the death of the emperor Licinius, A.D. 324. For that period Eusebius stands alone; his successors shew their respect by leaving his ground untouched. (2) *The Martyrs of Palestine* (*περὶ τῶν ἐν Παλεστίνῃ μαρτυρησάντων*).—On the persecutions under Diocletian and Maximin, A.D. 303–310; usually placed as an appendix to book viii. of the *Ecclesiastical History*. (3) *Life of Constantine* (*εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως λόγοι τέσσαρες*). A panegyric rather than a biography, but full of information not found elsewhere (see Heinichen's 23rd *Meletema*, iii. p. 754). (4) The *Chronicon* (*Χρονικῶν κανόνων παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία*) gave a sketch of universal history down to A.D. 325. (5) *The Life of Pamphilus*, his friend and patron, is lost. (6) The *Martyriorum Collectio* (*ἡ τῶν μαρτυρίων συναγωγή*), said to have been in eleven books, is also lost. It was a larger work than the *Martyrs of Palestine*, treating of martyrdoms throughout the empire.

DOROTHEUS, said by Theophanes to have been bishop of Tyre, martyred under Julian, and writer of many works on ecclesiastical history. Neither Eusebius nor Jerome mentions him.

ATHANASIUS (ST.), c. A.D. 296–371. *Works*—(1) *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, written between A.D. 355 and 360, and not now extant as a whole. (2) *Vita Antonii*, written after the death of St. Antony (A.D. 356), probably about A.D. 365.

GELASIUS, c. A.D. 320–394. Bishop of Caesarea. He wrote a continuation to the *Ecclesiastical*

History of Eusebius, the preface to which was known to Photius. Gelasius of Cyzicus perhaps refers to it (*Hist. Conc. Nicaen.* i. 7). See below on Rufinus.

PHILOSTORGIUS, c. A.D. 368–430, of Borissus, in Cappadocia. His *Ecclesiastical History* in twelve books was to a large extent a defence of Arianism as the original form of Christianity. It was thus a very early instance of history written for a controversial purpose. It extended from about A.D. 318 to 423. Only one considerable extract made by Photius, and a few fragments preserved in Suidas and elsewhere, survive, together with an analysis of the whole by Photius. It is valuable as giving the Arian view stated by an Arian.

PALLADIUS, c. A.D. 367–431, bishop of Helenopolis. Whether he is the same person as Palladius, the author of the *Lausiac History*, will be found discussed elsewhere. For convenience, both works are noticed here. (1) *Historia Lausiaca* (ἡ πρὸς Λαῦσον τὸν πραιπόσιτον ἱστορία περιέχουσα βίους ὁσίων πατέρων). A collection of biographical notices or anecdotes of ascetics. (2) *Dialogus Historicus Palladii episcopi Helenopolis cum Theodoro Ecclesiae Romanae diacono, de vita et conversatione Beati Joannis Chrysostomi, episcopi Constantinopolis.* A vindication of Chrysostom, containing valuable information.

PHILIPPUS SIDITES, fl. c. A.D. 425. A presbyter of Side. He was thrice a candidate for the patriarchate of Constantinople; and, after his first failure, gave vent to a good deal of spleen in his *Christian History* (Ἱστορία Χριστιανική). This was a voluminous work in thirty-six books, extending from the creation to A.D. 428. Socrates gives some account of it (*E. H.* VII. xxvii.). Only three fragments remain.

IRENAEUS, Count of the empire and imperial commissioner at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, where he sided with the Nestorians. He was made bishop of Tyre, A.D. 444, and deposed by Theodosius II., A.D. 448. Whereupon he wrote an elaborate history of the council—*Tragoedia seu Commentarii de rebus in Synodo Ephesina ac in Oriente gestis*, in which the orthodox were roughly handled and the Nestorians glorified. The original Greek is lost, but parts of a Latin translation remain. They were published by Lupus at Louvain, 1682, under the title *Variorum Patrum Epistolae ad Consilium Ephesinum pertinentes.*

SOCRATES. His Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία in seven books covers 134 years, from Constantine to Theodosius II. A.D. 306–439; thus overlapping Eusebius, in order to supplement him, by twenty years. It gives an account of a very eventful and troubled period, the history of the first three general councils. Like Eusebius, he has enriched his work with large quotations from original documents. See Holzhausen, *de fontibus quibus Socrates, Sozomenus ac Theodoretus usi sunt.* Gottingae, 1825.

SOZOMENUS. His Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία in nine books is imperfect, leaving off in the middle of a chapter. It extends from A.D. 323 to 423. As compared with Socrates his style is superior, his ability inferior. It is commonly supposed that Socrates' work appeared first, and this is probable; although the similarity between the two histories might be accounted for by the authors using the same materials. Sometimes one, sometimes the other has more detail. Sozomen has much about hermits and monks, his family having been converted by Hilarion (I. i.). He does not mention Socrates among his predecessors, when he names Clemens (*i.e.* the author of the *Clementina*), Hegesippus, Africanus, and Eusebius. He incorporates few original documents.

THEODORET, c. A.D. 386–458. Opponent of Cyril of Alexandria, and one of the most learned theologians of his age. *Works*—(1) *Ecclesiastical History* (Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας λόγοι πέντε), intended as a continuation of Eusebius. It begins with Constantine, and ends with the death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 325–429, but was not completed till after A.D. 444. It is very learned and impartial, and though shorter is superior to the contemporary works of Socrates and Sozomen. It is quite independent of the other two. Theodoret is rich in information respecting the patriarchate of Antioch, and specially wanting in chronological data. (2) *Religiosa Historia* (Φιλόθεος ἱστορία ἢ ἀσκητικὴ πολιτεία). Biographies of thirty hermits and monks; a very inferior work, written in extravagant admiration of asceticism, for the most part from personal observation. (3) *Haereticarum Fabularum Epitome* (Αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή) in five books, a history of heresies in a polemical form.

HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM, d. A.D. 434. A good many of the works of Hesychius are extant; but some, including his *Ecclesiastical History*, are lost. He is mentioned among historians, *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 680, ed. Bonn., and an extract, still extant, was read at the second council of Constantinople.

GELASIUS OF CYZICUS, fl. c. A.D. 475. Chiefly known for his *History of the Nicene Council* (Σύνταγμα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν σύνοδον πραχθέντων), in three parts, written to expose the Eutychians. The third part is mutilated. On this and other small histories of the council of Nicaea, see Hefele, *History of Councils*, i. p. 263, English edition.

BASILIUS CILIX, fl. c. A.D. 500. His *Ecclesiastical History* in three books is lost. Photius knew the second book, which extended from A.D. 483 to 518. It was written from a Nestorian point of view and contained a great many original documents.

ZACHARIAS RHETOR, fl. c. A.D. 540, bishop of Meletine. His *Ecclesiastical History*, extending from c. A.D. 450 to 491, is often quoted and censured for Nestorian leanings by Evagrius. Considerable remains of an anonymous Syriac history are claimed by Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* ii. p. 53) as a translation, or even the original, of Zacharias's History.

JOANNES AEGEATES. A presbyter of Aegae, who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in ten books, extending from c. A.D. 430 to 477. He was an admirer of Dioscorus and of the proceedings at the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus, A.D. 449. The loss of such a work by an avowed Eutychian is much to be regretted.

THEODORUS LECTOR. A reader in the great church at Constantinople in the time of Justin I. (A.D. 518–527) or Justinian I. (A.D. 527–565), according to general belief. But if all the fragments reasonably assigned to him are his, he must have lived nearly 200 years later, under

Philippicus, 711-713. Theodorus is quoted by Joannes Damascenus and Theophanes, and in the acts of the 7th general council—all later than 713. *Works*—(1) *Ecclesiastical History*, in two books, from Theodosius II., where Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret end, to Justin I. Some extracts preserved by Nicephorus Callistus, and a few smaller fragments remain. It is doubtful whether Nicephorus had the whole work. (2) *Selections from Ecclesiastical Histories* (Ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν) in two books. A compendium of church history, compiled like the *Tripartite History* of Cassiodorus from Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, and extending from Constantine to the death of Constantius II. (A.D. 361). Joannes Damascenus and others speak of the two as one work in four books. The Ἐκλογή exists in MS., but being mainly a compilation is of little value except for determining readings in Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret.

CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, fl. c. A.D. 550. A monk of Palestine. He wrote lives of St. Euthymius, St. John the Silentiary, St. Sabas, and other monks.

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, c. A.D. 356-600. a pleader, probably at Antioch. *Works*—(1) *Ecclesiastical History*, in six books, extending from A.D. 431-594. It is avowedly a continuation of Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates (I. i.), and is specially valuable for the history of the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies, being the only historical work produced by those controversies which has come down to us entire; but it contains a great deal of purely secular history. (2) A volume mentioned in the *Eccles. Hist.*, but no longer extant, of *Memorials, Letters, Decrees, Orations, and Disputations.*

JOANNES MOSCHUS, c. 610. A monk of Palestine who visited a large number of monasteries both in East and West, and then wrote a history of monks called Λειμών, or Λειμωνάριον, or Νέος Παράδεισος, *Pratum Spirituale, Viridarium,* or *Hortulus novus.* It is written in imitation of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, and throws valuable light on oriental monachism.

In the following list of Greek writers of secular history in the first eight centuries, the approximate date of the writer is placed first, and then in brackets the approximate limits of the period covered by his history.

- Josephus, A.D. 37-98 (B.C. 170-A.D. 73).
- Dion Cassius, A.D. 155-235 (B.C. 700-A.D. 229, incomplete).
- Herennius Dexippus, A.D. 220-280 (to A.D. 268, extracts and fragments).
- Eunapius, A.D. 347-415 (A.D. 270-404, extracts and fragments).
- Zosimus, A.D. 370-430 (Augustus to A.D. 410).
- Olympiodorus, fl. A.D. 425 (A.D. 407-425, epitome by Photius).
- Priscus Panites, A.D. 420-471 (A.D. 445-447, extracts and fragments).
- Malchus, fl. A.D. 495 (A.D. 473-480, extracts and fragments).
- Petrus Patricius, A.D. 500-562 (Augustus to A.D. 350, extracts).
- Procopius, A.D. 500-565 (A.D. 408-553).
- Agathias, A.D. 536-582 (A.D. 553-558).
- Paulus Silentiarius, fl. A.D. 563 (A.D. 563).
- Menander, fl. A.D. 580 (A.D. 558-583, extracts and fragments).
- Theophylactus Simocatta, fl. A.D. 620 (A.D. 582-602).

Latin Writers.

LACTANTIUS, c. 250-325. Reputed author of *De Mortibus Persecutorum.* It sketches the persecutions from Nero to Diocletian in order to shew that all the chief persecutors came to a bad end. In spite of the obvious bias of the work it is accurate and trustworthy.

RUFINUS, c. A.D. 345-410. His works are some original, some translations from the Greek. (1) The *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri XI.* are partly the one and partly the other. The first nine books are a loose translation of Eusebius, through which Eusebius was for centuries known to the West. The last two books (down to the death of Theodosius) are original. (2) *Historia Eremitica s. Vitae Patrum*, lives of 33 Nitrian hermits, long ascribed to Jerome. Of the inaccuracy of Rufinus as a historian readers of Socrates (*Hist. Eccl. Praef. ad Lib. II.* and cap. i.) are well aware. His partiality is extreme, and his credulity great.

HIERONYMUS, commonly called JEROME, c. A.D. 342-420. The most learned of the Latin fathers. *Works*—(1) *De Viris Illustribus* or *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* contains 135 short biographies of the most eminent fathers of the church from St. Peter to Jerome himself, with lists of their writings. It was written A.D. 392-393. It contains much information not found elsewhere, and meagre as some of the notices are the value of the whole can scarcely be overrated. (2) *Lives of* the hermits *Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus*, sometimes placed among his *Epistles.* Several of his epistles are really biographies, *e.g.* those on the deaths of Nepontian, Lucinius, Lea, Blasilla, Paulina, Paula, and Marcella. All are written in praise of asceticism. (3) A free translation and continuation of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, a principal source of historical knowledge in the West during the middle ages, dictated A.D. 380.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS, c. A.D. 363-420. A monk under St. Martin of Tours, intimate with Paulinus of Nola and Jerome. The "Christian Sallust." *Works*—(1) *Vita S. Martini Turonensis*, written about A.D. 400. (2) *Historia Sacra*, from the creation to A.D. 400, finished c. A.D. 403. It is not without merit, though full of all kinds of mistakes. It contains valuable information about the Priscillianists. (3) *Dialogi duo*, sometimes arranged as three. Written c. A.D. 405. An account of oriental hermits on one side and of St. Martin on the other, with some notice of the controversy about Origen.

OROSIUS, c. 400-420. A Spanish presbyter active in the Priscillianist and Pelagian controversies. *Works*—(1) *Commonitorium ad Augustinum*, an account of religious parties in Spain, written in Africa, c. A.D. 413. (2) *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII.* Written at Augustine's suggestion to shew that the present calamities [ALARIC] were not sent by the gods as a judgment for the overthrow of the old religion, but were only such as have been "common to men" in all ages. It extends from Adam to A.D. 417; but excepting the last part it is a mere blundering compilation from third-rate authorities. In style it imitates Tertullian and Cyprian. It was much read in the middle ages; hence MSS. of it abound.

HILARIUS ARELATENSIS, c. A.D. 400-449

Bishop of Arles, A.D. 429. His *Vita S. Honorati Arelatensis Episcopi* is a panegyric on his tutor and predecessor in the see, the founder of the monastery of Lérins.

GENNADIUS, fl. c. A.D. 490. A semi-Pelagian presbyter of Marseilles. He continued Jerome's work *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* by adding 100 short lives of ecclesiastical writers from A.D. 392 to about 495. Like Jerome, he ends with himself. The existing text is suspected of being interpolated.

LIBERATUS, fl. c. A.D. 535. Archdeacon of Carthage. His *Breviarium* is a concise and valuable history of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies for 125 years, A.D. 428–553. It is compiled mainly from original documents.

CASSIODORUS, c. 465. Chief minister of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy till its overthrow by Belisarius A.D. 539. *Works*—(1) *Chronicon*, a compilation, made for Theodoric, from Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, &c. (2) *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Tripartitae Libri XII.*, a compilation from Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, whose *Ecclesiastical Histories* were translated for Cassiodorus by his friend Epiphanius Scholasticus. From it and Rufinus, the West for nearly 1000 years derived all that it knew of the early church. The popularity of this epitome, contrasted with the fate of that of Theodorus Lector (see above), marks the comparative state of learning in West and East. (3) *Libri XII. de rebus gestis Gothorum*—Only the abridgment by Jornandes survives, enough to shew how regrettable is the loss of the original.

GREGORIUS TURONENSIS. The "Father of French History." Bishop of Tours A.D. 573. *Works*—(1) *Miraculorum Libri VII.*, containing the *Miracles of S. Martin* in four books, the *Glory of the Martyrs* in two, and the *Glory of Confessors* in one. (2) *De Vitis Patrum.* Lives of monks. (3) *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum* (less well called *Historia* or *Gesta Francorum*), in ten books. Following Eusebius and Jerome he begins with the Creation, but in the first book reaches A.D. 397; the remaining nine books cover A.D. 397 to 591. His last and best work; it is specially important for the history of discipline in the ancient Gallican church, but is a good deal spoiled by the credulity of the author. All that he narrates as a contemporary is most valuable for the history of a period of which the materials are scanty.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, c. 530–605. Bishop of Poitiers and friend of Gregory of Tours. *Works*—(1) *Life of S. Martin*, in four books, in verse. (2) *Lives* of eight or ten Gallic saints, in prose.

GILDAS, fl. c. A.D. 560. Author of *De Excidio Britanniae Liber Querulus*. These *Complaints* refer to the ruinous condition of Britain after the English conquest.

ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, bishop of Seville, c. A.D. 600–636. A man of enormous learning for his age and country and of great ability. *Works*—(1) A continuation of the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of Jerome and Gennadius, adding (according to the older editions) 33 lives, from Hosius of Cordova (d. c. A.D. 359) to Maximus bishop of Saragossa. But in the Madrid editions (1599, 1778) several lives are prefixed from a MS. not previously collated, from Sixtus II. bishop of Rome, to Marcellinus. (2) *Chronicon*, from the Creation to A.D. 614. (3) *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, Suevorum.*

ILDEFONSUS, archbishop of Toledo A.D. 657–667. *Works* (1)—A continuation of the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of Jerome, Gennadius, and Isidore from pope Gregory I. to Eugenius of Toledo, which is still extant.. (2) A continuation of the *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore, which is lost.

JULIANUS POMERIANUS, fl. c. A.D. 680. Archbishop of Toledo. Among other works he wrote an appendix to the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of Isidore and Ildefonso. Felix and another unknown author carried the series still further.

EDDIUS, c. 710. An English presbyter. Author of a *Life of Wilfrid.*

BEDA, A.D. 673–735. The "Father of English learning." *Works*—(1) *Life of St. Cuthbert.* (2) *Lives of the Abbats of Wearmouth and Jarrow.* (3) *Chronicon*, from the Creation to A.D. 729. The first attempt in England at a universal history, and the first instance of the Dionysian era being employed in an historical work. (4) *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, in five books, from the landing of Julius Caesar to A.D. 731. The first fifty chapters are mainly a compilation from Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Eutropius, and Gildas. From the mission of Augustine, A.D. 596, Beda ceases to compile and becomes an historian. As the work of a scrupulous, cautious, able scholar, its value can scarcely be overrated. See 29 *Testimonia*, quoted in Mayor and Lumby's edition of *Lib. III. IV.* p. 180, Cambridge, 1878.

WILLIBALD, priest and biographer of St. Boniface.

PAULUS DIACONUS or PAUL WARNEFRID, fl. c. A.D. 740–800. Deacon of Aquileia, private secretary of Desiderius last king of the Lombards. When Charles the Great conquered the Lombards, A.D. 774, Paul joined the group of scholars at the court of Charles, but eventually retired in disgrace to Monte Cassino. *Works*—(1) *Gesta Episcoporum Metensium*, a history of the bishops of Metz, apparently written at Charles's court. (2) *Historia Miscella*, now in twenty-four books. The first eleven are Eutropius's with additions; the next five are Paul's; the last eight are a continuation by Landulphus Sagax in the 14th century. For centuries it was a common school book in Europe. (3) *Historia seu de Gestis Longobardorum*, in six books, from the rise of the nation to A.D. 773. Almost the only source for the history of the Lombards.

LIBER PONTIFICALIS. This work, also called *De Vitis Romanorum Pontificum*, *Gesta Romanorum Pontificum*, and *Liber Gestorum Pontificalium*, is of the utmost importance to the ecclesiastical historian. It contains lives of all the popes down to the middle of the pontificate of Stephen VI. (c. A.D. 885). It is commonly ascribed to Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church c. A.D. 860–885. But Hefele and others have shewn that Anastasius can be the author of some of the later biographies only, the last two being later than Anastasius: and that the bulk of them must be of much earlier origin and within our period. The Liberian catalogue, the first part of which is by Hippolytus, is the source of the earlier lives; the remainder are by various hands. The oldest recension of the *Liber Pontificalis*, ending with Conon, was made c. A.D. 700.

Latin Writers of Secular History.

Tacitus, fl. A.D. 110 (A.D. 14–98, incomplete).
Suetonius, A.D. 65–120 (C. Julius Caesar to Domitian.)
Historiae Augustae Scriptores (Hadrian to Carinus).
Sex. Aurelius Victor, fl. A.D. 360 (Augustus to Constantius).
Ammianus Marcellinus, fl. A.D. 380 (A.D. 96–378).

Annales Fuldenses (A.D. 680–820).
Annales Bertiniani (A.D. 741–884).
Annales Laurissenses (A.D. 741–813).
Annales Einhardi (A.D. 741–829).
Codex Carolinus.

Literature.—Only a few of the standard sources of information are here given: fuller particulars will be found under each name. *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1686–1714; *Histoire des Auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, par R. Ceillier, Paris, 1729; Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria;* Oxon. 1740; Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Eccles. Antiquis*, Lips. 1722; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, Hamb. 1718; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vols. i.–iv. Paris, 1865; Dowling, *Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1838; P. C. de Smedt, *Introd. Generalis ad Hist. Eccles. criticè tractandam*, Ghent, 1876.

General View of Authorities for Ecclesiastical History in the first Eight Centuries.

Greek Writers.		Latin Writers.	
Ecclesiastical.	*Secular.*	*Ecclesiastical.*	*Secular.*
	Josephus, 37–98.		Tacitus, fl. 110.
Hegesippus, 120–185.			Suetonius, fl. 110.
	Dion Cassius, 155–235.		
	Herennius Dexippus, 220–280.		Hist. August. Scriptores.
Eusebius, 263–340.		Lactantius, 250–325.	
Athanasius, 296–371.			Sex. Aurelius Victor, fl. 360.
Gelasius, 320–394.	Eunapius, 347–415.	Rufinus, 345–410.	Amm. Marcellinus, fl. 380
Philostorgius, 368–430.	Zosimus, 370–430.	Jerome, 342–420.	
Palladius, 367–431.		Sulpicius Severus, 363–420.	
Philip of Side, fl. 425.	Olympiorus, fl. 425.	Orosius, fl. 410.	
Irenaeus Comes, 395–455.		Hilary of Arles, 400–449.	
Socrates, 380–445.			
Sozomen, fl. 440.			
Theodoret, 386–458.			
Hesychius, fl. 430.	Priscus Panites, 420–471.		
Gelasius of Cyzicus, fl. 475.	Malchus, fl. 495.	Gennadius, fl. 490.	
Basil of Cilicia, fl. 520.	Petrus Patricius, 500–562.	Liberatus, fl. 535.	
Zacharias Rhetor, fl. 540.	Procopius, 500–565.	Cassiodorus, 465–565.	
John of Aegae.	Agathias, 536–582.	Gregory of Tours, 544–595.	
Theodorus Lector.		Fortunatus, 530–605.	
Cyril of Scythopolis, fl. 550.	Paul the Silentiary, fl. 563.	Gildas, fl. 560.	
Evagrius, 536–600.	Menander, fl. 580.		
Joannes Moschus, fl. 610.	Theophylact, fl. 620.	Isidore, 560–536.	
		Ildefonso, fl. 660.	
		Julianus, fl. 680.	Annales Fuldenses.
		Beda, 673–735.	Annales Laurissenses.
		Paul Warnefrid, 730–800.	Annales Einhardi.
		Liber Pontificalis.	Codex Carolinus.

[A. P.]

HITENLAU, leader of a Christian emigration from Armorica to Britain. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 504.) [J. G.]

HLODUIUS (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 19), king of the Franks. [CLOVIS II.] [C. H.]

HLOTHERE, bishop of the West Saxons. [LEUTHERIUS.]

HLOTHERI, HLOTHERE (LOTHARIUS), king of Kent. He was a son of Earcombert and Sexburga, and succeeded his brother Ecgbert in July, 673. Ecgbert had left sons, one of whom, Eadric, certainly shared the Kentish throne with his uncle. Under their joint names was issued the second extant series of Kentish laws. (*Ancient Laws and Institutes*, ed. Thorpe, p. 11.) As in the date of the acts of the council of Hatfield in 680, Hlothere alone is mentioned as reigning in Kent, the joint reign probably belongs to the later part of Hlothere's career. Another competitor or sharer of the throne, whose name, however, occurs only in spurious charters, is Swebheard, who calls himself son of Sebbi, king of Essex (K. *C. D.* 14); and who also reigned after the death of Hlothere, conjointly with Wihtred. (*Chr. S.* 323.) Eadric, with the help of the South Saxons, made war upon his uncle. Hlothere was wounded in battle, and died under the treatment adopted for his cure, on the 6th of Feb. 685, after a reign of eleven years and seven months. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5, 26; *Ann. Cant.* Pertz, Scr. iv. 2.) The mention of London in connexion with Hlothere is interesting. It was Hlothere who assisted the thegn Imma to repurchase his freedom (*H. E.* iv. 22) from his master at London; and in the last of the laws that bear his name he prescribes certain conditions for sale in London, in a passage which has been used as an argument to shew that by Lundenwic is meant Sandwich. It would almost seem probable from this that the Kentish king still retained authority in London as in the days of Ethelberht. We may compare with this the mention of Egberht in the Chertsey charter [EARCONWALD], and the claims of Swebheard, Sigiraed, &c., in Kent: or infer that under Mercia Kent may have had something to say in London. In 676 Ethelred, of Mercia, ravaged Kent (Bede, *H. E.* v. 24; *Ang. S. Chr. M. H. B.*

321), and the charter of Swebheard (K. *C. D.* 14) is confirmed by Ethelred. Kent probably was coveted on the one side by Mercia and on the other by Wessex. As the hostility of Wessex begins as soon as Hlothere is dead, it seems not improbable that the dynastic jealousies were complicated with foreign alliances of the different branches of the royal house, whilst the divisions in Wessex itself, and the existence of Sussex as a debateable territory were constant sources of trouble to Kent for many years. Of any ecclesiastical action of Hlothere there is little trace; no religious question is touched in his laws. His name appears as granting two charters, one to St. Augustine's (Elmham, p. 248; Kemble, *C. D.* 16), and one confirming the grant of Swebheard at Sturry. (Elmham, p. 249.) He also, as 'Clotherius rex Cantuariorum,' appears as signing the spurious decree of Theodore for the division of dioceses (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 153). Alford makes St. Richard the mythical king of England, who lived and died as a recluse at Lucca, a son of Hlothere; but see RICHARD.

Elmham remarks on the cruelty of Hlothere, p. 250. [S.]

HOCCA, a prefect or reeve of Wilfrid bishop of York, mentioned by Eddi as recovering for his master a youth who had been promised to him by his mother, and had been carried off by her to avoid the fulfilment of her promise. (Eddi, cap. 18.) [J. R.]

HODIERNUS, bishop of Senlis (*Gall. Chr.* x. 1382). He signed the fifth council of Orleans in 549, and the third of Paris c. 557, but the form of name at both (Mansi, ix. 137, 747) is Gonotigernus or Cunautegernus. [C. H.]

HODILRED, a person who, calling himself "parens" of Sebbi king of the East Saxons, bestowed on the abbess Ethelburga the lands of forty manentes for her monastery at Beddanhaam in the time of St. Erkenwald, and about 692 or 693. (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 35.) Ethelburga was no doubt the abbess of Barking. The exact relationship of Hodilred (or Oethelraed as he is called among the witnesses of the charter) is unknown. Sebbi is usually said to have been the son of Saeward, and must have been long dead. [SEBBI.] [S.]

HODINGUS (ODIGUS, AUDINGUS), twentieth bishop of Le Mans, succeeding Gauziolenus, and followed by Merolus, and afterwards twenty-sixth of Beauvais, succeeding Andreas, and followed by Adalmanus, was a priest of Charles the Great's court, when he was elevated to the see of Le Mans. Here he remained nearly two years, but finding himself powerless for good in the disorganized condition to which the diocese had been reduced, returned to Charles, and afterwards received the see of Beauvais, where, after a long life of labour, he died and was buried. (*Gesta Pontificum Cenoman.* c. xviii.; Mabill. *Vet. Analect.* p. 290, Paris, 1723; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 696, xiv. 355.) [S. A. B.]

HOEL, Welsh saint. [HYWEL.]

HOEL I. of Brittany, called the son of Arthur's sister Anna by Dubricius, king of the Armoricans (Geoffrey of Monmouth, ix. 2), who invited by an embassy came to help his uncle against the English invasions. According to the story, Hoel was besieged in Alclud (Dumbarton) by the Scots and Picts. Afterwards Hoel was sent to war in Aquitaine and so on. The legend, using real Breton names, such as Dubricius and Hoel, represents the close connection between the British tribes on both sides of the western part of the Channel. This was merely the continuation of old alliances, for Caesar, iii. 9, says the Veneti of Brittany "auxilia ex Britannia quae contra eas regiones posita est arcessunt." As the story of Arthur in Nennius and those who enlarged his story came from Brittany, it is natural to find Breton names in it. In Geoffrey, vi. 4, there is a similar embassy to Brittany conducted by Guethelinus, who is called Archbishop of London. The story of Hoel's niece Helena at Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, occurs in the legend of Arthur's expedition against Rome. The Cambrian Biography places Hoel's court at Llan Illtyd Vawr or Lantwit in Glamorgan. Emyr Llydaw, who is named as Hoel's father, was nephew of St. Germanus. A great number of his descendants, headed by Cadvan, emigrated to this country from Armorica, and are ranked among the most eminent of the Welsh saints (Rees, 213; Guest, *Mabinogion*, 382). [C. W. B.]

HOEL II. of Brittany. According to the Breton traditions he was the eldest son of Hoel I., in whose wars he greatly distinguished himself. He succeeded his father in a portion of his dominions under the title of count. He was cruel and irreligious, and chiefly remembered for his persecution of St. Malo, whom he obliged to quit his diocese, cir. 546. In the following year, 547, Hoel perished by the hand of his brother Canao. Cir. 535 he married Rimo, daughter of Malgo king of Britain, and left by her a son named Judual. (Morice, *Hist. de Bret.* i. 80, ed. 1835.) [C. H.]

HOEL III. (JUTHAEL, HOWELL), king of Brittany, son of Judual and grandson of Hoel II. According to the Breton historians he reigned independently of the kings of France, who, in his time, made no attempt to include Brittany in their partitions. He was born about 560, and died in 612, after a reign of eighteen years. By his wife Pratella he was the father of Solomon, Judicael, St. Judocus and St. Winnocus, the first two succeeding him as kings of Brittany. (Morice, *Hist. de Bret.* i. 121, ed. 1835.) [C. H.]

HOENUS, a poet, mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris as his instructor. (Sidon. carm. ix. p. 361, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 703 D.) [C. H.]

HOILDIS (HOILDE), virgin. [HOYLDIS.]

HOLEMUNDUS (HONEMUNDUS), bishop of Salamanca from 682 to 693 onwards, subscribed the acts of the thirteenth (683), fifteenth (688), and sixteenth (693) councils of Toledo. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287, 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 278.) [ELEUTHERIUS (14).] [M. A. W.]

HOLY GHOST. The doctrine of the Holy Ghost embraces the teaching of the Church with regard to His person and His mission. Under the former head may be placed the doctrine of His personality, Deity, and procession; under the latter,

the doctrine of His operation in the creative and redemptive economies, including His relation to the canon of Scripture, to the Incarnation and the Incarnate Son, to the *χαρίσματα*, the sacraments, the entire organic life of the Church, and the spiritual life of individual Christians. In the present brief survey of the history of this complex subject, it will be convenient to follow for the most part the historical order, gathering up the teaching of each age upon the whole doctrine before we proceed to trace its further development during the succeeding period.

The apostolic doctrine of the Holy Ghost had been anticipated to some extent by the writers of the Old Testament. Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures (*v. Dict. of the Bible*; SPIRIT, THE HOLY) mention is made of a Spirit of God (רוּחַ יְהוָֹה ,רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, or simply הָרוּחַ) characterized by holiness, goodness, and omnipresence (Ps. li. 11; Neh. ix. 10; Ps. cxxxix. 7), the source of life in nature (Gen. i. 2; Ps. cxliii. 10), of wisdom and power in man (Exod. xxviii. 3; xxxi. 3; Ps. cxliii. 10), and of a special inspiration in the prophets (2 Sam. xxiii. 3; Hos. ix. 7, אִישׁ הָרוּחַ, *ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματοφόρος*, LXX). The deutero-canonical books also give prominence to the idea of a Holy Spirit, identified apparently with the Divine wisdom; it fills the universe (Sap. i. 7; xii. 1), loves mankind, and teaches and purifies men's minds and hearts (*ib.* i. 4, 5, 6; ix. 17). Later Jewish thought, however, tended to lower the teaching of the canon. The Sadduceanism of our Lord's time cut at the root of all belief in spiritual existences (Acts xxiii. 8; *Σαδδ. γὰρ λέγουσιν . . . μὴ εἶναι . . . πνεῦμα*). With Philo, the Spirit of God is no more than the wisdom which God imparts to the wise, or the influence which He exerts over the inspired (*De Gigant.* 5; *De Monarch.* i. 9), and this view became at a later period a settled article of the Jewish creed.[a] On the other hand, the New Testament exhibits an immense advance in this respect upon the doctrine of the older revelation. The Holy Ghost, as a Divine Agent, is represented as performing most important offices in reference to the Incarnation, the life of the Incarnate Word, and the foundation and building up of the Catholic Church. Some of our Lord's weightiest discourses deal largely with the mission of the Paraclete (John iii. 1–8; iv. 7–14; vii. 37–39; xiv. 15–xvi. 16; Acts i. 4–8), and the apostolic epistles are full of passages, both practical and dogmatic, relating to His person and operations (see esp. Rom. viii. 2 sq.; 1 Cor. xii. 1–14; Gal. iv. 6; v. 22 sq.; Eph. iv. 4–30; Tit. iii. 6; Heb. vi. 4; James iv. 5 (?); 1 Peter i. 1, iv. 14; 1 John iii. 24; iv. 13; v. 5; Jude 20). The preaching of the apostles doubtless equally abounded in references to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost (cf. Acts ii. 33, 38; v. 32; x. 38, &c.), and the earliest baptismal creeds and rules of faith bear witness to the important place which this doctrine held in the primitive tradition of the Church (see Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 42 sq. 64 sq.; Gebhardt, *Patr. Ap. Opp.* fasc. i. 2, p. 115 sq.[b]).

Passing outside the present canon, yet not beyond the limits of the 1st century, we find in the epistle of St. Clement of Rome a reflection of the apostolic teaching as to the effusion, the personality, and the Deity of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. 2: *πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγίνετο. ib.* 48: *οὐχὶ . . . ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*; *ib.* 58: *ζῇ γὰρ ὁ θεός, καὶ ζῇ ὁ κύριος* 'I. X. *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*). St. Clement is especially full upon the relation of the Holy Spirit to the canon of Scripture (c. 45, *ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἀληθεῖς τὰς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου*, cf. cc. 8, 13, 16, 22, 42). The same constant reference to the inspiration of Scripture characterizes the epistle of Barnabas (*e.g.* cc. 9–10), whilst the effusion of the Spirit on the whole Church is taught with equal distinctness (c. 1, *ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς ἀγάπης κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμῖν*, cf. c. 19). In the shorter Ignatian epistles the Spirit is named together with the Father and the Son as one with Them, and yet distinct in person (*Magn.* 13); His procession from God (*Philad.* 7, *ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄν*), His mission by the Son (*Eph.* 17, *τὸ χάρισμα ὃ πέπομφεν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος*), His operations in the miraculous Conception (*Eph.* 18), and in the sanctification of the members of Christ (*Eph.* 9, *Smyrn.* 13; *Philad.* inscr.), are distinctly recognised. The early *Martyria* of St. Polycarp and St. Ignatius include the Holy Ghost in their doxologies (*Mart. St. Polyc.* 14–22; *Mart. St. Ign.* 7).

But of all the remains of the subapostolic age, if it may be included in that category, the "Shepherd of Hermas" is the most prolific in references to the Holy Spirit. The form in which the *Shepherd* is cast renders it difficult to determine the exact significance of its dogmatic statements. The writer appears to recognise not only a Holy or Divine Spirit (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*), but a multiplicity of spirits commissioned by Him to teach and inspire men (comp. *Mand.* xi. 5, *πᾶν . . . πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθέν . . . ἄνωθέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θείου πνεύματος. Ib. infra: ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. Sim.* ix. 13, *ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσιν*: cf. however 1 Joh. iv. 2, *πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ . . . ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν*; Rev. i. 4, *τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ*). The Holy Spirit in the good is pure and bright, and

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[a] See Pearson, art. viii. p. 371, note *u* (ed. Burton). Perhaps it was on this account that the rejection of the Holy Ghost's personality was a rare error among professedly Christian teachers of the first eight centuries. Lactantius is charged by St. Jerome with having held it: "Spiritus Sancti omnino negat substantiam, et more Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri vel Filium" (Migne, Patr. Lat. xxii. 748). And St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvi. 137) speaks of some who in his day regarded the Spirit as an *ἐνέργεια* (see below). Comp. Aug. *de Haer.* lii.

[b] The following is a summary of the teaching of the earliest symbolical documents with regard to the Person and Mission of the Holy Ghost: The Holy Spirit, who through the prophets proclaimed the dispensations of God and the Advents, and by whom, as the Spirit of the Father, the miraculous Conception was effected, was in due time, according to promise, sent from the Father by the ascended Lord, to be the vicar of Christ on earth, the teacher of truth, the sanctifier of the faithful, and the pledge of their immortality. As there is one Father and one Son, so there is one Paraclete, who is associated in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son, in whom the Church believes as she believes in the Father and in the Son, and in whom, through the Son, she worships the Father.

ministers to God with cheerfulness; but in the passionate it is cramped, and struggles to escape, and cannot minister as it desires (*Mand.* v. 2, 3; *Sim.* ix. 32). The writer of the *Shepherd* is a firm believer in the continuance of the prophetic gift (*Mand.* xi. cf. Hilgenfeld, *prolegg.* xix.), and professes himself to have been under some sort of special inspiration (*Vis.* i. 1, *πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν*). In two passages (*Sim.* v. ix.) he identifies the Spirit with the Son, and it is difficult to determine to which of the Persons his language applies. Dorner (*Person of Christ*, i. 1-130 sq., *infr.* 388 sq.) maintains the reference to the Son: Bishops Bull and Hefele take the opposite view; whilst the latest editors, Gebhardt and Harnack, suppose that Hermas, in common with some other writers of this age, did not always discriminate between the Holy Ghost and the pre-existent Christ (*Patr. Ap. Opp.* fasc. 3, p. 152). Of this confusion of language, if not of thought, a notable instance occurs in the newly-recovered portion of the homily known as the Second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (Ps. Clem. 2 Cor. 14 : *ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ μεταλήμψεται τοῦ πνεύματος ὅ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. τοσαύτην δύναται ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη μεταλαβεῖν ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, κολληθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου*, cf. Dr. Lightfoot ad h. l., and *ib.* 9, p. 202).

The Greek apologists of the 2nd century were so fully occupied with the endeavour to shew that the philosophical conception of a *θεὸς λόγος* was realised in the Person of the historical Christ, that they paid comparatively little attention to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, and even ascribed to the Son operations and offices which the later thought of the Church referred to the Spirit of God. Thus in the Epistle to Diognetus we are told that it is the *Word* who "holds converse with men, by whom He chooses, and when He wills;" it is by the Word that "the Church is perpetually enriched." Theophilus of Antioch attributes the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets to the Second Person; "the Word, being God's Spirit, came down upon the prophets and spake by them" (*Autol.* ii. 23). Even the miraculous conception is said by Justin to have been wrought by the Word Himself (*Apol.* i. 33, *τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον*), a view which lingered on in the Church to the middle of the 4th century (cf. Iren. v. 1; Tert. *Prax.* 26; Cypr. *de Idol. Van.*; Hil. *Trin.* ii. 24, 26; and see Dorner, i. 1, p. 392 sq.; Newman, *Tracts*, p. 320; and the pref. to the Benedictine ed. of St. Hilary; Migne, Patr. Lat. ix. p. 35 sq.). On the other hand, it is to the apologist Theophilus that the Church owes the first recorded use of the word *τριάς* in reference to the Godhead (*Autol.* ii. 15, *αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ τῶν φωστήρων γεγονυῖαι τύποι εἰσὶν τῆς τριάδος, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ*, where, it will be observed, the Logos and the Sophia are clearly discriminated). The same writer speaks expressly of a distinction of Persons in the Unity of God (*διαίρεσις ἑνωμένων*). Justin says, with even greater precision, "We place the Spirit of prophecy in the third order (*ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει*); for we honour Him with the Word" (*Apol.* i. 13; cf. *infra* 60). He shews, however, some disposition unduly to subordinate the Spirit to the Word, calling the Third Person "the Angel of God, the Power of God, which was sent to us by Jesus Christ" (*Tryph.* 116, cf. Neander, *Hist of Chr. Dogmas*, i. 173); and in one obscure sentence he has been thought, perhaps without sufficient reason, to give to the created angels a place of honour not inferior to that which he assigns to the Holy Ghost (*Apol.* i. 6; cf. Bull, ii. iv. § 8; Kaye, *J. M.* p. 52; Semisch, ii. 350 sq.; Liddon, *Bampton Lect.* p. 570; a summary of the literature will be found in Braun's edition of the *Apologies*, pp. 87-9). Justin's pupil, Tatian, even speaks of the Holy Spirit as the minister of the Son (*Adv. Graec.* 13, *τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεπονθότος θεοῦ*). His view of the Spirit's operations is interesting. "The Spirit of God is not with all men, but with some, namely, with those who live righteously; descending to the soul's level, and linking itself with it, whilst to other souls it announced its secret by means of prophecies. Souls which give heed to wisdom attract to themselves this kindred Spirit" (*Orat. adv. Graec.* 13; Migne, Patr. Gr. vi. 13). In Athenagoras we find a distinctly nearer approach to the later Church doctrine of the Holy Trinity. He seems to have already conceived the idea of the Holy Spirit as the Bond of the Divine Unity (*Legat.* 10 *ὄντος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν υἱῷ ἑνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος*). Even the doctrine of the essential procession of the Spirit finds expression in his statement that the Holy Ghost is an "effluence (*ἀπόῤῥοιαν*: cf. *Wisd.* vii. 25; Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philos.* p. 132) from God, from Whom it emanates and to Whom it returns like a ray of the sun," or as "light from fire" (*Legat.* 10, 24, *ἀποῤῥέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου . . . ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρός*).

Outside the Catholic Church two very opposite influences combined to draw attention to this doctrine during the 2nd century, viz.: Gnosticism and Montanism. Most of the Gnostic systems found place for the conception of the Holy Spirit, although in more or less wildly distorted forms. Simon, who before his baptism had claimed to be "the power of God called the Great" (*ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη*), and who had learnt from the apostles to connect the idea of Divine energy with the name of the Holy Ghost (Acts viii. 9-19), appears at a later time to have identified either himself, or his partner, Helena, with the Paraclete (Iren. i. 23, 1; Hippol. vi. 19; Epiph. *Haer.* i. 2; Hieron. *in Matt.* 24, 5). In his esoteric teaching he represented a female power[c] as having proceeded (*προελθοῦσα*) from the Father of all; and this power (to which he gave the name *ἐπίνοια*) was probably intended to answer to the *ἅγιον πνεῦμα* of Christianity (Hippol. vi. 18). The Ophite sects expressly identified the "female power" with the Spirit, whilst they distinguished it from the Thought of God, which thus took the place of the Christian Logos (Iren. i. 30, 1). Into the singular system of Basilides the Holy Spirit entered largely, but as a ministering spirit, not consubstantial with the sonship (*οὐχ ὁμοούσιον, sc. τῇ υἱότητι*) which is *κατὰ πάντα*

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[c] *θήλεια δύναμις.* The gender of רוּחַ, ܪܘܚܐ, explains the continual representation of the Spirit under this form.

ὁμοούσιος τῷ οὐκ ὄντι θεῷ (Hippol. vii. 22; Clem. Alex. fragm. 16). Valentinus, who fell back on the emanation theory which Basilides had discarded, placed his Christ and Holy Spirit in a *syzygy*, put forth by command of the First Cause, but not proceeding directly from Him, or forming part of the original *pleroma;* the purpose of this secondary emanation was the restoration of order among the elder Aeons (Iren. i. 2, 4, 5; Hippol. vi. 31). In this conception we discover several of the elements of the Catholic doctrine; the procession of the Holy Ghost, His coequality with the Son, His temporal mission are dimly shadowed forth; whilst, on the other hand, in deriving the Spirit from Nous rather than from Bythos, Valentinus, like Basilides, anticipated the heretical teachings of the 4th century (Athan. *ad Serap.* i. 10).[d]

It seems more than doubtful whether, in the first instance, Montanism was an attempt to lay any new stress upon the Person or office of the Paraclete. Neander has pointed out (*Ch. H.* ii. 207; cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 48, 11 sq.) that the original stand-point of Montanus and Maximilla was that of the Old Testament rather than of the New; the new prophets represented themselves simply as the organs of "the Lord God Almighty." But in the minds of men, this supposed outburst of prophetic power could not but connect itself with our Lord's promise, especially in an age which still felt the miraculous energies of the Holy Ghost (cf. Iren. v. 6, 1; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 7). It seemed to many as if a second and greater Pentecost had dawned upon the church. Even the developed Montanism, however, did not profess to add to the deposit of the faith (Epiph. *l. c.* 61); had it done so, Tertullian would have regarded the Spirit of Montanus as hostile and evil (*De Monogam.* 2). Its mission was rather to correct and raise the rule of life (*De Anima,* 55; *De Fuga,* 14; *De Monog.* 1, 2); a maturity of grace, a period of riper age in Christ was the looked for result of this new influx of spiritual power. Nevertheless, Tertullian himself claims to have gained from the Montanist movement a fuller knowledge, or at least a clearer apprehension of the Catholic faith: "nos vero," he writes (*Ad Prax.* 2), "et semper et nunc magis instructiores per Paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem Deum credimus sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *οἰκονομίαν* dicimus." He calls the Holy Spirit "the interpreter of the Divine economy to those who receive the new prophecy" (*ib.* 30); the Paraclete of Montanus, he says, has cleared up the dark sayings of the earlier revelation, by preaching the whole mystery of godliness (*De Resurr. Carnis,* 63). It may be doubted, however, whether Tertullian's own insight into doctrine was in any way due to his Montanism; a portion of the sect declined after a while into a Sabellian confusion of the Persons (Hippol. viii. 19; x. 25; cf. Socr. i. 23). Its real place in the history of this doctrine seems to be that of a pioneer; the report of a revival of the prophetic gifts stirred the consciousness of the Church, and led her to pay deeper attention to the Person and work of the Holy Ghost.[e] On the other hand, it appears from an obscure passage in Irenaeus, that in some quarters a violent reaction against Montanism led men to reject the fourth Gospel, as containing the great promise of the Paraclete (iii. 11, 9, "alii vero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur . . . illam speciem non admittunt quae est secundum Joannis evangelium in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et evangelium et prophetiam repellant Spiritum"). But this party, whether identical or not with the *Alogi* of Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 3), exerted no lasting influence over the thought of the Church.

Two outgrowths of Jewish Christianity contributed to the early treatment of this doctrine. The Nazarenes seem to have laid special stress on the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Person and ministry of our Lord; the Spirit was described in their gospel as the Mother of Christ (Orig. *in Joann.* ii. 6); at the baptism the *fons omnis Spiritus Sancti* descended on Him with the words, "Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te ut venires et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea; tu es filius meus primogenitus." The *Twelve Testaments* speak frequently of the outpouring of the Spirit from the Father upon the Christ, and through Him upon all mankind; but whether the Nazarene Holy Spirit is to be regarded as hypostatical must remain doubtful. Ebionism diverged further from the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Ghost. In its Gnostic developments (*e.g.* in the systems of Cerinthus and Elchasai), the Spirit was represented as an Aeon, sometimes identical with Christ, sometimes distinct from the Son of God, in the latter case a female power. The Clementine Homilies speak of the Divine Monad as self-extended into a Dyad, the Wisdom or Spirit of God, which is one with Him, as the soul is one with the body, being put forth like a hand for the creation of the world: *ἡ δὲ σοφία, ᾗ ὥσπερ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι αὐτὸς ἀεὶ συνέχαιρεν, ἥνωται μὲν ὡς ψυχὴ τῷ θεῷ, ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς χεὶρ δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν.* The process is described as an extension followed by a contraction: *κατὰ γὰρ ἔκτασιν καὶ συστολὴν ἡ μονὰς δυὰς εἶναι νομίζεται.* On the other hand, the *Recognitions* distinguish clearly between the Son and the Spirit, but describe the Spirit as the creation of the Son, in language which forms a singular anticipation of later heresy: "Spiritus Sanctus . . . habet quod est ab Unigenito . . . factus est enim per factum, subconnumeratur autem Patre et Filio."

Closely allied to Ebionism was the earlier Monarchian movement, headed by Theodotus. It seems, however, at least in its original form, to have scarcely touched upon the Person of the Holy Spirit, confining itself to a bold denial of

[d] The later Persian gnosis, which in union with other Eastern elements appeared in the West under the name of Manichaeism, seems to have distinguished between the Holy Spirit and the Paraclete. The latter was identified with Manes himself, at least by some of his followers (Gieseler, i. 226); and thus Catholic writers occasionally place Manichaeism in the same category with Montanism (cf. Aug. *Haer.* xxvi. xlvi.; *Ep. ad Rom. exp. inch.* 15; *Ep.* 237).

[e] An interesting example is to be found in the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas; see especially cc. 1, 5, 6, "haec non minus veteribus exempla in aedificationem ecclesiae legere debet, ut novae quoque virtutes unum et eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur." (Cf. De Soyres, *Montanism*, p. 138 sq.)

the Deity of our Lord.[f] The more specious Monarchianism of the Patripassians, Praxeas and Noetus, Beryllus and Sabellius, returned to the use of the Trinitarian language, although, equally with the Ebionite monarchians, these teachers rejected the Catholic doctrine of a Trinity of distinct hypostases. In the system of Praxeas, who first made himself remarkable by the violence of his opposition to Montanism (Tert. *Prax.* 9), the Person of the Son still occupied the prominent place, though Tertullian assumes that his party extended to the Spirit the principle upon which Praxeas explained the coexistence in God of the Father and the Son (*ib.* 9, 27). At Rome, according to Hippolytus (ix. 12), Callistus taught, *τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον, ἓν δὲ ὂν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον . . . καὶ τὰ πάντα γέμειν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω· καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ σαρκωθὲν πνεῦμα οὐχ ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν πατέρα*,—a statement in which the personal Holy Spirit seems to be wholly left out of sight, whilst the name of the Spirit of God is given to the Divine Essence, which is also called Father, or Son, or Word.[g] But the riper theology of the Sabellian school distinctly provided for the *πρόσωπον* of the Holy Ghost. Sabellius is said to have illustrated his view of the Trinity by the *διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων*; as the One Spirit manifested Itself in various divine gifts, so, he said, the One God passed through three great phases of self-revelation: *οὕτω καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ αὐτὸς μέν ἐστιν, πλατύνεται δὲ εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα* (Ath. *Or. c. Ar.* iv. 25). Other analogies were found in the threefold nature of man, and in the sun's form and light and heat (Epiph. *Haer.* 72). With regard to the third mode of Divine manifestation, it is doubtful whether Sabellius regarded it as having had any existence prior to the Pentecostal effusion, or as destined to outlive the present dispensation (Ath. *l. c.* cf. Neander, *C. H.* ii. 323–4). The doctrine of Paulus of Samosata on this point seems to have differed from that of Sabellius chiefly in that he regarded the Spirit as a property, rather than as a self-manifestation or *πλατυσμός* of God. The Word and the Spirit, he said, are in God in the same manner as reason resides in man (Epiph. *Haer.* 115). Paulus did not deny the mission of the Spirit, but he seems to have resolved it into the exercise of an impersonal influence; the Holy Spirit was merely the grace which descended upon the Apostles (Leontius, *de Sect.* 3). So little, however, did he enter into this branch of Christian doctrine, that his heretical view of it escaped censure from the council which condemned his Christology.

When we turn from these heretical movements to the teaching of the Catholic Church, we find important contributions to the history of this doctrine proceeding from Christian teachers who lived during the latter part of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd.

Irenaeus, who represents at once the Asiatic school of St. John, and the Church of South-Eastern Gaul, is the earliest of these contributors. Vigorously rebuking the error of Valentinus, who confounded the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit with His eternal relation to God (ii. 19, 9), and rejecting the term emanation (*προβολή*, *emissio*) as one which seemed to imply a separation of the One Divine Essence (ii. 13. 5, 6), he preferred to leave the mode of Divine processions unexplained (ii. 28. 6), and to express their results by figures of speech. The Son and the Spirit are the two hands of God (iv. *praef.* *ib.* 20. 1). The Son is the Offspring (*progenies*), the Spirit the Image (*figuratio*) of the Father; the Son is His Word, the Spirit His Wisdom (iv. 7. 4). The Son and the Spirit minister to the Father, as the hands and the intellect minister to man—not like created intelligences, which are external to the Life of God (iv. 7. 8). The Spirit of God is no mere temporary spiration, but a Spirit eternal as God himself (*ἡ οὖν πνοὴ πρόσκαιρος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀέναον*, v. 12, in reference to Isa. lvii. 16, LXX). Irenaeus has some interesting remarks on the relation of the Spirit to the Son. The gift of the Spirit is a fruit of the Incarnation; He is the "communicatio Christi" (iii. 24. 1), "de corpore Christi procedens nitidissimus fons" (*ib. infra*); by the Spirit we mount up to the Son, as by the Son we ascend to the Father (v. 36); he who has not the Holy Ghost, has not the life of Jesus Christ (fragm. 36); the insufflation of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles (John xx. 22) is a proof of His Deity (Syr. fragm. ap. Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.* i. p. 6). On the teaching office of the Third Person Irenaeus is especially full. He finds it exercised in the inspiration of the prophets and apostles (iii. 21. 4),[h] and in the perpetual illumination of the Church (iii. 24. 1). Only within the bosom of the Church is the light of the Spirit to be enjoyed: "In ecclesia . . . posuit Deus . . . universam reliquam operationem Spiritus, cujus non sunt participes omnes qui non currunt ad ecclesiam . . . ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia; Spiritus autem veritas." The work of the Holy Spirit in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist is also set forth: see iii. 17, 82, and fragm. 38 (Neander, *Hist. Dogm.* i. 230; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, I. i. pp. 466–7).

From the same Church, a few years earlier, issued the famous letter to the Churches of Asia Minor, containing an account of the persecution which raged at Lyons and Vienne in A.D. 177. It bears distinct traces of the influence exerted by the Gospel of St. John upon the early doctrine of the Holy Ghost, who is described in it as the Paraclete and as the Spirit of the Father (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν*).

From North Africa, at the end of the 2nd century, we receive the vigorous and

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[f] The earlier Monarchians attributed the miraculous Conception to the *ἅγιον πνεῦμα*. But whether they discriminated between the *πνεῦμα* and the *λόγος* is more than doubtful (Neander, *Ch. H.* ii. 297). The Melchizedekians, however, who emanated from their school, spoke of Melchizedek as a power greater than Christ, which they probably intended to answer to the Holy Ghost of the Catholic Church. Hieracas at a later time completed the identification of Melchizedek with the Third Person of the Trinity.

[g] Compare the charge brought against certain heretics by the pseudo-Ignatius, *ad Trall.* 6, *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔστιν ὁμολογοῦσιν· τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.*

[h] Yet inspiration is also attributed to the Word, iv. 7, 2; *ib.* 9, 1; cf. *ib.* 20, 4, "prophetae ab eodem Verbo propheticum accipientes charisma."

independent testimony of Tertullian. Writing against the Monarchian views of Praxeas, Tertullian lays the foundation of the Catholic doctrine of Divine processions. The Valentinian *προβολαί* were separate existences parted from their source; but there is a "*προβολή* veritatis," a "custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre sed non separatum." In like manner there is a true procession of the Holy Ghost, who is a distinct person from the Father and the Son, and yet abides in the unity of the Divine Essence. The Spirit is third from the Father and the Son, "sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio." (*Prax.* 8, cf. *infra* 25.) Elsewhere Tertullian expresses the same truth by representing the Spirit as derived from the Father through the Son; "Spiritum non aliunde puto quam a Patre *per* Filium" (*ib.* 4). The Spirit, he says, receives of the Son, even as the Son of the Father; and thus it is that the Three are linked together in the one Divine Life; "ita connexus Patris in Filio et Filii in Paracleto tres efficit cohaerentes, alterum ex altero" (*ib.* 25). He speaks of a subordination of the Spirit to the First and Second Persons, but it is not a subordination of nature; there is a *tertium nomen divinitatis* (*ib.* 30), a *tertius gradus in Paracleto* (*ib.* 9), yet the Persons are "tres non statu sed gradu, nec substantia sed forma, nec potestate sed specie" (*ib.* 2). Of the mission of the Spirit Tertullian speaks in no uncertain language. It is part of his rule of faith that the Holy Ghost is sent in the room of the ascended Christ to sanctify the Church ("regula est autem fidei . . . Jesum Christum . . . misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat"). In Baptism the Spirit descends from heaven and sanctifies the waters, imparting to them a sanctifying power (*De Baptismo*, 4); His presence is further invited and secured by the laying on of hands which follows the baptismal rite (*ib.* 8). Of the special office which in his later years Tertullian assigned to the Montanist Paraclete mention has already been made.

Tertullian's great pupil, St. Cyprian, refers only in passing to the doctrine of the Spirit's Person (see *De Domin. Orat.* 23, "de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata," *ib.* 34); but dwells at length on His relation to the corporate and individual life of the church. In Baptism the Holy Spirit, he teaches, "totus infunditur, aequaliter sumitur" (*Ep.* 69, § 14); the subsequent increase or loss of grace depends on the conduct of the individual. But baptism, to be valid, must be administered by one who himself possesses the Holy Spirit (*Ep.* 70, § 3; 79, § 9). Only the Catholic Church, as being the Bride of Christ, has power to regenerate sons to God (*Ep.* 75, § 14); only the Church possesses the fountain of living waters (*Ep.* 73, § 11). Like Tertullian, St. Cyprian speaks of the imposition of hands as a means conjointly with baptism, of imparting the Holy Ghost (*Ep.* 73, § 9). To the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, and of the Scriptures generally, he bears constant witness (cf. Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, pp. 429 sq.).

At Rome, the birthplace of the heretical Monarchianism, Hippolytus, the disciple of Irenaeus, wrote against Noetus, as Tertullian against Praxeas; but his treatise touches but slightly upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. On the Deity of the Spirit, however, it is express. It is impossible, Hippolytus says, to glorify God aright, without acknowledging each Person of the Holy Trinity (*διὰ γὰρ τῆς τριάδος ταύτης πατὴρ δοξάζεται*). Through the Incarnate Word . . . we adore (*προσκυνοῦμεν*) the Holy Spirit . . . In no other way can we form a conception of the Unity of God, but by truly believing in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (*c. Noet.* 12–14). The Father has subjected all things to the Incarnate Son, except Himself and the Holy Ghost (*ib.* 8). The personality of the Spirit is distinctly implied, but Hippolytus seems purposely to confine the term *πρόσωπον* to the Father and the Son (*πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίᾳ δὲ τρίτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, c. 14). He is careful to set forth the distinct office of the Holy Ghost in the Divine economy (*ὁ γὰρ κελεύων πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων υἱός, τὸ δὲ συνετίζον ἅγιον πνεῦμα . . . πατὴρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, υἱὸς ἐποίησεν, πνεῦμα ἐφανέρωσεν*, *ib.* infra). The Prophets are represented as having been completely furnished by the prophetic Spirit, and honoured by the Word Himself (*De Antichr.* 2); their inspiration proceeded from the Father's power (*τῆς πατρῴας δυνάμεως ἀπόπνοιαν λαβόντες*, *c. Noet.* ii. 12).

Novatian, in his *De Trinitate* (c. 29), appeals, like Tertullian, to the traditional rule of faith, which, as known to him, required belief in the Holy Ghost "of old promised to the Church, and vouchsafed according to the promise in the fulness of the time." He dwells on the identity of the Spirit as given under the Law, and under the Gospel ("non est in evangelio novus, sed nove datus"); under the Gospel Christ, in whom the fulness of the Spirit abides, is the fountain from which His gifts descend in copious abundance on the Church ("totius S. Spiritus in Christo fonte remanente, ut ex illo donorum atque operum venae ducerentur"). Novatian usually assumes rather than asserts the Deity of the Holy Ghost; see, however, c. 29: "cum Spiritus Sancti divina aeternitate sociari."

The Roman Dionysius (*ob.* 269) has left an important protest against the tritheistic tendency, which seems to have shewn itself in some quarters as a reaction against Sabellian teaching. The fragment incidentally bears witness to the relation of the Holy Ghost to the other Persons of the Holy Trinity. We may not divide the Divine unity, Dionysius says, into three *separate* hypostases; the Second and Third Persons, as regards Their principle and source, are subordinated to God (the Father), the Word being united to Him, the Spirit abiding in Him (*ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*); the Holy Trinity must be gathered up into One Person as its Supreme Source and Head (*εἰς ἕνα ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφήν τινα, τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω, συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαί τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη*). We must be careful not to break up the Unity into three Godheads; the Divine *μοναρχία* must be steadily maintained, whilst at the same time we hold by the truth of the Holy Trinity, and retain our baptismal faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (*οὔτ' οὖν καταμερίζειν χρὴ εἰς τρεῖς θεότητας τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ θείαν μονάδα . . . ἀλλὰ πεπιστευκέναι εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χρ. 'Ι. τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα . . . οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡ θεία τριὰς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα τῆς

μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο, ap. Athan. *de Decr. S. N.* c. 263).

There still remains to be considered under this head the teaching of the Church and School of Alexandria. The Alexandrian Clement promises (*Strom.* v. 14) to investigate the whole question of the Holy Spirit's Person and gifts in his treatises "on prophecy,"[1] and "on the soul;" but these books, if ever written, have unfortunately been lost. An important fragment, however, has been printed by Cotelier, which may, with much probability, be assigned to one or other of them (see Bp. Lightfoot's *Clement of Rome*, pp. 219–220). It contains perhaps the first instance of the use of *ἐκπόρευσις*, in reference to the Holy Ghost; but the word seems to be employed to express His temporal mission, though the eternal derivation is distinctly taught in other terms: "Blessed is the man who knoweth the gift of the Father through the procession of the Holy Ghost (*δι' ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος*: cf. *πνεῦμα μέν ἐστιν . . . ἐκπορευτικὴ ὕπαρξις* cited by Veccus from the *ὅροι διάφοροι* of Clem. Alex.). Blessed is he who knoweth and hath received, for the Holy Spirit is His gift, and this He gave under the form of a dove . . . a guileless Spirit, free from wrath and bitterness, perfect and undefiled; emitting It from His own Heart (*ἀπὸ σπλάγχνων ἰδίων προϊέμενος*), to order the ages and give the knowledge of the Invisible. Holy, therefore, and right is this Spirit, which came forth from the Father (*τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόν*), His power and will, manifested for the complete setting forth (*πλήρωμα*) of His glory; they who receive It are moulded in the mould of truth, of perfect grace."

In his extant works Clement manifests his belief in the Deity of the Spirit; thus the *Paedagogus* ends (iii. 12) with a prayer for grace to praise aright the Father and the Son together with the Holy Ghost (*δὸς δὲ ἡμῖν αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ . . . σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἑνί . . . ᾧ ἡ δόξα, κ.τ.λ.*). He recognises also the unity of the Holy Ghost, contrasting it with the diversity of His gifts; the Spirit is *ἀμερῶς μεριζόμενον* (*Strom.* vi. 16, cf. supr. 15, *Paed.* i. 6). His presence in the faithful forms as it were a new element of their complex human nature (*τὸ διὰ τῆς πίστεως προσγινόμενον ἁγίου πνεύματος χαρακτηριστικὸν ἰδίωμα*). His divine gifts are the fragrant ointment compounded of many celestial spices, which the Christ provides for His friends (*Paed.* ii. 8). In like manner Clement connects the Word and the Spirit, when he speaks of the inspiration of the prophets, ascribing this to either Person almost indiscriminately. (See cxx. in Kaye, *Clement of Alex.* p. 354; Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 435.) To the Montanistic movement he shews little favour (*Strom.* iv. 14); yet, if he does not commit himself to the "new prophecy," he holds firmly by the doctrine of a perpetual illumination of the Church and of individual believers (*τῷ πεπιστευκότι προσεπιπνεῖσθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά φαμεν*, *Strom.* v. 13). He who obeys the Word has his soul united to the Spirit (*Strom.* ii. 1–13); the true Gnostic is spiritual, a believer in, a disciple of, the Holy Ghost (*Strom.* v. 24; *Paed.* i. 6); he is thus enabled to sound the depths of Scripture and to read its inner meaning, though in doing this he is careful to be guided by the traditional rule of faith (*Strom.* vi. 15). Clement deals less fully with the work of the Spirit in the corporate life of the Church; yet he does not fail to connect His operations with the Sacrament of Baptism. "We, the baptized," he says (*Paed.* i. 6), "having put away the sins which like a mist darkened the light of the Divine Spirit, possess a spiritual eye which is free, unobstructed, and full of light, wherewith alone we gaze after the Divine, like men initiated into sacred mysteries, the Holy Ghost flowing in upon us from heaven." The preparatory instruction of the catechumen leads him on to faith; and faith, coupled with baptism, receives the teaching of the Holy Ghost (*πίστις δὲ ἅμα βαπτίσματι ἁγίῳ παιδεύεται πνεύματι*). Clement's teaching with reference to the Holy Eucharist is singularly obscure; he speaks of the Spirit in connexion with the Eucharistic gift, but it is doubtful whether he means the Holy Ghost or the Divine Word. Cf. § 2; ib. § 47. *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ αὐτοῦ κοσμήσειν λέγει τὸ σῶμα τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι ἐκθρέψει τοὺς πεινῶντας τὸν λόγον.*

In the writings of Origen we find the first attempt, after Tertullian, at a scientific treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. He teaches that the Spirit is associated in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son (*Princ.* i. praef.); eternally proceeds from the Father as the Son is eternally generated (ii. 2, § 1, "ingenitum Filium generat Pater et Spiritum Sanctum profert, non quasi qui ante non erat, sed quia origo et fons Filii vel Spiritus S. Pater est; et nihil in his anterius posteriusve intelligi potest"); and is therefore absolutely good (i. 2, § 13, "Sp. S. procedens sine dubio bonitatis eius naturam in se refert quae est in eo fonte"). The special operations of the Holy Ghost, unlike the operations of the Father and the Son, are confined to the souls of Christians (i. 3, § 5), amongst whom His gifts are divided, whilst His essence remains indivisible (i. 1, § 3). The same Holy Spirit wrought in the saints of both Testaments, although after the Ascension His mission was extended and enlarged (ii. 7, § 1, 2).[j] By participating in the Holy Spirit men become spiritual and holy; to participate in the Spirit is to participate in the whole Trinity, since the Trinity is indivisible, because incorporeal (iv. 1, § 32; cf. i. 3, § 5). Origen's recognition of an inner spiritual meaning in Holy Scripture, however unguardedly expressed (iv. 1, § 12 *ἔστιν ὅπου οἱονεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς γραφῆς μόνα χρὴ ζητεῖν*) did not hinder him from acknowledging in the fullest manner the inspiration of the Sacred Books; they are the writings of the Holy Ghost (*Hom. in Num.* xxvii. 1), and every letter exhibits, as far as the case admits, the traces of a Divine wisdom (*Philocal.* 2).

Notwithstanding his explicit statements of the Holy Spirit's Deity, Origen has been charged

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[1] An examination, as it would seem, of the system of the Montanists: cf. *Strom.* iv. 13, *πρὸς οὓς ἐν τοῖς περὶ προφητείας διαλεξόμεθα.*

[j] That there were two Holy Ghosts seems to have been the virtual teaching of some in Origen's day; see Neander *Hist. of Dogmas*, i. 94.

by St. Jerome and by Epiphanius (Hieron. *Epp. ad Avit., ad Pamm. et Ocean.*; Epiph. *Haer.* lxiv. 8) with regarding Him as a creature; and St. Basil is almost disposed to endorse this accusation (*De Spiritu Sancto*, 29). It appears to have rested partly on an ambiguous passage in the *De Principiis* (i. *praef.* § 4, "non iam manifeste discernitur utrum natus an innatus vel Filius etiam Dei ipse habendus sit, necne."[k] The commentary on St. John's Gospel, of which the Greek is extant, reveals the extent of Origen's departure from the language of the Church. He maintains the inferiority of the Spirit to the Son, in respect of origin; the Son being of the Father alone, the Holy Ghost of the Father *through the Son*. Commenting on John i. 2 (*πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*) he asks whether the Spirit must not be included in the category of the *γεννητά*. From this conclusion he sees only two modes of escape; the Spirit, if not *γεννητόν*, must either have no distinct personality, or must be like the Father, "ingenerate." Rejecting both these views, he falls back upon the affirmative answer to his question. The Holy Spirit in some sense had His *genesis* through the Son; in honour and order He is above all *γεννητά*,[1] yet in thought He must be included among them. Perhaps this is why He is not also called Son of God, the Only Begotten alone being by nature Son from the beginning, and being, as it seems, necessary to the Person of the Holy Spirit, as ministering to Him not only Being but attributes (*οὗ χρήζειν ἔοικεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, διακονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι καὶ λογικὸν καὶ δίκαιον*), and dispensing His gifts to mankind (*τῆς ὕλης τῶν χαρισμάτων, ἐνεργουμένης μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, διακονουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑφεστώσης δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*). The result is that the Spirit is conceived of as being in some sense inferior to the Son by whom He had His Being (*ἓν τῶν πάντων τυγχάνον ὑποδεέστερον* [*v. l.* *ὑποδεεστέρων*] *τοῦ δι' οὗ ἐγένετο νοούμενον*). In this passage it seems clear that Origen suffers himself to use *γεννητός* in the two distinct senses of "derived" and "created." In the former sense the Spirit is *γεννητός*, for He is *ἐκπορευτός*. And in this sense He is *διὰ τοῦ λόγου*, and therefore in the order of the Divine Life inferior to Him, since the Son is from the Father alone. Thus while the language of the great Alexandrian teacher anticipates Arius, his doctrine is not far removed from that of Augustine; it is an approach to the Western *Filioque*.

Among the pupils and successors of Origen Pierius, we are told by Photius, represented the Holy Ghost as inferior in glory to the Father and the Son; and the same is hinted with regard to Theognostus (*Biblioth.* codd. 119, 106). Both teachers possibly re-echoed Origen's ambiguous language as to the *genesis* of the Spirit. St. Basil lays a yet heavier charge against Dionysius of Alexandria. (*Ep.* 41.) Yet the same father quotes from Dionysius an orthodox doxology "to God the Father and the Son, with (*σὺν*) the Holy Ghost;" and the fragments of Dionysius's letter to his Roman namesake include more than one passage which is irreconcilable with the Arian view. The following is decisive: "Each of the names (Father, Son, Holy Ghost) is inseparable from the next. Thus . . . when I add the name of Holy Ghost, I at once recall the thought of His derivation from the Father through the Son (*πόθεν καὶ διὰ τίνος ἧκεν*). The Father's nature is not alien to the Son, nor can the Son be parted from the Father; and in Their hands is the Holy Ghost." (Ath. *de Sent. Dionys.* 17.) In the shorter, and probably genuine Exposition of the Faith attributed to Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, another pupil of Origen, we find even stronger assertions of the Spirit's unity with the Father and the Son, coupled with what appears to be an explicit statement of His procession through the Son (*ἓν πν. ἅγ. ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πεφηνός*).[m] Methodius of Tyre, who belongs to the end of the 3rd century, has some remarkable language bearing on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit, he says, is an *ἐκπορευτὴ ὕπαρξις*: He proceeds, like Eve from the side of Adam. He is one of the two *ἀρχέγονοι δυνάμεις αἱ δορυφοροῦσαι τὸν θεόν* (Migne, Patr. Gr. xviii. 201), Yet He is consubstantial with the Father (*ὁμοούσιον πνεῦμα*, *ib.* 351).

We pass now to the troublous times of the 4th century, which gave form and shape to the faith of the Church with regard to the consubstantial deity of both the Son and the Spirit of God.

The heresy of Arius[n] concerned itself at first with the Person of the Son, yet not to the exclusion of the Third Person. Thus the *Thalia* broadly stated that "the essences (*αἱ οὐσίαι*) of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are of their very nature distinct and alien and separate," and that "one hypostasis is more glorious than another, and that to an infinite degree" (Athan. *c. Ar. Or.* i. 6; *de Syn.* 15). The Nicene Council, however, was content to deal with the question of the Son's Deity, and its creed ended with the simple words *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*. It was afterwards argued, and with justice, that even this one clause implied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, since the belief of which the creed speaks can be reposed in God only (Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxvii.; Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiv.). But in point of fact, the omission of an express statement upon this point was doubtless due to the circumstance that in A.D. 325 the battle was raging almost exclusively around the Godhead of the Word; the Godhead of the Spirit had been

[k] Jerome rendered "utrum factus sit an infectus"; *i.e.*, he read *γενητὸς ἢ ἀγένητος*, where Rufinus either found or interpreted *γεννητὸς ἢ ἀγέννητος*. On the perplexity occasioned by the interchange of these terms see Newman's *Arians*, p. 186. Suicer, *Th. Eccl.* s. v. *ἀγέννητος*. Petav. *de Trin.* v. i.

[1] *ὡς εὐσεβέστερον, καὶ ἀληθὲς προσιέμεθα τὸ πάντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου γενομένων, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντων εἶναι τιμιώτερον καὶ τάξει* [*πρὸ*] *πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ χριστοῦ γεγεννημένων*. [The bracketed preposition is a conjecture of Prof. J. L. Jacobi, who points out that in an abbreviated form *πρὸ* might easily have fallen out before the first letter of *πάντων*].

[m] The MSS. add *δηλάδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, but this limitation is wanting in the version of Rufinus, and may be due to a later age; cf. Le Quien, *Dissert. Damasc.* i. 53. On the genuineness of this creed see art. GREGORIUS (3) THAUMATURGUS, Vol. II. p. 733.

[n] On the affinities of Arianism with the school of Antioch, cf. Newman, *Arians*, pp. 5–9, 133 sq.; Hefele, i. p. 237 sq.

only incidentally denied (Basil, *Epp.* 78, 387). The seeds of this further error had been sown already; but the harvest was not fully ripe till half a century later (*ib. Ep.* 78).

Between 325 and 360 frequent opportunities presented themselves to the Eusebian party of expressing their views as to the Deity of the Holy Ghost in the synods which were held during this period. But it was the policy of the party at this time to veil its departure from the Nicene standard under language which sounded both scriptural and primitive. Thus the various creeds, Arian and semi-Arian, which were now put forth (*v.* Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 148–174), whilst assigning to the Spirit a position distinctly inferior to that of the Father or of the Son, and dealing almost exclusively with His temporal mission, abstained from any direct attack upon the Godhead of the Third Person. The following is a summary of their teaching: "We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth promised by the prophets and by the Lord, and sent to the apostles to teach them all things, and to comfort, sanctify, and perfect believers; the Son having bestowed the Holy Ghost upon the Church in accordance with the Father's will (*πατρικῷ βουλήματι*). We anathematize all who call the Holy Ghost the Ingenerate God (*τὸν ἀγέννητον θεόν*), or who confound His Person with the Son, or speak of Him as a part of the Father, or of the Son, by whom He is, *i.e.*, was sent into the world (per Filium est, δι' *υἱοῦ ἀποσταλέν*). We reject as unscriptural the terms 'hypostasis,' 'one hypostasis,' as applied to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Meanwhile, if the synods were satisfied with this indefinite or negative teaching, individuals had everywhere begun openly to assert their unbelief in the Deity of the Spirit. Thus in 358, Lucifer of Cagliari charges the emperor Constantius with maintaining that the Paraclete was "not the very Spirit of God" (*Pro Athan.* ii.; Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. 898). St. Athanasius and St. Hilary had already pointed out the impossibility of a sound belief touching the Holy Ghost, if the consubstantiality of the Son were denied. (Ath. *Or. c. Ar.* i. 8; Hil. *de Trin.* ii. 1.) The preaching of the Arian clergy had no doubt run far in advance of their creeds in this direction.* On the side of the church there was at first a natural reluctance to touch the Nicene formula, which was felt to be the best outward bond of Catholic unity (Socr. ii. 27, 30). At Sardica (347), the Western bishops expressed their satisfaction with the creed of 325; and at Ariminum (359) the Catholics even held it to be unseemly and unlawful to make any change. Yet expansions of the Nicene creed, of private authorship, were not unknown. Thus one was produced, it appears, though not authorised, at Sardica (Sozom. iii. 12; Theodoret, ii. 5; *Hist. Tripart.* iv. 24; cf. Ath. *ad Antioch.* 2); a long exposition attributed to St. Athanasius, and anterior to the year 360, defines the Holy Spirit to be *ἐκπόρευμα τοῦ πατρός*; and a creed is given by Lucifer of Cagliari (A.D. 358, v. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 127, note) which contains the article, "Credimus in Spiritum Paracletum, verum Dei Spiritum." At length, in 361–2, it became requisite to meet the growing unbelief with definite counterstatements put forth by synodical authority. While yet an exile in the desert of the Thebaid, Athanasius had learned from Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Delta, that in his diocese some who had abandoned the Arian doctrine of the Son, exceeded the teaching of Arius with regard to the Holy Ghost, declaring Him to be (1) a creature, and (2) a ministering spirit, differing from the angels only in degree (*λεγόντων αὐτὸ μὴ μόνον κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων ἓν αὐτὸ εἶναι*, *Ad Serap.* i. (init.).) This new party were known as the *Tropici*; as to the origin of the name, see Ath. *ad Serap.* i. 2, 10. On the return of Athanasius to Alexandria, a synod was held, whose synodical letter (the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* ap. Ath.) contains the first condemnation by the church of unbelief as to the Deity of the Holy Ghost. All who wished to return to the church from the ranks of Arianism were now required to condemn those who affirmed that the Holy Ghost is a creature and separate from the essence of the Son (*διῃρημένον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ*). The tome proceeds: *οἱ γὰρ προσποιούμενοι μὲν ὀνομάζειν τὴν ὁμολογηθεῖσαν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν, τολμῶντες δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βλασφημεῖν, οὐδὲν πλέον ποιοῦσιν ἢ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν τοῖς μὲν ῥήμασιν ἀρνοῦνται, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι ταύτην κατέχουσιν*. This document was addressed to the church of Antioch, where it received the subscription of the new bishop Paulinus, who added a confession of his own in which he anathematized those who assert that the Spirit is a creature made by the Son. Sozomen states that the Alexandrian Council declared the Spirit to be *consubstantial* with the Father and the Son (v. 12, cf. Socr. iii. 7; Rufin. *H. E.* i. 28). The word *ὁμοούσιον* is not used in the tome in reference to the Spirit; but the statement is substantially correct; throughout the letter the Holy Spirit is regarded as one in essence with the First and Second Persons—*ἀδιαίρετον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ πατρός*.

The church had spoken none too soon. Not only in Egypt, but at Constantinople and throughout Thrace and western Asia Minor, the new heresy had begun to make way. In Europe and Asia it was brought to the birth by the deposition of Macedonius in 360. That unscrupulous prelate took his revenge upon the Acacians by putting himself at the head of the semi-Arians, who were now retracing their steps towards the doctrine of Nicaea. It was agreed to accept the *ὁμοιούσιον* in reference to the Son; the Person of the Holy Ghost presented greater difficulty. Eustathius of Sebasteia was unwilling to call Him either God or a creature; Macedonius, Marathonius, and other less devout but more influential members of the party refused to leave the matter in suspense; if not true God, the Spirit, they urged, must needs be a creature; and if a creature, a minister and servant of God (Socr. ii. 45; Soz. iv. 27; Theodoret. ii. 6). The new sect were known as Macedonians, Marathonians, or Pneumatomachi. Within twenty years they had become so nearly coextensive with the semi-Arians, that the names were used as synonymous (Conc. CPl. *Can.* i. *τὴν* [*αἵρεσιν*] *τῶν Ἡμιαρειάνων εἴτουν Πνευματομάχων*).

* See the Arian sermons printed by Card. Mai (*Scr. Vet. Nov. Coll.* iii. 202 sq.).

In 363 another synod of Alexandria, under the guidance of St. Athanasius, reaffirmed the Deity of tho Spirit. Its synodical letter, addressed to the emperor Jovian, condemns those "who, wishing to revive the Arian heresy, denied the Nicene faith, which they pretended to confess, by misinterpreting the term *ὁμοούσιον*, and blaspheming the Holy Ghost, whom they declared to have been made by the Son (*ποίημα διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πεποιῆσθαι*); whereas the framers of the creed had glorified Him together with the Father and the Son, by including Him in the one Faith of the Holy Trinity" (*μᾶλλον συνεδόξασαν αὐτὸ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος πίστει, διὰ τὸ καὶ μίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τριάδι θεότητα*). (*Ad Jovian.* 4; Migne, xxvi. 820.) At Rome, on the other hand, the deputies of a Macedonian synod (Lampsacus, 365) succeeded in obtaining the support of pope Liberius, by suppressing, as we may suppose, their doctrine of the Holy Ghost, whilst they represented themselves as practically holding the Nicene doctrine of the Son. But in 366, on the accession of Damasus, the bubble burst, and at Rome, as at Alexandria, the new heresy was condemned by synod after synod. Hefele counts up four of these synods in the interval between 368 and 381 (ii. 287–393) their respective dates being the years 369, 374, 376, 380. In these councils the Roman church (1) declared the Holy Ghost to be increate, and of one majesty, essence (usiae), and power with the Father and the Son: (2) anathematized Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, and all others who refused to assert the Holy Spirit's eternity, essential procession from the Father ("de Patre esse vere ac proprie"), omniscience, omnipresence, perfect unity with the Father and Son, distinct personality, and claim to universal adoration; all, again, who called the Spirit a creature or said that He was made by the Son, although they might be orthodox in other points. The true faith is declared to be the belief in a Trinity of one Godhead, power, majesty, and essence. This "tome of Damasus," as it was called, received the subscriptions of 146 bishops at Antioch in the year 378. (Hefele, pp. 291, 360–3.) In other parts of the church councils were held at this time with the same result. An Illyrian synod of A.D. 375 (?) professed faith in "the Consubstantial Trinity"; a Gallican synod seems to have taken the same course; and the ecclesiastical action of the West was followed by an imperial letter from Valentinus and his colleagues, in which the decision of the Church was fully affirmed. In the East, between 374 and 379, a synod was held at Iconium under St. Amphilochius, from whose synodical letter we gather that the Nicene formula was still regarded as sufficient "for those at least who read it with intelligence"; in doxologies, however, the Spirit was to be glorified with the Father and the Son, according to the teaching of the baptismal formula (*χρὴ* .... *συνδοξάζειν*, cf. *τὸ* . . . *συνδοξαζόμενον* of the Constantinopolitan creed). Matters were in fact ripening for an authoritative expansion of the creed to meet the new and growing developments of heresy. The Macedonians were rapidly gaining ground, especially with the laity, who were attracted by the apparent simplicity of their doctrine, and by their moral lives (Soz. iv. 27). Apollinaris (if we may believe Gregory of Nazianzus, *ad Cledon.* ep. 1) had begun to speak of a "scale" of Deity, in which the Spirit stood not only las: but lowest.[p] Above all, Eunomius had combined the Arian and Macedonian views, and had worked them out into their boldest and coarsest form, holding the Spirit to be the creature of a Son, who was Himself the creature of the Uncreate: *πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον πάντων τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἔργων, προστάγματι μὲν τοῦ πατρός, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ υἱοῦ γενόμενον* (Migne, xxx. 868). Even the word *δημιούργημα* was applied by the Eunomians to the Giver of Life (Basil. *adv. Eun.* ii. 33). Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the bishops had already begun to teach their flocks a fuller creed. Two such forms are found at the end of the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus. The first and shorter of the two is nearly identical with the creed now known as the Constantinopolitan, which has recently been shewn (by Dr. Hort, *Two Dissertations*) to be substantially the old baptismal creed of the church of Jerusalem, modified and enriched by the introduction of clauses drawn partly from the Nicene creed, partly from the writings of St. Athanasius and St. Cyril; the new statements as to the Holy Spirit belonging to the latter class. It seems probable that these additions were made to the Jerusalem creed by St. Cyril shortly after the Alexandrian synod of 362. But, be that as it may, in 374 the expanded creed is recommended by St. Epiphanius as one which should be taught to all catechumens. He adds a much longer form, in which the doctrine of the Holy Ghost is treated yet more fully: "On this wise we believe in Him, that He is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God ... uncreate, proceeding from the Father and receiving (*λαμβάνον*: v. Hort, p. 122, note) from the Son, and the object of faith." At the end is the Nicene anathema, extended to those who refused to believe in the eternity or uncreated essence of the Holy Ghost.

At length, in 381, the work of local synods and episcopal confessions was clenched by the ruling of a second oecumenical council. It is true that the council which Theodosius summoned at Constantinople could scarcely have regarded itself as possessing oecumenical authority; whilst in the West it certainly was not regarded in this light before the 6th century (cf. Pusey, *On the Clause "And the Son,"* pp. 36–39). Nevertheless the honours of oecumenicity were ultimately awarded to it by the whole church, because it completed the series of councils by which the doctrine of the Holy Ghost's Deity was affirmed, and in fact expressed the final judgment of the Catholic church upon the Macedonian controversy. The first canon of Constantinople rules (1) that the faith of Nicaea shall remain in force, (2) that "every heresy be anathematized, particularly the heresy of the Eunomians or Anomoeans, . . . and that of the semi-Arians or Pneumatomachi." It was followed by an imperial decree which required that the churches be given up to those bishops who held the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be "of one majesty, power, and glory" (*Cod. Theodos.* xvi.). Whether the creed known as the Constantinopolitan (*v. supra*) was recited at the council and received its

[p] See Newman, *Tracts*, pp. 280–281.

sanction is perhaps open to question; it finds no place in the records of the council itself, nor in any extant document for the next seventy years, although at the end of that period it was recited at Chalcedon as the creed of the 150. Possibly it may have been read at Constantinople by St. Cyril, as a personal profession of faith, and in this way have received the approval of the assembled fathers. (Hort, pp. 106–7, and *supra* p. 75). Certainly its moderate yet sufficient expression of the Deity of the Holy Ghost fitly enshrines the conviction to which both West and East had been guided: [*πιστεύομεν*] *εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν· τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον· τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.*

Other councils followed at Constantinople in 382 and 383, and gave the *coup de grâce* to the Pneumatomachian heresy. The council of 382 addressed a letter to the Westerns, in which the Eastern bishops professed their belief in a "consubstantial and coeternal Trinity." In 383 each party was required to deposit with the emperor a written confession of its faith, and the emperor, after perusing all, adopted further measures for the suppression of the sects which "divided" the indivisible Trinity. They were forbidden to hold assemblies or to ordain. In the East, at least, the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Ghost was now everywhere triumphant.

It is time to turn from the synodical action of the church to the treatment of this doctrine by individual writers and teachers who lived during the 4th century.

First of these in point of time comes Eusebius of Caesarea, whose long and industrious life (c. 264–340) links together the thought and work of the ante-Nicene age with those of post-Nicene times. An enthusiastic Origenist (Socr. ii. 21), and unable to understand that new heresies called for greater strictness of theological definition, he sometimes used language with regard to both the Son and the Holy Spirit which, judged by the standard of the 4th century, might lead us to class him with the advanced school of Arianism. With Eusebius the Spirit is third in dignity as well as in order (*Praep. Evang.* vii. 16); He is the moon in the Divine Firmament; He receives all that He has from the Word; His very Being is through the Son. Thus He is neither "God" (*i.e.* *ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός*) nor "Son," since He has not received His origin from the Father like the Son, but is one of the things which were made by the Son (*οὔτε θεός, οὔτε υἱός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίως τῷ υἱῷ καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν γένεσιν εἴληφεν· ἕν δέ τι τῶν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ γενομένων* (*De Eccl. Theol.* iii. 6). Yet He surpasses every generated nature—*τῆς τρίτης δυνάμεως πᾶσαν ὑπερβεβηκυίας γεννητὴν φύσιν, οὔσης τε πρώτης μὲν τῶν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ συστασῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν, τρίτης δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου.* The procession of the Spirit seems to have been regarded by Eusebius as identical with His mission. He uses *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* both of the Son and of the Spirit—in the latter case, in reference to the inspiration of the prophets, the baptism of Christ, and the sanctification of the elect.

If Eusebius allowed himself to use language which savoured of Arianism, his antagonist Marcellus hardly steered clear of Sabellian error. He is said to have denied the proper personality of the Spirit (*τὸν παράκλητον ἰδίως ὑφεστηκέναι*, Basil. *Ep.* 263). He called the Spirit a "further extension of an extension" (*παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως*, Theodoret. *Haer. Fab.* ii. 18), and held that the Godhead is "one tripersonal hypostasis" (Euseb. *Eccl. Th.* iii. 6). He pleaded that his words had been misunderstood (Socr. i. 36), and to a great extent this may have been the case.[q] In the fragments of his work preserved by Eusebius he uses the Sabellian term *πλατυσμός* to express the truth that the unity of the Divine Essence is not broken by generation or procession. With regard to the procession of the Spirit, his view approaches remarkably near to that of the later Western church. He regards the Father and the Son as one undivided *ἀρχή*, and thus explains the fact that the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, receives of the Son, and is by the Son given to mankind (Euseb. *Eccl. Th.* iii. 4–6).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386) lived to see the end of the great struggle which commenced in his childhood; and it is perhaps not surprising that during the course of the controversy his own views underwent modification perhaps more than once (Soz. iv. 25; vii. 8; Socr. v. 8). His treatise on the Holy Spirit (*Catech.* xvi., xvii.)—the first systematic work upon this doctrine—belongs to the earliest years of his ministry (347–8). It is difficult to discover its exact standpoint with regard to some of the questions afterwards in dispute; but the following points can be made out:—(1) He rejects the Origenist idea of a *γένεσις* of the Spirit by the Son; condemns (by anticipation, as it seems) the doctrine of the "servitude" of the Third Person (*Catech.* viii. 5; *τὰ σύμπαντα μὲν δοῦλα αὐτοῦ . . . τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐκτὸς τούτων πάντων*). (2) He regards the Spirit as the coequal in dignity of the Father and the Son (*Catech.* iv. 16; *σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ τῇ τῆς θεότητος δόξῃ τετίμηται*). (3) He lays great and repeated stress on the personal unity of the Spirit—on the hypostasis as distinguished from its manifestations. (4) Of the procession (if we except one probably spurious fragment, v. Migne, xxxiii. 964) he says nothing more than that the Son imparts to the Spirit that which He receives from the Father—*πατὴρ μὲν δίδωσιν υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς μεταδίδωσιν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι* (*Catech.* xvi. 24)—further than this, he thinks, it does not become us to push our inquiries. (5) On the other hand, into the operations of the Spirit no writer before Cyril, and scarcely any after him, enters at so much length. The sanctifying and deifying (*θεοποιόν*) grace of the Holy Ghost, he insists, is necessary to every intelligent nature, angels and archangels not excepted (iv. 6; cf. xvi. 23). Amongst men He inspired the prophets, descended on the Lord, was given to the apostles, is given to us in the moment of baptism (iv. 16, *τὸ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος σφραγίζον σου τὴν ψυχήν*), and at our confirmation (xxi.

[q] See Montfaucon, *de causa Marcelli* (Migne, Patr. Gr. xviii. 1282 sq. The remarkable confession offered to St. Athanasius by the church of which Marcellus was bishop, declares, *ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν . . . πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀϊδίως ὂν καὶ ὑφεστός . . . ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς λέγοντας καὶ φρονοῦντας . . . ποτὲ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν* [*εἶναι*] *χωρὶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

3, 3); He consecrates and changes the Eucharist (xxiii.; v. 9, 17; *πάντως γὰρ οὗ ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται . . . ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος*); suggests all holy thoughts (xvi. 19), and, like fire, at once consumes the sins and illuminates the souls of all who receive His grace (xvii. 5).

To St. Athanasius the doctrine of the Holy Ghost owes scarcely less than the cognate doctrine of the Son. His systematic treatment of the subiect is to be found in the letters to Serapion (*v. supra*). (1) He meets the error of the Tropici on the broad ground that a mixture of natures in the One undivided Trinity is inconceivable (*Serap.* i. 17; *εἰ κτίσμα ἦν, οὐ συνετάσσετο τῇ τριάδι· ὅλη γὰρ εἷς θεός ἐστιν*). (2) In working out this argument he is led to examine the relation of the Spirit to the Father and to the Son; and thus for the first time we are presented with something like a scientific treatment of the Procession dogma. (*a*) Already in the *Ecthesis* he had called the Spirit *ἐκπόρευμα τοῦ πατρός* (§ 6), and it has been observed that the formula *τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον* (a combination, as it seems, of John xv. 26 with 1 Cor. ii. 12) is frequent in his pages (Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 86, notes 3, 4, 5). Moreover, the attempt of the Tropici to combine the Catholic doctrine of the Son with a rejection of the Deity of the Spirit led Athanasius into a vein of thought hitherto little worked, viz., the essential relation of the Spirit to the Son. In his *Orations against the Arians* he had struck this vein. The Spirit, he had said, was, even before the Incarnation, given by the Word as being His very own (*ἴδιον*: i. 46, 48). The Spirit receives all He has from the Word; the Word, not the Spirit, is the link of union with the Father (iii. 24; *οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν λόγον συνάπτει τῷ πατρὶ· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ λόγου λαμβάνει*) In the letters to Serapion the idea is worked out further. "The living energy and gift of the Living Word is said to proceed from (*ἐκ*) the Father, because it shines forth and is sent and given from the Word, who is confessed to be of (*ἐκ*) the Father. Thus the Holy Ghost has the same relation in point of order and nature (*τοιαύτην τάξιν καὶ φύσιν*) to the Son, as the Son to the Father. As the Son, who is in the Father, and in whom the Father is, belongs to the essence of the Father (*ἴδιος τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας*); so the Spirit, who is in the Son, and in whom the Son is, must not be numbered amongst created beings or separated from the Word (i. 20, 21). The Son being of (*ἐκ*) the Father, belongs to the Father's Essence (*ἴδιος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ*); consequently, the Spirit being of (*ἐκ*) God, must belong essentially to the Son (*ἴδιος κατ' οὐσίαν*, *ib.* 25). So far is the Holy Ghost from being external or alien to the Word (*ἐκτὸς τοῦ λόγου*), that it is through being in the Word that He is in God (*ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὂν ἐν τῷ θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*, iii. 5). He is the very form (*μορφή*) and express image (*εἰκών*) of the Son, as the Son is the form and image of the Father (iii. 2; iv. 3)." Thus the position of the Pneumatomachi was untenable; they could not sincerely maintain the Deity of the Son, while they impugned the Deity of the Holy Ghost: *εἰ γὰρ ἐφρόνουν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἐφρόνουν ὑγιῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὂν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδοται τοῖς μαθηταῖς*. It is impossible not to see in these statements another approach to the Western doctrine of the procession. With regard to the mission of the Spirit, St. Athanasius, like St. Cyril, holds that, whilst the whole creation is the field of His operations, He works in an especial and peculiar manner upon the baptized, whom He unites to God (*τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος μετοχῇ συναπτόμεθα τῇ θεότητι*), and who, in virtue of this union, are in a manner "deified" (*θεοποιοῦνται*: iii. 24, 25).

A few years later the teaching of Athanasius on this subject was carried a stage further by Didymus. According to the last great catechist of the school of Alexandria, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *ἀνάρχως, ὁμοουσίως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀρρήτως*. Thus the procession of the Spirit is strictly parallel to the generation of the Son: the Second and Third Persons derive their essence from the Father *συνυφεστώτως καὶ συμπροεληλυθότως* (*de Trin.* ii. 1, 2). Yet if the Spirit proceeds from the Father, He also abides with the Son in a manner peculiar to the Godhead (*ἐκπορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μένει παρὰ τῷ υἱῷ θεϊκῶς*: *ib.* 21). In his earlier work, *On the Holy Spirit*, if we may trust Jerome's translation and its existing MSS., Didymus deals with this topic in language which scarcely falls short of the later Latin church teaching; *e.g.*, he writes: "Neque alia substantia est Spiritus Sancti praeter id quod datur ei a Filio." Still stronger statements of this view are to be found in the writings of St. Epiphanius, where there is no reason to distrust the MSS., and the Greek text is still extant. In treating of the procession of the Holy Spirit, Epiphanius avoids the use of the preposition *διά*, always employing *ἐκ* or *παρά* (Pusey, *On the Clause*, &c., p. 119). He does not hesitate to say that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son (*ἐκ, παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ;* or *παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ; Ancor.* 9. 73); from both (*παρ' ἀμφοτέρων*: *ib.* 69–70); from the essence or Godhead of both (*ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ; Haer.* 62, § 4). Yet in common with all the Greek fathers Epiphanius refrains from using the verb *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* to denote the Spirit's eternal relation to the Son. "The Spirit," he repeatedly says, "proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son," thus adhering to the distinction apparently observed in our Lord's own words (John xv. 26; xvi. 14).

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was treated with even greater fulness and precision by the great Cappadocians of the 4th century, St. Basil and the two Gregories. The first-named of these fathers, indeed, out of tenderness for the scruples of weak brethren, abstained from calling the Holy Ghost God, lest he should be thought to hold tritheistic views (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 33: cf. Basil, *Ep.* 70). But he pointed out that the Holy Ghost is neither a creature nor a servant of God; that though third in Order, He is One in essence with the First and the Second Persons (*Adv. Eunom.* iii. init.), and is, therefore, to be classed with Them (*συναριθμεῖσθαι*) not in a subordinate category (*ὑπαριθμεῖσθαι*) and to be glorified with Them as coequal (*De Sp. S.* 17, 29, 32).[r] With regard to the relation between the

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[r] Comp. Soz. iii. 20; and see DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, art. *Doxology*. In Neale's *Antioch*, pref.

Persons, Basil maintained that the procession is essential and eternal (*De Sp. S.* 16, 18; *Hom. in Ps.* xxxii.); that the relation of the Spirit to the Son corresponds with the relation of the Son to the Father (*ὡς ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸ πνεῦμα*); that He is the Spirit of the Son, and manifested through the Son (*διὰ υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι*: *Adv. Eunom.* v.); that He depends on the Son (*τοῦ υἱοῦ ἤρτηται*), yet is united to the Father as the principle from which He proceeds (*Ep.* 38). Hence our way of approach to God is in the Spirit through the Son: as he who lays hold of the furthest link of a chain draws the whole towards him, so he who attracts to himself the Holy Ghost, attracts also the Son and the Father. Thus, whilst on our part we advance from the Spirit through the Son to the Father, the life of God proceeds in an opposite order: *ἡ φυσικὴ ἀγιότης καὶ ὁ κατὰ φύσιν ἁγιασμὸς καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διήκει* (*De Sp. S.* 18). In some sense, therefore, the Spirit is *through* the Son, not however in the manner suggested by Origen (*ib.* 29), still less after the Eunomian conception. Lastly, with regard to the work of the Holy Spirit, St. Basil held a general operation on all created things, a particular operation on all good men (*πάντα μὲν πληροῦν τῇ δυνάμει, μόνοις δὲ ὂν μεθεκτὸν τοῖς ἀξίοις*, *De Sp. S.* 9), and a special presence vouchsafed to all the baptized, although unworthy (*ib.* 16). The fullest manifestation of the Holy Ghost is reserved for the future life (*τῶν δικαίων στέφανος ἡ τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστι χάρις*), when the lost will be finally cut off from His help and grace (*ib.* infra).

St. Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, strikes out a bolder path. Starting with a careful discrimination of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*—the former is explained as = *τὸ ὑποκείμενον*; the latter as a *συνδρομὴ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον ἰδιωμάτων*—he proceeds to argue that since the nature of God is simple and indivisible, the relation of the *οὐσία* to the *ὑποστάσεις* in God must be one of *διάκρισις συνημμένη* and *συνάφεια διακεκριμένη*. Between the hypostases he finds, in the first place, a twofold division into (1) the principle (2) the derived; the second head subdivides itself into (*a*) the immediately, (*b*) the mediately derived (Migne, Patr. Gr. xlv. 134); thus:

ὁ θεός {
- τὸ αἴτιον . . . . = ὁ πατὴρ
- τὸ αἰτιατόν {
  - τὸ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου = ὁ υἱός
  - τὸ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου = τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Hence, although the Holy Spirit proceeds coeternally with the generation of the Son (*τὸ πν. συμπαρομαρτοῦν τῷ λόγῳ*), He is, nevertheless, *of* the Father in such wise that He is also *through* the Son; for otherwise He would be a second Son (*τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μεσιτείας αὐτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης*). In this sense, therefore, *i.e.* having regard to the "principle" of Godhead (*κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον*), the Spirit may be conceived of as posterior to the Son, although in fact neither is prior or posterior to the other, since the life of God is not conditioned by time. In a solitary passage which is found only in a few MSS., but those (it is right to add) of great age, Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the Spirit as *from* the Son (*ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ*, *De Orat. Domin.* iii.). If the words are genuine, they must be interpreted by the language which he usually holds upon the subject, *i.e.*, as equivalent to *ἐκ διαδόσεως διὰ τοῦ μέσου* (*Adv. Marcell.* 6)—in other words, as = *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus treated the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in a more popular and practical way. On his promotion to the see of Constantinople he found the wildest chaos of opinions prevalent in that city upon the subject: *οἱ μὲν ἐνέργειαν τοῦτο* [*sc.* *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*] *ὑπέλαβον, οἱ δὲ κτίσμα, οἱ δὲ θεόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὁπότερον τούτων αἰδοῖ τῆς γραφῆς* (*Or. Th.* v. 5). When he proceeded to preach the Deity of the Holy Ghost he was in danger of being stoned in the streets as "a setter forth of strange gods." He met the opposition of the Pneumatomachi by the plainest statements of the Catholic doctrine. "Is the Spirit God?" he asks in one of his sermons. "Yes. But is He consubstantial? Yes, if He is God." He appealed both to Scripture and to the experience of the Christian life. "If the Spirit is not to be adored, how can He deify me (*ἐμὲ θεοῖ*) in baptism? From the Spirit comes our new birth, from the new birth our new life, and from the new life our knowledge of the dignity of Him from whom it is derived." But why had the doctrine of the Spirit's Godhead been so little dwelt upon in earlier times? He answers that it came last in the order of the Divine revelation. The Old Testament revealed the Father, in the New the Son was manifested; each truth had to be firmly established in the minds of men before the next could follow. The Deity of the Holy Ghost was one of those truths which the Church could not bear at first, but which she is now learning from the Divine Comforter Himself (*ib.* 26, 27). On the doctrine of the procession, as we might have expected, St. Gregory speaks less decidedly. He deems it enough to know that the Holy Ghost is not begotten but proceeding (*προϊὸν ἐκπορευτῶς*, *Or. in S. lumina*), and that procession (*ἡ ἐκπεμψις*) is His distinctive property (*τὸ ἴδιον*), which involves at once His personality and His essential Deity (*Or. Th.* v. 7, 8).

One more witness may complete the testimony of the Eastern church of the 4th century. St. Ephraem of Edessa (*ob.* 375), who represents the East Syrian or Mesopotamian church, teaches that the Father "produced the Holy Ghost out of His own substance, neither before nor after the Word, but together with Him, seeing that the Godhead of the Holy Trinity is coeternal" (*Opp.*, i. 127). He interprets Gen. i. 2, of the Holy Ghost, "the Spirit of God the Father, from whom He proceeds timelessly, with whom and with His only begotten Son He is equal in essence and power" (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 65). The Holy Ghost, he says, "is mingled" with the waters of baptism and "blended" with the bread of the Eucharist (*Rhythms*, 40, Oxf. tr. p. 235); the greatest of angels are taught by His inspirations (*ib.* 5, p. 120). But speculations on

p. xlv. an inscription is given, which runs: *δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*. This inscription is dated 369. St. Basil was consecrated A.D. 370, and his treatise *de Spiritu Sancto*, in which he defends the conglorification of the Spirit, belongs perhaps to the year 374-5.

this doctrine are to be shunned by the devout. "Love the brooding of the Holy Spirit, and approach not to pry into Him. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost by their names are comprehended; be not curious about their subsistencies . . . . what blendeth their distinctions, what distinguisheth their blessed estates." (*2nd Rhythm, conc. Faith*, p. 400 sq.)[a]

Even in the West theological thought had been active upon this subject during the 4th century. Two Gallican bishops, both from Aquitaine, led the way. Phoebadius of Agen, writing *Against the Arians* about 358, touches lightly upon the questions which were then just coming into view. "If any man takes offence at our doctrine of the Son, let him know that we hold the Spirit to be of God (*de Deo*), distinct in Person (*alius*) from the Son, as the Son is from the Father." A year or two years later the greater St. Hilary of Poitiers put the finishing stroke to his treatise *On the Trinity*. His treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit shews how reluctantly Catholic writers of this period were forced into a minute examination of the mystery of the Spirit's Being. "There should be no need," he says, "to speak at length of the Holy Spirit; and yet since some are ignorant we cannot hold our peace. The Spirit, as to His origin, is of the Father and the Son ([de] Patre et Filio auctoribus confitendus est). If the Arians insist on asking such questions as, Through whom is He? for what end? of what nature? we can only reply with Apostles and Prophets, He is through (*per*) Him through whom are all things [=the Son, cf. *De Trin.* ii. 1], and from (*ex*) Him from whom are all things [=the Father, *ib.*]." In answer to the inquiry whether the Spirit is from the Father or from the Son (utrum ex Patre an ex Filio), Hilary refers to St. John xv. 12 sq. It is clear, he argues, that the Spirit receives from the Son, and so from the Father also, so that He may be said "accipere ex utroque" (*De Trin.* viii. 20; cf. *Op. Hist. Fragm.* ii. 31); but he does not decide whether *accipere=procedere*, nor does he venture to speak of a procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. His own phrase is *ex Patre per Filium* (xii. 53, 57). With regard to the operations of the Third Person, Hilary holds that the Holy Spirit comes to us first in baptism (initia Spiritus Sancti, *Tract. in Ps.* lxiv.). The Spirit's work is that of an Advocate, and His advocacy is exerted in enabling our feeble powers to grasp and believe the Incarnation (*De Trin.* vi. 35). We have natural capacities for understanding revelation; we have eyes to see the truth; but eyes are not light; we must be enlightened by the Holy Ghost, or our eyes let in only darkness. Lastly, the work of the Spirit in us requires the co-operation of our own wills: "in tantum datur in quantum quis volet sumere; in tantum residet in quantum quis volet promereri."

About 365 the African rhetorician Marius Victorinus published at Rome a treatise *On the Trinity, against Arius*. His work presents a marked contrast to the calm and judicial style of St. Hilary; but the following accords with Hilary's view of the procession:—"We confess also the Holy Ghost as having all things from (*ex*) God the Father, the Word (that is, Jesus Christ) delivering to Him all things that Christ hath from (*a*) the Father." Victorinus is perhaps the first of Latin writers to call the Spirit the "Bond" (connexio, complexio) of the Father and the Son (*De Trin. Hymn.* 3). But much of his language is obscure, if not unsound, and the piety of the writer is more conspicuous than his power as a theologian. A far more important contributor to the western literature on this subject is St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, whose *De Spiritu Sancto*, written in the year of the second Council, is in fact the earliest Latin monograph upon the doctrine of the Spirit. His treatment of the doctrine is not original; for use is made of materials gathered from Athanasius, Didymus, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa (Migne, Patr. Lat. xvi. 730); the arrangement, however, is due to St. Ambrose, and much of the vigour of the thought. Objections are answered *seriatim*; and the arguments for the Deity of the Holy Spirit are arranged with remarkable skill and power. The Holy Ghost is shewn to be Very God, inasmuch as He (1) is impeccable, (2) has power to forgive sin, (3) has power to create, (4) is a proper object of Divine worship. Ambrose uses the word *procedere* to express the Spirit's temporal mission, and in this sense does not scruple to speak of a procession of the Spirit from the Incarnate Son. "Not as though the Spirit were sent or proceeded from a place, when He proceeds from (ex) the Son. . . . In proceeding from (*a*) the Father and the Son, the Spirit is not separated from the Father or from the Son" (*De Sp. S.* i. 11). The Son is "the Fountain of the Holy Spirit, who is with God" (*ib.* i. 15). The doctrine of an *eternal* procession from the Son is not expressly taught by St. Ambrose, but it certainly seems to underlie such a temporal procession as he maintains. Moreover he regards the "receiving from" the Son as parallel to "proceeding from" the Father (*De Sp. S.* ii. 11), whilst in his later commentary on St. Luke (c. viii.) he incidentally speaks of the essential goodness which the Son receives from the Father as communicated by the Son to the Holy Ghost.

St. Augustine, the spiritual son of St. Ambrose, completed the development in the Latin church of the procession-dogma. In the year 393 Augustine, then a presbyter of the church of Hippo, was summoned by the great African synod of that year to deliver a dogmatic discourse, which is preserved among his writings under the title *De Fide et Symbolo*. In approaching the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, he warned the synod that this subject had not yet been fully investigated by the church (*De F. et S.* c. 9, "de Spiritu Sancto autem nondum tam copiose ac diligenter disputatum est"). Already, however, certain landmarks had been fixed. The Spirit is the gift of God, but in His nature He is not inferior to the Giver. He is not begotten either of the Father or of the Son, nor is he ingenerate, in the sense of having no *principium*, but owes His Being to the Father. Less certain is the view which regards Him as the mutual Love of the Father and the Son. The

[a] Cf. Haase *de S. Ephr. theologia*, p. 22 sq.: "de quaestione utrum Spiritus a Patre solo prodeat.... nondum certe quidquam apud Ephraemum invenimus. Omnibus locis quibus E. de Spiritu agit, ei tertiam Trinitatis personam tribuit, neque Patri neque Filio subordinatum."

essential truth is that He is God, one in nature with the Father and the Son, although in Person distinct. In a sermon preached about the same time to catechumens, Augustine says:—"We believe in the Holy Ghost, who proceeds from the Father, yet is not the Son; who abides in the Son, yet is not the Father of the Son; who receives from the Son, yet is not the Son of the Son, but the Spirit of the Father and of the Son; the Holy Spirit, who is Himself God." When at a later period of his life the systematic mind of the great Doctor began to desiderate a fuller doctrine of the Spirit, he started from the same basis—"The one Spirit is the Spirit of Both" ("non sunt eis singulis singuli, sed unus amborum est" *De Civ. Dei*, xiii. 24, § 3). The next step is gained in the *De Trinitate*, which was in its author's hands for nearly twenty years, but first appeared in its present form subsequently to the year 415. In this treatise, after pointing out the connexion between *procession and mission* ("mitti est cognosci quod ab eo procedat), Augustine distinctly says, "We cannot [in the face of John xx. 22] affirm that the Spirit does not proceed also from the Son" (iv. 20). Next, in order to guard the *μοναρχία*, he holds that as the Father is the *principium* of the Son, the Father and the Son are the One *principium* of the Holy Ghost (v. 14). Nevertheless there is this difference between the procession of the Spirit from the Father and His procession from the Son; from the Father he proceeds *principaliter*, from the Son, by virtue of the Father's eternal gift and generation:—"Filius de Patre natus est, et Sp. S. de Patre principaliter, et, ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit" (xv. 25). As if anticipating the objection of the later Eastern church, Augustine continues, We have no right to infer from John xv. 26 that a procession from the Son is excluded: "sic ait *de Patre procedit* ut non diceret *de me non procedit*" (*Tract. in S. Joann.* xcix. 6, 7; cf. *C. Maxim.* ii. 14). Further, he is careful to strengthen his position by applying the doctrine of the procession to a mystical and devotional purpose, which won for it a ready acceptance by the preachers and the faithful of the Western church. To St. Augustine in great part is due the working out of the view already mentioned, which regards the Holy Ghost as the essential Love of the Father and the Son, the consubstantial coeternal Communion, the Unity, Charity, Sanctity, which belongs to Both, proceeds from Both, and knits Each to the Other in the endless ebb and flow of the Divine Life (*De Trin.* vi. 5; xv. 20).

On the *work* of the Holy Spirit, Augustine is equally full, though his teaching on this subject has less of dogmatic interest. As he brought out the Deity and procession of the Spirit against the attacks of Arianism, so against Pelagianism, which was a virtual denial of the Spirit's office (cf. Pearson, art. viii.), he maintained the necessity of His preventing and co-operating grace. This is not the place to enter upon the history of the Pelagian heresy, but the following canons of the Council of Orange (529) shew at once the bearing of that controversy on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, and the answer which the Western church, as led by St. Augustine, returned to the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian views:—"Si quis ut a peccato purgemur voluntatem nostram Deum expectare contendit, non autem ut etiam purgari velimus per sancti Spiritus infusionem et operationem in nos fieri confitetur, resistit ipsi Spiritui Sancto [Prov. xix. 21, Philipp. ii. 13]." "Si quis sicut augmentum, ita etiam initium fidei ipsumque credulitatis affectum, quo in eum credimus qui justificat impium et ad generationem sacri baptismatis pervenimus, non per gratiae donum, id est, per inspirationem Spiritus Sancti . . . sed naturaliter nobis inesse dicit, apostolicis dogmatibus adversarius approbatur" (Conc. Araus. ii. *Can.* iv. v.; comp. also vi., vii., xvii.).

In the East St. Augustine's contemporary, Theodore of Mopsuestia (circ. 394–328), was meantime handling the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in a manner peculiar to himself. In Theodore's extant writings the following ideas upon the subject continually appear: (1) The Holy Spirit was not revealed under the old dispensation as a distinct Person in the Godhead (*Comm. in Agg.*, c. ii.; Migne, lxvi. 484–5, especially these words:—ἡ παλαιὰ δὲ (ὡς ἔφην) πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐν ἰδίῳ προσώπῳ καὶ ὑποστάσει ἰδίᾳ κεχωρισμένως τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠπίστατο· πνεῦμα δὲ ἅγιον ἐκάλει, ἤτοι πνεῦμα θεοῦ, τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν ἢ τὴν κηδεμονίαν, κ.τ.λ.).[1] But this remark is extended to the Son (*infra*, Migne, 501). (2) The Spirit was not given before the Ascension; hence the insufflation recorded in John xx. 22 was merely prospective, and our Lord's λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον is equivalent to λήμψεσθε πν. ἅγ. (3) The special office of the Holy Spirit is that of the Giver of Life (fragm. on Rom. viii. 2, τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς παρεκτικόν), by whom the Lord was raised from the dead, and whom in baptism we receive as the earnest and pledge of our own resurrection, and of our perfection, which is hereafter to be wrought out by His agency. This view is sometimes carried to the extent of throwing into the shade the present ethical operations of the Spirit. Thus ἐν πνεύματι (Rom. viii. 2) is explained as meaning simply ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀθανασίας (Migne, 882), (4) Theodore's doctrine of the Incarnation leads him to dwell at unusual length on the operation of the Spirit upon the Man Christ. The Man assumed by the Word—ὁ ληφθείς—was accounted worthy to be inhabited by the Holy Spirit in a manner altogether unique (ἠξιώθη γοῦν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνοικήσεως πρῶτος παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἠξιώθη ταύτης οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς). To other men belongs a μερικὴ μετουσία of the Spirit; He received the whole (ἅπαν τὸ πνεῦμα). By the Holy Spirit the Man was formed of the substance of the Virgin to be the Temple of the Eternal Word. By the Holy Spirit the same Man, on account of His singular merits, received at his baptism an adoption, regeneration, and unction peculiarly His own (Migne, 980–1, 998, 1018). By the Holy Spirit the miracles of Christ were wrought, His foreknow-

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[1] Theodore, however, did not deny that the O. T. writers were inspired by the Holy Spirit; cf. Migne, 401: τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οἵ τε πάλαι μετεῖχον καὶ οἱ τῷ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ὑπηρετούμενοι μυστηρίῳ. But his method of interpreting Scripture, especially the Messianic portions of the prophetic books, led to his being accused of "derogating from the glory of the Holy Ghost" (Leontius Byzant. ap. Migne, lxxxvi. 1365).

ledge of future events imparted, and His perfect sanctity attained (Sachau, *Fragm. Syr.* pp. 65, 66). Our participation in the Spirit depends upon our incorporation into the Man on whom the fulness of the Spirit was thus outpoured (on Eph. i. 23: "Corpus eius sumus omnes nos qui credimus, similitudine naturae participationem suscipientes gratiae Spiritus illius qui in eo factus est . . . . illam participationem percepimus quae apud eum est"). (5) Theodore's comment on St. John xv. 26 is explicit in favour of the doctrine of an essential procession of the Spirit from the Father: *ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς οὐσίας ἔχει τὴν ὕπαρξιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ φυσικὴν ἐκεῖθεν πρόοδον ἔλεγεν διὰ τοῦ 'ἐκπορεύεται,' ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἔξωθεν γινομένην, ἄπορον περὶ τίνος λέγει, κ.τ.λ.* This property (*ἰδικόν τι*) of proceeding distinguishes the Divine Spirit from created angels, who are simply the ministers and messengers of the Deity. The *ecthesis* which bears Theodore's name, and asserts his views, whilst laying stress on the essential Deity, distinct personality, and eternal procession of the Spirit, seems for the first time to strike the note of opposition to the dogma of the Spirit's eternal derivation through the Son (*οὔτε υἱὸν νομίζομεν, οὔτε διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν εἰληφός*); although it may be doubted whether in this clause the belief is already in view.

In the year which followed Theodore's death, Alexandria and the West became acquainted, through the preaching of Nestorius, with the views of the Antiochene school upon the Incarnation and the doctrine of the Spirit. On the latter point, although it came into sight only in an incidental manner, issue was at once joined by Cyril, in the ninth of his famous anathematisms: *εἴ τις φησὶν τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δοξάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τὸ πληροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά φησιν, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐνήργησεν τὰς θεοσημείας· ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* In Theodoret's reply to these anathematisms, this assertion of Cyril that the Spirit is the Son's "very own" was challenged as blasphemous, if it implied more than His consubstantiality with the Son and procession from the Father: *ἴδιον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ, εἰ μὲν ὡς ὁμοφυὲς καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ἔφη, συνομολογήσομεν καὶ ὡς εὐσεβῆ δεξόμεθα τὴν φωνήν· εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐξ υἱοῦ ἢ δι' υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, ὡς βλάσφημον τοῦτο καὶ ὡς δυσσεβὲς ἀποῤῥίψομεν.*[x] In the following year (431) the third oecumenical council approved Cyril's letter which contained the anathema, without noticing Theodoret's objection. Cyril had appended an explanation, which looked very much like a direct assertion of the Spirit's derivation from the Son (*ἴδιον ἔχων τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς ἐμπεφυκὸς αὐτῷ πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), and this, too, passed the council; whilst, on the other hand, it condemned the Theodorean creed already mentioned, in which a *ὕπαρξις διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ* was denied. But here the controversy ended for the time. St. Cyril, however, after the council, continued to speak of the Spirit as *ἐξ υἱοῦ* (*παρ' υἱοῦ, δι' υἱοῦ*), and his doctrine of the procession seems to have been substantially one with St. Augustine's. Thus he says that the Son "gives the Spirit out of his own fulness" (*adv. Nest.* iv. 1), and according to the law of His nature (*παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν προχεόμενον* (*in S. Joann.* i. 33), and that the Spirit is thus "shed forth essentially from both [the Father and the Son], or, in other words, from the Father through the Son" (*οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἤγουν ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ, προχεόμενον*). St. Cyril lays stress on the practical effects of this view of the relation which the Spirit bears to our Lord. Since He is the very Spirit of Christ, Christ dwells by Him in the faithful (*σχετικὴ ἐνοίκησις, ἕνωσις*) who are united to the Lord and to the rest of His body, with which, through the Spirit, they become concorporate (*σύσσωμοι*) in the Holy Eucharist (*adv. Nest.* iv. 5).

It is remarkable that in the far East the language of St. Cyril upon the Spirit's relation to the Son had been anticipated before the rise of Nestorianism. In 410 the council of Seleucia (Mesopotamia), which was presided over by two bishops since numbered among the saints, St. Isaac and St. Maruthas, and which was afterwards acknowledged as authoritative by Jacobites and Nestorians alike—put forth an exposition of faith containing the words, "We confess the living Holy Spirit, the living Paraclete, who is from the Father and the Son (ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ) in one Trinity." The Armenian version of the homilies of Severianus, bishop of Gabala, who died early in the 5th century, represents him as having taught indifferently that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and that He proceeds from the essence of the Father and of the Son (Aucher, pp. 15, 17). After the rise of Nestorianism, the latter view was naturally more prevalent among Jacobites than among Nestorians. In the Jacobite liturgies the Holy Spirit is repeatedly said not only to proceed from the Father but to "receive" or "receive substantially" from the Son. The Nestorian liturgies on the other hand refer in a pointed way to the procession from the Father, without alluding to the relation which the Spirit bears to the Son; *e.g.*, the liturgy of Theodore says, "We confess the Holy Ghost of the glorious essence of Thy Godhead, who proceeds forth from Thee, O Father, and with Thee and with Thine Only-begotten Son is praised, worshipped, and revered by all."[y]

In the West, the 5th century, besides producing the writings of St. Augustine, was fruitful in dogmatic treatises which bore more or less directly upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Two Western treatises deal exclusively with the subject—the *De Spiritus Sancti Potentia* of Nicetas of Aquileia, and a work of Paschasius, the Roman deacon, who died A.D. 512. From the African church about the same time proceeded twelve books *On the Trinity* by Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus, and more than one work on the same subject by Augustine's devoted

[x] Theodoret seems to have dreaded lest the language of St. Cyril might lead to the heresy of the Pneumatomachi; whilst St. Cyril, on the other hand, regarded it as a necessary safeguard against Nestorianism.

[y] On the whole question of the relation of the Oriental churches to this controversy, see Dr. Pusey *On the Clause*, &c. p. 150 sq.; Van der Moeren, *de Process. Sp. S.* pp. 132–142; and the remarks of Assemani and Renaudot

follower Fulgentius, bishop of the neighbouring see of Ruspe. Of these writers, Nicetas is content to teach in firm and vigorous language the Deity of the Holy Ghost; with regard to His procession he merely says, "Sufficit fidelibus scire quia Filius quidem genitus est, Spiritus autem de Patre procedens est; et ipsis utamur verbis quibus uti divina Scriptura nos voluit"; adding, "Cuius processio aut qualis aut quanta sit nulli conceditur scire" (Migne, Patr. Lat. lii. 856). But the bishop of remote and half-Eastern Aquileia stands alone in this reserve. Before the year 450 we find the first great preacher of the Roman church, St. Leo, teaching that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, not as though He were their creature, but as deriving His eternal existence from that which is the Father and the Son (sempiterne ex eo quod est Pater Filiusque subsistens); that our Lord's words, "He shall receive of Mine" imply that "the Son, of the Father's gift, gives to the Spirit that which the Spirit receives" (*Serm.* 65, 66; Migne, liv. 402-4). The Gallican and African churches—the former, in spite of the semi-Pelagianism which placed many of its teachers in antagonism to St. Augustine—held this view with even greater distinctness. Thus Gennadius of Marseilles, writing early in the second half of the 5th century, begins his manual 'On the Doctrine of the Church' with the words "Credimus unum esse Deum, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum; Patrem eo quod Filium habeat, Filium eo quod Patrem habeat, Spiritum Sanctum *eo quod sit ex Patre Filioque procedens.*" The Holy Spirit, he continues, is not begotten, for He is not Son; nor is He ingenerate, for He is not Father; nor made, for He is not from (*ex*) nothing, but He is God, proceeding from (*ex*) God the Father and God the Son. Another Gallican priest of this century, Julianus Pomerius, regards the doctrine of the *Filioque* as an elementary truth which should be taught to the laity; "as to the Holy Spirit, we ought to instruct them how He proceeds from the Father and the Son, and cannot be called either generate or ingenerate." Avitus, archbishop of Vienne (*ob.* 523) goes so far as to assert that this view of the procession was already included in the rule of the Catholic Faith (Migne, lix. 385-6). In North Africa, about the same time, Vigilius declares that it is the property of the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Son; whilst Fulgentius treats this view of the procession as imperative: "firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites eundem Spiritum Sanctum, qui Patris et Filii unus Spiritus est, de Patre et Filio procedere; de Filio quoque procedere Spiritum Sanctum prophetica atque apostolica nobis doctrina commendat."

One thing only was still wanting to secure for the Augustinian doctrine of the procession a lasting place in the traditions of the Western Church. It had not yet been incorporated into any generally accepted creed. To the Church of Spain it was reserved to gain for it this crowning honour. Two causes co-operated to render the Spanish clergy painfully alive to the importance of a fuller symbolical statement of the Catholic doctrine. Priscillianism disturbed the peace of the Church in Spain, from the end of the 4th century to the end of the 6th; and amongst its other errors Priscillianism revived the Sabellian view of the Trinity (Aug. *c. Priscill.* 4), and, as it seems, confounded the Persons of the Son and the Spirit (Oros. *Comm. ad Aug.* 2). Further, at the beginning of the 5th century, the invasion of the Visigoths brought in a deluge of the worst form of Arianism, including the Eunomian doctrine of the creation of the Spirit by the Son. These attacks upon the truth compelled the Spanish Church to formulate her faith in a series of confessions which abound in the most precise dogmatism upon the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The series opens with a "Rule of the Catholic Faith against all heresies, and especially against the Priscillianists." It is framed on the creed of Nicaea, with expansions necessary for meeting new heresies. "We believe"—the bishops of Spain and Portugal profess—"in One God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—one Trinity of Divine Essence. . . The Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, but proceeding *from the Father and the Son.* The Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Paraclete not begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son." This faith, although placed in the *Concilia* under the year 400, probably belongs to the synod or synods of 447, held on the recommendation of pope Leo, whose own letter to Turibius on the subject of this council incidentally asserts the procession of the Spirit "from Both" (Leo, *Ep.* 15; Migne, liv. 680). The profession put forth under this high sanction may have regulated the belief of the Spanish Church throughout the rest of the period of Arian ascendency; but it is not before the conversion of the Visigoths that the *Filioque* reappears in the records of the national synods. At Toledo, in 589, king Reccared and his subjects made their solemn submission to the Church, acknowledging the authority of the first four oecumenical councils and rehearsing the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople. In the second of its *capitula*, this Spanish council of 589 ordered that the creed should thenceforth be recited by the people at mass, just before the *Pater noster;* adding that the form then to be used must be that of the Eastern churches, namely, the one prescribed by the Council of Constantinople. The synod, therefore, without doubt imagined that the Latin creed which it rehearsed was a faithful representation of the Greek original.[1] Yet in this Toletan version, the article on the Holy Ghost runs as follows: "Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum, dominum et vivificatorem, ex Patre ET FILIO procedentem." How the words "et Filio" had found their way into the Latin must remain matter of conjecture; possibly they originated in a marginal gloss, itself suggested by the rule of 447. The insertion might easily have escaped notice in a creed so little known to the West as the Constantinopolitan was at this period. Henceforth, at any rate, the interpolated form excited no suspicion; and from its use in the Mozarabic rite, it became the heritage

[1] A canon of this council condemns the denial of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Son equally with the denial of His deity, as if both these doctrines alike were confessedly parts of the Catholic faith: "quicumque Spiritum Sanctum non credit aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere, eumque non dixerit coaeternum esse Patre et Filio et coaequalem, anathema sit."

of the laity no less than of the clergy; no Spanish priest could celebrate, no Spanish layman assist at the sacrifice without solemnly professing his faith in the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son (see *Dict. of Christian Antiq.*, art. CREED). Nor was it only in this incidental way that the doctrine was taught to the Spanish laity. Synod after synod, subsequent to 589, laid emphasis on the Western view of the procession of the Spirit, no doubt on account of the direct antagonism in which this dogma stood to the Arian blasphemy as to the creation of the Spirit by the Son. During the 7th century the subject was dealt with by five or perhaps six more Toletan councils, three of which affirmed the procession from the Son in words singularly near to those of the so-called Athanasian Creed.[y] The following table will shew the progress made in these successive confessions of the Spanish church:

COUNCIL.	DATE.	STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE WITH REGARD TO THE HOLY GHOST.
Toledo, iv.	633	"Nec creatum nec genitum, sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio."
Toledo, vi.	638	"Neque genitum neque creatum, sed de Patre Filioque procedentem utriusque esse Spiritum, ac per hoc substantialiter unum sunt quia et unus ab utroque procedat."
?	?	"Non ingenitum neque genitum, non creatum nec factum, sed Patris et Filii, semper in Patre et Filio, coaeternum."
Toledo, xi.	675	"Non genitum vel creatum, sed simul ab utroque procedentem . . . quia caritas sive sanctitas amborum agnoscitur."
Toledo, xiv.	688	"Voluntas procedens ex Mente et Verbo."
Toledo, xvi.	693	"Ex Patre Filioque absque aliquo initio procedentem, ex Patris Filiique unione."

In the East the fourth oecumenical council confirmed the teaching of the second council, citing, for the first time in the records of the Church, the words of the Constantinopolitan creed (Mansi, vii. p. 112; Conc. Chalc. act. v. Oct. 22-25, A.D. 451). The following clauses in the *Definitio* of Chalcedon are important: *διὰ μὲν τοὺς τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ μαχομένους τὴν χρόνοις ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως συνελθόντων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἁγίων πατέρων περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας παραδοθεῖσαν διδασκαλίαν κυροῖ [ἡ παροῦσα νῦν αὕτη σύνοδος]· ἣν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγνώρισαν οὐχ ὥς τι λεῖπον τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἐπάγοντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν κατὰ τῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ δεσποτείαν ἀθετεῖν πειρωμένων γραφικαῖς μαρτυρίαις τρανώσαντες.* Thus it was the Spirit's essential Godhead (*οὐσία, δεσποτεία*), on which the thoughts of the Fathers of Chalcedon were fixed; nor does it appear that the question of His procession was raised, although St. Leo's legates were present and subscribed. On the contrary, after reciting the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, the council asserts that this faith sufficed: *ἤρκει μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐντελῆ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπίγνωσίν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν τὸ σοφὸν καὶ σωτήριον τοῦτο τῆς θείας χάριτος σύμβολον· περὶ . . γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκδιδάσκει τὸ τέλειον.* In the writings of individual Eastern Church teachers who lived during the two centuries which followed the council of Chalcedon, the subject of the procession is occasionally discussed, with some latitude of opinion, but with no approach to a controversial spirit. Thus Gelasius of Cyzicus (circ. 470) expounds the orthodox doctrine much in the style of St. Cyril: "We all receive from the Son the Holy Spirit, who is of the same essence with the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father and the very own (*ἴδιον*) of the Son" (*Hist. Conc. Nicaen.* ii. 20–22). The poet Nonnus, on the other hand, lays stress upon the procession from the Father, even in his paraphrase of St. John xvi. 14 (Migne, xliii. 881). The Pseudo-Dionysius (whose works, first mentioned by a writer of the third decade of Cent. vi., probably belong to the latter part of Cent. v.) is also disposed to emphasise the *ἐκ πατρός*; in his mystical language, the Father is the *πηγαία* or *θεογόνος θεότης*, from which the Son and the Spirit are produced as offshoots and flowers, or as lights from the source of light (*De Divin. Nom.* ii. 5–7). In the 6th century we find the same diversity. Leontius of Byzantium knows no distinction between the Son and the Spirit but this, that while the Son derives His Being from the Father by generation, the Spirit is produced by procession; the Spirit is, like the Son, a *γέννημα τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ* (*De Sectis*, i., iv.; Migne, lxxxvi. 1196). Anastasius of Antioch teaches that the Holy Ghost has an eternal procession from the Father—the Spirit is *ἀεὶ ἐκπορευόμενον* as the Son is *ἀεὶ γεννώμενον*—adding, however, that the Spirit receives from the Son all that the Son has, that is, all things that are the Father's: *ἐξ αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦ θεοῦ*) *ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἀποστελλόμενον οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ . . . καὶ μὴν ὁ κύριος δεικνὺς αὐτὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχειν, ἐμφυσῶν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔλεγεν, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον.*[z]

[y] The *Quicunque* expresses the doctrine thus: "Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens."

[z] In the second half of this century a section of the Monophysites headed by John Philoponus held that in the Holy Trinity there are three *φύσεις* or *οὐσίαι μερικαί*, as well as one *φύσις* s. *οὐσία κοινή* (Leont. *de Sectis* v.). If the common nature of the Godhead had become incarnate in our Lord, the Holy Ghost, Philoponus argued, would have been made flesh, as well as the Son (Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv. 748). S. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of Marcion as the first upholder of tritheistic views (*ὁ πρῶτος τρεῖς θεοὺς εἰπών*). The error is repeatedly condemned in the Arian creeds of the 4th century; the orthodox were represented as virtually guilty of it. Cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 37, *εἰ θεὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ θεός, πῶς οὐχὶ τρεῖς θεοί;*

Meanwhile a fifth oecumenical council had been held at Constantinople in the year 533, at which Theodore of Mopsuestia's singular view as to the *ἐμφύσησις* of John xx. 22 (v. *supra*) was condemned. But the underlying difference between the Eastern and Western views of the procession again escaped notice, although at this time it seems to have been already recognised at Rome.[a] It was reserved for the next great Christological controversy to bring to light a century later the continually increasing divergence of opinion upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. It appears that pope Martin I. (649–654), in some document which found its way to the East, expressed his belief that the Holy Spirit "proceeds also from the Son," and that this statement was seized upon by the Monothelite party at Constantinople as a proof of the heterodoxy of their papal antagonist (cf. Migne, Patr. Gr. xci. 133 sq.; Patr. Lat. cxxix. 577; cf. *ib.* 560). St. Maximus, in a letter to the Cyprian priest Marinus, defends the language of the Westerns, among whom he had resided both in Africa and at Rome. He offers a double apology for his Latin friends. (1) They had explained that their *Filioque* was not meant to represent the Son as the *αἰτία* of the Spirit; that it was, in fact, virtually equivalent to *per Filium* (*ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊέναι δηλώσωσι, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσιν*). (2) The misunderstanding was due in great part to the difficulty which the Westerns encountered in explaining their ideas to the Greeks; it was owing to diversity of language as much as to divergence of belief. That the Spirit proceeds from the Son was true enough in one sense of the word, however false in another (cf. Anastasius Biblioth. *l. c.*, "scilicet et nos et Graecos edocet secundum quiddam procedere et secundum quiddam non procedere Spiritum Sanctum ex Filio").[b]

In the year 680–1 Monothelitism received its death-blow at the sixth oecumenical council. But the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Son did not come before this council; indeed, this question was perhaps purposely avoided by the Westerns out of regard for the peace of the church. Several preparatory synods had been held in the West; and it is remarkable that, with one exception, the confessions of faith which issued from them had abstained from asserting the *Filioque*.[c] The Milan synod declared its belief that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Person of the Eternal Father; the Lateran synod simply endorsed the Constantinopolitan creed, citing it in Latin, but without the interpolation.[d] The one local confession which contained the words "and from the Son" was not produced at Constantinople. It came from England, and was put forth by a synod held at Hatfield in September, 680, under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore. The English bishops ended their summary of the faith with the words, "glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio et Filium suum unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante saecula, et Spiritum Sanctum *procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter*" (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 17, 18). It can hardly be supposed that this remarkable assertion of the procession from the Son was due to the Greek archbishop; he accepted it, doubtless, from the lips of the assembled bishops. One of the Cotton MSS. (Brit. Mus. Cleopatra E. i.) contains a series of English episcopal professions, of which no fewer than five, belonging to the period 798–846, express the same view of the procession (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii.). It seems probable that England had received the doctrine of the *Filioque* at her conversion, and from Augustine himself, the emissary of a pope whose extant writings shew that he regarded it as part of the Catholic faith.

The beginning of the 8th century produced the last great theologian of the Eastern Church, St. John of Damascus. He enters with great care into the doctrine of the procession, and his language is a fair and well-balanced exposition of the teaching of the Eastern Church during her best and purest times. The following are the main lines of his teaching:— (1) The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father as the *αἰτία*, *ἀρχή*, or *πηγή*, of Godhead (*De Rect. Sent.* i.). (2) He is not from the Son in this sense, although He is the Spirit of the Son (*De Fide Orth.* i. 8). (3) Yet He proceeds through the Son, if not from Him (*δύναμις τοῦ πατρός, ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη*, *De F. O.* i. 12); the Father is the *διὰ λόγου προβολεύς* of the Holy Ghost (*ib.* 7).[e] (4) Further, the Spirit proceeding from the Father rests in the Son, and is the image of the Son as the Son is the image of the Father, and the agent by whom the Son impresses His own image on man (*ib.* 13). (5) In the life of God it is through the Son that the Spirit is united to the Father (*δι' υἱοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συναπτόμενον*). It will be seen that this view of the procession mediates between the views of St. Cyril and Theodoret, and represents, in fact, the mean of Greek church teaching upon the subject.[f]

Ten years after the death of St. John of Damascus the procession of the Holy Ghost became for the first time a subject of synodical debate. The controversy began in the West. At a Frankish synod held in the year 767 at Gentilly, near Paris, certain Easterns were present, envoys very possibly from the emperor Copronymus to the court of Pepin. The prin-

[a] The Roman deacon Rusticus about the middle of the 6th century wrote: "quidam vero antiquorum et hoc proprietatibus adjecerunt, quia sicut Spiritus cum Patre Filium sempiterne non genuit, sic nec procedit Spiritus a Filio sicut a Patre;" adding: "utrum a Filio eodem modo quo a Patre procedat, nondum perfecte satisfactum habeo." *Contra Acephalos* (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxvii. 1237).

[b] St. Maximus himself expressed the mystery in the conciliatory form: *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον* (Migne, Patr. Gr. xc. 672).

[c] See *e. g.* Migne, lxxvi. 534, 541, n. 93, and the profession of faith ascribed to Gregory (Pusey, *On the Clause, &c.*, p. 93).

[d] This is the more remarkable, because in the profession ascribed to Leo II., who was made pope in the year next after the 6th Council, the procession from the Son is distinctly maintained (Migne, cv. 57).

[e] The *eternal* procession is here in view; see Pusey, *On the Clause, &c.*, pp. 99, 100.

[f] The Old Catholic Conference of Bonn (1875) adopted the language of St. John of Damascus as the basis of its endeavour to mediate between the Eastern and Western views of the Procession. On the position of this latest of the Greek fathers, see Neander, *Ch. H.* vi. 294–5.

cipal matter of debate was the vexed question of image-cultus; but other points of difference cropped up in the course of the discussion: "quaestio ventilata inter Graecos et Romanos de Trinitate et utrum Spiritus Sanctus sicut procedit a Patre, ita procedit a Filio" (Ado, Vienn. *Chron.* a. dcclxvii.). Apparently nothing was said as to the interpolation of the creed; the fact of the interpolation may have been still unknown in Gaul.[g] Nor does the question of doctrine seem to have been as yet regarded as of vital importance. At the second Council of Nicaea, twenty years after the Council of Gentilly, no direct reference was made to the subject on either side. Two steps, however, were taken, which had an important bearing on the subsequent history of the controversy. (1) The Nicene council solemnly rehearsed the uninterpolated creed, declaring, "We subtract nothing, we add nothing, but keep all the doctrines of the Catholic Church without diminution." (2) Further, it accepted as orthodox the profession of the patriarch Tarasius, which contained the words, Πιστεύω . . . εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιοῦν, τὸ ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον. It might have seemed as if East and West having once sanctioned this formula, a platform had been found on which their union might have been permanently established. But events in the West prevented this hope from being realised.

Within a year after the Council of Gentilly Pepin had been succeeded by Charles the Great. Whether on theological or political grounds, or from mixed motives, Charles readily placed himself at the head of the Western divines in their crusade against the Nicene doctrine of the image-cultus. The question of the procession of the Holy Spirit again came to the front in the course of this controversy. The emperor, in his letter to pope Hadrian I., argued that the Nicene Council had compromised its orthodoxy by accepting the statement of Tarasius, who had represented the Holy Ghost as proceeding "non 'ex Patre et Filio,' *secundum Nicaenum Symbolum*, sed 'ex Patre per Filium'"—a proof, by the way, of the fact which we shall presently find confirmed from another quarter, that at the court of Charles the interpolated creed was already in use to the exclusion of the original form. Next, in or about the year 790, appeared the *Libri Carolini*, in which the emperor's protest was followed up by an elaborate argument against the *per Filium*, and a vigorous assertion of the binding force of the *Filioque*. Four years later (794) a great council, at which nearly every branch of the Western church was represented, assembled at Frankfort to condemn Adoptionism and the cultus of images; and occasion was taken to reassert in its profession of faith the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's Procession from the Son. At Friuli (*Forum Julii*), in 796, the bishops of the patriarchate of Aquileia, under their patriarch Paulinus, entered upon a formal vindication of the interpolated creed, which by this time, no doubt, had begun to draw forth serious remonstrances. Finally, in 809, the emperor summoned a council to meet at Aix for the express purpose of defending both the doctrine of the *Filioque* and the adoption of the words into the Latin creed. Of the proceedings of this council only the briefest records remain; but a series of documents have survived which sufficiently explain the occasion upon which it was assembled, and the results to which it led. It appears that an open collision between Easterns and Westerns upon the question of the interpolated creed had occurred at Bethlehem on the Christmas Day of 808.[h] A colony of Frank monks, settled on the Mount of Olives, had been charged by a Greek with heresy, and a violent attempt had been made to eject them from the Church of the Nativity, where they were keeping the festival. On inquiry it proved that, amongst other minor points of difference, they departed from the Greek rite by reciting the words "And the Son" in the creed. In self-defence the Latin monks appealed to the pope, now Leo III., stating that their use was derived from the emperor's own chapel, where they had formerly heard the creed sung in this form. Leo replied by sending to Jerusalem a profession of faith in which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Father and the Son was distinctly affirmed, but with no special emphasis, and without allusion to the existence of any controversy upon the subject. At the same time he forwarded to Charles the letter of the monks, simply referring it to the consideration of the emperor. It was in consequence of this affair that the council of Aix was summoned: with what general result it would not have been difficult to conjecture, even if our knowledge went no further. But two other documents remain, from which it appears (1) that Charles addressed to the pope, in the name of the council, a lengthy argument in support of the Western doctrine; and (2) that on the question of the interpolated creed, he sent a special mission to Rome to seek the papal sanction for its continued use. On this point, however, the pope proved to be resolute. He agreed with the German divines in characterising a wilful rejection of the doctrine as heretical; but he refused to admit the right of the Western church to add to the words of an oecumenical confession. The delegates of Charles pleaded that the excision of the *Filioque* might be dangerous to the faith of the simple and unlearned, who had long been accustomed to hear the fuller creed sung at mass; the pope replied by suggesting that the singing of the creed should be altogether abandoned until the interpolated words had dropped out of the recollection of the laity. Probably it was in consequence of this interview that Leo III. was led to set up over one of the most sacred spots in Rome (the *Confessio* of St. Peter) two silver shields, on which had been engraved Greek and Latin copies of the Constantinopolitan creed, both alike free from the Western addition (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxix. 635; cxxviii. 1238; cxcii. 552). The firmness of this pope seems to have preserved the Roman church for the next two centuries

[g] In the Sacramentaries used in France at this period the *Filioque* does not appear as part of the Latin creed. On the other hand, the *doctrine* seems to have already found place in the Gallican liturgy; see Mone, *Lat. u. Griech. Messen*, p. 19.

[h] The council was held in November 809; see Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 472.

from the liturgical use of the *Filioque*; it was not until the year 1014 that the Spanish and German custom prevailed, and the Latin creed, now doubtless in the interpolated form, was chanted at mass in the churches of the Holy City. Meanwhile, Charles and his successors appear to have disregarded papal remonstrance. Sixty years after the conference between Leo and the delegates of the emperor, the whole Gallican church, according to Aeneas of Paris, united every Lord's Day to sing, "Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son." Even in the lifetime of Charlemagne a controversial literature on this subject had made its appearance; the treatise of Theodulf and that which is ascribed to Alcuin belong to this reign. The plague of discord had begun, and before the close of the century which opened with the coronation of Charles the Great, East and West were already embroiled in a strife which has outlived a thousand years.

The following are among the modern books which bear upon the subject of this article: Petavius, *de Trin.* i. 14, ii. 6, 13–15, iii. 7, 8, vii., viii. 3–7; Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. viii.; Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.* ii. 763 sq., et pass.; *Symb. CPtolitanum*, c. 14; Leo Allatius, *de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. perp. consens.*; *Graecia orthodoxa*; *Vindiciae Syn. Ephes.*; *De Process. Sp. S. enchiridion*; Natalis Alexander, *saec.* iv. *dissert.* 35–37; *saec.* ix. *dissert.* 18; Le Quien, *dissert. Damasc.* i. (Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv.) G. J. Vossius, *de iii. Symbolis*; Walchius, *Hist. Controv. de Process. Sp. S.*; Pfaffius, *Hist. Succincta Controv. de Proc. Sp. S.* (1751); Procopowicz, *de Proc. Sp. S.* (1772); J. M. Neale, *History of the Eastern Church*, vol. ii. *dissert.* iii. (1850); W. Palmer, *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the Orthodox Communion*, x. (1853); Pitzipios, *l'Eglise orientale* (1855); Pichler, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient u. Occident* (1864); Van der Moeren, *de Proc. Sp. S.* (1864); Gaume, *Traité du S. Esprit* (1864); Hergenröther, *Photius* (1867); two essays by the writer of this article: *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1873); *On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession* (1876); Pusey, preface to English translation of *St. Cyril on St. John* (1875); *On the Clause "And the Son"* (1876); Sylvester, *Antwort auf die in dem Altkatholischen Schema enthaltene Bemerkung von dem H. Geiste* (1875); Rhossis, *ἔκθεσις πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλ. τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (1874, 1876); Committee of Lower House of Convocation on Inter-communion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, *Report* (1876); Langen, *die Trinitarische Lehrdifferenz* (1876), Franzelin, *Examen doctrinae M. Bulgakow et J. Langen* (1876); Hutchings, *The Person and Work of the Holy Ghost* (2nd ed., 1876); Hare, *Mission of the Comforter* (3rd ed.), 1876; J. Keble, *Proc. Sp. S.* (in *Studia Sacra*), 1877. A useful index to the Latin Church literature on the subject will be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. ccxxix. 487–494; the indices to Thilo's *Biblioth. Patr. Graec. Dogm.* may also be consulted with advantage. [H. B. S.]

HOMERITE CHURCH AND MARTYRS. [Elesbaan, Ethiopian Church, Josephus Dunaanus.]

HOMINICOLAE. 1. A term of reproach applied to the Catholics by the Apollinarists. (Facund. *pro Defens. Tr. Cap.* ix. 3, Migne, *Patrol.* lxvii. 750.)

2. Nestorius and followers were so called by the Catholics (Lib. *Diurn.* c. ii. 9, Migne, *Patrol.* cv. 48.) [T. W. D.]

HOMOBONUS (1), sub-deacon of the Roman church, by whom Pelagius I. sent relics to king Childebert in 556 (Pelag. ep. 9 olim 10 in *Patr. Lat.* lxix. 403 B). [C. H.]

HOMOBONUS (2), bishop of Albano. He was ordained bishop by Gregory the Great (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. 11 in Migne, lxxvii. 613). He was present at the synods of 595 concerning the service of the pope, the goods of the church, and other minor matters. Also at the synod of 601, regulating the affairs of abbats, and tending to free abbeys from episcopal control. (Mansi, ix. 1228; x. 488.) [A. H. D. A.]

HOMOLUNCH (Omulung, Omolingc), a Mercian abbat, whose name as witness is attached to three of the Evesham charters. (Kemble, *C. D.* 33, 56, 58.) Of these the first and third are regarded by Kemble as spurious. The first is undated; the other two are dated 706. [S.]

HOMONIUS. An Apollinarist bishop, a letter addressed to whom by Timotheus, another bishop of the same sect, is quoted by Leontius Byzantinus (*adv. Fraud. Apollinarist.*, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. pt. 2, 1959). [T. W. D.]

HOMOPHRONIUS, one of the chief members of the board of the hospital founded by St. Basil at Caesarea. During the troubles relating to Sacerdos, the governor of the hospital, after the death of Basil, Homophronius wrote to invite Gregory Nazianzen to some festal gathering in the institution. Gregory, in his reply, expresses his regret that the state of his health prevents his coming, and sends a message of encouragement and counsel to Sacerdos. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 237.) [E. V.]

HOMOUSIANI. A term of reproach applied by the Arians to the Catholics. (*Collat. Aug. c. Pascent.*; Augustin. *Op.* Migne, *Patrol.* xxxiii. 1157, 1161; Fulgent. *contr. Fastidios.* cap. 1, Migne, *u. s.* lxv. 509; *adv. Pintam.* ib. 709; Vict. Vitens. *de Persecut. Vandal.* iv. 2, Migne, *u. s.* lviii. 238.) [T. W. D.]

HOMOUSIOS, HOMOEUSIOS (*ὁμοούσιος, ὁμοιούσιος*). The formation of these words may be compared with that of *ὁμόβιος* and *ὁμοιόβιος*, *ὁμοειδής* and *ὁμοιειδής* or *ὁμοιοειδής*, *ὁμογνώμων*, and *ὁμοιογνώμων*. But *ὁμοούσιος* is to be distinguished from *ταὐτοούσιος* (see Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxv. § 7, tom. ii. p. 528, Migne), thus *ὁμοιούσιος* would connote *similarity* in essence: *ὁμοούσιος union* in essence: *ταὐτοούσιος identity* in essence. But much of the difficulty in the use and reception of the word *homousios* arose from the fact that the word *οὐσία* was itself used freely in the writings of controversialists, before there was a general assent as to its meaning: the difficulties arising from the uncertain usages of *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* in the earlier times are well known.

I. The word *ὁμοούσιος* occurs four times in

Irenaeus, all in book i. chap. v. (§§ 1, 5, 6). For its application to our Lord, Bishop Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 1, 2), and, after him, Dr. Newman (*Arians*, part i. chap. ii. § 4) have referred to the author of the *Poemander* (*i.e.* to the so-called Hermes Trismegistus) as using it in most ancient times, "in the beginning of the 2nd century" ὁμοούσιος γὰρ ἦν. The book is now deemed to be of the 4th century. Pamphilus the martyr is quoted as maintaining that Origen expressly said that the Son is homousios with the Father, but the words are not found in any extant writing. Tertullian (in a passage wherein his language can scarcely be upheld) states, "Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus et prolatione generatum et idcirco filium Dei et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiae" (*Apol.* xxi.). So *Against Praxeas*, cap. ii. "Tres sunt, non statu sed gradu: nec substantia sed forma: nec potestate sed specie. Unius autem substantiae et unius status et unius potestatis quia unus Deus."

It would seem that in the time of Paul of Samosata (bishop of Antioch, A.D. 260, deposed 269) the term ὁμοούσιος had been generally applied by the orthodox to the Son of God. The opinions of Paul are clouded with the haze with which he succeeded in surrounding them; two synods in succession failed in eliciting from his writings such formulae as he would acknowledge to represent his teaching, and a skilful logician was required to argue with him and drive him into a corner. Bishop Hefele's account (book i. ch. ii. § 9) is that Paul drew near to the Sabellians on one side, and to Artemon on the other. He held the unicity or solitariness of God, so that before the Advent the Logos was the Reason or Wisdom of God, but not a personal Being. He held that this Logos or Reason came to dwell in the man Jesus, the son of Mary, not absolutely or essentially, but qualitatively, and admitting of degrees more or less. Thus, though he acknowledged that Jesus was (as the New Testament distinctly states) the Son of God, yet he denied that personally, as Son of God, He came down from heaven. He supported his opinion by the usage of the word ὁμοούσιος as applied to the relations of our Lord to the Father, thus shewing that the word was then accepted as a Theological and Christological term. It is acknowledged that Paul's opponents could not argue with him, and in fact his reasoning is difficult to follow. Athanasius (*de Synodis*, 45; Migne, tom. xxvi. p. 772) states that Paul had argued that if the Christ had not become God from being man, He could not be homoousios with the Father, and so of necessity there must be three usiae—one presupposed, and the other two proceeding from it.[a] On this account it was, in all probability (says Athanasius), that the fathers of Antioch rejected the word, and said that the Christ is not homousios; for the Son is not so related to the Father as Paul conceived. So it would seem that, while Paul denied the previous existence of the Son of God as such, he held that after the Resurrection Christ became God, absorbed, it would seem, in the Deity; and he built this last tenet on the reception of the word homousios. The synod of Antioch, against the former part of Paul's teaching (that the Logos before the Incarnation was not a Personal Being), distinctly asserted that Christ was before He appeared in human flesh. "If Christ is, as He is, the power of God and the wisdom of God, He is before all ages; thus, and as Christ, He is one and the same thing in essence"; *i.e.* (as we understand it) He is ever essentially the same. They treated in another way the argument which Paul built up on the usage of the word homousios; they cut the ground beneath it, and rejected the word. Great efforts have been made to invalidate the witness to the rejection of the word at Antioch, but Athanasius, without affirming it, argues on the hypothesis that it may have taken place, and Hilary, about 354, speaks of it as a fact. "Male homousion Samosatenus confessus est; sed numquid melius Arii negaverunt? Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt, sed trecenti et decem octo nuper receperunt." (*De Synodis*, § 86; Migne, x. 538.) If the bishops at Antioch rejected the word, they were following up the lead of Dionysius of Alexandria, who had been accused to his namesake at Rome of avoiding it. In his treatise *De Sententiâ Dionysii* (Migne, Greek Series, xxix. 479, &c.) Athanasius again and again insists that it was in his controversy with Sabellius that his predecessor in the patriarchate had at least ignored it, but that he ever upheld the great truth to the support of which Athanasius's life was devoted—namely, the true and perfect Deity of the Son of God. The word was rejected when one meaning was assigned to οὐσία; it was recalled when language became more defined. And he quotes the letter of Dionysius, in which he complains that words which he had employed against the Sabellians to shew that the Son of God was not identical with the Father, were used by his calumniators as if he had taught that the Son was essentially different from the Father, was not homousios with the Father, and he adds that these calumniators closed their eyes to the arguments and illustrations that he had used; "They seemed to be ignorant of the fact that when we deal with words that require some training to understand them, different people may take them in senses not only differing but absolutely opposed to each other." (See his letter in Athanasius's treatise, *ut supra*, § 18, p. 508.) Thus it seems again that although the word was used in the 3rd century of the essential relations between God the Father and our Blessed Lord, the special sense in which it was to be understood was vague and undetermined. Some took οὐσία in a materialistic sense; they were unable to form any conception of spiritual, immaterial existence; and in an interesting parenthesis in his work, *de Decretis*, § 10, Athanasius connects Paul of Samosata with the Sadducees, as if Paul could not conceive that the orthodox held that the Word was Son of God in any other sense except ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, whereas God is ἄϋλος καὶ ἀσώματος. (Ἀνούσιος, in an interesting passage of Irenaeus, I. xv. 5, seems to be almost equivalent to *unsubstantial* in our vulgar language, and Neander complains of the materialistic notions of the divine essence exhibited by Tertullian; for an example see a passage quoted above.) Others had not learned to distinguish between substance and subsistence.

[a] This he describes (*de Synodis*, § 51, Migne, xxvi. 784) as the meaning the "Greeks" would assign to it.

Only a few had anticipated the meaning which we now universally attach to it: "essence or substance." [b] And the ambiguity undoubtedly caused much of the questioning of the 4th century; the difficulties of the derivation being put forward possibly by some in a factious spirit as furnishing objections to the use. Thus Hilary of Poictiers, in his work *de Synodis* (§§ 67, 68, 69; Migne, x. 525), mentions four modes in which the words "of one substance" were understood, and of these modes three were erroneous. And Athanasius repudiates the meaning which the "Greeks" would give to the word (see above) by saying "this is not the meaning of the bishops of Nicaea."

Let us look, then, for Athanasius's own meaning. He describes, with what we might call considerable naïveté (*de Decretis, N. S.* §§ 19, &c.; Migne, xxv. 456, the letter was written between 350 and 354), the way in which the Eusebians were watched at the council, until expressions could be introduced into the creed with which it was hoped they would not agree. Thus the bishops proposed "that they should describe the Word of God as the very power and image of the Father, resembling Him, and in no respect deviating from Him (ἀπαράλλακτον κατὰ πάντα τῷ πατρί), unchanged, and ever and always in Him without separation, for never was He not, but the Word was always, subsisting eternally with the Father, as the brightness of light." But when they found that Eusebius's party would accept these terms and explain them away, then the bishops were compelled to concentrate the meaning they drew from the Scriptures, and to write that the "Son is homousios with the Father, in order that they might signify not only that the Son resembles Him, but is the same in His resemblance, and that the resemblance is different from that which is called imitation in us." Moreover, the word provided against another difficulty. "Resemblance among men is compatible with, or rather necessitates, a bodily severance; but, the nature of the Father and the Son being different from ours, the Word of God not only resembles (ὅμοιος throughout) the Father, but is inseparable from the essence (οὐσίας) of the Father; and He and the Father are one; and the Word is always in the Father and the Father in the Word; and therefore the synod selected the term *homousios*," consubstantial, of one substance.

This, then, is the meaning which, in his struggle at Nicaea, Athanasius attached to the word, and for which he desired to press the word upon the church. But it is interesting to note how before his death even he was compelled to give up one part of this meaning, or, at all events, to modify the conception that one great advantage of the word was that it connoted that the nature of the Father and the Son was so far different from ours, that whilst resemblance with us necessitates a bodily severance, it is not so with Them. True that in the passage where he speaks of the Son being homousios with us (*de Sententiâ Dionysii*, § 10, p. 493), it is in connexion with our Lord's saying, "I am the vine and ye are the branches: and the vine and the branches are homousia, and unseparated;" but the word as applied to men was soon deprived of this last condition. In his work, *de Synodis* (§ 51, p. 784), he applies the term to any two brothers, and says that one or both of them would be homousii with their father.

It certainly seems clear, therefore, that in his later days Athanasius felt compelled to resign one condition as attached to the word on which in his earlier years he had insisted, and was content to maintain that the great point urged by the council of Nicaea was the true Deity of the Son of God, His true eternity.[c] Thus he became willing to receive as friends those who were unwilling to accept the word, "if they would acknowledge that the Son of God is one with the Father, and appears as is the Father, in resemblance and the one Deity;" only he adds, They who acknowledge this ought not to shrink from the use of the Nicene watchword. And certainly those who could apply it to the relations between man and man ought not to shrink from using it of the relations between the Father and the Word.

The remarks which we have made explain the difficulties mentioned by Eusebius of Caesaraea in his description of the mode in which the word was introduced at Nicaea. He felt compelled to write to his flock a kind of apology for his assenting to the rejection of their creed and to the introduction of this test word. It is clear that his people were acquainted with the word, and objected to it. It is not unlikely that their contiguity to Antioch had made them familiar with the treatment of the term at the council of 269. In fact, Eusebius had himself attended the schools of Antioch. Thus it is not unlikely that both he and they had been accustomed to attach a materialistic sense to the word οὐσία. At all events, their bishop made a point of explaining to them that the most religious emperor had pressed the recalcitrant bishops to accept the word, on the ground that it was not in the proposed creed "to be understood in a corporeal or material sense, or as if there were any severance or separation between the Father and the Son;[d] for their nature, which is immaterial and incorporeal, cannot admit of this."

II. It seems somewhat difficult to assign the precise date when the word homoeusios, ὁμοιούσιος, was proposed to supplant the homousios of the Nicene Creed. But we have the great advantage of possessing not (as usual) an adversary's account of the arguments by which the introduction of the title was upheld, but the very letter of the synod of Ancyra (held in the year 358), which contains the address of Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius and others (twelve in all) by

[b] "Quia frequens nobis nuncupatio essentiae ac substantiae necessaria est, cognoscendum est quid significet essentia, ne de rebus locuturi rem verborum nesciamus. Essentia est res quae est vel [res eorum] ex quibus est, et quae in eo quod maneat subsistit. Dici autem essentia et natura et genus et substantia uniuscujuscunque rei poterit." (Hilary, *de Synodis*, § 12, p. 466.)

[c] So Bishop Bull (*Defens. Fid. Nicaen.* c. ii.) adduces passages which prove their writers' belief in the true Deity of our Lord, as evidence in favour of the Homousios. But in the Nicene Creed itself the phrases *very God* and *of one substance with the Father* connote distinct truths. The council intended that *the Unity of the Godhead* should be implied in the latter term.

[d] Which it clearly implies when it is used of men

which they commended their faith to the Christian world. It is preserved in the work of Epiphanius against heresies (No. lxxiii.), and is followed by a letter of the same Basil, and George the bishop of Alexandria, on the same subject. They stood upon the distinction between the divine and human natures of our Lord, and the analogy of each to the nature of God and man. To the former they applied the words "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son *likewise*"—ὁμοίως ποιεῖ. (John v. 19.) With reference to the latter they quoted the language of St. Paul (Rom. viii. 3), "God sent His Son in the *likeness* of sinful flesh," ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, and Phil. ii. 7, "He was made in the *likeness* of men." They appealed to the resemblances between heavenly and earthly relations, as exhibited in the beautiful passage "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ from whom every fatherhood takes its name;" and said that the very expression "*image* of the invisible God," shewed that there must be a *likeness*, and with the statement of the *likeness* they wished to be content. They saw that their language that the Son was *like* to the Father κατ' οὐσίαν escaped the difficulties which had been raised against the ὁμοούσιος, and they put forth a series of canons, the last of which contained the words, "if any one say that the Son is ὁμοούσιος or ταὐτοούσιος with the Father, let him be anathema."

If these bishops hoped in any way to make a successful compromise between the Arians and the orthodox they were miserably disappointed. The Arian synod of Sirmium A.D. 357 (Hilary, *de Synodis*, § 11), and the synod of Seleucia, A.D. 359 (Athanasius, *de Synodis*, § 29; Epiphanius, *ut supra*, § 25), rejected both terms, even whilst the latter anathematised the "Anomoeon," the "dissimilar." The word οὐσία was the word which they would not accept, and for this word Basil of Ancyra and George of Alexandria struggled. It was about this time that Hilary's work on the synods of the East was written, and so far as it was known it must have had a pacific effect. He would himself have preferred the term homoeusios; indeed he objected to the use of homousios, or rather of the words *una substantia* unless it was always preceded by some explanation, "potest una substantia pie dici et pie taceri." "Perfectae aequalitatis significantiam habet similitudo." But notwithstanding this he never heard the Nicene faith without exultation: "explain the Nicene word carefully, and objections to it fall to the ground."

And the result he hoped for followed. The Homoeusians of the East, repelled by the Arians, soothed by the Catholics, gradually became absorbed by the latter. Dr. Hort (*Dissertations*, p. 96) considers that it was a few years later, *i.e.* between 362 and 364, that St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in whose earlier creed neither term appeared, accepted the homousios, and it would seem that at the time of the Council of Constantinople, the division on the subject was over. It is true that the *Semi-Arians* are mentioned in the first canon, but it seems that they were then considered to be the same as the *Pneumatomachi*, and the old Latin translation replaces the designation by *Macedonii*. The perfect Deity of the Son of God was no longer spoken against by them. The name semi-Arian had been passed on to those who questioned the perfect Deity of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps the illustrations used by Epiphanius combined to produce this result. He said (*ut sup.* pp. 469–72) that gold and copper, silver and tin, iron and lead were of *similar substance* or essence. So the application of the word homoeusios to our Lord implied that He was *outside* the essence of the Father.

III. But the arguments and illustrations of the Homoeusians had a further consequence. The comparison between our Lord and the Father in His divinity, and between our Lord and us in His humanity assisted in enforcing the application to Him of the term "homousios" in His relation to man as well as in His relation to God. They had insisted that He was of like essence; the next generation accepted the term that He is of the same essence. Thus the synod of Antioch in 433, whilst it maintained that the "Son of God was perfect God and perfect Man," held too that "He was homousios with the Father in regard to His Deity and homousios with us in regard to His Humanity." The same was repeated at a synod of Constantinople in 448, "homousios with His mother" replacing the equivalent phrase. The later form was adopted by Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, in his letter to the emperor Theodosius in 449, and by the ecumenical council of Chalcedon in 451.

IV. It remains only that we notice the modes in which the word has been represented in other languages. We find "unius substantiae, quod Graeci dicunt homousios," in the version of the Nicene creed given by Hilary; "unius substantiae vel essentiae, significans filium non ex nullis extantibus nec ex alia substantia, sed de patre natum esse," in the belief of the church of Carthage in 484 (Mansi, vii. 1143; Hahn, 141). The synod of Braga, 563, had "unius substantiae et virtutis et potestatis" (Mansi, ix. 774; Hahn, 155), and the words "unius substantiae" were adopted at Toledo in 589, 633, 675. In 683 the bishops assembled at the last named place preferred "unius essentiae." A synod at the Lateran, under Martin I., A.D. 649, adopted "consubstantialis"; one at Milan, 680, "coessentialis et consubstantialis;" one at Rome in the same year, "consubstantialem Patri, id est ejusdem cum Patre substantiae." They translated the formula of Chalcedon, "consubstantialem eundem Deo Patri secundum deitatem, consubstantialemque nobis secundum humanitatem." In the Western form of the creed of Constantinople, "consubstantialem" is the term now adopted. Our own article on the Trinity has preferred the words "ejusdem essentiae," the English of which, however, is the same as that which we find in the Creed, "of one substance." In Article II. we have "patri consubstantialis," which is translated in the same manner. In Article V., of the Holy Spirit, the Latin is again different, "ejusdem essentiae;" translated in 1563, "of one essence," in 1571, "of one substance." [C. A. S.]

HOMUNCIONATES. The Catholics were so called by the Arians. (Arnob. Jun. *c. Serap. Confl.* i. 2; Migne, Patrol. liii. 241.) [T. W. D.]

HOMUNCIONISTAE. A designation applied by Augustine to Arians generally, as well as to the Photinians. (*Fragm. Serm. d. v.* "*Noli me tangere*," *Op.* ed. Par. 1614, x. 628.) [T. W. D.]

HOMUNCIONITAE. A designation applied by the Catholics to the Photinians (Mar. Mercat. *Diss. ad Contradict.* xii. *Anathem. Nestor.* § 20; Migne, Patrol. xlviii. 929) and by Prudentius to the Humanitarians generally (*Apoth. contr. Homuncionit.* in Migne, Patrol. lx. 961). Also a heretical sect noticed by Praedestinatus. They held that Gen. i. 26, 27, referred to the human body (*De Haer.* lxxvi., Oehler, *Corp. Haer.* i. 261). Philastrius has a long account of this heresy, to which, however, he assigns no name (*De Haer.* xcvii.; Oehler, *u. s.* 93). Augustine also mentions it, but also without assigning any name to it (*De Haer.* lxxvi. *u. s.* 218). Both Praedestinatus and Augustine ascribe similar opinions to the Vadiani, who are the Αὐδιανοί of Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxx. (*u. s.* 212, 252). [HOMUNCIONISTAE.] [T. W. D.]

HONASTERIUS, bishop of Eliberi, belongs possibly to the first half of the 4th century. His name is eleventh in the list of bishops of this see, taken by Florez from the *Cod. Aemiliensis.* (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 103.) [CAECILIUS.] [M. A. W.]

HONEMUNDUS, bishop of Salamanca. [HOLEMUNDUS.]

HONESIMUS (Usuard. *Mart.* Feb. 16), disciple of St. Paul. [ONESIMUS.] [C. H.]

HONESTUS (1), presbyter, apostle of Pampeluna. His story is told in the *Acta* of his disciple Firminus, the first bishop of Amiens. In the reign of Decius, bishop Saturninus on his way from Rome to Toulouse, passing through Nismes, found there Honestus, a well-educated young man, instructed him in the faith, took him to Toulouse, subsequently ordained him presbyter and sent him to preach at Pampeluna. One of Honestus's first converts there was the senator Firmus, who placed his son Firminus order his care. Honestus trained Firminus for the ministry, and procured him ordination from Honoratus bishop of Toulouse. He is thought to have died about A.D. 270, and to have suffered martyrdom. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 15 Feb. ii. 860.) In the *Auctaria* of Usuard he is mentioned under Feb. 16. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 341) claims Honestus as a luminary of the primitive church of the Scots, and says that he wrote *Institutio Cleri* and *ad Galliae Episcopos* (Tanner, *Bibl.* 410). [C. H.]

HONESTUS (2), bishop of Jesi (Aesium). He signed the second epistle of pope Agatho in 680. (Mansi, xi. 302; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONOBERHTUS, archbishop of Cologne. [CHUNIBERTUS.]

HONOBERTUS (ANNOBERTUS), twenty-second bishop of Sens, succeeding Hildegarius, and followed by Armentarius, subscribed the deed of grant of the deacon Blidegisilus for the construction of the monastery of Fossés St. Maur, near Charenton, in A.D. 640 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1157–9). Under the name of Annobertus, he also appears in the spurious life of St. Babolenus, as one of the bishops present when Clovis II. granted the royal demesne of Brictonicum, on the Marne, to Blidegisilus for his foundation. (*Vita S. Baboleni*, Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.* i. 661; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 5; Gams, *Series Episc.* 629.) [S. A. B.]

HONORATA, virgin, a younger sister of Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, mentioned by Ennodius in his life of that saint (see Patr. Lat. lxiii. 218, 222). She is described as worthy of her brother, and not inferior to him in piety. Epiphanius, in the year of his embassy to the emperor Anthemius, committed her to the care of Luminosa, a woman of rare piety, with whom she was still living when Odoacer sacked Pavia in 476. Honorata, with other women, fell into the hands of the enemy, but Epiphanius procured her release on the day of her capture. Ferrarius, in his account of Honorata (see Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Jan. i. 680), says she had three sisters, Luminosa, Speciosa, Liberata, all older than herself. [C. H.]

HONORATUS (1), African bishop, Syn. 2 Carth. sub Cyp. A.D. 252 (Cyp. *Ep.* 57); in Syn. 4, A.D. 254 (Cyp. *Ep.* 67); and in Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. (*de Bapt.* i.) A.D. 255 (*Ep.* 70). The last two are certainly the same person, the first doubtful. [E. W. B.]

HONORATUS (2), Numidian bishop, addressed in Cyp. *Ep.* 62; in A.D. 252 (see JANUARIUS I.), and in Cyp. *Ep.* 70 from Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt. Haer.* i. He appears in syn. 7 sub Cyp. Carth. *de Bap.* iii., as seventy-seventh in order of speaking, and bishop of Tucca in Numidia. Morcelli has transposed him into the bishop of Tucca in Proconsular province Suff. 52. [E. W. B.]

HONORATUS (3), second bishop of Toulouse about 270. He consecrated St. Firminus first bishop of Amiens. Commemorated Dec. 25 (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 4). [R. T. S.]

HONORATUS (4), probably the name of the Donatist bishop of Scilibа, Sicilibba, Sicilibra, Sicilippa, or Silibbia, a town of proconsular Africa, about thirty miles south-west of Carthage (Halouch Alouina) Ant. (*Itin.* 45, 4), who suffered in the persecution carried on by Leontius and Ursacius c. A.D. 317. But the form of expression throws a little doubt upon the name "Honoratum episcopi Scilibensis jugulum Tribuni gladius . . . compunxit" (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 223, ed. Oberthür; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 279). [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (5), a bishop of Mauritania Sitifensis, at the council of Hippo in 393 (Mansi, iii. 926 c, 925–930; Hefele, ii. 401). [C. H.]

HONORATUS (6), bishop of Vercellae, coming next to Limenius, but after a long interregnum in consequence of civil discords. He followed closely in the steps of his earlier predecessor Eusebius, and especially in his zeal for orthodoxy. Paulinus bishop of Nola was his intimate friend, as was also St. Ambrose, at whose dying hours he was present, giving him the sacrament, A.D. 397 (Paulin. *Vit. Ambros.* § 47 in Patr. Lat. xiv. 43). Honoratus was succeeded by Duscelius or Coelius. He was buried in the church of St. Eusebius, where a Latin metrical inscription (which may be seen in Ughelli and Cappelletti) was placed over his tomb. He was commemorated on the day of his

death, Oct. 29. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 761; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 363, 426.) [C. H.]

HONORATUS (7), a Donatist bishop, who sent a message to St. Augustine proposing to discuss with him by letter the disputed points in the Donatist controversy. [HEROTES.] This was at some time between A.D. 396 and 410. Augustine professed himself willing to accept this challenge, and as a preliminary step mentioned some points to which satisfactory answers ought in the first place to be given. That the church is universal, as is shewn by the titles of St. Paul's epistles and by that of St. John's address to the seven churches of Asia Minor (Rev. i. 11). It was never intended to be limited to Africa alone: why should the promise of Christ be contracted? The Donatists try to fasten on the Catholic church the name of Macarius, but no mention is made in the Gospel either of him or of Donatus. [MACARIUS.] It is incumbent on the Donatists to shew first the ground of their limitation; but as to the Catholics, they are content to refer to Scripture prophecies. He expresses his desire to carry on the discussion, but no trace is extant of any further correspondence on the subject. (Aug. *Ep.* 49.) [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (8), the name of six African bishops, Catholic and Donatist, present at the Carthaginian conference of 411 (*Gest. Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. in Patr. Lat. xi. 1257 sq.), namely of—

Abidda, or Avitta, a town of Proconsular Africa, about fifty miles south-west of Carthage, and twelve south-east from the river Bagradas (Ptol. iv. 3, 20; *Gest.* num. 126; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 62).

Adquesira, in Mauritania Caesariensis, Donatist. He was perhaps the bishop who accounted for the absence of any Donatist congregation at Quidia or Quizica in the same province by saying that the last bishop had perished under persecution (num. 143, 188; *Af. Ch.* i. 67).

Jomnium, a sea-port town of Mauritania Caesariensis, about eighteen miles east of Rusucaunis (Mers el Fehem) (Ant. *Itin.* 17, 1); Donatist (num. 208; *Af. Ch.* i. 190).

Lares, or Alaribus, a town of Proconsular Africa, about twenty-eight miles south-west from Mustis (Sidi Bou Agez) (Ant. *Itin.* 26, 3; Procop. *Bell. Vand.* ii. 22), Donatist, Victorius being the Catholic occupant of the see (num. 131; *Af. Ch.* i. 199).

Mathara, in Numidia (num. 120; *Af. Ch.* i. 217).

Tysdrus, Dydrus, or Turdus [HELPIDIUS (1)], Donatist, the Catholic bishop being Navigius (num. 121, 206; *Af. Ch.* i. 337). [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (9), a bishop present at the council of Milevis, against Pelagianism, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (10), bishop of Arles, sprung from a noble family in Belgic Gaul, on the borders of the modern provinces of Champagne and Lorraine. Virtuous from his youth, he renounced after his baptism all worldly delights; and having by his example converted his cousin Venantius, set out with him and an aged Christian, Caprasius, to visit sacred sites. Both Venantius and Honoratus, in setting out on this pilgrimage, distributed all their property to the poor. Venantius died in Greece, and Honoratus was divinely warned to repair to the island of Lerins, to which he afterwards gave his name. It was then desolate, and the abode of wild animals. Abiding in this solitude, Honoratus was presently ordained against his will, probably by his friend Leontius, bishop of Frejus. He set himself to establish a monastery on the isle, and disciples flocked to him from all quarters, among the first of whom was Hilary, afterwards of Arles, whom he prevailed on by prayers and tears to renounce the world. The fame of his piety caused him to be chosen bishop of Arles, where, however, he lived but two years, dying on Jan. 14 or 15, 429, somewhat suddenly, since he had preached to the people on the Epiphany. Hilary, his successor both as abbat and as bishop, attended his deathbed, and received his last words, glowing with the love of Christ. The faith of the people, we are told, caused them to clothe the remains with splendour, but greater faith caused them presently to strip it nearly naked, each contending for some rag of the dress. He was commemorated on Jan. 16. (Hilarii *Sermo de Vit. S. Honorat.* in Pat. Lat. l. 1249, sq.; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xxiv. 56, 57; *Gall. Ch.* i. 527; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 16; ii. 17; Ceillier, *Aut. Ecc.* viii. 440.) [R. T. S.]

HONORATUS (11), bishop of Thiabe, in Numidia, c. A.D. 428. Possidius, who calls him "vir sanctus," states that he consulted Augustine at the time of the Vandal invasion respecting the duty of bishops and clergy to retire before the danger. Augustine in reply sent him a letter he had written to Quodvultdeus (given at length by Possidius, *ut inf.*). Honoratus was not satisfied by Augustine's reasoning, and quoted our Lord's direction to flee to another city. Augustine then addressed him expressly on the subject in ep. 228. (Possid. *Vit. August.* cap. 30; cf. also *Vit. Aug. ex Scriptis*, lib. viii., cap. 8, § 7; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 314.) [R. S. G.]

HONORATUS, bishop of Cirta or Constantia. [ANTONINUS.]

HONORATUS (12), a Gallic bishop joining in a synodic epistle of Ravennius bishop of Arles to Leo the Great cir. Dec. 451, and addressed by him in reply. (Leo Mag. epp. 99, 102, in Patr. Lat. liv. 966, 970, 985.) He is identified by the Sammarthani as the first bishop of Toulon (*Gall. Chr.* i. 741). [R. T. S.]

HONORATUS (13), bishop of Thassus (Thasos), the island in the Aegean, lying off the Macedonian coast, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 161; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 87.) [L. D.]

HONORATUS (14), ST., bishop of Marseilles towards the close of the 5th century (A.D. 483–494).

Name.—The name is so common in the 4th and 5th centuries as to render it occasionally difficult to avoid confusion. Its history seems easily traceable. It is, in the first place, simply a participial adjective employed as an epithet denoting respect on moral grounds, in which

sense it is frequently employed by Cicero. It then becomes (as in one usage of *honourable* in England and her colonies and in America) a mark of certain offices; and thus Ovid applies it to a praetor and a consul. In the Theodosian code it has virtually become a substantive denoting the holders of such offices. The final transition to its adoption as a proper name is a slight and obvious one.

Authorities.—(1) Gennadius, *Virorum Illustrium Catalogus* (cap. 99). [GENNADIUS.] (2) Allusions to himself in the biography of St. Hilary. [HILARIUS (17).] Among modern authorities, Ceillier (viii. 434) has interwoven some notice of him into his account of Hilary of Arles, and Rivet, in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 644 et seqq.

Life.—Honoratus was for many years a disciple of Hilary of Arles. He is commended for his piety and eloquence, and knowledge of Holy Scripture, by Gennadius, who says of him, "Os suum quasi armarium scripturarum aperit." He also attracted the favourable notice of pope Gelasius. [GELASIUS (1).] He may have been trained in that famous school of Lerins of which the earlier Honoratus of Arles [HONORATUS (10)] is regarded as the founder. Of the details of his career we are ignorant, and even the date of his election is disputed, being placed by Tillemont as early as 475. That Gelasius, after his election to the Roman see, noticed Honoratus, is a proof that his episcopate must have lasted beyond A.D. 492. He evidently left a most favourable impression of himself in the minds of his flock at Marseilles.

Writings.—*Vita S. Hilarii Episcopi Arelatensis*—On the controversy between Hilary and Leo the Great. Honoratus does not write as a partisan, but, conscious of the excellencies of the two opponents, is guarded and even reticent. The biography, as a whole, leaves on the mind a very favourable impression of its author as well as of its subject. It also renders very intelligible the report that Honoratus, whenever any business took him outside his diocese, was much in request for sermons at the hands of his brother prelates.

Honoratus also composed some other biographies of a like character. But all are lost. [J. G. C.]

HONORATUS (15), the name of eight African bishops banished by Hunneric A.D. 484, from the list of Victor Vitensis (*Notitia*, pp. 56–60, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 269 sq.), viz. the bishops of—

Castellum in Numidia. (Morcelli, *Af. Christ.* i. 127.)

Fata in Numidia. (*Af. Ch.* i. 156.)

Macriana in Byzacene. He died in exile. (*Af. Ch.* i. 208.)

Tagara in Proconsular Africa. (*Af. Ch.* i. 298.)

Tagaria in Byzacene. (*Af. Ch.* i. 298.)

Tamascania in Mauritania Sitifensis, died in exile. (*Af. Ch.* i. 304.)

Timica. (*Af. Ch.* i. 325.)

Tizia. (*Af. Ch.* i. 329.) [R. S. G.]

HONORATUS (16), bishop of Novara, cir. 490, between Victor and Pacatianus, contemporary with Ennodius bishop of Pavia, who composed for him an address to be delivered at the dedication of a basilica of the apostles erected on the site of a pagan temple (Ennod. dict. ii. in Patr. Lat. lxiii. 267). Ennodius likewise praises him in his poems, and makes special allusion to a strong castle which he had built. (*Carm.* lib. ii. epig. 11, 110, in Patr. Lat. lxiii. 337, 355; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* iv. 692; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiv. 433, 435, 443, 526.) [C. H.]

HONORATUS (17), ST., eighth in the list of the bishops of Amiens, succeeding Beatus and followed by St. Salvius, according to the *Gallia Christiana*. A short life of him by one of the clergy of Amiens survives, the date of which is fixed by internal evidence at about the close of the 11th century (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. 684). It presents considerable chronological difficulties. According to this story, in the year 600, in the time of pope Pelagius (he had died in 590) the emperor Maurice sent great treasure to Childebert, king of the Franks, to gain his assistance in the defence of the empire. At this time Honoratus, the successor of Firminus (who lived in the 4th century), was bishop of Amiens, and by his good works and austerities gained the favour of God, as was proved by the discovery through a vision of a priest named Lupicinus, during his episcopate, of the bodies of the holy martyrs, Fuscianus, Victoricus and Gentianus, which had been hidden more than 300 years. They were translated with the sanction of Childebert, whose consent was gained through a miracle, and the property of Megium was given by him to the clergy who were appointed to do them honour. After this and many other good deeds St. Honoratus died while visiting his native parish called Portus (Port), and was there buried. This place was burnt in after years by the barbarians, but the bones of the saint were preserved and translated to his own church at Amiens. Many miracles were worked by him both before and after his death, but have escaped record. The author, however, relates some which had happened in 1060 and the following years. An appendix to the life by another writer gives some more miracles which had happened previously to 1204, and ends with an injunction to pray for the matron Sibylla, who had lately built a church in Paris to the glory of St. Honoratus. This was afterwards the celebrated collegiate church of St. Honoré, which has given its name to one quarter of the city (*Hist. Litt. ibid.*).

There has been considerable controversy as to the date of St. Honoratus. Le Cointe would place him in the reign of Childebert I. (A.D. 511–558), making his episcopate commence about 554 and close in 580, which is, of course, some years anterior to the time of Pelagius and Maurice (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 554, n. xx. 580, n. xviii. xix. tom. i. 800, ii. 208); while the Bollandists believe the king in question to have been Childebert II. (A.D. 575–596), and refer to Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 42, for his subvention by Maurice (*Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 612). This view is also taken by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (x. 1152), who put his date at 588, and they are followed by Gams (*Series Episc.* 487). The objection to it is that Childebert II., king of Austrasia, would have no such jurisdiction over Amiens in Neustria, as the narrative supposes. St. Honoratus is commemorated May 16. [S. A. B.]

HONORATUS (18), ST., 20th archbishop of Bourges, succeeding Humatus, and followed by

Arcadius, was present at the second council of Orleans in A.D. 533, presided over the first of Clermont in A.D. 535, and subscribed the letter to king Theodebert in the name of the assembled bishops. (Mansi, viii. 838, 863; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 12; Ceillier, xi. 847–850.) [S. A. B.]

HONORATUS (19), archbishop of Milan at the time of the invasion of the Lombards, 569. He fled from Milan to Genoa (Paulus Diaconus, ii. 25). Many of the ecclesiastics and people accompanied him, and for some years the congregation remained and the archbishops were chosen at Genoa. See LAURENTIUS II., bishop of Milan, and references to the letters of Gregory the Great. [A. H. D. A.]

HONORATUS (20), bishop of Seville from May 12, 636, to Nov. 12, 641; subscribed the acts of the sixth council of Toledo (A.D. 638). (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 413; *Esp. Sagr.* ix. 214.) [M. A. W.]

HONORATUS (21), bishop of Torcello, 717–724. Cappelletti places him between Deusdedit and Vitalis II., giving the succession at this period different from Ughelli, who also names the bishop Honorius and not Honoratus. (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* v. 1365; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ix. 527, 611.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONORATUS (22), II., said to have been seventeenth bishop of Marseilles, between Babo and Vadaldus (A.D. 804–811). The greatest obscurity envelopes the bishops of Marseilles of this epoch. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 641.) [S. A. B.]

HONORATUS (23), an intimate friend of Augustine at Carthage, who, when both were young, "pueri miserrimi," had induced him to adopt Manichaean opinions, of which Honoratus had previously entertained great dislike. This must have been between A.D. 373–382, for Augustine retained these opinions for nearly nine years. Soon after Augustine became a presbyter, A.D. 391, he wrote his book entitled *De Utilitate Credendi*, which he addressed to Honoratus for the express purpose of inducing him to abandon his Manichaean views (Aug. *de Util. Cred.* i. 2; vi. 17; *Retract.* i. 14; Possidius, *Vit. Aug.* i.).

There seems to be sufficient reason, as will be seen below, for identifying this friend of Augustine with the Honoratus who, many years later, A.D. 412, sent to him five questions, which he requested Augustine to answer for him.

1. What is the meaning of the words "My God, my God," &c. in Ps. xxi. (xxii.)?
2. What is the meaning of Eph. iii. 17?
3. In the parable of Matt. xxv. 2–12, who are the wise, and who the foolish virgins?
4. What is meant by "outer darkness"? (Matt. xxii. 13.)
5. What is meant by the "Word made Flesh"? (John i. 14.)

To these questions Augustine, in his reply, takes the liberty of adding a sixth, viz. What is the grace of the New Testament? and proceeds to take this last as a key to the whole. He shews that man has two lives and two sorts of happiness, sensual and spiritual, and been made by the Creator capable of a higher life than the natural one, and of happiness even in this world higher than that of a sensual kind, concerning which, being entirely of God's gift, He held out promises in the Old Testament. These, however, were intended to prepare the way for a higher condition, and were prophetic of it. And so, in the fulness of time, He sent his Son into the world, bearing the nature both of God and man, and though "his own," whether Jews or rebellious men in general, "received Him not," yet to those who received Him He gave power to become "sons of God" (John i. 9–13). This is the grace of the New Testament, and what is called "adoption," by which we become partakers of the "Word" of God, not bringing Him down to our level, but raising us to partake of His nature. He had a true human soul, and He thought fit to partake of our flesh and to suffer persecution, a mystery which is expressed in Ps. lxxiii., and can only be explained by the method pointed out in verses 16, 17. Thus it was that Christ, in His human agony, uttered the words, "My God, my God," &c. (Ps. xxii. 1), words which may be described as the voice of the church His body, suffering in Him, but looking forward to the grace and promised hopes of the New Testament. We are Christians therefore on account not of this life, in which God may seem sometimes to forsake us, but of the future one into which the Lord led the way by His death. St. Augustine proceeds then to comment on the rest of Ps. xxii. in a manner of which the key may be said to be the idea that the Body of Christ represents the church, and His limbs its members, and the enemies surrounding Him the dangers, both temporal and spiritual, which beset the life of Christians. In the same view the latter, or jubilant, portion of the psalm is explained in reference to the church after the resurrection. The "brethren" of verse 22 are the apostles, and the seed of Israel, verse 23, the body of Christians in general (Matt. xxviii. 10; John xx. 17).

The "outer darkness" is the absence of Him who is the light of the world, the society of the devil and his angels, shared by the men who do not believe in Him, and who refuse His love. Or they may mean the bodily torments which alarm those who are governed only by servile fear. The "vows" (verse 25) denote the sacrifice of Christ's body, of which the "poor" shall eat and be satisfied (verse 26), while the rich and proud eat and worship only, but are not satisfied (verse 29).

Thus also the "length and breadth," &c. of Eph. iii. 18 is explained as a figurative description of the Cross, whose length is patience, its breadth good works, its depth the hidden will of God, and its height eternal reward. This mode of interpretation is one adopted by many of the Fathers, and by Augustine himself in other parts of his writings.

Thus, Augustine goes on to say, the rational soul must be made by grace capable of divine love and hope, cleansed by God's mercy, and protected from the error of the foolish virgins. In this parable the sleep into which all the virgins fell is death, the lamps are good works, those of the wise virgins done with a good intention, and those of the foolish for the sake of men's applause, to be bought for money from wicked flatterers, whereas in the case of those who are truly good the approbation of our own conscience, or rather the consciousness of God's work within us, is the true witness which we

bear about with us (2 Cor. i. 12). And thus when the foolish virgins apply for admission to the feast, it is not said that they succeeded in buying oil for their lamps, but that they sought admission when it was too late.

By commenting on the psalm in this way Augustine thinks that he has answered the questions of his correspondent, inviting him to regard the present life as a crucifixion of sense, an extension, as it were, of our bodies on the length and breadth of the Cross, and a surrender of ourselves to God's mercy, a process by which we shall arrive in due time at that knowledge of Christ's love which surpasses knowledge (Eph. iii. 19).

Some portions of this interpretation of the words of Scripture are no doubt too literal and fanciful, others are founded on the imperfect physical science of the time, but there is much in the treatise which is highly edifying and of great value. Some of the same ideas, more briefly expressed, are found in the discourse on Ps. xxii. in the *Enarrationes*, but with special reference of a sarcastic kind to the Donatists. A line of exposition of the psalm, erroneously attributed to St. Jerome, and in many points resembling that of St. Augustine, may be seen in the works of St. Jerome (Aug. *Ep.* 140; *Enarr. in Ps.* xxi. vol. iv. pp. 165–182; Hieron. *Opp.* vol. vii. app. pp. 879–886). In his *Retractations* Augustine calls this letter a book, a name which from its length it fully deserves, but he does not there mention the name of the sender of the questions, nor does he allude in any way to the book *De Utilitate Credendi*. But in his work against Julianus, Augustine represents Julianus as reminding him of the letters which he had written to Honoratus, whom he describes as "Manichaeo aeque," that is, he had been a Manichaean as well as Augustine himself in former days, and the letters mentioned by Julianus are the book *De Utilitate Credendi*, which deals with Manichaeism, whereas the letter which has just been considered (*Ep.* 140) deals with Pelagian rather than Manichaean questions. In this letter Honoratus is mentioned as not having yet received baptism, and consequently not the Lord's Supper, though Augustine speaks hopefully of his future participation in both of these sacraments. If Honoratus, to whom Augustine addressed his letter of reply to his five questions, be the same person as he to whom he had addressed his book *De Utilitate Credendi* more than twenty years before, which appears to be sufficiently probable, we can hardly help regarding Honoratus as a person of unsettled mind, who, having begun life, or nearly so, as a Manichaean, and having passed the age of fifty was so little advanced in Christianity, as not to have received baptism, but was still even bewildered amid the sceptical theories of Pelagianism. Cassiodorus says that he was a presbyter. If so, he must have attained the age of fifty-five at the time when he became so (Aug. *Retract.* ii. 36; *Opus c. Julianum*, 26, vol. ix. p. 1464; Tillemont, 67, vol. xiii. p. 168). [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (24), a monk of Tagaste, who having been afterwards ordained to be a presbyter at Thiava, or Thiaba, in Numidia, died intestate. The law of Theodosius and Valentinian, A.D. 379–392, enacted that in the case of any clerical or monastic person, male or female, dying intestate, and not leaving behind him parents, children, wife, or relatives on either side, his goods, except such portion of them as might be liable to civil claims, were to be handed over to the church to which he belonged, "cui fuerit destinatus." Alypius, bishop of Tagaste, in conjunction with St. Augustine, decided at first that as Honoratus had belonged to two churches, his goods should be divided between them, but after reconsidering the matter, and conferring thereon with Samsucius [SAMSUCIUS], who disapproved of the first award, Augustine gave his opinion, that, in accordance with the letter of the law, the goods of Honoratus ought to go entirely, all or none, to the church of Thiaba, as the church of his "destination." To divide the property was in this view of the matter unjust both on religious and legal grounds, and would throw a suspicion of pecuniary interest in it on the episcopal order. Honoratus might have made a will, or if having made none he had left heirs, his property would go to them, as was the case at the death of one Aemilianus. His estate, therefore, ought to go to Thiaba, and Augustine requests Alypius to forward to the clergy of that place a notice of his decision. But as the monks of Tagaste regarded him as indebted to them for the value of the moiety of the estate of Honoratus, he expressed his readiness, if Alypius thought it right, to divide into two portions any funds that might be at the disposal of the church of Hippo, and retaining for its use such a proportion as the number of its members would require, to present the remainder to the church of Tagaste. (Aug. *Ep.* 83; *Cod. Theodos.* v. 3, 1; *Cod. Just.* i. 3, 20; *Conc. Carth.* iii. 49; Bruns, *Conc.* i. 134.) [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS (25), a scribe (exceptor) at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 397, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HONORATUS, abbat of Lerins. *Vid.* bishop of Arles (No. 10).

HONORATUS (26), "abbas monasterii Fundensis." Of his abstinence, silence, and miracles Gregory the Great gives an account in his *Dialogues*. (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* i. 1; Migne, lxxvii. 153.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONORATUS (27), presbyter. Gregory the Great gave him the charge of the church of Bevagna (Mevania) until a bishop should be elected for the see. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 81; Migne, lxxvii. 534.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONORATUS (28), archdeacon and bishop-elect of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, correspondent of popes Pelagius II. and Gregory the Great. From the pontificate of Pelagius II. Honoratus had been complaining of the treatment he suffered from Natalis his bishop, whose conduct had been instigated by revenge, because Honoratus had prevented him from giving to his own family the sacred vessels of which he was the depositary. Natalis had wished to eject Honoratus from his archdeaconry, by endeavouring to ordain him presbyter against his will. Pelagius had charged Natalis not to cherish resentment or to harbour any such design. Notwithstanding this, Natalis

had assembled a council of his province, had deposed Honoratus, had put into his place a creature of his own, and had ordained the ex-archdeacon presbyter by force. Honoratus complained to Gregory, and the bishop wrote to justify himself. Gregory sharply rebuked Natalis, ordered Honoratus to remain archdeacon, and, if the quarrel went on, to go straight to Rome. Natalis did not obey, and Gregory wrote again warning him to re-establish Honoratus. The correspondence took place between the years 590–592 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 93, 99). In 593 Vitalis died and Honoratus was by his party elected to succeed. He was never consecrated however, and to avoid a schism he soon resigned. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ind. ix. epp. 19, 20, 21, and lib. ii. ind. x. epp. 18, 20, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. §§ 503, 580, 583; Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* ii. 223 sq.) [W. M. S.]

HONORATUS (29)—Dec. 22. Martyr at Ostia with Demetrius and Florus. (*Mart. Usuard.*) [G. T. S.]

HONORICUS (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 482, ed. Coxe), king of the Vandals. [HUNNERIC.]

HONORIUS (1), FLAVIUS AUGUSTUS, emperor, born 384, died 423. A full account of the life of Honorius is given in the *Dictionary of Classical Biography*, vol. i., under his name, with those of his father Theodosius I., Stilicho, Alaric, and others. He was most probably born at Constantinople; but he certainly accompanied his father on his triumphal entry into Rome in 389. He was sent for again into Italy to be declared emperor of the West in 394 at Milan, and remained in that city almost uninterruptedly till 399. Neither he nor his brother Arcadius seem to have been anything but ill-informed spectators of the tremendous events which were passing around them. It might be said in their time, as in France in 1815, that no man was fit to occupy the throne who could not spend twelve hours a day in the saddle; and Honorius seems to have been constitutionally timid and inactive, though not unamiable; and capable of cruelty or treachery (or rather of terrified connivance at either), only under the influence of his fears. He was probably cowed and overpowered in early life by the alternate fierceness and devotion of his father, who sometimes reminds us of the Hispano-Gothic character of later days. In his submission to spiritual or ecclesiastical guidance he only followed his father's example. Perhaps the best-remembered event of his childhood may have been the submission of Theodosius to Ambrose in 390. It was a triumph of spiritual power, no doubt, but it was unquestionably one of genuine faith on both sides. An emperor grievously in the wrong humbles himself for it before a bishop in the right, on the ground of their mutual belief in Christ. To non-Christians both are of course without excuse; but history would have treated them both more severely if Ambrose had confined himself to verbal remonstrance on the massacre of 7000 people; or if Theodosius had repeated the process in Milan, beginning with Ambrose. His influence, exerted on both spiritual and temporal basis, and with the judgment alike of a casuist and a statesman, seems to have been almost paramount both in the palace and with the people of Milan throughout Honorius's early days; and as it would seem, from Tillemont's account of the first year of this reign, that Stilicho deferred to the saint, not without cordial regard, the real heads of church and state must then have been more at one than in the following period.

The secular history of the first year of Honorius belongs to the life of Stilicho. His wonderfully rapid and successful expedition to the Rhine to complete the pacification of the Franks, who had served Eugenius, occupied the summer of the year 395. Marcomir the Frank became his captive. Two decrees of general amnesty are found in the *Theodosian Code* (XV. xvi. 11 and 12), extending to acts of oblivion of all service of the departed "tyrant" Eugenius. Stilicho's presence in Greece was required in 396 to act against Alaric. Rufinus indeed had induced Arcadius to forbid his approach in person; but Gainas, to whom Stilicho committed that part of his Northern army which belonged to the Eastern empire, caused the detested minister's death on Nov. 27. Eutropius the eunuch succeeded Rufinus in his power over the mind of Arcadius, and seems to have preferred the ravages of Alaric to the defence of Stilicho. The former advanced from Thessalia, where Stilicho had opposed him till his dismissal by Arcadius, to the Peloponnese; and though the master-general of Honorius almost succeeded in blockading him, escaped across the gulf of Corinth, near Rhium, into Epirus; the court of Arcadius being, as Tillemont says, more afraid of Stilicho than of Alaric, who was appointed master-general of Eastern Illyricum in 398. Eastern court intrigues may have been connected with the revolt of Gildo, in Africa, against the Western empire in 397–8 (Zosimus, p. 788, and Claudian, infra), and Tillemont refers the open declaration of Arcadius against Stilicho as a public enemy to that time.

The general amnesty to the Eugenian party was probably due to Stilicho, and it included many pagans, among whom were the two Flaviani. The younger was made prefect of Rome in 399, partly, it seems, at the instance of Symmachus. But there is an important enactment against paganism in the first year of Honorius's reign (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 13), which forbids all sacrifices, and apparently all public assemblage for pagan worship, as with other forms of error. The legislation against heresy is varied and stringent. It is possible that Stilicho may have impressed on Ambrose and the young emperor the danger of too severe pressure at such a time on the Roman centre of idolatrous worship, but they seem to have acted at once against heretical Christians. In XVI. v. 25 all Theodosius's coercive edicts are re-enacted in their sharpest form, and all concessions revoked. The Eunomians in particular excluded from rights of military service, of legal testimony, and of inheritance, though this special severity is relaxed soon after (v. 27), in accordance with Theodosius's edicts (XVI. v. 22–24). All heretical congregations are forbidden, and their celebration of the holy mysteries, with ordination either of bishops or presbyters, altogether interdicted. Two more of the five severe edicts of this year provide that slight error or deviation ("vel levi argumento a tramite

Catholica") shall be crushed ("sine timore dispendii") regardless of expense. Penalties for neglect of statutes on heresy are made capital (XVI. v. 28), and c. 29 is inquisitorial, and applies to all employés and officials, civil or military. All found to be "culpae hujus affines" are to be expelled from the service and the city. This is dated Nov. 23, Constantinople, so that Arcadius, or rather Eutropius, may be supposed to be its author.

The domestic legislation of this and following years bears witness to the severe and ill-adjusted system of taxation by means of bodies of curiales or decurions. Two decrees (XII. i. 140, 48) require the choice of decurions, who are able to pay in their own persons. From XII. i. 141–145 are occupied with restrictions on all attempts of municipes to evade taxation ("aut peregrinando, aut militiae ambitione"), under penalty of confiscation. Curiales are not to be excused payment as "navicularii," *ibid.* c. 148–150 (see XIII. v. 24–5). There are restraints on informations by comites (VIII. xiii. 6, 7), and apparitors employed at a distance are to confine themselves to the business on which they are sent. As a comment on former results of this system, and of the large "latifundia" and slave labour, one of Honorius's earliest decrees, *T. C.* XI. xxviii. 2, is that 528,042 acres of land, now lying utterly waste, shall be allowed to the provincials of Campania free of tax, the record of its assessment to be burned. There are many regulations for officials in this year, and four decrees for public works and highways.

To the year A.D. 396 belongs Stilicho's thwarted campaign against Alaric in the Peloponnese, and he must have been drawn nearer the conviction, which may have overpowered his loyalty in the end, that the empire and its nominal rulers could be saved by him only, and in spite of the rulers themselves. Gibbon's reflection, that he kept Honorius in helpless inactivity, reflects on St. Ambrose as well, but probably neither of them were really answerable for the weakness of their pupil, which seems only to have been exceeded by that of Arcadius, because the latter was always in baser and feebler hands. It is difficult to say how strictly the Honorian edicts against heresy were at this time carried out, but no such persecution as that of St. Chrysostom is laid to the account of the emperor of the West. He certainly took interest and made exertions in suppressing the gladiatorial games after the death of St. Telemachus, and seems to have been naturally as harmless and helpless as the cocks and hens, who were long his chief worldly interest.

There is no doubt however that the ecclesiastical legislation of 396 and the following years is very severe. On March 2, 396 (*T. C.* XVI. v. 30) all heretical places of assemblage were confiscated, and all meetings interdicted by whatever name they might be called. By edicts 31 and 32 the Eunomian clergy are banished, and inquiries are directed to be made after their leaders. A fourth (XVI. vii. 6) deprives all apostates of testamentary power; their property is to go to their natural heirs, and by XVI. x. 14 all privileges of pagan priesthood or ministry are done away. The Jews are protected by three edicts (XVI. viii. 11–13). St. Ambrose died at the end of this year or early in 397 (Tillemont, v. 498). In secular matters some efforts are made at relief. All confiscations by Tatian are to be made good (IX. xlii. 13), as well as some made by Strator (or possibly an official who held that title) in Africa.[a] The next edict refers to "peraequatio" or adjustment of taxation; the next provides a heavy fine for dishonest officials. By VII. iv. 21 the provincials are protected from military imposts, and the local army taxation is not to exceed the standard of Valentinian I. A solidus is to be returned (XI. xxi. 2) to provincials on every 25 lbs. of copper. On the other hand, the fisc lands are not to be encroached upon, and time is to give no title (X. i. 15); and if a curialis moves out of his city to a farm, that farm is to be confiscated for the impiety he has shewn ("vitando patriam")—a notable expression as to the civic life of Rome. Senatorial land is to be taxed apart from curial. The duty of protostasia, or forming and directing committees of taxation, is not to be evaded by senators (XI. xxiii. 3, 4). The bakers of Rome, who are much reduced and discouraged, are to have their land at fixed rent and moderate price,[b] and members of imperial council, with veteran officers, are to be excused acting as praetors and exhibiting games (VII. iv. 28; VI. iv. 28–30). It is noticeable, as illustrating the old pagan estimate of imperial dignity, that Honorius, in statute VI. xxvi. 7, 8, speaks of Julian as Divae Memoriae.

During 397 the Eastern and Western empires were divided by the dread of Arcadius's court for Stilicho, and Alaric seems to have been preparing, backed or directed by Eutropius, for his first invasion of Italy. But the immediate distress of the year was the rebellion of Gildo, count of Africa, who had stood neutral in the contest between Theodosius and Eugenius, but recognised the authority of Honorius since his father's death in 395. Solicited by Eutropius (*Claudian. in Eutr.* i. 399–505), he now pretended to transfer his allegiance to Arcadius, and anticipated Heraclian's rebellion after Stilicho's death. The Senate to whom Honorius appealed, under Symmachus's direction as well as Stilicho's, sent two fleets, one under the Christian Mascezel, brother of Gildo, the other simply as a corn flotilla. The former embarked at Pisa in the spring of 398, and Mascezel, being encouraged by a vision of St. Ambrose, who had died the year before, gained a decisive victory over Gildo. Mascezel returned to Milan the same year, leaving Africa at peace and the Roman corn markets well supplied. This is the year of Honorius's merely formal marriage with Maria, daughter of Stilicho, and he appears to have made some journeys from Milan early in 399, perhaps for the first time since his succession. He first visited Ravenna in February, returning to Milan; in and after June he was at Brescia, Verona, Padua, and Altinum.

The following edicts on church matters extend over 397 and 398. The Apollinarians were

[a] Un nomme Strator, Till. v. 589. Printed with small *s* in Haenel's *T. Code.* Qy. a master of horse, XIII. xi. 6.

[b] This is probably connected with the scarcity mentioned by Tillemont, v. 488–9 (Symmachus, v. *Ep.* p. xxi. and xiv.), the troubles in Africa interfering with the corn-trade.

banished from Constantinople (*T. C.* XVI. v. 33) on April 1, which is the only coercive measure of the year, and does not belong to Honorius. By XVI. ii. 30, January 31, all ancient privileges are confined to bishops and clergy, with the proviso "Nihil extraordinarii muneris ecclesiae, vel sordidae functionis agnoscatur," which is repeated in XI. xvi. 22 (June 4). The Jews are protected from popular tumults (XVI. viii. 12, 13), and equal privileges and respect are shewn to high-priests and patriarchs as to the higher Christian clergy. (It seems possible that Ambrose may have felt inclined to make amends, or it may have been made after his death, to the Jewish race in consideration of his obstructing the course of Theodosius's justice in 388, after the destruction of the synagogue of Callinice.) But in 392 there are severe statutes on heresy. By *T. C.* XVI. v. 34 (Constantinople, but in Honorius's fourth consulship) Eunomian and Montanist clergy are banished from all cities and deprived of civic rights. If they are detected meeting to perform their rites in the country they are to be banished, and the building confiscated. Their books to be seized and burned, and keeping them made a capital offence. The Manichaeans were specially attacked next year (c. 35), and those who harboured them were threatened. C. 36 (next year) allows testamentary rights to the Eunomians, but forbids them to assemble, or to celebrate the mysteries. Their clergy ("ministri sceleris, quos falso nomine antistites vocant) are to be banished.

Clerical rights of sanctuary for criminals are formally refused by an edict (*De Poenis*, ix. xl. 16). Intercession, however, is permitted. This claim seems to have been pressed by the clerical and monastic body by violent means, which the immediate authorities had difficulty in restraining. Cases in which "tanta clericorum ac monachorum audacia est, ut bellum velint potius quam judicium" are to be referred to the emperor for severer adjudication. Bishops, it is added, are to blame if they do not punish the offences of monks—an observation which pointed to a considerable difficulty in the episcopal position ever since monastic orders existed. Debtors public and private, including some unhappy curiales, had, it seems, claimed sanctuary in churches (IX. xlv. 3). They are to be removed "manu mox injecta." Again it is enacted (XI. xxx. 7) that no cleric or monk is to assert sanctuary by forcible defence for condemned criminals. At the same time (VI. ii. 32) bishops are recommended to ordain clergy from the monastic orders.

By IV. xi. 38, a free woman who marries a slave is not to be reduced to his condition ("nisi trinis denuntiationibus arceatur"). There are fresh adjustments of the allotment of public land (XIII. xi. 9). De Censitoribus, ix. 39, grants protection from informers (calumniatores) in Africa, and the serious question of the Roman "canon" or corn-rate appears again in 397-8 (XIV. xv. 384). In XIV. xix. 1, a maximum is fixed at one nummus.

Ambrose had successfully resisted the reintroduction of the altar or statue of Victory into the senate house in 384; and by 399 it may have appeared to Honorius's advisers that the time was come when paganism might be hastened out of existence. It can hardly be supposed that Stilicho was very active in this movement; he must have felt it as one of the chief causes of division which was paralysing the empire in presence of its worst enemies. The paganism of the Roman senate and people was connected with the proudest associations of their public and domestic history, and there is no wonder that it lingered long in the old patrician houses of the metropolis, as well as among the pagan or rustic population of the country. This was a source of weakness in keeping the Christian emperors away from Rome, and enlarging that barrier which must always have existed between barbarian emperors and senatorial houses of the ancient blood of Rome. Perhaps it may have been thought fit to hasten this division to an end by direct attempts at suppressing paganism. At all events the edicts of A.D. 399, which extend to the destruction of temples in the country, must have been felt grievously throughout Italy, and have been connected with many attempts at insurrection or resistance, and with still more disaffection and evasion of military service. Gibbon observes that Stilicho's new levies in the extreme danger of Radagaisus's invasion were rigorously exacted and pusillanimously eluded (v. iii. chap. xxx. p. 76), and in the next page, that "the oppressed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury respected in the implacable enemy of Rome the character of a devout pagan." No doubt, as he says in a note, Radagaisus worshipped Thor and Woden, and not Jupiter or Mercury. Nevertheless, all paganism whatever, from the savage German's to the luminous historian's, does in effect make common cause against Christianity. As to "devout" paganism, there can be no doubt that the utter corruption of belief on which the empire had stood since the emperor was first adored as a god, proved an active solvent in the empire's utter decay. The death struggle of a paganism long fostered, and quite without real devotion, contributed to the final overthrow of the mystic Babylon.

Its immediate result in the life of Honorius seems to have been the undermining of Stilicho. The eunuch influence in both Eastern and Western courts had always been set against him. If Olympius was capable of genuine fanaticism, he or his like must be supposed to have been influential in the new measures as to pagan worship, and there seems no doubt that Stilicho was opposed to anything which thinned his muster-rolls and weakened the hearts of his followers. Perhaps he had heard of the wise counsels of Athanasius, which anticipate in their spiritual wisdom our own sad experience of 1600 years of religious strife. The great bishop had advised Jovian (Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire Romain*,[c] vol. v. p. 362) to bear with error; to bear witness to truth as emperor, but trust for its victory to the God of truth. Stilicho hardly reached this, as is proved by the many laws against heretics and idolaters in the code, but the accusations of Orosius (vi. 37) and the hostility of Zosimus on the pagan side, seem

[c] The writer cannot find the passage to which Broglie may refer in the spurious *Ep. ad Jovianum*; but Athanasius's advice to leave Arians alone after the death of Arius, at the end of his letter on the subject, is quite consistent.

to justify Gibbon's honourable estimate of him. In any case he had a few years of glory to come, and his great enemy was preparing for the defeats of Pollentia and Verona. In 398–9 Alaric was declared master-general of Eastern Illyricum by Arcadius, and also raised on barbarian bucklers as king of Visigoths, with one man only between him and Rome (*De Bello Getico*, 503).

Claudian is the chief authority (*De Bello Getico* and *Cons. VI. Honorii*), for Jornandes confounds the Italian wars of Alaric, and only fixes the date (400) of Stilicho's consulship with Aurelian. Zosimus transfers Stilicho's second victory to near the Danube. Between 400–403 Alaric had crossed Pannonia to the Julian Alps, had taken Aquileia and subdued Istria and Venetia, had perhaps been reinforced from the Danube, and was threatening Milan. Honorius was now in his fifteenth year, and with the court which surrounded him thought only of flight into Gaul. Stilicho hastily left Italy by Como and the Valtelline, and assembled an army in Rhaetia, though he had to empty the Rhenish fortresses of their garrisons, and leave Gaul, and even Britain, defenceless. Milan was without fortifications; the passage of the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Adda were unusually easy, and Honorius seems to have been overtaken in his flight for Arles, and was soon besieged in Asta or Asti in Savoy. Stilicho returned and cut his way through the Gothic lines to his rescue with a chosen vanguard. His levies seem to have issued at once from several passes of the Alps, and enclosed Alaric in his turn, cutting off all supplies. The battle of Pollentia on March 29, 403, was compared to Marius's victory over the Teutones and Cimbri (Claudian, *de Bello Getico*, 580–617). Alaric's cavalry appear to have been unbroken, and he seems to have been able to pass the Apennines, and even to threaten Rome. He was induced to agree to a treaty and return northward, but on the way attempted to occupy Verona as the key of the principal pass of the Rhaetian Alps, by which in fact his rear had been turned. Whether he or Stilicho were most to blame for this act of treachery seems doubtful, but he was entrapped and defeated with a loss as severe as that of Pollentia. He was however allowed to retreat, or effected his retreat, to the dissatisfaction of the people and the court or clerical party (Orosius, vi. 37), and Honorius went with Stilicho to Rome to celebrate the last triumph of the empire. The customary games took place with great magnificence, and this was the occasion on which St. Telemachus sacrificed himself by attempting to separate the gladiators. Honorius seems not to have prevented their exhibition, though there are traces of his attempting to substitute hunting scenes, races, and grand cavalry displays, among which seems to have been the ancient game of Troy. He no doubt exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the repetition of any such scene. For the future the prohibitory edict of Constantine (*T. C.* XV. xii. 1) was observed faithfully, perhaps for want of means. After a stay of some months at Rome, during which he appears to have honestly done all in his power to conciliate the senate, clergy, and people, Honorius determined to fix his residence in the fortress of Ravenna, which was not only almost impregnable on the land side, but afforded an easy way of escape by sea in case of pressing danger. The Milanese, like the Romans and on longer acquaintance, entertained a certain affection for him, and desired his return among them; but he had soon good reason, on the irruption of Radagaisus, to feel that his choice of residence had been a wise one, both strategically and for his own comfort.

The anti-pagan legislation of 399–400 has been partly anticipated. It prepares for the consummating decree of confiscation in 408. *T. C.* XVI. x. 15, prohibits sacrifice, but restrains the destruction of temples, as monumental public works. In July there is an edict (c. 16) for the destruction of rural temples ("sine turba ac tumultu") as if the pagani of the provinces had not existed, or had been effectively Christianised. It appears that some concession was found necessary, for in September Tit. x. 17, allows the usual civic festivals and days of enjoyment (festos et communem laetitiam) strictly without sacrifice, and only by way of holiday indulgence in games, &c., after ancient custom. This is commented on by Gibbon towards the end of his twenty-third chapter, on the "Decay of Paganism," vol. iii. p. 16; where he points out how offerings of produce without sacrifice might be used; and the various evasions by which absolutely pagan celebration might elude Christian rule. Such usages might remain for ages, and be carried bodily into Christian country life by popular custom. This is matter of historical experience in all countries; and the May or Beltane, and other strange rites of the Teutonic races, bear witness to it in our own day. There is a final injunction this year (c. 18) against destroying temples, if sacrifices in them have been thoroughly discontinued.

XVI. v. 35 is a severe edict against the Manichaeans and their harbourers in Africa (June). In the next month (c. 36) the Eunomians are released from intestacy, and allowed freedom of movement. Their meetings are still forbidden, and their profane mysteries made a capital offence. As the crudest form of Arianism, this heresy seems to have specially vexed Honorius and his advisers. An edict (*De Religione*, XVI. xi. 1) gives bishops a claim to special authority in causes involving religious questions. "Quoties de religione agitur episcopos convenit agitare."

Five decrees in succession—XII. i. 161–165—enforce the curial duties, and increase the stringency of taxation. Ecclesiastics are to find substitutes in the curiae. Appeals are, however, allowed (XI. xxx. 58, 59). The Roman corn-rate comes forward again (XIV. xv. ult.), and by a statute (*De Feriis*, II. viii. 23) all games of theatre and circus are stopped, and whatever "ad molliendos animos repertum est" is prohibited on Sundays. Only the emperor's birthday is to be kept, when it falls on Sunday.

Next year (400) the games are forbidden during the seven days of Lent and the week before Easter, also on Christmas-day and Epiphany.

The Jewish patriarchs are forbidden to collect money from the synagogues, probably, as Tillemont says (v. 510), to prevent its transmission eastward.

400. The legislation of this year contains a

severe law of civic banishment and exclusion from society on bishops and clergy who have been deprived or degraded by their fellow clergy for seditious conduct (*T. C.* XVI. ii. 35). Sons of priests are not to be forced into the ministry (XII. i. 166). XI. i. 27 and 28, and *De Veteranis*, VII. xx. 12, enforce heavy fines on the richer sort of defaulters in their taxes, and aim at preventing evasions of taxation either by veteran soldiers, or under a false plea of veteranship.

401. There are twenty-three decrees this year. By IX. xlii. 17, the goods of proscribed persons are not to be disposed of for two years' grace. The single edict on ecclesiastical matters, addressed to Pompeianus, proconsul of Africa, except bishops and clergy actively employed in sacred duties, from the "auraria pensio," which seems (from Brissonus, *Dict.*) to have been generally a tax on commercial men. XI. xvii. 2, 3, are on collecting horses in Africa, probably for Stilicho's army. XI. xxxviii. 3 is a general measure of relief to debtors. VI. 16 enforces personal exertion on the curiales in the work of taxation.

402, 403. Two decrees only in the first year, one on recruits (VII. xiii. 15), for whom proper officers are required. Tit. xviii. 11, 12, refer to deserters, who seem to have banded together, as they are to be treated as rebels if they offer resistance to arrest. Harbourers to lose the house or property in or on which a deserter has been secreted. Also (cc. 13 and 14) they are to be secured by any possible means, and the provincials are to treat them as robbers. This points to the sufferings involved in the earlier campaigns of Alaric in Italy.

In 404 there are fourteen decrees, chiefly on religious matters. Of XVI. viii. 15, 16, 17, *De Judaeis*, the first renews the general privileges of their patriarchs, the second deprives or exempts Samaritans from military rights or exemptions; the third withdraws the prohibition of 400 as to collections in the synagogues (*supra*). XVI. ii. (37 Aug.) releases from prison various clerical persons concerned in popular tumults in Constantinople, but expels them, with all other foreign bishops and clergy, from the city. XVI. iv. 4 5. (*De his qui super Religione contendunt*) prohibits all disorderly assemblage, warns owners of slaves not to let them take part therein, and provides a heavy fine for any nummularii, palace officials, or members of corporations, who may be concerned. Cap. 6 is addressed to rulers of provinces, and coerces "the orthodox, who now forsake the holy churches, and assemble elsewhere ('alio convenire conantur'), and venture to dissent from the religion of Acacius, Theophilus, and Porphyrius," now dominant in Constantinople—November. Tillemont considers that all these edicts have reference to the tumults which took place during the year on the persecution of St. Chrysostom, excepting that which refers to officials, issued in January. The saint was not actually exiled till June. A strict order for the preparation and transport of buccellatum, or biscuit for the army (VII. v. 2).

The irruption of Radagaisus is said by Gibbon to have taken place in 406, by Tillemont a year earlier. His paganism and ferocity betray the character of the wildest Northmen of later days, and he seems, like a merely barbaric general, to have thought more of his front than his flanks. Stilicho raised thirty legions in Italy with great difficulty, by offering freedom and bounty to all slaves who would serve.[d] Radagaisus passed between Honorius at Ravenna and the Roman main army at Pavia; and advanced, wasting and destroying, to the walls of Florence, now for the first time made famous in history, though mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 79) as a flourishing city in the reign of Tiberius. Stilicho made his accustomed use of the spade in war, and had soon enclosed his enemy within lines of circumvallation on the hills of Fiesole. Radagaisus had to capitulate, and was beheaded, and his Germans were sold as slaves in such numbers that their price fell to a single gold piece. But another great mass of barbarians invaded Gaul in the same year, probably crossing the Rhine when frozen over, on Dec. 31. The Franks were faithful to their early alliance with Stilicho in Honorius's first year, but were unable to resist the mingled host of more than 100,000 Suevi, Vandals, Alani, and Burgundians, who now entered Gaul, and never afterwards retreated. The British army soon afterwards revolted under a new Constantine; he crossed to Boulogne, and received the submission of such parts of Gaul as were unoccupied by the barbarians, against whom he obtained some successes. He appears to have been defeated or checked by an imperial army under Sarus the Goth, who was however compelled to retreat from Valentia, where Constantine fortified himself. Spain was added to his dominions without resistance, except from an army raised by the four kinsmen of Honorius, which was destroyed in the Pyrenees, A.D. 408, the year of Stilicho's death.

After such an invasion as that of Radagaisus, and in his desperate circumstances as the last general of Italy's last army, the old warrior seems to have turned towards his worthiest enemy, and felt the necessity of making terms with Alaric. The death of Arcadius on the 1st of May, 408, must have brought plans to a head on all sides. Alaric and Stilicho were in fact negotiating for the empire of the East. For some time during the interval of peace in Italy Honorius had been interceding with Arcadius for Chrysostom, and wished, perhaps between religious and political motives, to go to Constantinople and take possession of affairs for his nephew, Theodosius II., then seven years old. This Stilicho opposed; he no doubt coveted the opportunity of directing the Eastern empire as well as the West, and so continuing his negotiations with Alaric for Illyricum on more even terms of power. Further, Maria, wife of Honorius, was dead a maid, and he wished, against the will of Stilicho, to marry her sister Thermantia. Serena opposed her husband's views. The marriage took place, and with it a considerable alienation between Honorius and his formidable guardian. Olympius and the court party aggravated it to the utmost, persuading the emperor that Stilicho meant to depose him, and to make his own son Eucherius emperor. The latter is said to have been a heathen, and may have been under suspicion. Stilicho had always professed Christianity, and had deferred to St. Ambrose in his lifetime, having much in common with him. But he now seems to have

[d] T. C. VII. xiii. 16, A.D. 406. Tillemont puts the date a year earlier.

been altogether at variance, like Charles Martel in after days, with the clergy he defended; and Honorius's fears, alike of God and man, were raised to the point at which he could betray, or let others do so for him. A mutiny was excited at Pavia in Stilicho's army, which destroyed some of his chief friends almost in Honorius's presence. Stilicho was at Ravenna, whither Olympius sent his mutinous troops to arrest him. He took sanctuary in a church, was induced to leave it, and killed immediately by the hand of Heraclian, count of Africa, Aug. 23. Olympius was at the head of affairs. Eucherius, with many friends of Stilicho, were slain. Thermantia was repudiated by, or for, Honorius, and died soon after with Serena. As Gibbon observes: "It is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire."

Stilicho had most likely preferred death to civil war in the presence of Alaric, who now in October crossed the Alps on pretence of a large claim of money. Honorius fled to Ravenna, and Alaric besieged Rome for the first time (A.D. 408), but accepted a large ransom in 409, and withdrew into Tuscany, where Ataulphus, or Adolf, probably joined him. He renewed the siege in the same year, took Ostia and the public granaries, and Rome submitted to him. Attalus was proclaimed emperor by him. Meanwhile Olympius had been succeeded by Jovius in the management of Honorius and his court; Jovius by Eusebius, Eusebius put to death, and Allobichus, who caused his death, himself executed. Alaric marched against Ravenna, and Honorius was preparing for flight by sea to the Eastern empire, when he received a reinforcement from his nephew, Theodosius II. He began a negotiation with Alaric in 410, but it was broken off through Sarus, the Gothic king's bitter enemy; and the capture and sack of Rome followed. Alaric's death took place before the end of the year, and in 412 Adolf withdrew into Gaul, where he remained until he was driven into Spain by Constantius about three years after. Meanwhile Constantine was established in Gaul, and had in 409 advanced as far as Verona, intending to share in the general ruin of Italy. But he withdrew on the revolt of Gerontius, one of his generals, in Spain: and was soon besieged in Arles. Constantius, who now appears on the stage, was sent by Honorius to recover Gaul and Spain, as his Eastern reinforcement sufficed for Italy without Alaric, and as Heraclian had saved Africa for him, probably with a view to his own revolt about 413. Constantius drove Gerontius into the Pyrenees, defeated a fresh body of barbarians, finally compelled Constantine to surrender, and sent him into Italy, where Honorius had him executed against his own promise, his fears again prevailing over his conscience.

Constantius now acted the part of Stilicho. He may have already aspired to the hand of Placidia, the emperor's sister, who was now in Adolf's hands. A revolt took place on the Rhenish frontier under Jovinus, commander of one of the remaining fortresses. Attalus, the ex-emperor, in vain attempted to induce Adolf to make an alliance with him. On the contrary, Adolf made a treaty with Honorius, and got possession of Jovinus and his brother Sebastian, both of whom were executed. Another rebel of the name of Sallustius perished about the same time (412 or 413); and the African revolt of Heraclian took place, on the failure of which he perished. Adolf had again proclaimed Attalus emperor, and married Placidia; but was attacked by Constantius, and driven with his Visigoths out of Narbonne into Spain, where he was assassinated, and Attalus made prisoner. Honorius spared his life, and extended a general amnesty to his followers. In 417 Constantius married Placidia, who had undergone much ill-usage from Adolf's murderer, but been restored by Wallia, who finally succeeded him.

There are five religious decrees out of eighteen in A.D. 405. Two relate to the Manichaean and Donatist heresies; no new law is enacted, but former statutes are put in force or threatened: "Una sit catholica veneratio, una Salus sit, Trinitatis par sibique congruens Sanctitas expetatur." XVI. vi. 3, 14 are against the repetition of baptism, which some persons seem to have thought might be repeated not only after heresy, but for forgiveness of repeated sins. Persons guilty of rebaptizing others are deprived of all their property, which is however secured to their heirs if orthodox. The contumacious are threatened with loss of all civil rights, and there is a heavy fine for connivance.

The maximum rate of usury for senators is fixed at half of the "centesimae usurae," or 6 per cent.

406. On January 2 there is a stringent demand for the use of ships, threatening a general confiscation if the usual evasions are practised (XIII. vii. 2). Five army decrees follow: one on deserters, two on accounts of military taxes, a fourth and fifth on recruits (VII. xviii. 15, iv. 27, 28; xiii. 16 and 17). The last offer a bounty of two solidi to slaves, especially if serving with their master. Ten are promised, and three ordered to be paid, to every efficient ingenuus who enlists. If Gibbon's date of the inroad of Radagaisus for this year be correct, Stilicho must have been forming a reserve army. Or his recruits may probably have been chiefly employed on the great circumvallations round Florence.

IX. (xxxv. 10) denounces capital punishment on libellers and their readers, and even on those who fail to destroy the libel, or give information. This, and some of the decrees on particular heresies, may seem, from a not unamiable simplicity, to be Honorius's own composition.

Three decrees (XV. i. 44, 45, 46) on public buildings. The statue of the present or a past emperor is permitted to be removed for repairs; buildings are to be restored in their original style, with stone staircases if possible; and there is an order against private buildings built in contact with public ones.

XII. i. 167. Curiales are not to attempt to escape their burdens by substitutes.

A.D. 407, 408. On religious matters, XVI. v. 40, 41, include the Manichaean, Phrygian, and Priscillianist sects in the liabilities of the Donatists, *i.e.* loss of rights of property and succession, gift, sale, and contract, will, or right to restrain orthodox slaves from worship. The sin of heresy is expressly made a public offence, because *crimen in religione divina in*

omnium fertur injuriam. However by c. 41 simple "confessio" or acknowledgment of error and return to orthodox service is made sufficient for restoration to all rights, and Honorius shews genuine anxiety to recall his people to the right path on easy terms. XVI. ii. 38 enacts clerical immunities for Africa.

In 408 there is no decree of interest before the death of Arcadius in May, except one to enforce taxation on, or prevent evasion by, members of the great corporation of suarii, or provision dealers. XVI. viii. 18 states that at their feast of Purim ("Aman ad recordationem") the Jews are accustomed to burn or insult the cross. This is to be put a stop to, otherwise their ceremonies are "infra contemptum Christianae legis," and may continue. There are six statutes on heretics and pagans. XVI. v. 42, 43, 44, 45, with XVI. x. 19, and V. 14, 7, and XVI. ii. 36, *De Episcopis.* Enemies to the Catholic faith are forbidden to serve in the emperor's palace guard. All statutes against Donatists, Manichaeans, and Priscillianists are ordered to be fully enforced, and a new sect called Caelicolae are, with them, to be deprived of all buildings for public assemblage. Donatists who have not yet confessed their heresy, but only withdrawn from Catholic service ("saevae religionis obtentu"), are included. Certain Jews and Donatists have insulted the Sacraments, and are to be punished; and all illegal assemblage for heretical worship is again prohibited. XVI. ii. 39 provides that a cleric who has been degraded, and has renounced the clerical office, shall be at once made a curialis, and forbidden to resume his orders.

IX. xlii. 20, 21, 22, are for the confiscation of all the property of the dead Stilicho and his friends, as *satellites praedoni publico.* His supporters are cut off from all hope of pardon. Gibbon quotes this statute with natural indignation.

408. V. v. 2, *De Postliminio* (recovery of right after war), a measure enjoining the liberation of all free persons reduced to slavery by accidents of war, as barbarian captivity. The buyer is to have the price of such a person restored him, his expenses of maintenance are not chargeable to the state. Nevertheless the person thus restored to society should do what he can for the benefit of his redemptor ("obsequio aut opere quinquennio"). Tillemont says (v. 567) the bishops are charged to attend to the execution of this law. The words are "Christianos sollicitudinem hujus rei gerere."

A.D. 409. *De Haereticis,* XVI. v. 46, Jan., 47, June. Two edicts to enforce laws on Jews, Gentiles, or pagans, and heretics. Tillemont says that the death of Stilicho caused a general outbreak of heretics, the Donatists of Africa in particular asserting that his laws against them were now abrogated. The five decrees from November 16, 408, to the end of that year are supplemented by these two.

Two edicts in March and July forbid amusements ("voluptates") on Sunday, and ordain that Jews shall be exempt from public calls on their Sabbath (II. viii. 25, 26). On taxation an attempt .s made (XI. viii. 3) to prevent exactions from provincials by illegal weights and measures, and to provide them legal remedy, which the officials refuse them. See also XI. vii. 18 of exactions of officials. For other legislation of relief in this year see Tillemont, v. 575, and ref. The decisions are the subject of six decrees, the first on May 16, the others from September to December 8. No person serving in a decury ("mancipatus curiae") is to aspire to the oath of any kind of military service (XII. i. 168). Privileges are renewed to the decuries of Rome herself (XIV. i. 6). XIII. v. 77, much mutilated, seems to be a grant or concession, and cap. 171 (Dec. 8) fixes the time of holding the curial office in Gaul at sixteen years.

A.D. 410. In 410 there are four decrees (out of nineteen) on heresy, the mind of the imperial court being stedfastly abstracted from the fate of the city of Rome (which Honorius may or may not have confounded with the death of his old hen, Roma, as Procopius says he did). The Montanists, Priscillianists, and others, are forbidden military service, and other means of exemption from curial burdens (XVI. v. 48). To the intestacy of the Eunomians is added the reversion of bequests to the fisc, if no orthodox heir survive; c. 51 altogether abrogates a former imperial oraculum or rescript, by which certain heretics had been allowed to meet in secret. Taxes and arrears are excused to Africa (XI. xxviii. 5, 6). Amnesty for soldiers led into rebellion by their officers ("sacramenta sectati," IX. xxxviii. 11). XVI. xi. 3 confirms all existing religious statutes.

A.D. 411, 412. XVI. v. 52, January. Heavy fines, or total confiscation of property, on obstinate Donatists. Pressure is to be exercised by masters on their slaves, and by the local authorities on coloni. Heretical clergy banished from Africa (c. 53). Jovinian and others, his followers, to be corporally punished and banished to island of Boas, on coast of Dalmatia. XVI. ii. 40, 41, *De Episcopis.* Church properties exempted from fugatio (a kind of land-tax by acreage, Brisson), also from repairs of public roads and bridges. By c. 41 clergy are to be tried only before their bishops, and special care is to be taken to avoid scandal, by only bringing forward accusations which can be definitely proved. For perfect tolerance towards the Jews, XVI. viii. 20, 21.

De Expositis, V. vii. 2, is a humane law by which those who have left slaves to perish without support transfer their property in them to those who will support them. The fact to be proved before a bishop.

To resume external history. In the year 418 Wallia and his Visigoths were settled in the south-west of France with Toulouse for their capital. Britain was entirely lost, and the Armoricans were maintaining themselves in independence. A fresh revolt under another Maximus seems not to have been suppressed till 422. Wallia, however, acted in Spain as a feudal ally of the empire, won a succession of victories over the Alani, Vandals, and Suevi, and restored great part of the Peninsula to Honorius, who is said by Prosper's Chronicle to have entered Rome in triumph a second time. The Burgundians occupied the two provinces which still bear their name, and the Franks were settled on the Rhine. All continued to acknowledge the title of Honorius, and to hold titles from the empire; and all accepted the civil law and magistracy of Rome. Honorius himself had confirmed the independence of Britain and Armorica about 410.

Honorius was induced by Placidia to give Constantius a share in the empire, to make her Augusta, and her son Valentinian Nobilissimus Puer, in the year 421. Constantius died about seven months after, while preparing for war with Theodosius II., who had refused to recognise him as Augustus. This was probably a welcome event to Honorius, but he shewed great affection for his sister, rather absurdly as it appears, by too frequent kissing. This seems to have been offensively misinterpreted by their attendants, as by Gibbon, and may have been one of the causes of a violent quarrel, which caused alarm and tumult at Ravenna, and made it necessary for Placidia to retire to Constantinople. Within a few months after her departure Honorius died of dropsy in his fortieth year (423), Aug. 27.

The legislation of his later days has little historical interest, but the enactments which he published on paganism and heresy from 413 to 423 are as follows:—Two against repetition of baptism, 413; two against Donatists, v. 54, 55. These comprise (*T. C.* XVI. vi. 6, 7) the settlement effected by Marcellinus on Honorius's part at Carthage, between the orthodox and the Donatists, which, Tillemont says, brought the heresy to an end. Another follows the next year, against any public assemblage for heretical purposes, v. 56. By v. 57 Montanist congregations are forbidden; their clergy are to be banished if they attempt to ordain others. Harbourers to be deprived of the house or property where the heretic remained. Their places of meeting, if any are left standing, to be the property of the church. By c. 58 houses of Eunomian clergy are confiscated to the fisc; or any in which second baptism has been administered. Their clergy are exiled, and they are again deprived of testamentary and military rights. All these, except the last, are addressed to Africa. By III. xii. 4, marriage with a deceased wife's sister or husband's brother is forbidden.

XVI. x. 20. All pagan priests are required to return to their native place. Confiscation to the church or the emperor of lands and grounds used for pagan purposes. To become a pagan is now a capital offence. Next year (416) Gentiles, or persons guilty of participation in pagan rites, are excluded from the army, or from official or judicial positions.

In the last year of his life Honorius renews and confirms all his edicts against heresy, with special mention of Manichaeans, Phrygians, Priscillianists, Arians, Macedonians, Eunomians, Novatians, and Sabbatiani.

XVI. v. 59, 60. He is able to say that he believes there are very few pagans remaining, and so far his persecution may seem to have been successful, as with the Donatists and others. Other and more powerful causes were at work, and error and idolatry were taking other forms.

The statute (*T. C.* XVI. x. 22 and 23) runs thus, and seems remarkable enough for transcription:—"Paganos, si qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, promulgatorum legum jam dudum praescripta compescant." The next (c. 23) states that pagans caught in acts of idolatrous ceremonial ought to be capitally punished, but are only subject to loss of property and exile. He denounces the same sentence in c. 24 on Manichaeans and Pepuzitae, who are worse than all other heretics, he says: "quod in venerabili die Paschatis ab omnibus dissentiant." He ends with a strong caution against any violence on Christian pretences to pagans or Jews leading quiet and legal lives, with penalty of triple or fourfold restitution.

Two more decrees this year are for the restoration of all fabrics taken from the Jews, even for church purposes; or, at least, in case the holy mysteries have been celebrated in such buildings, that equal accommodation may be provided for the former holders. Honorius must have acted under dictation in this, as in all things. He possessed no character except a timid docility, with some natural goodness of heart or gentleness, which at least made those who led him captive to pity him. Otherwise he could not have continued to reign so disastrously for twenty-eight years. He seems to have engaged in persecution because, in fact, he could not be trusted with any other state work except mere pageantry. But it is not quite sufficiently considered, in excuse of the coercive action of his reign, that persecution was by no means an invention of his or Theodosius's, but an inheritance of the empire. Such questions as the expediency or the possibility of perfect toleration, the limits of pressure or coercion, and what body in the state is to exercise it, have been debated in theory, and hewn through in practice, from the beginnings of society to the present date, and are still unsettled. Nor can they be solved, unless the relation of the individual conscience to the public, and of the individual soul to the church, were accurately known and defined. That there is a point at which the church militant must cease to strive with invincible ignorance or determined error, leaving them to the civil power, as civil dangers or nuisances only; that her representatives are not to command, or strike with the sword, any more than remove their opponents by the suborned dagger, seem to be rules which the sad experience of eighteen hundred years has but imperfectly taught the Christian world. Only the great spirit of Athanasius seems to have anticipated them in his day, though he did not always act on them. The world knew no tolerance, and never had known it in Honorius's time; and his position as emperor compelled him to do as other emperors had done before him. The title of Divus Caesar had once had this most serious meaning, that Christians were subject to capital punishment for refusing to worship Caesar. The temptation to a Christian emperor to hold heresy or paganism an offence against the State, which he personified (at least on earth, and in heathen theory in heaven), was too much for man. Without asserting that all the faults of the Christian church may be traced to the fatal gift of Constantine, we cannot doubt that her alliance with the temporal power proved as dangerous as her investiture with temporal rule was fabulous. Pagan emperors had claimed to rule as personal and present divinity, and this claim had always specially embittered their persecution of the Christian faith. It was never, in fact, withdrawn; the ruler of Rome was invested with an awe beyond man, and that, in fact, descended to the mediaeval popedom. Constantine himself had allowed his

statues to be worshipped with incense and lights, and so most unhappily encouraged the earlier iconodulism of half Christianized Greeks. But the connexion he instituted between the temporal and spiritual power tempted a Christian despot, like Theodosius, under guidance of a great representative of the church, to think that God was surely with them in whatever persecuting edict they set forth; and thus Justinian's words, "Sacrilegii instar est dubitare" (*Cod.* IX. xxix. 3), were literally meant, and logically, if not conscientiously, believed. The empire could not forget its traditions. Excuses which are admitted by Christians for Aurelius or Diocletian ought to be considered in behalf of Theodosius and his sons. The fierceness and the necessities of their age have always been allowed, as palliations for the proceedings of Gardiner and Mary, and more grudgingly for those of Elizabeth.

It is conceivable, though it may not have been possible, and certainly did not happen, that St. Ambrose might have acted against all offenders as he did against Theodosius, with the spiritual weapon only. It is conceivable that he might have confined the church's handling of worldly punishment to protest and refusal of her rites and have warred on heresy by argument, instruction, and example of Christian ministry, and those means only. Paganism would certainly have expired as a religion with Alaric's sack of Rome and her temples. But the alliance between the imperial power and the new and searching principle of spiritual government was in fact too tempting for both, and became, as in later days, a league of despotism with superstition. Offences must have come, but it might have been within the power of Ambrose to utter some such protest on the death of Priscillianus (by Maximus's orders at Treves, 385), as should have established the rule that the church will not strike with the sword.* On the contrary, Theodosius's fifteen edicts in fifteen years, from 380–384, extend over the ministers, assemblies and persons of heretics, and make not only the Manichaean heresy punishable by death, but the Quartodeciman error as to keeping Easter. Ambrose, like other Churchmen, could not abstain from full use of the mighty arm of flesh at his command, and the institution of inquisitors must certainly have been an ecclesiastical measure. It was reserved for modern times, after 1500 years' experience of vain attempts at coercion, to despair of it at length, and acknowledge, not that error is sinless, but that it is not a crime on which the written law can rightly lay its hand.

Again, it should be remembered that the Christian faith had by its own influences so elevated and organized the influence of the human conscience as to have become a temporal power by the nature of things. The Christian spiritual power ruled men's persons and fortunes; the bishop was in fact obeyed by his large share of the population, and became a temporal magistrate because men made him arbitrate for them. (See Guizot, *Civ. in Europe*, Lect. II. p. 34, ed. Bohn.) He was consequently involved with the civil power in coercive measures of all kinds, and in all directions.

* See Gibbon, chap. xxvii. (v. ii. p. 528, ed. Milman). He observes (as the repetition of edicts in the Code proves) that the Theodosian and Honorian penalties were seldom enforced; referring to Sozomen, lvii. c. 12. See also p. 528 for the distress of Ambrose and Martin of Tours on the execution of Priscillian.

Lastly, the division of the empire, of which the deep-rooted pagan associations of Rome had been one cause, in its turn left Rome the last hold of paganism, as she continued to be till Alaric and Genseric pulled down the nests of the last Olympians. But the long continuing evil was not only that the empire was divided between Rome and Constantinople, but Italy between Rome and Milan or Ravenna. Ambrose must have felt that the remaining paganism of Rome was his chief difficulty, and his influence must have been accordingly exerted on Honorius in his first days. Hence, perhaps, his supineness and indifference to the fate of Rome, and perhaps, in a great degree, the paralysis of Italian defence as soon as the barbaric genius of Stilicho was withdrawn.

A coin of Honorius is figured in Smith's *Biographical Dictionary* under his name, and is probably the first in Eckhel's list, which correctly describes it as a head with the diadem or binding fillet set with pearls. The countenance has an inexpressiveness which may have belonged to the subject in a special degree, but certainly extends to most portraiture after the 3rd century. The reverse is a soldier with helmet and spear, and a shield bearing either a horseman or a cross. Others are commemorative of victory or peace. One represents the emperor in the paludamentum, bearing a globe and the labarum. On another, with Vota Publica, are two emperors with nimbi, which is important evidence of the derivation of that symbol from Imperial effigies (see Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of Prim. Ch.*, *Index* "Nimbus"). Another, the last mentioned, bears D.N. HONORIUS. P. AUG. with laurelled head, but has ASINA and an ass suckling a chicken, with Æ. III. on the other. Taninius considers this a heathen insult to Honorius as a Christian persecutor (parallel, it would seem, to the well-known "Graffito Blasfemo" recently discovered). The ass's head however, as Eckhel observes, is not the same thing as the whole animal. Could it be any insulting allusion to Honorius's feathered favourites? See Procopius's story above mentioned (*Bell. Vand.* lib. i. c. 2; Eckhel, vol. viii.). [R. St. J. T.]

HONORIUS (2), bishop of Milevis in Numidia, towards the end of the 4th century. He is mentioned by Augustine (*Contr. Petilian.* cap. 38) as having been deposed as unworthy, by the sentence of his fellow bishops. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 228.) [R. S. G.]

HONORIUS (3), bishop of Cella or Cellae Picentinae, a town of Byzacene, on the east coast, between Tacape and Tabalta, so named from its granary (Sidi-Meddub) (*Ant. Itin.* 50, 4; Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. 22), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Gesta Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. num. 126.) [H. W. P.]

HONORIUS (4), Donatist bishop of Bartana, probably in Byzacene, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411, at which he complained of the treatment which he had received from Victor, the Catholic bishop of the place. (*Gesta Coll. Carth.* cognit. i. num. 126.) [H. W. P.]

HONORIUS (5), a bishop, probably of the Numidian province, who appeared at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411, on behalf of Januarius, bishop of Casae Medianenses. As no other Catholic bishop of this name is mentioned, it is likely that he was the bishop of Cella mentioned above [HONORIUS (2)]. [JANUARIUS.] (*Coll. Carth.* i. 135.) [H. W. P.]

HONORIUS (6), a bishop present at the council of Milevis, against Pelagianism, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

HONORIUS (7), the name of three African bishops banished by Hunneric in 484, in the list of Victor Vitensis (*Notitia*, 58, 59, in Patr. Lat. lviii.), viz. of—

Aquae Albae in Mauretania Sitifensis. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 78.)

Benepota in Mauretania Tingitana (?). (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 100.)

Oppenna in Byzacene. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 251.) [R. S. G.]

HONORIUS (8) (II.?), bishop of Salona. He obtained the see, after a vacancy of thirteen years (A.D. 480–493). Two letters of pope Gelasius to Honorius are extant, written c. A.D. 495 (Migne, lix. 50–53), warning him to use all efforts to extinguish the Pelagian heresy (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* ii. 133–149). He died A.D. 505. [J. de S.]

HONORIUS (9) III., bishop of Salona, succeeding Stephanus, c. A.D. 528. He presided at the provincial synods held at Salona, A.D. 530–2. Farlati (*Illyric. Sacr.* ii. 161 et seq.) derived his account from a codex in the Barberini library, entitled *Historia Salonitanorum Pontificum.* Another MS., substantially the same, was edited by Joannes Lucius (Amstelod. 1668), and a third is preserved in the archives of the College of the Propaganda. Lucius and Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* v. 219) take different views as to the accuracy of the narrative; the former believing it interpolated in many places, the latter accepting it as a trustworthy authority. But it is very doubtful whether more than one synod was held in the lifetime of Honorius. It was attended by eight bishops, in addition to the metropolitan, and ten presbyters also signed the canons, which were thirteen in number. They deal with questions of discipline mainly; the clergy are forbidden to lend or borrow money without the consent of the bishop (§ 1, 2), or to move from one diocese to another without due sanction (§ 7); bishops are not to ordain except when additional clergy are needed (§ 8). In his episcopate Salona suffered severely from the Gothic war (A.D. 535–8). Honorius died A.D. 544. After his death he was mentioned by pope Vigilius in terms of severe censure (see *Epist. ad Rusticum*, Patrol. Lat. lxix. 44), as having permitted certain uncanonical ordinations. [J. de S.]

HONORIUS (10) IV., bishop of Salona, c. A.D. 566. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* ii. 211.) [J. de S.]

HONORIUS (11), 13th bishop of Sion, succeeding Heliodorus, and followed by Leudemundus, towards the close of the 6th century. It has been doubted whether he is not identical with Heliodorus, the twelfth bishop. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 736.) [S. A. B.]

HONORIUS (12), bishop of Brescia, c. 585. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 563.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONORIUS (13), bishop of Tarentum. He received a letter from Gregory the Great, allowing the use of a baptistery. (*Epist.* lib. xiii. indict. vi. ep. 20 in Migne, lxxvii. 1274.) [A. H. D. A.]

HONORIUS (14), bishop of Cordova from about 618. He attended the second council of Seville (619), presided over by St. Isidore, and appears to have been the junior bishop present (see order of signatures, Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 355). Can. 2 of the council decided a dispute between Honorius and Isidore's brother, FULGENTIUS of Ecija, as to the boundaries of their respective bishoprics. A church was claimed by one side as within the parish of Celti (Penaflor), and by the other as belonging to that of Regina (near Llerena; Cortez y Lopez, *Dicc. Geog.* ii. 341, iii. 304; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* ii. 33). The council orders commissioners to be sent to inquire into the matter. If ancient testimony is forthcoming on the side of the appellant bishop, the church is to be restored to him. If not, it is to remain in the hands of its present possessor, to whom an ownership of thirty years has given a prescriptive right, which prescriptive right is defined by the edicts of secular princes, and by the "auctoritas Presulum Romagnorum." (Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 667; *Esp. Sagr.* x. 232; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. (2) 85). [M. A. W.]

HONORIUS (15), bishop of Rome from Oct. 27, 625, to Oct. 12, 638, during nearly thirteen years; successor to Boniface V. and contemporary with the emperor Heraclius.

What makes his pontificate peculiarly memorable is the rise of the Monothelite heresy, and the implication in it of the pope himself. The unity of the Person of our Lord having been affirmed at Ephesus (431) against Nestorianism, and the distinct co-existence of His divine and human natures at Chalcedon (451) against the Monophysites, the further question now arose whether there were to be conceived as co-existing in Him two wills and two energies (*i.e.* operations of will), as well as two natures. On the one hand the idea of two wills, or of two energies, in the one Word made flesh, was felt by some to be inconsistent with Christ's undivided personality, and to involve the idea of internal conflict. On the other hand, the idea of one will only, or of one energy only, was felt to involve the Monophysite view of the absorption of the human nature into the divine. The question was brought into prominence through the intervention of the emperor Heraclius, who during his successful campaign against the Persians (from A.D. 622) seems to have become interested in it through conversations with Monophysite bishops in Syria and Armenia. It may be that he was thus led to conceive the idea of uniting by a common formula the Monophysites and orthodox, and effecting this purpose by the phrase "Divine-human Energy" (ἐνέργεια θεανδρική), as that by which the Incarnate Word worked. It had the recommendation to the orthodox of having been used in the writings

attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, whom both parties venerated,[a] and might satisfy the other party as denoting one energy of will only though of a compound nature. This, at any rate, was the formula now offered for acceptance. The emperor having consulted Cyrus bishop of Phasis in Colchis on the subject, and he feeling a difficulty about it, recourse was had to Sergius patriarch of Constantinople, who in his reply to Cyrus, though expressing himself vaguely, favoured the idea of one only energy in Christ rather than the other.[b] He rested his opinion, such as it was, entirely on the dicta of fathers, not on the merits of the question itself, being apparently a man of no great originality. No oecumenical council, he said, had determined the question; many venerable teachers of the church had spoken of one operation of will in Christ, but none, as far as he knew, of two; if any such could be found, his authority might be followed, it being right to adopt the very words of the fathers, and to avoid novelties (Serg. *Ep. ad Cyrum*). Cyrus was sufficiently satisfied with this reply to declare in a synod at Alexandria (to which patriarchal see he was soon after appointed) the doctrine of a single energy; and he is said to have succeeded, by means of comprehensive formulae on nine dogmatic points, in bringing thousands of Monophysites, who abounded there, into union with the orthodox church. But he was strenuously opposed by one Sophronius, a monk from Palestine, then in Alexandria, who insisted that the doctrine of one energy only led inevitably to Monophysitism. By mutual consent Sergius was again consulted, Sophronius himself undertaking a journey to see him. Sergius still adhered to the view he had already expressed, but was against framing any new dogma in its favour, for fear of giving offence or being misunderstood, and strongly advised discontinuance of the controversy, and to this effect he wrote to Cyrus. In 634 the monk Sophronius was made patriarch of Jerusalem, after which it was that pope Honorius became involved in the controversy. To him Sergius now wrote, stating what had been done, and seeking the concurrence of the bishop of Rome both with his own doctrinal views and with his policy of recommending silence. His own views, as expressed in this letter, are that the assertion of one energy or of two ought to be alike avoided, as calculated to cause offence and misunderstanding, the former as seeming to do away with the two natures which were united in Christ, the latter as seeming to imply two wills in Christ, contrary to each other, which (he says) would be impious. In reply Honorius sent two letters to Sergius, one on the receipt of his, the other after having been solicited by a deputation and a letter from Sophronius to declare for two wills and energies. In these two memorable letters, which were the ground of the charge against him of implication in heresy, he approves of the measures of Cyrus at Alexandria, which had resulted in the reconciliation of so many heretics, and agrees with Sergius in acknowledging but one will in Christ, and this both on the main ground taken by Sergius, that none of the fathers had spoken of two, and also on the merits of the question itself. But, as to one or two energies, he holds that neither Scripture nor councils had authorised the assertion of either view, and fully agrees with his correspondent that both assertions ought to be avoided, lest simple people should be betrayed by the one into Monophysitism, or by the other into Nestorianism. It is enough, he says, for men to believe that our one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, and very God, operates in two natures, divinely and humanly. In his disquisition on the merits of the question his main argument is the same which seems to have influenced Sergius, viz. that duality of will seems to him to involve contrariety, such as could not be in Him whose divinity had assumed, not our fallen human nature in which the flesh lusts against the Spirit, but our original uncorrupted nature. And he justifies the assertion of one will only in Christ, notwithstanding His complete humanity, by the supposed analogous case of its being orthodox to say that God suffered in Christ, though it was not in His divine nature that He suffered. In like manner, he argues, it is right to say that the same Divine Word willed throughout, in His human nature as well as in His divine. The obvious difficulty of the texts, "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me," and "not my will but thine be done," he attempts to get over by saying that Christ spoke thus for our sake, "to whom He gave an example, that we should follow His steps." Honorius wrote also to Cyrus and Sophronius, similarly enjoining silence.

These letters of Honorius to Sergius have been a source of difficulty to upholders of papal infallibility. The popes after him were consistent supporters of the doctrine of two wills. Of these John IV. (641) tried to explain away the alleged heresy of his predecessor by saying that he had only denied the existence in Christ of two contrary wills in His own members (cf. Rom. vii. 23), such as we have from our first parents' sin. (Johann. *Ep. ad Constantin. Imp. in collectan. Anastas.*; Mansi, x. 682.)[c] But, though this had been a main ground of Honorius's argument, it is evident from the extracts given above that he had built much more upon it; having apparently failed to see that the harmony between the flesh and the spirit in the humanity of Christ was a distinct question from that of the coexistence in the Incarnate Word of a human and a divine will. In all the measures taken afterwards at Rome against the Monothelites no mention is made of Honorius; but when in the 6th general council (680), the doctrine of two wills and two energies was finally asserted, Honorius was anathematized by name among other former upholders of heresy. "And with them we anathematize, and cast out of the holy Catholic Church, Honorius who was pope

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[a] *Οὐ κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεῖα δράσας, οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρωθέντος Θεοῦ καινήν τινα τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος.* (Dionys. Areop. *Ep. ad Gaium.*)

[b] "Atque eundem unum Christum operari Deo divina et humana una operatione, quia omnis divina et humana operatio ex uno eodemque Incarnato Verbo procedebat."

[c] "Quia in Salvatore nostro duae voluntates contrariae id est, in membris ipsius penitus non consistant, quoniam nihil vitii traxit ex praevaricatione primi hominis."

of the elder Rome, because we have found through his letters to Sergius that he followed his opinion in all respects, and confirmed his impious dogmas" (*Synod. Oecum.* vi. actio xiii.; Mansi, xi. 556). The same anathema was repeated in act. xvi. and act. xviii. (Mansi, xi. 622, 655). The acts of the council were signed by the legates of pope Agatho, and it was accepted as oecumenical both in the East and West. Further, Leo II., the successor of Agatho, in his letter to the emperor Constantine, in which he confirms the council, writes: "We anathematize . . . and also Honorius, who did not purify this apostolic church by the teaching of the apostolic tradition, but by profane treachery endeavoured to pollute the undefiled." (Mansi, xi. 731.)[d] See also his letter to the Spanish bishops (Mansi, xi. 1052), and to Evagrius, king of Spain (*ib.* p. 1057). Also in the profession of faith, subscribed by subsequent popes on their accession, they anathematized "Sergium, &c. . . . una cum Honorio, qui pravis eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit" (*Lib. Diurn.* cap. ii. tit. 9, professio 2). In the face of these facts the orthodoxy of Honorius has been since maintained by the assumption of one or other of the following positions: 1. That the 6th oecumenical council erred, not of course in its definitions of faith, but as to the matter of fact about Honorius. 2. That it was not for heresy, but for negligence in suppressing heresy, that he was condemned. 3. That he was never condemned at all, the acts of the council having been corrupted. The first of these positions is taken by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who cites in confirmation the letter of pope John IV. above referred to (Anastas. *Ep. ad Joan. Diac. Collectanea*); also by Cardinal Turrecremata (*de Eccles.* l. 2, c. 93); Bellarmine (*de Rom. Pontif.* 4, 11); Cardinal Pallavicino (*Hist. Concil. Trident.* 7, 4); Melchior Canus (*de Locis Theolog.* 5, 5); Arsdekin (*Theolog. tripart.* 3, *quaest.* 3); and Franciscus Antonius Cavalcanti (*Vindiciae Roman. Pontif.* Romae, 1749). It is argued on this head that a general council, as well as a pope, may err in matters *de facto*, though not in matters *de jure*. This position involves the assumption, either that the language of Honorius in the letters as we have them was misunderstood, or that the letters themselves were spurious or interpolated. The latter is the contention of Bellarmine, who, further, to the allegation that at any rate a general council thought a pope capable of error on a matter of faith, replies that it was as a private person, not as a pope, that he was regarded as thus capable. The second position is taken by De Marca (Baluz. *in ejus Vita Praefixa Libris de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imp.*); Garnier (*Append. ad not.* cap. 2, *Libri Diurn. Rom. Pontif.*); Tamaquinus (*Hist. Monothel.*); Pagi (*ad ann.* 533), and Combefisius (*Hist. Monothel.*). But see the language of the acts of the council, above quoted. The third position is maintained at great length by Baronius. See also Binius (*note on* Honorius). The contention is that the name of Honorius has been substituted in the acts of the council for that of Theodorus, a deposed Monothelite patriarch of Constantinople. The grounds for this contention are that pope Agatho, whose letter to the council was accepted as an oracle of God, had stated in his letter to the emperor (which was read at the council) that all his predecessors had resisted heresy; and further that Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*in Compendio Actuum Synodal.*) says that Theodorus was condemned by name, whereas in the extant acts of the council his name does not appear. Further, the letter of Leo II. to the emperor is supposed by Baronius to be spurious, and by Bellarmine to be corrupt. On the position thus taken by Baronius, Bower (*History of the Popes*, Agatho) remarks, "Nothing, surely, but the utmost despair could have suggested to the annalist so desperate a shift." Against all these evasions see Bower (as above), Richer (*Histor. Concil. General.* i. 296), Du Pin (*de Antiq. Eccles. Discipl.* p. 349), Bossuet (*Defensio*).

[d] "Anathematizamus . . . necnon et Honorium, qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicae traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana proditione immaculatam subvertere conatus est."

Early in his pontificate (626) Honorius took up the cause of Adaloald, king of the Lombards, who, according to Paulus Diaconus (*de Gestis Longobard.* l. 4, c. 3), had been deposed on the ground of insanity in favour of Arioald, his sister's husband. A letter from the pope to Isacius, exarch of Ravenna, has been preserved, in which he animadverts on the bishops beyond the Po having supported Arioald, and desires the exarch to send them to Rome for due punishment, after the hoped for restoration of the deposed king to his throne.

In the latter part of his reign (634) he sent palls to Honorius and Paulinus, the metropolitans respectively of Canterbury and York, with directions that, in the event of the death of either, the other should consecrate a successor without the necessity of having recourse to Rome. Bede (*H. E.* ii. 17, 18) gives the letters which he wrote on this occasion to Edwin, king of Northumbria, and to Honorius, in the former of which he exhorted the king to perseverance to good works, and to frequent perusal of the writings of St. Gregory. Bede also states that he wrote to the Scots on the Easter question, which then divided them from the English Christians of the Roman obedience, exhorting them to conform to the catholic usage (*H. E.* ii. 19).

There are extant several letters of Honorius, including those given by Bede, to be found in Mansi, and other collections, and described by Jaffé in the *Regesta Pontificum*, pp. 156–159. Those to Sergius, with that of Sergius to him and others bearing on the Monothelite controversy, are preserved in the acts of the 6th oecumenical council.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius says that Honorius repaired many churches, and enriched others with valuable gifts, and that he obtained leave from the emperor to cover the church of St. Peter with gilt copper tiles, removed from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; also that he instructed the clergy, and instituted a weekly litany on Saturdays in procession to the churches of St. Apollinaris and St. Peter, to be joined in by the whole people. [J. B—y.]

HONORIUS (16), the fifth archbishop of Canterbury. Of his life before he became archbishop nothing more is known than that he was a Roman, and had been, as stated by Bede and also

by pope Zachary, one of the disciples of St. Gregory (Bede, *H. E.* v. 19; Bonif. *Epp.* ed. Jaffé, p. 185). If this is not a mere supposition on the part of those authorities, Honorius must have been over forty years when he was raised to the episcopate. The exact date of his promotion has never been quite ascertained. The chief data for fixing it are the notices given by Bede in reference to the succession of East Anglian bishops, of whom two at least were consecrated by Honorius. Bisi, bishop of Dunwich, who was present at the council of Hertford in 673, was consecrated by Theodore, *i.e.* in 669 at the earliest. His predecessor, Boniface, had ruled for seventeen years under Honorius, who consecrated him; his appointment cannot be thrown later than 653, in which year Honorius died, and may be placed earlier, as it seems not improbable that he was dead in 667, when Wighard was sent for consecration to Rome. Thomas, the predecessor of Boniface, had ruled for five years, and Felix, the first East Anglian bishop, who was either consecrated or recognised as bishop by Honorius, exercised his office for seventeen years. Supposing that no long interval occurred between the successive East Anglian bishops, a period of twenty-two years at least must have intervened between the appointment of Felix and that of Boniface; in other words, the beginning of the episcopate of Felix cannot be placed later than 631, and most probably was earlier, probably as early as 628. Hence it seems a natural inference that the date assigned by the Anglo-Saxon chronicle for the death of Justus and succession of Honorius, A.D. 627, should be accepted. (See Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* i. 92, 93; Smith's notes on Bede; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 73, 82; Bede, *H. E.* iii. 20.) This date may be held to receive some slight confirmation from the consensus of the medieval chronologists, who generally give twenty-six years as the length of the episcopate of Honorius (see *Ang. Sac.* i. 2, 87; Will. Malm. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 6, &c.).

The consecration of Honorius was performed by Paulinus, now bishop of York, and the only remaining bishop of the Roman succession. It took place at Lincoln, in the stone church just built by the "praefectus" Blaecca (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 16, 18), probably in the early spring of 628. In seeking consecration from Paulinus Honorius was acting in accordance with the intention of St. Gregory as declared to Augustine, touching the relations of the two metropolitan sees, but Paulinus had not yet received his pall, and there was moreover no alternative if the new archbishop were to be consecrated in England.

Although the personal action of Honorius can be traced in only a few of the events which happened during his long pontificate, what little is known of him marks him as a missionary, and, in will at least, the founder of new churches. One of his first acts must have been to welcome and consecrate, or recognise the episcopal character of Felix the Burgundian, who not later than 631 began the conversion of East Anglia. Another would be to receive the widowed queen of king Edwin of Northumbria and the missionary party headed by Paulinus, who were obliged to return to Kent after the battle in which Edwin and the Christianity of the North fell before Penda. Paulinus was settled by Honorius in the see of Rochester, not later than the year 633. In 634 pope Honorius I., who had not heard of the fall of Edwin, sent from Rome two palls for the two metropolitans, with a letter addressed apparently to the two conjointly, in which he rules that for the future the new archbishop is to be consecrated by his surviving colleague. The letter, which was accompanied by one addressed to Edwin, is dated June 11, 634, nine months after Edwin's death. So much had the intercourse between Rome and Canterbury lost of its original regularity and frequency. (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 17, 18.)

Another letter addressed by pope Honorius to the archbishop, and assigning the primacy to Canterbury, has been preserved by the monks of Christ Church, but it is subject to the same suspicions which affect the genuineness of the other documents in the same series (Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. i. § 32; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 85); it is without date, but cannot be thrown later than 638, when the pope died. Its regulations are contradictory to those of the former letter, which places the two metropolitan sees on an equal footing; so that, if genuine, it must have been drawn up after the pope had learned the destruction of the Northumbrian church. But even this is highly improbable.

With the conversion of the West Saxons, which began about 634, Honorius seems to have had nothing to do. The powerful secular agency exerted in that direction by Oswald of Northumbria was prompted by the Scottish rather than the Kentish church. With the Scottish prelates, however, especially Aidan, Honorius was on friendly terms, although the intercourse probably did not reach the point of intercommunion. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 25.)

In 640 Honorius saw the death of king Eadbald, who since his conversion had continued steady in support of the church. Unfortunately the history of the saints of the Kentish royal house is so full of legendary matter that no historical deductions can be drawn from it, and it is impossible to say what share Honorius may have had in educating or guiding the monastic heroines of Kentish history.

In 644 Paulinus died, and Ithamar, his successor in the see of Rochester, was consecrated by Honorius. He was the first Englishman who was made bishop, and continued the Canterbury succession as consecrator of Deusdedit (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 14, 20). A few years later Honorius consecrated Thomas, a Gyrvian deacon, as successor to Felix of East Anglia; and on the death of Thomas, after an episcopate of five years, Berhtgils, or Boniface, a Kentish man, in his place (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 20). This must have been among the last acts of his administration. He died on the 30th of September 653, and was buried with his predecessors in the north porch of the church of St. Augustine (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 20). A poetical epitaph is given, as usual, by Elmham (ed. Hardwick, p. 183).

The episcopate of Honorius, long as it was, was marked by no great development within the immediate area of his influence. The right hand of fellowship was extended to the East Anglian mission, and one bishop of East Anglia was supplied from Kent; but no attempt seems to have been made to recover Essex or Sussex, which were left to the later exertions of the

northern missionaries. This seeming weakness of the Kentish church may be attributed to three things, the great age of Honorius, who must have been over seventy at the time of his death; the slightness of the connexion with Rome, which had now become rare and intermittent; and the preponderating influence of Penda in the middle of England. But, further than this, even the monastic chroniclers abstain from making Honorius a great monastic founder. He appears in Elmham merely as the consecrator of abbat Petronius at St. Augustine's (p. 175); and his name occurs in no single charter, forged or genuine. His life, by Gosselinus, still in MS., contains, according to Sir T. D. Hardy, nothing of historical importance; the biography by Capgrave is an abridgment of that work (*Nova Legenda*, f. 181; *Acta SS.* Bolland. Sept. vol. viii. p. 691). A short poetical life is contained in the Lambeth MS. 159. Modern views of Honorius and his episcopate may be found in Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. pp. 110–123; and in Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History*. [S.]

HONORIUS (17), bishop of Malaga from about 690. He appears at the 16th council of Toledo, 693, where his signature is twenty-third among fifty-eight. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xii. 323.) [PATRICINUS.] [M. A. W.]

HONORIUS (18), recluse in Ramsey island off the coast of Pembroke, A.D. 529 (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 45, Ind. Chron. ad an.). [J. G.]

HONORIUS (19), bishop of Eliberi, twenty-eighth in the list of the bishops of the see, copied by Florez from the *Codex Aemilianensis*. (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 103, 139.) [M. A. W.]

HONORIUS (20)—June 19. Martyr at Rome with Evodius and Petrus. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Hippolytus. (*Mart. Hieron.*) [G. T. S.]

HONWYN, HOWYN, Welsh saint. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 45.) [HYWYN.] [J. G.]

HOOC, a priest and abbat who attests the grant of Oethilred to Ethelburga (Kemble, *C. D.* 35), in 692 and the questionable or spurious grant of Erkenwald to the monastery of Barking, dated 695. (*Ib.* 38; *Mon. Angl.* i. 438.) [S.]

HOOTFRIDUS (HOTIFREDUS), seventeenth bishop of Carpentras, succeeding Oloradus and followed by Agapitus, is said to have sat from 747 to 752. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 898; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 747, n. xxvii. 752, n. clxviii.) [S. A. B.]

HOR (OR, Ὤρ, Soz.), Egyptian monk, cir. 400, contemporary with Rufinus and Palladius, from whom our fullest information of him is derived (Ruf. *Hist. Monach.* cap. 2; Pallad. *Laus. Hist.* cap. 9). In his early days he buried himself in the remotest solitudes, but in his old age, directed by a vision, he removed to the vicinity of Thebes. Numbers flocked to him, and he became "the father of many monasteries." These were populous communities, a thousand brethren appearing to be the usual number, and on one occasion three thousand are mentioned. Sozomen (vi. 28) and Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xi. 34) in their briefer notices place Hor in the Thebaid, as does Rufinus, who visited him there; but Palladius represents him as occupying the mountain bordering on Nitria. The monasteries he superintended were therefore probably in both districts. Hor was famed for his virtues and his wisdom. The current anecdotes reported that he was never known to lie, to swear, to curse, or without necessity even to speak. The monk Pystus once went to visit him and his companion Athre, the latter being as famed for obedience as Hor was for humility. Pystus asked them for a saying. Hor replied to this effect: "Whatsoever you behold, go and practise it: for God helps him who is forcing himself to deeds beyond his own strength." (Heraclid. *Paradisus*, cap. 2 in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 260 a; *Verba Seniorum*, libell. iii. §§ 7, 8, libell. xv. § 43, in Patr. Lat. lxxiii. 961, 1008.) Rufinus describes him at the age of ninety as one who from his very dress seemed invested with an angelic honour (in allusion, as Rosweyde notes, to the ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα worn by Egyptian monks of advanced age and sanctity), having a long beard, hair of dazzling whiteness, and a countenance so beaming with happiness that he appeared scarcely to belong to earth. Jerome, however, in his letter to Ctesiphon (ep. 133, § 3, p. 1030, ed. Vallars. in Patr. Lat. xxii. 1151), reckons Hor as one of the Origenist heretics. He is placed in the *Menaea* under Aug. 7. [C. H.]

HORAEA (Ὡραία), according to the SETHITES, the wife of Seth (Epiph. *Haer.* 39, p. 286). Mosheim conjectures instead of Horaea, Norea (see Irenaeus, I. 30, p. 111). Epiphanius states that the word Horaea was used by the heretical sects as the name of a certain power, and remarks that according to the *Book of Jubilees* the name of the wife of Seth was not Hornea, but Azurah (compare Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 368; and Ewald, *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* 1850, p. 253). [G. S.]

HORAEUS. [HEBDOMAD.]

HORMISDAS (1), a Persian prince, brother of Sapor II., a convert to Christianity, who visited the martyrs Bonosus and Maximilian in prison, and solicited their prayers, in the reign of Julian. The authority for him is the *Acta* of those martyrs contained in an ancient monastic manuscript printed by Ruinart, who states in a note that Hormisdas had spent forty years at the court of Constantine and Constantius. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc. Mart.* p. 595.) [C. H.]

HORMISDAS (2), bishop of Philippopolis in Arabia, to the south of Bostra. He signed the first three decrees of the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 569; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 861.) [J. de S.]

HORMISDAS, Persian prince. [HORMISDATSCIRUS].

HORMISDAS, martyr. [HORMISDATES.]

HORMISDAS, bishop. [HORMIZAS.]

HORMISDAS (3), bishop of Rome after Symmachus from July 26, A.D. 514, to Aug. 6, 523, for a little more than nine years, Anasta-

sius and Justin being successively emperors of the East, and Theodoric ruling the West as king of Italy. He was a native of Frusino in Campania, the son of one Justus. Pope Silverius (acc. A.D. 536) is said to have been his son. (Liberat. *Breviar.* 22.)

The memorable event of his pontificate was the restoration of communion between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, which had been interrupted since the year 484, in connexion with the Eutychian heresy. [See FELIX III. and ACACIUS.] The first overtures were made in the year 515 by the emperor Anastasius, moved thereto by pressure of circumstances rather than inclination. He had previously been distinguished as an upholder of Eutychianism and a persecutor of orthodoxy; he had banished orthodox bishops, including especially Macedonius the patriarch of Constantinople, for whom (A.D. 511) he had substituted the Monophysite Timotheus. In concert with him he had in 512 caused the clause (first introduced by the notorious Peter the fuller, and considered to involve Monophysitism), "who was crucified for us," to be added to the Trisagion, when sung at Constantinople; in consequence of which there had been a tumult and bloodshed in the church, and afterwards a popular sedition, accompanied by much slaughter, which the emperor had been only able to appease by deceitful promises of concession. (Marcellinus Comes, Cedrenus.) In 513 he had banished Flavianus the patriarch of Antioch, and intruded into the see a Monophysite, Severus, who is said to have greatly persecuted the orthodox there. In 512 the orthodox bishops of the East had applied to pope Symmachus for admission to communion with Rome; but, as they were unwilling to erase from their diptychs the name of the deceased patriarch, Acacius, whose excommunication by pope Felix had been the original cause of the breach with Rome, the attempt had failed.

What moved at length the emperor himself to seek reconciliation with the pope was the fact of Vitalian, a Scythian, the commander of the imperial cavalry, having taken up the cause of orthodoxy, made himself master of Thrace, Scythia, and Mysia, and marched with an army of Huns and Bulgarians to the gates of Constantinople. Anastasius had been obliged to procure peace by assenting to three conditions: 1st, that persecution of the orthodox should cease; 2nd, that deposed orthodox bishops should be restored to their sees; 3rd, that he should summon a council at Heraclea, to which the pope should be invited, and where free discussion should be allowed. (Theophan. *Chron. ad an. Imp. Anast.* 23.) Now it was (A.D. 515) that the emperor wrote to Hormisdas, desiring his concurrence in restoring unity to the church by means of the council he proposed to summon, and saying that he would have made overtures sooner but for the hardness (*duritia*) of former popes. Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, wrote at the same time, expressing his desire of union. Hormisdas, in his guarded reply to the emperor, thanks God for inspiring him with a desire for union, but declines to write more at length till he should learn the purpose of the proposed council. He replied also in general terms to the letter of Dorotheus. The emperor now wrote a second letter, in which he invites the pope, with such of his bishops as he might select, to attend a council already summoned to meet at Heraclea, "for declaring the faith and obviating doubt and discord." To this proposal Hormisdas was not prepared to accede till he saw better what the emperor was driving at. He sent accordingly legates to Constantinople,—two bishops, Ennodius and Fortunatus, a presbyter, Venantius, a deacon, Vitalis, and Hilarus a notary,—charged with letters to the emperor and to Vitalian, together with a statement of the necessary conditions of union. These were: 1. That the emperor should issue a written declaration to all the bishops of his dominion that he accepted the council of Chalcedon and the letters of pope Leo. 2. That a like declaration should be publicly signed by the Eastern bishops, who should also anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Aelurus, Peter Mongus, Peter the Fuller, and also Acacius, with all their followers. 3. That persons exiled for religion should be recalled, and their cases reserved for the judgment of the apostolic see. 4. That such exiles as had been in communion with Rome and professed the catholic faith should in the first place be at once recalled. 5. That bishops accused of having persecuted the orthodox should be sent to Rome to be judged. Thus at the outset, as ever afterwards, the pope took his stand on a very different ground from what was contemplated by the emperor. The latter proposed a free discussion in council of the questions at issue between the Monophysites and the orthodox. The pope required the unqualified acceptance of orthodoxy, and submission to himself as the head of Christendom, before he would treat at all. He did not reject the idea of a council, but he did not wish for one, none being wanted from his point of view. The Easterns had but to renounce their errors, and accept the terms of reconciliation dictated by the apostolic see, and peace would be at once restored. The legates had also private instructions given them by the pope in writing, which curiously illustrate his suspicion of the emperor, and his adroit diplomacy. They are instructed to treat any bishops who may receive them on their arrival in Greece with suitable respect, for fear of seeming to the people averse to union, and to accept lodging from them, but at the same time to decline entertainment at their tables, or provisions and gifts beyond the necessary charges for their onward journey. Arrived at Constantinople, they are to receive no one but the emperor's own messengers till they have been admitted to his presence; after which admission they may hold intercourse with orthodox and well-affected persons, from whom they are to try to elicit information as to the real designs of the court. They are to be resolute in refusing to be introduced to the emperor by the patriarch Timotheus, or to allow his presence at their interview, alleging the pope's orders that no bishop should be present, and saying, if necessary, that they had matters to communicate with respect to the patriarch himself which he must not hear. Minute directions are given them for their interview with the emperor. First, they are to deliver the pope's letter, with courteous assurances of the prayers of the holy father, and his desire for union. The letter being read, they are to make the significant intimation that the holy father had also charged them with a letter

to the emperor's servant, Vitalian, and to request leave to deliver it. But they are to plead the pope's orders against letting the emperor see it, at the same time disdaining earnestly, if necessary, the imputation of its containing any secret commission, or of the legation having any object but the maintenance of the constitutions of the fathers, and the expulsion of heretics from the church. Should the emperor reply that such was also his own purpose in inviting the pope to the proposed council, they are to intimate gradually that the end would be attained by the maintenance of the council of Chalcedon and the letters of pope Leo. If the emperor should declare his acceptance of the council and the letters, they are to affect great joy, and kiss his breast; and then to intimate by degrees, and with humility and circumspection, but finally mixing tears with their entreaties, and reminding him of the day of judgment, the necessity of his declaring his acceptance publicly and in writing. Should he demand of them that they should in the meantime accept Timotheus as bishop of Constantinople, they are to plead, with much deference, that there are two claimants to the see, and that, according to the canons, the case between them should be reserved for judgment after Catholic unity had been restored; and they are here to bring in again the name of Vitalian, reminding the emperor of what he had promised him. In case of the emperor's consenting to issue the required declaration, one of the legates is to see personally to its publication in all the provinces; and they are to inform the pope by letter of the progress of things. They are also charged that, if memorials against any bishops should be presented to them, they are to receive them, but take care to reserve them for the judgment of the apostolic see. (Hormisd. *Ep.* iv. Indiculus. Labb.)

This legation failed, inasmuch as Anastasius, though now professing orthodoxy, demurred to the condition of erasing the name of Acacius from the diptychs. But he continued his overtures. Next year (516) he sent two distinguished laymen to Rome with a letter to Hormisdas, pleading that the question of the name of Acacius might be deferred for the consideration of the projected council. He wrote also to the senate of Rome and to king Theodoric, desiring their good offices. But Hormisdas continued resolute, and the ambassadors returned with letters from the pope and senate, which were such that the emperor dismissed the bishops already assembled at Heraclea for the intended council. In a letter to Avitus of Vienne (A.D. 517) the pope, referring to this embassy, complains of the fruitless and perfidious promises of the Greeks, and especially of laymen instead of ecclesiastics having been sent; and this, he says, "not with the intention of getting out of the mire in which they were immersed, but of obscuring the clearness of the catholic faith with their own darkness." In the same letter he rejoices at the faithfulness of the churches of Gaul, as well as of Thrace, Dardania, and Illyricum, which had stood firm against persecution in the communion of Rome. It appears that forty bishops of Illyricum and Greece had renounced obedience to their metropolitan of Thessalonica, and sent to Hormisdas to seek communion with Rome (Theophan. *Chron.*).

The next step was taken by Hormisdas himself, who, building on the emperor's political necessities, sent, in 517, a second embassy to the East, with increased instead of relaxed demands. It consisted of two bishops, Ennodius, before employed, and Peregrinus of Mizenum, who carried letters to the emperor, to the orthodox bishops, monks, and people, and this time to Timotheus the patriarch, who had not been addressed before. They were charged also with a rule of faith (*regula fidei*) for the signature of all who desired reconciliation with Rome, which was more exacting than any previous document. The signers of it are to declare that, mindful of the text "Thou art Peter," &c. the truth of which has been proved by the immaculate religion ever maintained by the apostolic see, they profess in all things to follow that see, "in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion," and to desire communion with it. Accordingly they accept, not only the decrees of Chalcedon and the "tome" of pope Leo, but also all the letters on religion that he had ever written; and they not only anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Timothy Aelurus, Peter Fullo, and Acacius, with all their followers, but also exclude from their diptychs all who had been "sequestrated from Catholic communion," which is explained to mean communion with the apostolic see. This involved the post-mortem excommunication of bishops, however orthodox themselves, who had lived and died during the interruption of communion with Rome, and notably of Euphemius and Macedonius of Constantinople, who had not only professed the true faith, but had even been deposed and banished for doing so. Such demands ended the negotiations with Anastasius, who peremptorily dismissed the legates, and sent a reply to Hormisdas, dated July 11, A.D. 517, in which he expatiates on the gentle and forgiving spirit of Christ and His religion, by way of contrasting it with that of the pope, and ends thus: "Henceforth we repress our request in silence, deeming it unreasonable to entreat those who contumaciously reject entreaties; we can bear to be injured and set at naught; we will not be commanded." (Hormisd. *Epp. post Ep.* xxii. Labb.)

Persecutions were now renewed in the East. Severus of Antioch is accused of having caused the monasteries of the orthodox in Syria Secunda to be burnt, and 350 monks to be massacred. The survivors, having applied in vain to the emperor for redress, sent a deputation to the pope, carrying a letter with 169 signatures, in which their woes are detailed. They acknowledge in ample terms the supremacy of "the most holy and blessed patriarch of the whole world," "the successor of the Prince of the Apostles," and "the Head of all," implore him to exercise his power of binding and loosing in defence of the true faith, and anathematize all heretics, Acacius among the rest (*Inter Epp.* Hormisd. *post Ep.* xxii. Labb.). To this appeal (which is among the instances of the authority accruing to the Roman see from its being resorted to for support against surrounding oppression) Hormisdas replied in a long letter, addressed to all the orthodox in the East, in which he exhorts them to steadfastness in the faith of Chalcedon, and to patience under present straits. (In Act. V. *Concil. Constantin.* Labb. vol. v. p. 1111.)

The death of Anastasius (July 9, A.D. 518), and the accession of the orthodox Justin, changed the aspect of affairs. During divine service at Constantinople, while John the Cappadocian (who had lately succeeded Timotheus as patriarch) was officiating with his clergy, the populace, who had been all along on the orthodox side, seem to have made a most unseemly riot in the church in the impatience of their orthodox zeal. Cries of "Long live the emperor!" "Long live Augusta!" "Long live the patriarch!" "Thou art orthodox, whom art thou afraid of?" "Out with Severus the Manichean!" "Out with the Manicheans; dig up their bones!" and the like, interrupted the service for hours. "Manichean" seems to have served as a general term for "heretic." The patriarch made speeches to them from the ambo, begging them to wait for a synod under the emperor's sanction; but they would not brook delay. By continued cries, by closing the doors of the church, and saying they would not leave it till he had done what they wanted, they compelled him to proclaim the acceptance of the four general councils, including Chalcedon, to anathematize Severus of Antioch, and to recite from the diptychs the names of Euphemius and Macedonius (the orthodox successors of Acacius, who had been deposed for their orthodoxy), and also that of pope Leo. After this a synod was held, attended by some forty bishops, which ratified what the patriarch had done, and pronounced the deposition of Severus of Antioch. Letters were sent to various Eastern metropolitans, including those of Jerusalem, Tyre, and Syria Secunda, who forthwith reported to the synod the full acceptance of orthodoxy by their several churches (*Concil. Constantinop.* Act v.; Labb. vol. v. p. 1131, &c.).

Coercive measures were used by Justin. He issued two edicts, in one of which (not extant, but referred to in the Acts of St. Sabas), he ordered the restoration of the orthodox exiled by Anastasius, and the acknowledgment of the council of Chalcedon in the diptychs of all churches. In the second (referred to in an edict of Justinian against heretics), he declared heretics incapable of all public offices, civil or military. He ordered also the deposition of heretical bishops (Liberat. *Breviar.* c. 19), and (according to Evagrius, lib. iv. cap. 4) directed Severus of Antioch, who continued to denounce the council of Chalcedon, to be seized and have his tongue cut out. But he escaped to Alexandria, where, with Julianus of Halicarnassus, he was protected by the Eutychian patriarch Timotheus (cf. Theophan. *Chron.* ad an. Imp. Justin. i.; Procopius, *Hist. Arcan.* c. 6).

Letters were now sent to Hormisdas from the emperor, from the patriarch John the Cappadocian, from other bishops, and from Justinian, the emperor's nephew, who was eventually his successor. The pope replied at once and cordially, but distinctly told the patriarch that the erasure of the name of Acacius, and the subscription of the rule of faith rejected by Anastasius, must be the first steps to restoration of communion. Next year (519) Hormisdas sent a legation to Constantinople, consisting of two bishops, Germanus and John, a presbyter Blandus, and two deacons, Felix and Dioscorus. These he charged with letters, not only to the emperor and patriarch, but also to the empress Euphemia, and to other persons of distinction, including three influential ladies, Anastasia, Palmatia, and Anicia. They carried with them the *libellus* which has been described above, to be signed by all who desired reconciliation. They had also private instructions given them of a similar character to those which had been given for the guidance of the legates sent formerly to Anastasius with differences suiting the changed circumstances. They were in these directed to communicate on their road with any bishops who would sign the *libellus*, but not even to accept hospitality from such as would not—only provision for their journey, if needed. At Constantinople they might receive persons known to be orthodox, and the emperor's emissaries, but no one else, till their interview with him. Admitted to his presence, they were to insist on John the patriarch signing the *libellus*. Should he and the emperor, while consenting to condemn Acacius, demur to including Euphemius and Macedonius, they were to say they had no authority to alter the terms. In case, however, of continued refusal direct repudiation of the two prelates might be omitted, on condition of their names being at any rate erased from the diptychs. John having been on these terms received into communion, his *libellus* was to be read, if possible, publicly, or at any rate in the presence of the bishops and archimandrites. The emperor was to be requested to write to all metropolitans, sending them a letter from the patriarch, in which he should tell them what he had done, and exhort them to do the same. Should the emperor refuse to write, John was at least to be required to do so.

The legates kept the pope informed by letter of their progress. On their road they had been received with joy at Aulon, Scampes, and Lychnidus in Macedonia; the *libellus* had been signed, and communion restored. At Thessalonica Dorotheus, the bishop there, had put them off on the plea that all the bishops under his jurisdiction were not present; but he had promised that if one of the legates would return thither from Constantinople the terms required would be complied with. At Constantinople they had been met by Vitalian, Justinian, and other senators, and conducted into the city amid acclamations; they had been received by the emperor in the presence of the senate, and a deputation of four bishops to represent the patriarch, who was himself absent, but with whom the emperor proposed to the legates that they should confer. But they replied that they had not come to dispute, but to offer terms for acceptance. The *libellus* was read; the bishops present had nothing to say against it, and the emperor and senators recommended them to accept it. But the patriarch proved unwilling to sign it as it stood. At a second meeting in the palace, at which he was present, he proposed to write a letter of his own instead; and at length, after much contention, it was agreed that he might embody the libellus unaltered in a letter, prefacing it with his own preamble. This was done, the names of Acacius and his successors in the see, Fravitas, Euphemius, Macedonius, and Timotheus, and those of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs; the bishops of other cities, and the archimandrites also, who had been previously reluctant, now

came to terms; and the legates wrote to the pope expressing wonder and thankfulness that so complete a triumph had been won without sedition, tumult, or shedding of blood.

The preamble by which the patriarch sought to save his conscience or his dignity was meant as a protest against the claim of Rome to dictate terms of communion to Constantinople, and an assertion of the co-ordinate authority of his own see. He says in it, "Know therefore, most holy one, that, according to what I have written, agreeing in the truth with thee, I too, loving peace, renounce all the heretics repudiated by thee: for I hold the most holy churches of the elder and of the new Rome to be one; I define that see of the apostle Peter and this of the imperial city to be one see." The same view of the unity of the two sees is expressed in the letter which he wrote on the occasion to Hormisdas. And even Justin, in his own letter to the pope, guards against implying that the authority of Constantinople was inferior to that of Rome, saying that "John, the prelate of our new Rome, with his clergy, agrees with you," and that "all concur in complying with what is your wish, as well as that of the Constantinopolitan see."

Peace being thus concluded at Constantinople, a deputation was sent to Thessalonica, headed by bishop John, the papal legate, according to the agreement previously made, to receive the submission of the church there. Licinius, nominated by the emperor, was one of the number. Here matters were not so easily arranged. A priest, Aristides, accompanied by two bishops, was appointed by Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, to meet the deputation. He objected to certain parts of the *libellus*, but was told that it could not be altered. At a second interview an infuriated crowd rushed in, killed two boys attending bishop John, and broke the head of the bishop, who with the rest narrowly escaped alive. An orthodox person, called John, who had entertained the legate, was also attacked and slain. After this Dorotheus tore the *libellus* in two before the people, and declared that never to the day of his death would he sign it or assent to such as did. He, with Aristides, was accused by the papal legates of having instigated the mob. Hormisdas, on hearing of what had taken place, wrote to the emperor, requiring that Dorotheus should be deposed and a successor appointed, and that both he and Aristides should be sent to Rome for judgment. But he wrote in vain. Dorotheus was summoned to Constantinople to be tried there, sent thence to Heraclea while his cause was being heard, and eventually allowed to return to his see. He and his church were now restored to Catholic communion, and he wrote a respectful letter to the pope (A.D. 520), repudiating all complicity with the violence offered to his legate, stating that, on the contrary, he had risked his own life to protect him, and expressing great regard for the pope personally and for the apostolic see. Hormisdas replied to the effect that he was anxious to believe in his innocence, and in his being the author of the peace now concluded, but expressing dissatisfaction that he "delayed even to follow those whom he ought to have led," and hoping that he would "repel from himself the odium of so great a crime, and in reconciliation to the faith would at length follow the example of those who had returned." From this reply it would appear that Dorotheus himself, though professing orthodoxy and restored by the emperor to the see, had not so far fully complied, if ever he did, with the pope's terms. It may be that he kept his promise that he would never do so, and that Justin connived at his refusal on condition of his writing an apologetic letter, such as he did write, to Rome (*Inter Epp.* Hormisdae, lxii. lxiii. lxxii. lxxiii.). At Antioch, after the flight of Severus, the emperor wished to make the deacon Dioscorus (one of the pope's legates) his successor. But Hormisdas, designing to recommend him to the emperor for the see of Alexandria, objected to the appointment (Hormisd. *Ep.* liv. Labb.). At length, after contentions which lasted nearly three months, one Paul, a presbyter of Constantinople, was nominated by the emperor on the ground of his having for ten years resisted Severus at Antioch, and by his command ordained. The pope's legates, who were present, acquiesced in the appointment, but required in the pope's name that the new patriarch should be ordained at Antioch, and not at Constantinople, by way of protest against any claim of the Constantinopolitan patriarch to jurisdiction in the diocese of Antioch. And this was conceded (*Int. Epp.* Hormisd. *post Ep.* lxv.). Paul obeyed the imperial order with respect to matters of faith, but obtained leave to abdicate within two years, rather than submit to the investigation of charges that were being brought against him on moral grounds (*Int.* Hormisd. *Epp. post Ep.* lxxx.). He was succeeded by Euphrasius, of the manner of whose election nothing is known, who at first erased from his diptychs the council of Chalcedon and the name of the pope himself, but was soon brought to penitence and conformity by the fear of consequences, "metu poenitens redditus" (Theophan. ad ann. 513). At Alexandria Timotheus, who had succeeded the younger Dioscorus as patriarch, supported by his people, utterly condemned the council of Chalcedon, alleging that the doctrine of two natures which it had asserted was the very Nestorianism against which his predecessor Cyril had so strongly contended; and Justin was not strong enough to enforce conformity there, nor did Monophysitism ever cease to be the prevailing creed of the Alexandrian church.

Notwithstanding the general triumph of orthodoxy throughout the East, with the exception of Alexandria, the unbending pertinacity of Hormisdas still caused difficulties. It has been seen that the names of the orthodox patriarchs, Euphemius and Macedonius, who had died out of communion with Rome, having been restored to the diptychs at Constantinople on the accession of Justin, had again been erased at the instance of the papal legates. At Antioch, also, this had now been done. Other churches, however, refused to comply with this condition, which was still insisted on by Hormisdas. In the year 520, the emperor, Justinian, and Epiphanius (who had at the beginning of the year succeeded John as patriarch) wrote urgent letters to him on the subject. They alleged that, though the condition was complied with in the imperial city, yet no small part of the Orientals, especially in the provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Oriens,

would not be compelled by sword, fire or torments to comply, and they implored the pope not to be more exacting than his predecessors had been. The reference to persecution as unavailing in this case suggests the kind of influences that had been already contributed to conformity. Here, however, Justin would not persecute, not only because he felt it would be of no use, but also, doubtless, because the universal feeling in the East, at Constantinople as well as elsewhere, was in this particular against the pope. But the latter still persisted in his demand, and in his reply to Justin urged him, as a duty, not to shrink from coercion. He reminded him of the text, "He that persevereth to the end shall be saved"; he tells him that wounds inflicted for a remedial purpose are desirable, that the process of healing is often unpleasant to those to whom it is applied, that it is right for those who are not moved by the example of a religious prince to be subdued to his command; and, as to himself, he says that he hears a voice ever murmuring in his ears, "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." At the same time he sent a letter to the patriarch Epiphanius, deputing to him authority for dealing after his discretion with various cases. (*Epp. Hormisd.* lxxii. *et sqq.* Labb.; and *Concil. Constant.* act v. Labb. vol. v. p. 1119.)

In connexion with the settlement of the Eastern churches a nice question, arising out of the now defined orthodox doctrine of One Person and Two Natures in Christ, came before Hormisdas for settlement. There being but one Personality in the Incarnate Word, and that Divine, it seemed correct to say that this Divine Person suffered; and yet, on the other hand, saying this seemed to attribute passibility to the Godhead. It was undoubted Nestorian heresy to deny that He whom the Blessed Virgin brought forth was God. But He who was brought forth was the same with Him who suffered on the Cross. On the other hand "God was crucified" had been a favourite Monophysite formula, used to emphasize their doctrine of the absorption of the human nature into the divine; and great offence had formerly been given to the orthodox by the addition of "Who wast crucified for us" to the Trisagion by Peter Fullo. The adoption of this addition at Constantinople under Anastasius had caused, as has been related, a popular tumult, and it was probably its abrogation during the reaction under Justin that caused certain Scythian monks to defend the formula, and to maintain that "ONE—of the holy and undivided Trinity (unum ex sancta et individua Trinitate) suffered. The emphatic "one" seems to have been meant to express the unity throughout of Him who was begotten from eternity, who was born, worked, and suffered. This appears more plainly in the law of Justinian which afterwards enunciated the doctrine: "Unius ac ejusdem passiones et miracula, quae sponte pertulit in carne, agnoscentes. Non enim alium Deum Verbum et alium Christum novimus, sed unum et eundem" (*Lex Justinian.* A.D. 533, Cod. I. i. 6). A deacon Victor, with others, preferred the expression that "One person of the Trinity" (unam personam ex Trinitate) suffered; thus confining the allegation of suffering to one person only, others condemned both expressions. A further fine, and not very intelligible, distinction was introduced by Justinian, who in one of his letters on the subject, supposes it right to say that "One in the Trinity" (unum in), but not that "One of the Trinity" (unum ex) suffered (*Int.* Hormisd. *Epp. post Ep.* lxxvi. Labb.). The question was laid before the legates of Hormisdas, when in Constantinople, A.D. 519; and they decided against the Scythian monks. Their position was that the faith had been fully and sufficiently defined at Chalcedon and in the letter of pope Leo, and that the formula of the monks was an unauthorised novelty, likely to lead to serious heresy. The monks contended that its adoption was necessary for rendering the definitions of Chalcedon distinct against Nestorianism. Vitalian seems to have supported them. Justin and Justinian did not know quite what to think, and begged the pope to settle the question. He wrote to desire that the monks should be kept at Constantinople; but they managed to get away to Rome to lay their case before him. At first he declined to entertain the question till his legates should return and give him full information; and he desired Victor, accused by the monks of heresy, to be sent also to Rome. He continued to put them off, keeping them a whole year at Rome without an answer. He wrote, indeed, a long letter to the emperor, defining at length the true faith on the Trinity and Incarnation, but giving no distinct verdict as to the phrase contended for by the monks. (*Ep.* lxxix. Labb.) At length they left Rome, having publicly proclaimed their views there. After this Hormisdas wrote to Possessor, an African bishop, inveighing strongly against these monks as having troubled him for a whole year with their vexatious subtilties, and elated to such a pitch of pride as to expect the whole world to defer to their novel notions (*Ep.* lxx. Labb.). To this letter one of the monks, Maxentius, replied in language no less warm. It is hardly credible (he says) that the letter can have been written by him whose name it bears, especially as it contains neither reason nor argument, but is entirely filled with criminations and vain abuse. He complains of the monks having been detained so long at Rome after their long and dangerous journey, and then put off without an answer; of the heretics quoting the letter against them as though the authority of the bishop of Rome forbade the statement that Christ was One of the Trinity; and he adds, "I confidently affirm that if, either by letter or word of mouth, this same Roman bishop should forbid the assertion that Christ the Son of God is One—of the Holy undivided Trinity, the church of God would not agree with him, but utterly and entirely execrate him as a heretic." (Joh. Maxent. *ad Ep.* Hormisd. *Resp. Bibl. Patr.* Galland, vol. ix. p. 539.) Hormisdas does not seem to have actually condemned the expression of the monks, though he was annoyed by their propounding it, and spoke strongly against it as an unnecessary novelty. In the end, however, their view triumphed. For in the year 533 the emperor Justinian issued the edict already quoted, asserting that "The sufferings and miracles are of one and the same:—for we do not acknowledge God the Word to be one and Christ another, but one and the

same:—For the Trinity remained even after the Incarnation of the One Word of God, who was of the Trinity; for the Holy Trinity does not admit of the addition of a fourth person. We anathematize Nestorius the man-worshipper, and those who think with him, who deny that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and our God, Incarnate, made man, and crucified, was One of the holy consubstantial Trinity" (*Lex Justinian.* Cod. I. i. 6). The contemporary pope John II., in his letter to Justinian, approved of this statement, "which" (he said) "since it agrees with the apostolic doctrine, we confirm by our authority" (Joann. Pap. ii. *Epp.* in Pat. Lat. lxvi. 18 B), and it has since been accounted orthodox to affirm that God suffered in the flesh, though in His assumed human, not in His original divine, nature. (See *Pearson on the Creed*, Art. IV.)

Hormisdas died early in August, 523, having held the see nine years and eleven days. He, as well as all the popes during the schism with the East, except the too conciliatory Anastasius, has had his firmness acknowledged by canonization, his day in the Roman Calendar being August 6. His extant writings consist of letters, eighty being attributed to him, one of which, to St. Remigius (in which he gives him vicariate jurisdiction over the kingdom of Clovis, which he had converted) is probably spurious, inasmuch as it implies that Clovis was still reigning, though he had died in 511, more than two years before the election of Hormisdas. Most of the remaining seventy-nine letters refer to the affairs of the East, of many of which some account has been given. Several, not hitherto noticed, have reference to the metropolitan see of Nicopolis in Epirus, to which John had been elected A.D. 516, in the place of the deceased Alcyson, who had been received into communion with Rome. John also, with his synod, desired the like communion, and the pope's confirmation of his election, which was accorded on condition of the *libellus* condemning Acacius with other heretics being signed. But Dorotheus of Thessalonica took it amiss that the customary notice of the election had not been sent to himself, and took measures of persecution against John. Hormisdas supported the latter on the ground of the heresy of his superior Dorotheus, and, among other letters on the subject, sent one to the emperor Anastasius, commending John to his protection (*Int. Epp.* Hormisd. vi., vii., viii., ix., xvii., xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxii., Labb.).

Three of the letters of Hormisdas (*Epp.* xxiv., xxv., xxvi., Labb.) are to John bishop of Tarragona, Sallustius bishop of Seville, and the bishops of Spain in general. In these he gives the two prelates vicariate jurisdiction over eastern and western Spain, exhorts against simony and other irregularities, and directs the regular convention of synods.

This pope, as has been abundantly shewn, was a man of great administrative and diplomatic abilities, singularly uncompromising and firm of purpose, and was among the most strenuous and successful assertors of the supremacy of the Roman see. The authorities for his life have been referred to in connexion with its several incidents. [J. B—y.]

HORMISDATES (Asseman.), **HORMISDAS** (Theodor.). A martyr under Gororanes or Veraranes, king of Persia, with Suenes and Benjamin, a deacon. He expostulated with the king on his treatment of the Christians, for which action he suffered. (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 39; Asseman. *Mart. Orient.* i. 231.) [G. T. S.]

HORMISDATSCIRUS, prince of the Magi, and a fierce persecutor of the Christians under Sapor II. king of Persia. Simeon Metaph. divides his name and makes two different persons, Masdrath and Seroth. (Asseman. *Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 223, 225.) [G. T. S.]

HORMIZAS, bishop of Comana in Cappadocia, about 460; appointed by the archbishop ALYPIUS to investigate the charges against Lampetius. (Photius, *Cod.* 52.) [EUCHITES.] He is probably the Hormisdas who in 457 joined with the bishops of Armenia Secunda in a synodal letter to the emperor Leo. (Mansi, vii. 589; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 450.) [G. S.]

HORMUZD, presbyter and martyr at Seleucia in Persia, under Sapor II. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

HORONTIUS, bishop of Vicenza, one of the ten bishops, who, after a synod of bishops of the district of Venetia, signed a letter to the emperor Maurice, c. 590, justifying their refusal to condemn the Three Chapters (Hefele, § 281; Mansi, x. p. 466). He is also mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (iii. 26) as one of those who held aloof from Severus, patriarch of Aquileia, and others who had condemned the Three Chapters. [A. H. D. A.]

HOROSIUS, "abbas," sent by pope Gregory the Great for the disposition and correction of the affairs of the monasteries of the islands of Monte Christo and Gorgonia. He was also sent, together with Symmachus the defensor, for the selection of a strong and suitable position for a monastery on the coast of Corsica. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 51, 52; Migne, lxxvii. 513, 514.) [A. H. D. A.]

HOROTHETES, in the Valentinian fragment preserved by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 31, p. 171) one of the five Prunici, who formed the latest birth of spiritual beings there described, and who are called υἱοὶ τῆς Μεσότητος. In the Valentinian system described by Irenaeus (I. ii. 4, p. 10) Horothetes, with most of the accompanying names, all become titles of the same Aeon Horus. [G. S.]

HORRES—March 13. Martyr by fire at the city of Nicaea with Theuseta his mother, Theodora, Nymphodota, Marcus, and Arabia. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HORTENSIANUS, African bishop. Syn. 2 Carth. sub Cyp. (Cyp. *Ep.* 57.) Probably the same as the one at Syn. 5 Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt. Haer.* i. (Cyp. *Ep.* 70), and as the bishop of Lares in Numidia (Fell), in Syn. 7 Carth. *de Bapt.* iii. sub Cyp. No. 21; plainly not the Numidian Lares (Morcelli), but that between Carthage and Cirta. [E. W. B.]

HORTENSIUS, bishop of Autentum, in Byzacene, was banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* 58; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 89.) [R. S. G.]

HORTULANUS (1), bishop of Bennefensis in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. He seems to have distinguished himself by his bold opposition of the Arians. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 101.) [R. S. G.]

HORTULANUS (2), "monachus monasterii Fundensis." Gregory the Great relates his life and miracles in the *Dialogues*. (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* lib. i. 3; Migne, lxxvii. 164.) [A. H. D. A.]

HORUS (ὅρος). According to the doctrine of Valentinus, as described by Irenaeus i. 2, p. 10, the youngest Aeon Sophia, in her passion to comprehend the Father of all, runs the danger of being absorbed into his essence, from which she is saved by coming in contact with the limiting power ὅρος, whose function it is to strengthen all things outside the ineffable Greatness, by confining each to its appointed place. According to this version Horus was a previously existing power; but according to another, and apparently a later account, Horus is an Aeon only generated on this occasion at the request of all the Aeons, who implored the Father to avert a danger that threatened to affect them all. Then (as Hippolytus tells the story, vi. 31) he directs the production of a new pair of Aeons, Christ and the Holy Spirit, who restore order by separating from the Pleroma the unformed offspring of Sophia. After this Horus is produced in order to secure the permanence of the order thus produced. Irenaeus (*u. s.*) reverses this order, and Horus is produced first, afterwards the other pair. The Valentinian fragment in Epiphanius (*Haer.* 31, p. 171), which seems to give a more ancient form of this heresy, knows nothing of Horus, but it relates as the last spiritual birth the generation of five beings without consorts, whose names are used in the Irenaean version as titles for the supernumerary Aeon Horus. But besides, this Aeon has a sixth name, which in the version of Hippolytus is made his primary title Σταυρός; and it is explained (Irenaeus, i. 3, p. 16) that besides his function as a separator, in respect of which he is called Horus, this Aeon does the work of stablishing and settling, in respect of which he is called Stauros. A derivation from στηρίζω is hinted at. Yet when we find the story go on to tell of the Aeon Christus being extended upon Stauros, one is led to suspect that the introduction of this name is due to the desire to find in the upper spiritual world a foreshowing of all the work of earthly redemption. Later indeed it was found possible to deny the literal earthly crucifixion of the Saviour by interpreting the texts which speak of it of this scene in the world of Aeons. The distinction just explained as to the different use of the names Horus and Stauros was not carefully observed by Valentinians. Thus the last word is sometimes used when the function of separation and division is spoken of (*Excerpt. ex Script. Theodot.* 22 and 42, Clem. Alex. ii. pp. 974, 979), it being remarked in the latter passage that the cross separates the faithful from the unbelievers; and Clem. Alex., who occasionally uses Valentinian language in an orthodox sense, speaks in the same way (*Paed.* iii. 12, p. 303, and *Strom.* ii. 20, p. 486).

In the Valentinian theory there is a double Horus, or at least a double function discharged by Horus. On the one hand, he discharges as already described, a function within the Pleroma, separating the other Aeons from the ineffable Bythus, and saving them from absorption into his essence. On the other hand, Horus is the outside boundary of the Pleroma itself, giving it permanence and stability by guarding it against the intrusion of any foreign element. When we consider the discordance of the different accounts of Horus (the same work being ascribed to him which is elsewhere ascribed to Christ and the Holy Spirit), and the name Saviour being given to him, and the fact that by no way of counting can he be included in the number of thirty Aeons, there is reason to infer, as already intimated, that this personification of the limiting power was not made till a late stage of the development of Valentinian doctrine.

This name has no connexion with the Egyptian deity Horus. (See Matter, ii. 134.) [G. S.]

HOSEA, presbyter of bishop Abda and martyr with him under Isdegerdes I.. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. pt. 2, p. lxi.) [C. H.]

HOSIUS (1), (OSIUS), a confessor under Maximian and bishop of Corduba, the capital of the province of Baetica in Spain. He took a leading part on the Catholic side in the controversies of the first half of the fourth century. For nearly fifty years he was the foremost bishop of his time. He was held in universal esteem and enjoyed unbounded influence among his contemporaries. Eusebius says that "he was approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, that he had distinguished himself by the boldness of his religious profession, and that his fame was widely spread." (*Vit. Cons.* bk. ii. capp. 63, 73.) Socrates calls him "the celebrated Hosius." (*Hist.* bk. ii. cap. 29.) Sozomen says that "he was honoured for his faith, his virtuous life, and his steadfast confession of truth." (*Hist.* bk. i. cap. 16.) Athanasius is never weary of repeating his praises. "Of the great Hosius," he says, "who answers to his name, that confessor of a happy old age, it is superfluous for me to speak, for he is not an obscure person, but of all men the most illustrious." (*Apol. de Fugâ*, sect. 7.)

Considering his great renown and the prominent part that he took in the affairs of his time, it is remarkable how very little is known of his personal history. We are unable to fix precisely either the time or the place of his birth. The early Christian writers speak of him as a native of Spain; but in recent times this has been called in question. Neander (*Hist.* vol. iii. p. 41, Bohn's translation) is inclined to think that Hosius was the Egyptian bishop from Spain mentioned by Zosimus (ii. 29)—Aegyptius quidam ex Hispania Romam delatus—who became known to Constantine through the ladies of the court, and is said to have taught the emperor a remedy for all his sins. But this is a mere conjecture. The whole story, as related by Zosimus, rests only on popular rumour. It is mentioned by Sozomen (*Hist.* bk. i. cap. 5) but in a somewhat different form; and it is considered by him as "the invention of persons who wished to vilify the Christian religion." There seems no reason, therefore, why we should refuse to accept the testimony of Eusebius,

Athanasius, and others, that Hosius was a native of Spain. The date of his birth, however, can be ascertained only approximately. We learn from Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* § 45) that when Hosius was upwards of a hundred years old, and after he had been more than sixty years a bishop, he was summoned by Constantius from Spain to Sirmium, and detained there a whole year. Such violence was there used to the aged bishop that at last he yielded, and subscribed an Arian formula adopted at the second synod of Sirmium, held about the middle of A.D. 357. Soon afterwards he returned to his native country and died. We cannot be very far wrong, therefore, in placing his birth about A.D. 256, and this is the date assigned to it by Tillemont (*Mém.* tom. vii. p. 302, 4to ed.).

The next question that arises for consideration is when and where did Hosius become a confessor for the Christian faith. The common view is that he suffered in the Diocletian persecution between A.D. 303 and A.D. 305; but this is more than doubtful. Upon this point, we have his own testimony in his letter to Constantius preserved by Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* sect. 44). "I was a confessor at the first," he says, "when a persecution arose in the time of your grandfather Maximian" (*ἐγὼ μὲν ὡμολόγησα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε διωγμὸς · γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάππῳ σου Μαξιμιανῷ*). But these words hardly convey the idea that he is referring here to the general persecution enjoined by Diocletian. The allusion seems to be to some less known and local persecution of which Maximian was the chief promoter. The Diocletian persecution was instigated by Galerius Maximianus, the Caesar and son-in-law of the emperor; but the Maximian referred to by Hosius was the Augustus and colleague, not the son-in-law of Diocletian. Maximianus Herculius was made Caesar in A.D. 285, and Augustus in A.D. 286, as is shewn by coins and inscriptions (cf. Clinton, Fasti Romani, vol. i. p. 328), and for six years the wide extent of the Roman empire was divided between these two rulers, Diocletian being emperor of the East and Maximian of the West. In A.D. 292, a further partition of the empire took place, and the sovereign authority was again subdivided by the appointment of two Caesars, Constantius and Galerius Maximianus.

Now before we can determine, with any probability, where and when Hosius became a confessor, it is necessary to consider first, what ground there is for believing that the Diocletian persecution extended as far as Spain. Of the four rulers who at this time governed the whole Roman empire, "every one," says Gibbon (*Hist.* vol. i. p. 426, chap. 13), "was sovereign within his own jurisdiction." In their respective divisions each had full liberty of action. Their mutual independence may be shewn in a very singular way. The division of the empire and of the imperial power made it possible that conflicting decisions of legal questions, and a general uncertainty of law, might arise, and a want was felt to ascertain the existing laws as far as they rested on imperial rescripts. To this we owe the collection called the codex Gregorianus (Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. sect. 389). It appears also in another way. After Galerius had prevailed upon Diocletian to adopt a new policy, and to commence a persecution of the Christians, they decided upon this course in their own dominions without waiting to consult their colleagues; but they sent letters to them urging them to do the same. "Etiam litterae ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverant ut eadem facerent." (Lactant. *de Mort. Per.* cap. xv.) Maximianus, who ruled over Italy and Africa, readily complied with their wishes, not so Constantius.

He could not place himself in open opposition to his colleagues, but he took care to elude the force of a measure which he was unable to prevent. He caused the churches to be closed, and allowed a few of them to be demolished, but he suffered no injury to fall upon the Christians, with respect either to their lives or to their property (loc. cit. cap. xv.). Eusebius gives similar testimony. "The emperor Constantius," he says, "had no share in the hostility raised against us. He neither demolished the churches, nor did he devise any other mischief against us." (*Hist.* bk. 8, cap. 13.) And again elsewhere, "Constantius adopted a course of conduct different from that pursued by his colleagues; while they besieged and wasted the churches of God, levelling them to the ground, he kept his hands pure from their abominable impiety, and never in any respect resembled them. They polluted their provinces by the indiscriminate slaughter of holy men and women, but he preserved himself free from the stain of this fearful crime . . . he at the same time originated the profoundest peace throughout his dominions, and secured to his subjects the privilege of celebrating without hindrance the worship of God." (*Vit. Const.* bk. i. cap. 13.) In the appeal of the Donatists to Constantine, that their case might be heard before judges from Gaul, they say incidentally that his father did not, like the other emperors, persecute the Christians (Patrol. tom. viii. col. 747, ed. Migne), "cujus pater inter caeteros imperatores persecutionem non exercuit."

Now how are we to interpret express statements of this kind made by contemporary writers if any general persecution of the Christians took place under the edicts of Diocletian in any part of the dominions of Constantius?

The martyrologies are full of the names of martyrs who suffered at this time in Africa and Italy, in Egypt, Palestine, and throughout the East, but only two can be assigned to this period with certainty in Gaul, St. Peregrinus, bishop of Auxerre, and St. Jovinian, his reader. (Tillemont, *Mém.* tom. v. p. 57.) Tillemont remarks that almost all the martyrs who were put to death in Gaul under Diocletian suffered at the beginning of his reign, while Maximianus Herculius was in that country. (Tom. v. p. 3.) He is of opinion also that St. Alban and the others who suffered martyrdom in Britain must have suffered at the latest in A.D. 286 or A.D. 287.

In the able and original essay on the persecution of Diocletian by Mr. A. J. Mason (Cambridge, 1876), a similar view is maintained. He says (p. 48 note) that "it is perhaps worthy of notice that all the martyrdoms before A.D. 303, of which we have any *certain* knowledge, took place in Maximian's half of the empire. The Passion of St. Maurice refers to Maximian by name."

Some critics have doubted whether Spain was included in the territory of Constantius, and have accounted for the publication of the edicts of Diocletian in that country by supposing that it still remained under the government of Maximian Herculius. But there are many strong reasons against such a supposition. 1. In the division of the provinces which took place under the second triumvirate, B.C. 43, Spain, with Gallia Narbonensis, was assigned to Lepidus. 2. The great western kingdom reigned over by Tetricus from A.D. 267 to A.D. 274, consisted of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. 3. When Constantius was made Caesar in A.D. 292, Maximian's half of the empire was thus subdivided. "Cuncta quae trans Alpes Galliae sunt Constantio commissa; Africa Italiaque Herculio." (Aur. Vict. *de Caesar.* xxxix. 30.) 4. On the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in A.D. 305, the provinces of the empire at first were thus apportioned:—Gaul, with Italy and Africa, was given to Constantius, and the rest of the empire to Galerius. But Constantius, content with the dignity of Augustus, refused to undertake the administration of Italy and Africa. (Eutropius, x. 1.) Orosius also makes a similar statement; but being a Spaniard, he is a little more explicit. Constantius, he says, "Italiam, Africam, Hispaniam et Gallias obtinuit. Sed, vir tranquillissimus, Gallia tantum Hispaniaque contentus, Galerio caeteris partibus cessit." (*Hist.* bk. vii. cap. 25.) 5. Constantius, says Sozomen (*Hist.* lib. i. cap. 6) was not willing that Christianity should be accounted unlawful in the countries beyond the confines of Italy, that is to say, in Gaul, in Britain, or in the region of the Pyrenaean mountains as far as the western ocean. 6. A list of the Roman provinces in A.D. 297 has been discovered in MS. at Verona and published by Mommsen in the *Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wissen.* (Berlin, 1862, pp. 489–531). From this it appears that the provinces at that time were substantially the same as they are known to have been somewhat later. 7. In his new organization of the empire, it is almost certain that Constantine followed the lines marked out conventionally by Diocletian. He divided the empire into four prefectures, and the praefectura Galliarum comprised the dioceses of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. (Cf. *Not. Dig.* ed. Böcking, vol. ii. p. 476.) These various facts leave no room to doubt that in the division of the empire Spain was always an appendage of Gaul, and under the same administration.

If so, it was under the jurisdiction of Constantius, and both Lactantius and Eusebius affirm that he took no part in the persecution of the Christians.

On the other side, it is asserted that in the Diocletian persecution, St. Vincent, the most famous of the martyrs of Spain, was put to death, with eighteen other martyrs, at Caesar-Augusta (Saragossa), and that a multitude of others suffered also in various parts of the country. These are commemorated in the Roman martyrology on April 16 and Nov. 3. But when we examine the evidence alleged in proof of these Spanish martyrdoms, we find that they rest upon nothing more than vague ecclesiastical tradition. They are not mentioned by any contemporary writer. They are first referred to in the poems of Prudentius, and from thence have found their way into the martyrologies of Bede, Usuard, and Ado. One or two Spanish martyrs are mentioned in the *Acta Martyrum* of Ruinart. Few scholars, however, would regard these documents as sufficiently trustworthy to decide an obscure or doubtful point of history.

The accounts we have of these martyrdoms do not profess to be taken from original documents. They were compiled from secondary sources or from tradition after peace was restored to the church. It often happened that the judges themselves forbade the official report to be entered on the books, partly because they were conscious that their cruelties were distinctly illegal, and feared to leave the full statement indelibly inscribed on the archives of their provinces. (Mason's *Essay*, p. 141.) This fact is expressly mentioned in the *Passio Sancti Vincentii Levitae.* (Ruinart, p. 323, Verona ed.) A similar remark is also made by Prudentius. (*Peristeph.* i.)

> "O vetustatis silentis obsoleta oblivio!
> Invidentur ista nobis, fama et ipsa extinguitur:
> Chartulas blasphemus olim nam satelles abstulit.
> Ne tenacibus libellis erudita secula
> Ordinem tempus modumque passionis proditum
> Dulcibus linguis per aures posterorum spargerent."
> (Dressel's ed. p. 305.)

The *Passio S. Vincentii* contains no clear indication as to the date of his martyrdom. In the second chapter of the narrative (ed. Ruinart, p. 323) it is stated, "Daciano cuidam Praesidi gentili et sacrilego a dominis et principibus suis, Diocletiano videlicet et Maximiano, saeviendi in Christianos forte occasio cecidisset." This does not read like the description of a persecution authorised by an imperial edict. It is much more like an account of one of those local attacks upon the Christians which occurred at various times in different parts of the Roman empire. Moreover, the mention of the names of only the two Augusti throws a doubt upon the received date of the martyrdom. In the *Acta S. Maximiliani*, which are generally allowed to be authentic, the date is fixed precisely, and shewn to be in A.D. 295 by the mention of the names of the two consuls, Tuscus and Anulinus. There were then four rulers at the head of the state; and their names are correctly given in the Acts, and in their right order. "In sacro comitatu dominorum nostrorum Diocletiani et Maximiani, Constantii et Maximi, milites Christiani sunt." (Ruinart, p. 264.) A perusal of the documents in Ruinart which relate to this period will shew that in the acts of the martyrs who suffered in the Diocletian persecution mention is almost always made of one or both of the Caesars as well as of the two Augusti; while the persecutions that took place towards the end of the 3rd century, and before A.D. 303, are generally attributed to the sole instigation of Maximianus Herculius. (Cf. the Passiones Agaunensium Martyrum circ. A.D. 286; Ruinart, p. 241; SS. Victoris et Aliorum circ. A.D. 290, p. 255; S. Bonifatii Martyris, p. 249; with those of a later period: Acta S. Maximiliani circ. A.D. 295, p. 263, S. Marcelli circ. A.D. 298, p. 265; S. Felicis circ. A.D. 303, p. 313; SS. Saturnini et aliorum circ. A.D. 304, cap. v. p. 340.)

When, therefore, the names of the Caesars are omitted, as is the case in the *Passio S. Vincentii*,

t is an indication that the Acts relate to a period anterior to their appointment.

The evidence on this point furnished by lapidary inscriptions is very scanty, but as far as it goes it leads us to believe that the names of all the four rulers were always mentioned in official documents, and that when only two are recorded, there we have a sign of an earlier date. The celebrated edict of Diocletian, fixing the price of articles of food, discovered by Col. Leake in Asia Minor, appears to have been issued in A.D. 301, and it runs in the name of all four emperors. A remarkable inscription on a marble column, commemorating the appointment of the two Caesars, is still extant in the Museum at Seville (cf. Hübner, *Corpus Inscript.* vol. ii. No. 1439), which, in the opinion of Mommsen, though now imperfect, originally bore the names of the two Augusti as well as of the Caesars. (*Coecit.* p. 197.) On the other hand, the well-known inscription on a pillar set up to mark the boundary between Pax Julia and Ebora which contains the names of the two Augusti, together with that of Datian, is condemned by Hübner as spurious. (No. 17*, p. 5, appendix.)

The testimony, however, mainly relied upon to prove that the edicts of Diocletian were put in force in Spain as well as in the East is that of Prudentius, a Spanish poet. He was born A.D. 348, became a Christian as he advanced in life, and published some Christian poetry in A.D. 405, about a century after the events alleged to have occurred. As he has himself told us (*ubi sup.*) that the original records of these Spanish martyrdoms were destroyed, it is evident that we must not look to this author for authentic history. He gives us simply the traditions of his time. The fourth hymn of his Peristephanon, written in honour of the eighteen martyrs who suffered at Caesar-Augusta, does not furnish the slightest clue as to the time when they met with their death. Comparing the number of martyrs who died at Carthage and at Rome with those that were put to death at Caesar-Augusta, the poet says of the Spanish town—

> "Tu decem sanctos revehes et octo
> Caesaraugusta studiosa Christi.
> * * * * * *
> Sola in occursum numerosiores
> Martyrum turbas Domino parasti.
> * * * * * *
> Vix parens orbis populosa Poeni
> Ipsa vix Roma in solio locata
> Te decus nostrum superare in isto
> Munere digna est."
>
> (*Peristeph.* Hymn iv. 53–60, p. 343, ed. Dressel.)

On reference to the Roman Martyrology (April 16; Nov. 3) it will be found that the expression in this hymn — "numerosiores" — is adduced to justify the commemoration of an innumerable company of martyrs who suffered at Caesar-Augusta in the Diocletian persecution; and in the notes of Baronius on the different martyrs who are alleged to have been put to death at this period in Spain, Prudentius is his ultimate authority.

Are we then on evidence of this kind—the evidence of a poet who lived a century after the alleged events, and who has put into verse the traditions of his time—to set aside the distinct assertions of contemporary writers like Lactantius and Eusebius, and to hold that the Diocletian persecution extended to Spain? Assuming that Constantius may have so far complied with the wishes of his colleagues as to publish in his western provinces the first edict ordering the demolition of the churches, yet it is quite impossible to believe that the second edict enjoining that the bishops and presbyters should be seized and cast into prison was ever put in force in any part of his dominions (cf. Euseb. *Hist.* lib. viii. cap. 6, ad fin.). In fact there is no direct mention of its publication anywhere but in the East. (Mason's *Essay*, p. 173.) We come, therefore, to this conclusion that it could not have been at this period that Hosius became a confessor.

But if not then, the question has still to be solved, when was it that he did suffer? We have it on his own testimony that he had been a confessor in the time of Maximian. The way, however, in which he mentions the fact seems like the way in which an aged man would be likely to allude to the experiences of his early life. It is not probable that Hosius would have said "καὶ τὸ πρῶτον" had he been referring to an event which took place when he was about forty-eight years old. Is it not more probable that he became a confessor in some special and local persecution carried out under the orders of Maximianus Herculius while he was sole ruler of the West, and before the general persecution authorised by the edicts of Diocletian?

The history of the time will, perhaps, help us to elucidate this question. Maximian was proclaimed Caesar and Augustus on the 1st August, A.D. 286. Immediately afterwards he set out for Gaul to quell a rising of the Bagaudae or peasants, which had broken out in that part of the empire. He made no secret of his intention to turn this into an opportunity for exterminating the Christians. Nor was he long before he began to put his purpose into effect. The martyrologies have preserved the names of many martyrs who suffered in the latter part of the third century in the principal cities of Gaul while he was carrying on this campaign. His chief agents in this cruel work seem to have been Rictius Varus and Datian. The latter was the judge who condemned to death at Agennum in Gaul, circ. A.D. 287, St. Fides and St. Capracius commemorated in the Roman martyrology on Oct. 6, and in Surius on Oct. 20. From the acts of these martyrs we learn (vid. Surius) that Datian was at that time praeses of Aquitania, that he was naturally of a cruel disposition, and that he was a devoted instrument in carrying out the purposes of Maximian. No doubt he is the same Datian who is mentioned by Prudentius (*Peristeph.* Hymn v. ver. 25) as having been the cruel persecutor of St. Vincent. Considering the proximity of Aquitania to Spain, and the fact that the Aquitani belonged to the Iberian stock, it is very probable that Datian, after he had finished his work of persecution in Gaul, was transferred by Maximian to Spain for the same purpose. The Martyrium S. Domnini et sociorum ejus (Surius, Oct. 9) is one of many instances which prove that wherever Maximian went his hostility against the Christians never slumbered. His coarse and brutal nature, together with the cruel disposition which tradition has assigned to Datian, make it very probable that at this period,

between A.D. 286 and A.D. 292, while Maximian was sole ruler of the West, there were many martyrdoms in Spain as well as in Gaul and Italy. At this time Hosius would have been between thirty and thirty-six years of age, and it is far more likely that he suffered persecution and witnessed a good confession then than at a later period under the mild rule of Constantius. Beyond Hosius's own statement, we have no contemporary evidence upon the subject. As Spain was the most westerly portion of the world known to the Romans, events that took place there would not be likely to obtain much more than local notoriety. We are unable, therefore, to do more than say that the probabilities are against Hosius having become a confessor in the Diocletian persecution, and in favour of his having done so ten or twelve years earlier.

We are ignorant of the time when Hosius was made bishop of Corduba, whether it was before or after his confession. As the bishops and officers of the church were generally the first to suffer in the outbreaks of persecution, it is more than probable that he was already bishop of Corduba at the time when he became a confessor. The earliest of his public acts with which we are acquainted is his presence at the synod of Elvira; but the date of this synod, like that of other events in his history, is involved in much obscurity. On examining the decrees of the council, it appears to have been held at a time when the church was at rest and in prosperous circumstances. From the second and the fifty-sixth canons we learn that some flamines and magistrates had become Christians. Canon 21 suspends from communion for a time any one who neglected to attend church on three successive Sundays. Canon 35 prohibits women from watching by night in the cemeteries, on account of the abuses connected therewith; the 36th enjoins that no pictures should be introduced into churches, and prohibits all mural representations of the objects of worship. Other regulations of the council relate to questions of ecclesiastical discipline, many of them prescribing the punishment due to certain carnal sins. Now is it conceivable that just after sanguinary edicts had been issued against the Christians, ordering the demolition of their churches, and forbidding them to hold meetings for worship under pain of death, a number of bishops and presbyters from various parts of Spain would be likely to meet together and draw up such canons as these without the slightest local or personal references to the violent persecution which had been and was still raging in other parts of the empire? From the Acta Martyrum Saturnini Dativi et aliorum (Ruinart, p. 338) we see that these martyrs were put to death merely for holding meetings; because "collectae factae sunt, contra praecepta Imperatorum." On comparing this fact with the 21st canon of the synod of Elvira visiting with punishment those who kept away from church for three Sundays following, we see how impossible it is to adopt the common view that the synod was held in A.D. 305, a few months after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. What we know of the state of the church at the end of the 3rd century answers very well to the state of things disclosed in the canons of the synod. For upwards of forty years the church had enjoyed, with brief interruptions, a state of peace and repose. "The number of Christians had gone on increasing in every rank of society. With the increased wealth of its members, the outward form of the buildings used for worship underwent a change; and in large cities, in the place of the old simple places of assembly, splendid churches began to be erected." (Neander, *Hist.* vol. i. 197, Bohn's translation.) At such a time there was great danger of the over-adornment of churches, and prohibitions against mural decorations would have been in due season. Mendoza, who has written more fully upon this synod than any other author, is of opinion that its date should be placed in A.D. 300 or A.D. 301. A few years before the Diocletian persecution appears, from the internal evidence, to be the most probable date of the synod.

Nineteen bishops from different parts of Spain were present at the council. It may therefore be regarded as a national synod, representing the whole church of Spain. The president was Felix of Acci (Guadix) in Baetica, as being probably the oldest bishop present. The name of Hosius comes next. The import of this must not be overlooked. As a general rule, the order of signatures to the acts of councils indicates also the order of precedence among the bishops. They held rank either according to the date of their consecration or the importance of the episcopal see which they filled. (Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, vol. i. 64, English translation.) As Hosius at this time was probably not over forty-five years old, his high position at the synod could not have been due to his age, but must have been obtained in right of his see. We infer, therefore, that at this period Corduba held the first place among the cities of Spain.

It is very difficult, at the present day, to form a true conception of Corduba in its ancient grandeur. During the first and the beginning of the 2nd century of our era, Spain had reached a very high development in the social system of Rome. Roman influence was so completely infused into Baetica that the natives had forgotten their own language. Roman schools were opened in the coloniae and municipia, the most brilliant of which were at Corduba and Osca. For nearly two centuries Spain produced men remarkable in all kinds of culture. Lucan and the two Senecas were born at Corduba, and its schools thus had the honour of furnishing rivals even to Virgil and Cicero. In the time of Hosius this intellectual activity had considerably declined, and the pre-eminence in literary culture had passed over to the province of Africa. But although Corduba was no longer in the foremost rank in intellectual power, it must still have retained a high place in the social development of the time. A man called to fill such an important see would most probably be one of some personal distinction. To what causes Hosius may have owed his elevation to the bishopric we are entirely ignorant. But considering the great influence he afterwards exercised over the mind of Constantine, and over his own contemporaries, there can be no doubt that he must have possessed very striking personal qualities.

From the rank held by Hosius at the synod of Elvira, it is probable that great deference would

be shewn there to his opinions, and that these would, to a large extent, be reflected in the decrees of the synod. Baronius (ad an. 57) attaches little importance to this synod, which he suspects of Novatian tendencies. The very first canon furnishes striking evidence of the fact. It decrees that those adults who have sacrificed to idols have committed a capital crime and can never again, even to the end of their lives, be received into communion. Now the denial of pardon to those who had lapsed in times of persecution was the chief error of Novatian. He wrote, says Socrates (*Hist.* bk. iv. cap. 28), "to all the churches, insisting that they should not admit to the sacred mysteries those who had sacrificed." The discipline of the Novatians was in other respects also very rigid, especially with reference to carnal sins; and it is remarkable how many of the canons of Elvira relate to such offences. The stern and austere spirit in which they were dealt with shews how deeply the fathers at Elvira had felt the influence of Novatian principles. Though we cannot trace the hand of the bishop of Corduba in the composition of these canons, yet it is fair to assume that as he was a leading member of the synod, its decrees would be in harmony with his own convictions.

For twelve or thirteen years after this synod, nothing is known of the life of Hosius. At the end of this period, he seems to have been brought into close personal relations with the emperor Constantine, and thenceforward his acts form a part of the history of his time. It would be interesting to know in what way the acquaintance was first formed between the bishop of Corduba and the emperor, and how Hosius acquired the great influence over the mind of Constantine, which it is believed that he exercised up to the period of the Nicene council. But history is absolutely silent upon this point. There is not a single passage in any ancient writer which relates the origin of their connexion. All we can do, therefore, is to form our own conjectures upon this point from a few scattered notices in the history of the time.

On the death of Constantius at York in A.D. 306, Galerius reluctantly ratified the choice of the British army, and gave to the son of his deceased colleague the sovereignty of the three Western provinces beyond the Alps. One of the earliest acts of Constantine was "to visit all the provinces which had previously been under his father's government." (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* lib. i. cap. xxv.)

A few years later, in A.D. 312, the well-known vision of the cross appeared to him when within a few miles from Rome in the course of his campaign against Maxentius. He then, says Eusebius (loc. cit. c. 32), sent for those "who were acquainted with the divine mysteries and doctrines, and inquired the meaning of the sign;" and they availed themselves of the opportunity to give him instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity. So deep an impression was produced upon his mind by their teaching and by the heavenly vision that "he made the priests of God his counsellors" (loc. cit.). Now by combining these facts we think there is very little doubt that it was during his government of the Western provinces that Constantine first became acquainted with Hosius. At this period, the bishop of Corduba was the greatest bishop of his time, and his high repute among the Christians could not be unknown to Constantine. To him, therefore, the emperor would naturally turn in a season of difficulty, and when he required instruction in the principles of the Christian faith. If this conjecture be correct, it is probable that Hosius was the chief instrument in his conversion; and if so, this fact would fully explain the ascendency which for many years afterwards he exercised over the mind of the emperor. It is generally said that after this period Hosius became the emperor's chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters. In A.D. 313 we find him at the imperial court discharging some official duties. An epistle is extant in Eusebius (*Hist.* bk. x. cap. 6) addressed by Constantine about the beginning of A.D. 313 to Caecilianus, bishop of Carthage, in which the emperor makes a grant of three thousand folles to the ministers of the Catholic church in the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania. And he says, "After you have obtained the money you are to order it to be distributed according to the brief addressed to thee from Hosius" (κατὰ τὸ βρεούιον τὸ πρὸς σὲ παρὰ Ὁσίου).

The absence of Hosius from the synod of Arles, held on the 1st August, A.D. 314, is somewhat remarkable. This was the most numerously attended council that had up to that time been held in Christendom. Bishops from Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain were assembled there as representatives of the whole Western church. Considering the prominent position that Hosius at this time occupied in the church, it is somewhat singular that he was not present at the synod. Constantine was also absent, being engaged in his first war with Licinius in Pannonia. It is very possible that Hosius may have been in attendance upon the emperor, as we learn from Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. ii. cap. 4) that in this campaign Constantine took with him "the priests of God," in order to have the benefit of their prayers and "to have them constantly about his person, as most trusty guardians of the soul."

Traces exist of the presence of Hosius at the imperial court in A.D. 316. The Donatists having been condemned at the synod of Arles, appealed from the council to the emperor, as if the question at issue had been a civil one. Constantine, yielding to their importunities, at length consented to hear their cause himself (cf. August. *Ep.* 88, 43). He summoned Caecilianus, the Catholic bishop of Carthage, with his Donatist adversaries, to appear before him at Rome, where he was staying, in August 315 A.D. (Hefele, vol. i. p. 198). It was not, however, till fifteen months afterwards (November A.D. 316) that the contending parties actually appeared before Constantine at Milan, when the Donatists were for the third time condemned—by the synods of Rome and of Arles, and lastly by the emperor himself. To weaken the effect of this sentence, they spread abroad a report, as we learn from Augustine (*Contra Epist. Parmen.* lib. i. cap. 8; vol. ix. p. 43, ed. Migne), that it was by the advice of Hosius, a friend of Caecilianus, that they had been condemned.

In the relations between Christianity and paganism there is ground for thinking that the position of Hosius at this time must have been

somewhat of a representative one on the Christian side; otherwise it is difficult to understand why the emperor should have addressed to him a law declaring free such slaves as were emancipated in the presence of the bishops or clergy (A.D. 321. *Codex Theodos.* lib. iv. tit. 7, col. 379, Hänel's ed.) By the end of A.D. 323 Constantine had become sole master of the whole Roman empire in the east and west, and he then threw the whole weight of his countenance on the Christian side. He found the province of Africa distracted by controversies, among which the Arian question was the most sharply contested one. On his return to Nicomedia, Constantine, being desirous that there should be religious concord as well as civil peace throughout his dominions, took measures for its re-establishment. To this end, says Socrates (*Hist.* bk. i. cap. 7), "he sent a letter to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and to Arius, by a trustworthy person named Hosius, who was bishop of Corduba in Spain, whom the emperor greatly loved, and held in the highest estimation," urging them not to contend about matters of small importance (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* bk. ii. cap. 63). It is evident, therefore, that Constantine was not at first aware of the fundamental questions at issue in the Arian controversy. Neither the exhortations of the emperor, however, nor the authority of his envoy, had any effect (Socrates, *Hist.* bk. i. cap. 8). That Hosius, a bishop of the Western church, and speaking only Latin, should have been selected for this mission is a striking proof of the high opinion entertained of him by the emperor. He would have seemed a very unsuitable person to send to a city in the East in which Greek civilization had reached its highest development. It is remarkable, likewise, that the mission with which he was entrusted gave him precedence as an imperial commissioner over the bishop of Alexandria, whose see ranked next to that of Rome.

It is not very clear what he did while he was at Alexandria. The accounts we have of his proceedings are very imperfect and confused. He appears to have devoted himself with great earnestness to refuting the dogmas of Sabellius (Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* bk. iii. cap. 7), who, as is well known, maintained that the appellations Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are only so many different manifestations and names of one and the same Divine Being. But as to the steps he took with reference to Arius, history is silent. We know, however, that he failed to extinguish the flame which the Arians had lighted. "In every city of Egypt bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with bishops and people against people (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* bk. iii. cap. 4). Some were so transported beyond the bounds of reason as to insult the statues of the emperor."

Hosius, finding it impossible to terminate these controversies, had to return to Constantine with the acknowledgment that his mission had failed. The emperor thereupon resolved to convoke an oecumenical council, and to invite the attendance of bishops from all quarters. It is generally believed that he took this step under the advice of Hosius (Sulpit. Sever. *Hist.* ii. 55. "Nicaena synodus auctore illo (Hosio) confecta habebatur").

The council was held at Nicaea in A.D. 325. The part that Hosius took there has been the subject of much controversy. (1) Was he the president of the council, and if so (2) did he preside as legate of the pope? These are the questions that have been most warmly disputed. If he did not actually preside over the council there is no doubt that he was among the very first of the bishops present. Unfortunately no complete account of the acts of the synod has come down to us, if such ever existed. The only means, therefore, that we have of becoming acquainted with the proceedings of the council is to compare together the accounts of contemporary writers who were present, and then to draw our own conclusions (Neander, *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 18, Bohn's translation). Among these the most important witnesses are Eusebius of Caesarea and Athanasius. Next to them are the ancient church historians, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Rufinus. Neander is of opinion (*loc. cit.*) that Athanasius, who accompanied his bishop in the capacity of deacon, was not in such a good position for obtaining an accurate knowledge of the intrigues which influenced the course of the council as the bishop Eusebius, who stood in such close connexion with the court. For this reason he thinks that the account of Eusebius is more likely to be correct than that given by Athanasius. On the other hand, Montfaucon, the Benedictine editor of the works of Athanasius, says, "that he is far superior to any other historian of the period both from his bearing for the most part a personal testimony to the facts he relates and also from his great accuracy and use of actual documents." The *History of the Council of Nicaea* (ap. Mansi, vol. ii. p. 759), which bears the name of Gelasius of Cyzicus, and was written in Greek about A.D. 476, is little more than a compilation from earlier historians. It is full of mythical stories, and is of very little authority. Where it differs from more ancient writers its statements are either doubtful or manifestly false.

(1) Roman Catholic writers, such as Baronius, Nat. Alexander, Fleury, Alzog and Hefele, maintain that Hosius was president of the council, but that he owed his position to the fact that he was the legate of the pope. In proof of this they refer to Gelasius (lib. i. cap. 5), who says: "Ipse etiam Osius ex Hispanis, nominis et famae celebritate insignis, qui Silvestri Episcopi maximae Romae locum obtinebat . . . in consessu illo adfuit"—ἐπέχων καὶ τὸν τόπον, Mansi, ii. 806 D.

There is a little ambiguity in these words. A man may occupy a place which rightly belongs to another, but it does not follow that he is his representative because he sits in his seat. Nat. Alexander, however, is very positive on this point. "There is no reason," he says (vol. vii. p. 390), "why Hosius should have presided over this council unless he had done so in the name of the pope of Rome. His own renown would not have been a solid reason why the bishop of a church of no great importance in Spain, and subject to the metropolitan of Hispalis, should have presided over an oecumenical council held in the East, and should have taken precedence over the legates of the apostolic see, the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and over Caecilianus the primate of the whole African church, unless he had filled the place and exercised the powers of the supreme Pontiff,

especially as in Spain, at the synod of Elvira, where only nineteen bishops were assembled, he took only the second place." Hefele (*History of Councils*, vol. i. p. 39) calls attention to the order adopted by Socrates (bk. i. cap. 13) in giving the names of the principal members of the council: Hosius, bishop of Corduba; Vitus and Vincentius, presbyters of Rome; Alexander, bishop of Alexandria; Eustathius, bishop of Antioch; Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. "We see," says Hefele, "that he follows the order of rank. He would therefore never have placed the Spanish bishop Hosius before the great patriarchs of the East, if he had not been the representative of the pope." But this assumption has no historical foundation. Eusebius says (*Vit. Const.* bk. 3, cap. 7), "The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age, but his presbyters were present and supplied his place." A similar statement is made by Sozomen (*Hist.* bk. i. cap. 17). "Julius, bishop of Rome, was unable to attend on account of extreme old age, but his place was supplied by Vito and Vincentius, presbyters of his church." At this epoch, although the bishop of Rome held the first place among all his brethren partly on account of his being the bishop of the principal city in the world, yet his ecclesiastical jurisdiction does not appear to have extended beyond the churches of the ten provinces of Italy, called in the versio prisca of the 6th Nicene canon "suburbicaria loca." The churches of the East were mainly under the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Alexandria or Antioch, and these great bishops would not brook the slightest interference of their Western brethren in their ecclesiastical affairs. Moreover, the great strength of Christianity at that time lay in the East. The West was still imperfectly Christianized. It is difficult, therefore, to understand how any competent scholar could ever have maintained that Hosius presided at the council of Nicaea—an Eastern synod—as legate of the pope.

(2) But when we inquire how it was that the usual order of precedence was departed from on this occasion, we are a little at a loss for a satisfactory answer. Du Pin (*Nouv. Bib.* tom. ii. part 2, p. 315) is of opinion that Hosius presided at the council because he was already acquainted with the question at issue, and because he was highly esteemed by the emperor. Schröckh holds in substance the same view (*Kirchengeschichte*, Thl. v. s. 336.) He says that Hosius obtained his distinguished position on account of his great influence with the emperor. And this seems the most probable explanation that the matter admits of. It would be difficult to understand how the bishop of an unimportant see in Spain came to take precedence over the great patriarchs of the East if he had not been appointed by the emperor to fill the chief place in the synod. Hosius, at this time, was at the height of his reputation, and enjoying the fullest confidence of his imperial master. He was himself, says Dean Stanley (*Eastern Church*, Lect. 3), "as the world-renowned Spaniard, an object of deeper interest to Christendom than any bishop of Rome could at that time have been." The power of the popes of Rome at this epoch was not sufficiently consolidated for their claim to preside at councils to have been admitted. Eleven years before this time, at the great council of the West held at Arles in A.D. 314, the emperor appointed Marinus, bishop of Arles, to preside over the assembly, while pope Silvester was represented there as at Nicaea, by two presbyters and two deacons. (Cf. Hefele, *History of Councils*, vol. i. p. 181.) No one questions that the council of Nicaea was convoked by the emperor Constantine; and there is good reason to believe that Hosius held the foremost place in this great synod by his appointment.

As already stated, Hosius is believed to have been the emperor's adviser in ecclesiastical matters. The part that Constantine took in the proceedings of the council of Nicaea shews that he must have received some instruction beforehand in the questions at issue from an orthodox teacher. He was himself at this time only a catechumen. It is very unlikely, therefore, that he would have been able to give such a philosophical explanation of the term Homoousion, as he appears to have done, from the letter addressed by Eusebius to the Christians at Caesarea, and preserved by Socrates (*Hist.* bk. i. cap. 8). Again, the emperor's letter to the churches respecting the council of Nicaea (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* bk. 3, c. 17–20) bears in some parts unmistakeable traces of the hand of a theologian in its composition. We cannot, therefore, be very far wrong in thinking that at this period the mind of Constantine was very much under the secret influence of Hosius. Dean Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 364, crown 8vo. edition), referring to the letter of Constantine to Arius and Alexander, says that it was, "in its spirit, a model of temper and conciliation. It is probable that the hand of Hosius is to be traced in its composition. His influence was uniformly exercised in this manner. Wherever the edicts of the government were mild, conciliating, and humane, we find the bishop of Corduba."

The history of the events that followed immediately after the council of Nicaea is involved in much obscurity. At the conclusion of the council, Hosius seems to have returned to Corduba. For nearly twenty years afterwards he lived in retirement in his own diocese. Not a trace remains of his return to the court of Constantine. As far as we know, the convocation of the council of Nicaea was the last step that the emperor took at his suggestion. Up to this time Hosius appears to have enjoyed the fullest confidence of his imperial master; but they parted at Nicaea, and it does not appear that they ever met again. We must look to the history of the time for some explanation of the causes that brought about these altered relations.

On leaving Asia Minor, Constantine set out for Rome, which he reached by slow stages about July A.D. 326. His brief stay in the imperial city was marked by deeds of cruelty. In the midst of the Vicennalia, the people of Rome heard with regret that Crispus, his son, had been banished for an unknown crime to Pola in Istria, and soon the news came that he had been put to death, some said by the sword, others by poison. Not long afterwards a second execution followed. The young Licinianus, his nephew, a boy of twelve years of age, was killed, at the

suggestion, it is said, of the empress Fausta. At no distant date retribution overtook Fausta herself on account of this crime, and she is said to have been suffocated in the steam of a hot bath. These domestic tragedies were followed by a great number of public executions. The true causes of these events are involved in mystery, but after their occurrence, Constantine is said to have become a prey to remorse. There can be no doubt that a great change took place in his character after he became sole master of the Roman empire. He was spoiled by prosperity. "Insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit," says Eutropius (lib. x. cap. 4). In the beginning of his reign he was "optimis principibus," but towards its end "mediis *or* vix mediis comparandus" (Eutrop. x. 6). He became arrogant and impatient of counsel, distrustful and suspicious. And the moral deterioration of his character was accompanied with great vacillation in his religious opinions. At the end of a few years after the council of Nicaea, the emperor had fallen under Arian influences. A most important change had taken place in the relations between the two parties. Arius was recalled; and at the instigation of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his adherents, a false charge was brought against Athanasius, who was condemned and banished to Gaul (A.D. 335). Not long before his death, in A.D. 337, Constantine received baptism at the hands of Eusebius of Nicomedia, an Arian bishop. From this fact, Hieronymus infers that he had adopted the views of the Arians. Whether this was the case or not is somewhat uncertain. There is no room, however, to doubt that a few years before his death the Arians had acquired great influence over his mind.

This change in the character and the opinions of Constantine was no doubt the true cause of the altered relations between himself and Hosius. As the influence of the Arians over his mind increased, that of his old counsellor would of necessity decline. There is no doubt that the absence of Hosius from the court owed its origin to the will of the emperor. The decrees of more than one council prohibited bishops from going thither unless they were summoned or invited. At the synod of Sardica in A.D. 347, we find Hosius himself proposing a canon to this effect. "Ne episcopi ad comitatum accedant nisi forte hi qui religiosi imperatoris litteris vel invitati vel evocati fuerint." (Cf. Bruns, vol. i. p. 95, Latin text.)

History is altogether silent concerning Hosius for the next twenty years. He does not appear to have been present at any of the synods held between the synods of Nicaea (A.D. 325) and of Sardica (A.D. 347), nor to have taken any public part in the controversies between Athanasius and the Arians during that long period. In A.D. 345, the emperor Constans summoned Athanasius to Milan from Rome, and there informed him that he had been urged by certain bishops (believed to have been pope Julius, Hosius and Maximinus of Treves) (cf. Hilar. *Frag.* 2, p. 16) to use his influence with his brother Constantius, that a council might be called to settle the questions concerning him. The place of meeting was to be Sardica, a town in upper Moesia, situated within the dominions of Constantius, but on the borders of the two divisions of the empire. While Athanasius was in Milan, he was directed by Constans to go to Gaul to meet Hosius there and travel with him to Sardica. (Athanas. *Apol. ad Const.* cap. 4.)

At this time Hosius was nearly ninety years old. For him to undertake so long a journey as that from the south-western extremity of Spain to the confines of Illyricum implies that he was still in the enjoyment of considerable vigour of body, and that age had made no change in his convictions nor impaired his zeal. Nor had his long retirement in any degree lessened his influence, or diminished the unbounded respect which had for so many years been felt for him by his contemporaries. In the encyclical letter of the council of Sardica, A.D. 347, to be found in Athanasius (*Apol. contr. Arian.* cap. 44), Hosius is spoken of as "one who on account of his age, his confession, and the many labours he had undergone, is worthy of all reverence." Whatever doubt there may be as to his presidency over the council of Nicaea, there can be none in this case. It is affirmed in express terms by Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* cap. 16). "The great Hosius," he says, "was president of the council." The acts shew that he was the life and soul of the synod, proposing most of the canons, and taking the foremost part in the proceedings.

With regard to this synod it will be sufficient here to mention that the principal object for which it was convoked was to remove the dissensions between the Western and Eastern bishops, which had sprung up in connexion with Athanasius and his friends. The points at issue had occasioned much contention and bitterness, and the synod afforded a great opportunity for Hosius to display his wisdom and conciliatory spirit. The Eastern bishops, however, of whom Eusebius of Nicomedia was the leader, refused to attend the council, although repeatedly invited to do so. Hosius made a special effort to conciliate the Eusebian party, which he thus refers to in a letter to Constantius (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* cap. 44). "On my own account," he says, "I challenged the enemies of Athanasius, when they came to the church where I generally was, to declare what they had against him. This I did once and again, requesting them if they were unwilling to appear before the whole council, yet to appear before me alone." The Eusebians, however, rejected all the overtures made to them. They refused to take any part in the synod of Sardica, and held a so-called synod of their own at Philippopolis in Thrace. From this place they addressed an encyclical letter to the churches, condemning Hosius, with Julius, bishop of Rome, and others, chiefly for holding communion with Athanasius. Hosius, they said, besides this offence had always been a persecutor of a certain Marcus, of blessed memory, a strenuous defender of evil men, and a companion of wicked and abandoned persons in the East (Hilar. *Frag.* iii. vol. ii. col. 674, ed. Migne). Such was his character, as drawn by his opponents, while at the very same time his friends at the council of Sardica pronounced him to be "a man worthy of all reverence."

For the next seven years we hear nothing of Hosius. A letter is extant written to him by pope Liberius, about the beginning of A.D. 354,

which shews the great respect in which he was at that time held. The pope writes to him, full of grief, because Vincentius of Capua, one of his legates at a synod consisting chiefly of the Eusebian party, held at Arles in A.D. 353, had consented under constraint to give up communion with Athanasius. He had placed great confidence in this legate, Liberius says to Hosius, because "judex in eadem causa cum Sanctitate tua frequenter resedisset" (Hilar. *Frag.* vi. tom. ii. col. 688, ed. Migne).

We now approach the closing scenes in the long career of Hosius. During a lifetime of almost unexampled duration he had preserved an unblemished name, and had been a consistent and uncompromising supporter of the Nicene faith. At length, when he was a hundred years old, he gave way for a brief moment to the violence of his persecutors, and consented under torture to hold communion with Valens and Ursacius (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* 45). We shall consider presently what the concession wrung from him actually amounted to, as it has been much magnified and misrepresented.

In A.D. 355 a synod was convoked by Constantius, at Milan, which deserved, says Tillemont (*Mém.* tom. vi. p. 362), the name of a robber synod even more than that of the false council of Ephesus. It was at this synod that the Eusebians first openly declared themselves in favour of the dogmas of Arius, and endeavoured to secure their acceptance by the church. The emperor called upon the orthodox bishops to join in the condemnation of Athanasius. Whoever refused to do so was to expect banishment. Overcome by his threats, most of them gave way, and consented to condemn Athanasius, and to hold communion with the Arians (Rufinus, lib. i. cap. 20). The few who stood firm were banished, bound with chains, to distant provinces:—Dionysius, exarch of Milan, was sent to Cappadocia, or Armenia; Lucifer to Syria; Eusebius of Vercellae into Palestine (cf. Athanas. *Apol. Const.* 27). In the following year, Liberius, bishop of Rome, was summoned to Milan, where Constantius was residing, and allowed three days to choose between signing the condemnation of Athanasius and going into exile. He took the latter alternative, and went into banishment at Beroea, in Thrace. From the very first, however, the object of the Arians had been to gain over the great Hosius to their side. "As long as he escaped their wicked machinations they thought they had accomplished nothing. We have done everything, they said to Constantius. We have banished the bishop of the Romans, and before him a very great number of other bishops, and have filled every place with alarm. But these strong measures are as nothing, nor is our success at all more secure so long as Hosius remains. Begin then to persecute him also, and spare him not, ancient as he is. Our heresy knows not to honour the hoary hairs of the aged." (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* § 42.) At their solicitation the emperor had previously summoned Hosius to Milan, circ. A.D. 355. On his arrival he urged him to subscribe against Athanasius, and hold communion with the Arians. But the old man, full of grief that such a proposal should have been even uttered to him, would not for one moment listen to it. After severely rebuking the emperor, and endeavouring to convince him of his error, he withdrew from the court, and returned to his own church and country. Constantius wrote to him frequently, sometimes flattering, sometimes threatening him. "Be persuaded," he said, "and subscribe against Athanasius, for whoever subscribes against him, thereby embraces with us the Arian cause." Hosius, however, remained fearless and unmoved, and wrote a spirited answer to Constantius, which has been preserved by Athanasius, and is the only composition of his which has come down to us. (*Hist. Arian.* § 44.)

The emperor, however, did not desist, but continued to threaten him severely, with the view of either bringing him over by force, or of banishing him if he refused to comply, for, says Socrates (*Hist.* bk. ii. chap. xxxi.), if this could be effected, the Arians considered it would give great authority to their opinions. Finding that he could not persuade Hosius to subscribe, Constantius sent for him to Sirmium, and instead of banishing him he detained him there a whole year. "Unmindful," says Athanasius (loc. cit.), "of his father's love for Hosius, without reverence for his great age, for he was then a hundred years old, this patron of impiety and emperor of heresy used such violence towards the old man that at last, broken down by suffering, he was brought, though with reluctance, to hold communion with Valens and Ursacius, but he would not subscribe against Athanasius (A.D. 357). He says, elsewhere (*Apol. pro Fug.* § 7), that Hosius yielded for a time to the Arians, as being old and infirm in body, and after repeated blows had been inflicted upon him above measure, and conspiracies formed against his kinsfolk."

Socrates gives similar testimony (loc. cit.). He says "that Hosius was most unwillingly obliged to be present at the synod; and when he refused to concur with them, stripes and tortures were inflicted on the old man until they had constrained him to acquiesce in and subscribe their exposition of the faith." (Cf. Dr. Newman, *The Arians*, chap. iv. sect. 3.)

It is very difficult to determine which of the confessions of faith drawn up at Sirmium was actually signed by Hosius. Whether there was only one synod of Sirmium or two or three, at intervals of a few years apart, is a question upon which learned men have differed widely. The predominant opinion is expressed by Valesius in a note to Socrates. (*Hist.* lib. ii. c. 30.) He says that there were three synods of Sirmium, each of which issued a different creed. The first was in A.D. 351, at which Photinus was deposed; this published a confession in Greek. The second in A.D. 357, at which Hosius was compelled to be present, and his subscription obtained by force to a creed written in Latin called by Hilarius "blasphemia apud Sirmium per Osium et Potamium conscripta." (*Opp.* ed. Migne, tom. ii. col. 487.) The third Sirmian creed, otherwise called the "Dated Creed," from its naming the consuls, was agreed upon at a convention of bishops held at that place in May A.D. 359. This was the creed afterwards produced by Ursacius and Valens at the synod of Ariminum. (Cf Athanas. *de Synod.* 48.) No doubt could have arisen as to the formula actually signed by Hosius had it not been that Socrates (*Hist.* bk. ii. c. 30) says that three creeds were drawn up at the same synod of Sirmium as

that which deposed Photinus, in A.D. 351—one in Greek and the other two in Latin—neither of which agreed together. But this is clearly an error. Sozomen relates (*Hist.* bk. iv. c. 12) that "Hosius had certainly, with the view of arresting the contention excited by Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius, consented, though by compulsion, with some other bishops at Sirmium to refrain from the use of the terms Homoousion and Homoiousion, because such terms do not occur in the Holy Scriptures and are beyond the understanding of men." Now these very expressions occur in the creed set forth at Sirmium in Latin, and afterwards translated into Greek, which may be found in Socrates. (*Hist.* bk. ii. ch. 30.) The phraseology corresponds so exactly with the description given by Sozomen, that there is no room to doubt that this was the confession actually signed by Hosius.

As a further proof that Socrates is in error as to the date of the creed subscribed by Hosius, it may be mentioned that among the number of Oriental bishops said to have been present with him at this synod was George of Alexandria. It was not, however, till the early part of A.D. 356 that Athanasius was, for the third time, driven from his see, and his place filled by George, previously of Cappadocia. Other considerations also shew that it is not likely that Hosius was present at any synod of Sirmium against his will in A.D. 351. It was in A.D. 350 that Constans, the emperor of the West, met with his death at Helena, a castrum at the foot of the Pyrenees. Immediately afterwards the authority of the usurper Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great prefectures of Gaul and Italy. (Gibbon, *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 280.) And it was not till this rebellion was finally crushed in A.D. 353 that the divided provinces of the empire were again united under the sole rule of Constantius. It could not, therefore, have been till after this period that Hosius came under his power. The letter of Liberius to Hosius already referred to, which was written at the beginning of A.D. 354, is an additional proof that up to that time the bishop of Corduba was regarded as one of the pillars of the Catholic party.

It may be doubted, says Dean Stanley (*Eastern Ch.* Lect. vii. c. 3), "whether in his own age the authority of Hosius in the theological world was not even higher than that of Athanasius." It was to be expected therefore that the Arians would make the most of the concession wrung from him. As they were constantly slandering Athanasius, they would not be likely to have many scruples about calumniating Hosius. It is related by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 73) about twenty years after this period that the Arians thought they could condemn the teaching of the church as to the Homoousion by producing letters which they had fraudulently procured from the venerable bishop Hosius, in which it was stated that the substance was dissimilar. Another reference to this subject is made by Sozomen. He tells us (bk. iv. cap. 12) that Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch, circ. A.D. 358, ventured to uphold the heresy of Aetius, that the Son is dissimilar to the Father, and to reject the terms Homoousion and Homoiousion. When he received the letter of Hosius he spread a report that Liberius had also made the same admission (ch. xv.). These letters were most probably spurious. There is reason also to believe that the creed actually signed by Hosius was interpolated and sent into the East in his name. This may perhaps explain the expression of Hilarius (*contr. Constantium*, cap. 23, col. 580, ed. Migne, vol. ii.) when he speaks of "deliramenta Osii et *incrementa* Ursacii et Valentis." (Cf. Newman's notes to Athanasius, Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 162.)

Exaggerated reports of the fall of Hosius were spread by the Arians far and wide. His perversion was used as one of their strongest arguments against the Catholic party in Gaul. To this a contemporary writer, Phoebadius, bishop of Agennum, replies (*Lib. contra Arian.* c. 23, Patrol. ed. Migne, vol. 20, col. 30): "Novit enim mundus quae in hanc tenuerit aetatem qua constantia apud Sardicam et in Nicaeno tractatu assensus sit et damnaverit Arianos. . . . Si nonaginta fere annis male credidit, post nonaginta illum recte sentire non credam." The Donatists also, whose views Hosius had opposed as strongly as those of the Arians, did not fail to calumniate their old adversary. After his death they circulated reports against his memory, asserting that he was condemned for some crime by the bishops of Spain. For this, they said, he was afterwards absolved by the bishops of Gaul, and then received again into communion by the Spanish bishops. Augustine notices this charge, and vindicates his memory. "Flagitandum est," he says, "ut probent." (*Lib. contra Parmen.* lib. i. cap. 4, sec. 7, ed. Migne, vol. ix. col. 38.) Marcellus and Faustinus, two presbyters who were followers of Lucifer of Cagliari, relate (*Libellum ad Theodos.* circ. A.D. 383 or A.D. 384) that on the return of Hosius to Spain, Gregory, bishop of Elvira, refused to hold communion with him; and as Hosius was in the act of pronouncing his deposition he was struck dumb and fell from his seat. But the story does not seem entitled to any credit. The harsh intolerance of the Luciferians, says Dean Stanley (*Eastern Ch.* Lect. iv. p. 173), was so great "that, rather than receive a single bishop tainted with Arianism, they would have excommunicated the whole Christian world." It is very possible however that the first part of the story may have had some foundation, as a letter is extant (Hilar. *Frag.* xii. tom. ii. col. 713, ed. Migne) from Eusebius of Vercellae to Gregory of Spain, written about A.D. 360, in which he congratulates him on having, as becomes a bishop and a minister of God, withstood the transgressor Hosius.

Among the ancient writers, no one has referred to the lapse of Hosius with so much bitterness as Hilarius of Poitiers. This is the more remarkable as he had never so much as heard of the Nicene Creed until he went into exile. (Hilar. *de Sym.* cap. 91, ad finem, vol. ii. col. 545, ed. Migne.) Hilarius, however, was a master of invective. Of his style, Hieronymus says, "Gallicano cothurno attollitur." The intense indignation that he displays when making mention of Hosius is only equalled by the vehement manner in which somewhat later he rails against Constantius. (Cf. *Contra Const.* tom. ii. col. 578, ed. Migne.) He charges Hosius in conjunction with Potamius, bishop of Lisbon, with having

drawn up the second creed of Sirmium, which he designates in one place (*Opp.* ed. Migne, tom. ii. col. 487) as the "blasphemia," in another (*Opp.* tom. ii. col. 599) as "deliramenta Osii;" and he says that his fall was due to his having been "nimium sepulcri sui amantem" (tom. ii. col. 539, ed. Migne): that is, to his having been too anxious to get away from Sirmium and die in his own country. He also says that God had allowed him to live on to extreme old age that men might know his true character. "Idcirco est reservatus ne judicio humano ignoraretur qualis aute vixisset." (*Opp.* tom. ii. col. 523.) As these hard sayings occur in Hilarius's treatise *De Synodis*, it is worth while to inquire when this was written, and what opportunities he had of ascertaining the truth on these matters. Hilarius was sent into exile in Phrygia, in the heart of Asia Minor, about the middle of A.D. 356. Here he remained a little over three years. During this period he wrote his treatise *De Synodis*, probably in A.D. 358, a year after the second synod of Sirmium, at which Hosius was forced to be present. He himself tells us (*De Synod.* cap. 63, tom. ii. col. 533) that the majority of those with whom he was living had no true acquaintance with God—in other words that they held Arian opinions. "Ex majori parte Asianae decem provinciae intra quas consisto, vere Deum nesciunt." Whatever tidings came to him from the world without would therefore reach him through Arian channels. His means of information in that remote district are not for one moment to be compared with the opportunities enjoyed by Athanasius for ascertaining the truth. Hilarius, moreover, is the only ancient writer who says that Hosius had any hand in the composition of the creed published by the second council of Sirmium. He evidently gave too much credence to his Arian informants, who would be sure to exaggerate the extent of the countenance to their heresy given by the famous bishop of Corduba. The great improbability of Hilarius's assertion appears in this way. We learn from Marcellinus and Faustinus (loc. cit.) and from Phoebadius (loc. cit.) that Potamius, the reputed author with Hosius of this confession, at one time gave his adherence to the Nicene faith, but for the sake of a piece of land, which he earnestly coveted, he was induced by Constantius to abandon the orthodox party. Hosius made known his perversion to the bishops of Spain, and treated him as a heretic. In revenge, it is said that it was at his instigation that Hosius was summoned to Sirmium. Potamius is joined by Phoebadius, with Ursacius and Valens, as an ardent propagator of Arian opinions, and as the author of a letter on this question which was circulated in the East and West, and to which the name of Hosius may perhaps have been surreptitiously attached. How very improbable it seems after the relations that had formerly existed between the two men, the one all his life long a consistent supporter of the Nicene Creed, the other a renegade—that they should have combined together to produce a heretical confession of faith. Morover, it seems to be forgotten that at this time the bishop of Corduba was about a hundred years old. At such an age men do not willingly invent new creeds; they are far more likely to cling tenaciously to old ones.

Sulpicius Severus shews in his history, written about A.D. 404 or A.D. 405, that he was acquainted with the writings of Hilarius. He had heard of the lapse of Hosius, but he speaks of it as resting on a popular rumour which seemed to him quite incredible unless extreme old age had enfeebled his powers and made him childish. "Osium quoque ab Hispania in eamdem perfidiam concessisse opinio fuit: quod eo mirum atque incredibile videbatur quia omni fere aetatis suae tempore constantissimus nostrarum partium et Nicaena Synodus auctore illo confecta habebatur; nisi fatescente aevo (etenim major centenario fuit ut sanctus Hilarius in epistolis refert) deliraverit." (*Hist. Sac.* lib. 2.)

It was not to be expected that a bishop who had taken a leading part for half a century in the bitterest controversies of that troubled time should escape detraction and calumny from his enemies; but false accusations against him were hardly to be expected from "the house of his friends." To clear his memory from the charges of Hilarius it is sufficient to point out that the synod of Sardica, A.D. 347, spoke of Hosius as a man of a "happy old age, who, on account of his age, his confession, and the many labours he has undergone, is worthy of all reverence." So public a testimony as this to his high character is enough to silence all detraction. And it may be further remarked that the affectionate and reverential language in which the great Athanasius describes the passing frailty of his venerable friend, the father of the bishops, is very different from the furious and intemperate tone in which it is referred to by Hilarius. "This true Hosius, and his blameless life," says Athanasius, "were known to all." As he relates the violence used towards him, he can find words only of the tenderest commiseration for his friend. But against Constantius, his persecutor, his indignation knows no bounds. "When the great Hosius, the father of the bishops, suffered these things, who could fail to perceive, says Athanasius, that the charges against myself also and the rest, were false and altogether mere calumny?" (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* 46.)

There is a little doubt whether Hosius succumbed to the violence used against him at Sirmium, and died there in A.D. 357, or whether, after subscribing the Arian formula drawn up in that city, he was permitted to return home and end his days in Spain. This question involves the further one—whether before his death he recanted his error, and was readmitted into the Catholic church, or whether he retained his Arian opinions to the last. The authority of his name was so great that it was to be expected that this point would be vehemently contested. The story told by the Luciferians, quoted above, and the charges brought against his memory by his old enemies the Donatists, serve at least to shew that, according to ecclesiastical tradition, he died in Spain. The question is fully examined by Baronius (sub an. 357, capp. xxx.–xxxvii.), who does not believe the story told by the Luciferians. Which, he asks, is entitled to most credit, the great Athanasius or the apostate Marcellinus? The story of the latter is not confirmed by any contemporary writer. Had it been true, it must have been known to Athanasius. He says distinctly that Hosius yielded to the outrages of the Arians "for a time, as being

old and infirm in body" (*Apol. pro Fug.* sect. 5), and that "at the approach of death, as it were by his last testament, he bore witness to the force which had been used towards him, and abjured the Arian heresy and gave strict charge that no one should receive it" (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* 45). These words clearly imply that his lapse was but a temporary one, that he died in communion with the church, and in the midst of his friends, and not surrounded by his cruel persecutors. Hilarius, who was no lover of Hosius, says, as we have seen above, that his fall was owing to his anxiety to leave Sirmium and be buried in his own country—"nimium sepulcri sui amantem." Do not these words imply that he gained his object, and that he returned to Spain? The very charges brought against his memory by the Donatists show that before his death he had been readmitted into communion by the Spanish bishops. On these various grounds, therefore, we infer that after Hosius had subscribed the creed of the second synod of Sirmium (A.D. 357), he obtained permission to return to his own country, and that he died there. The date of his death is a little uncertain, but from Marcellinus we learn that it was soon after his return to Spain, and before the concession he had made to the Arians had become widely known. As the treatise of Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.*) in which it is referred to was written between A.D. 358 and 360, it must have taken place before that period. Some writers are of opinion that he died towards the end of A.D. 357; others maintain that he lived till A.D. 359. No materials, however, exist for fixing the precise date of his death.

At the time of his death, Hosius was upwards of a hundred years old (Sulpic. Sev. *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 55), and had been more than sixty years a bishop (*Hist. Arian.* 45). His profound acquaintance with Christian doctrine was combined with a singularly blameless and holy life. He seems to have possessed great tact and judgment, together with a conciliatory disposition. No bishop of his time exercised so much influence over his contemporaries, or was held in such high esteem, and yet it is remarkable how very little is known of the way in which he acquired or maintained his ascendency. To the last he appears to have retained great vigour of body and freshness of intellect. In extreme old age, his earnestness and zeal in defence of the Nicene faith were as conspicuous as in earlier years. The shadow cast upon his name by the concession extorted from him by the Arians must not be allowed to obscure the rightful honour due to him for his labours and sufferings on behalf of the Catholic faith during a lifetime of almost unprecedented duration. "Even Christianity," says Dean Milman (*History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 427, ed. 1875), "has no power over that mental imbecility which accompanies the decay of physical strength, and this act of feebleness ought not for an instant to be set against the unblemished virtue of a whole life."

Of his writings nothing remains but the letter to Constantius transcribed by Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* 44). Isidorus of Seville (570–640) says that he wrote a letter to his sister (*De Laude Virginitatis*), in beautiful and eloquent language (*De Script. Eccles.* lib. i.). It is said that he also composed an explanation of the sacerdotal vestments of the Jewish high-priest, which he seems to have interpreted in a mystical sense.

Authorities.—The life of Hosius is nowhere related with any fulness by any ancient writer. It has to be drawn up from incidental notices in many different authors. In the course of the foregoing article, most of the places in which his name occurs in any contemporary or ancient writer have been referred to. The general history of the time may be studied in the works mentioned at the commencement of the article, CONSTANTINUS I. Vogt, *Histor. Litteraria Const. Mag.* Hamburg, 1720, may be consulted with advantage. For the reign of Constantine, Burckhardt and Keim are the two principal authors, though somewhat rationalistic. A very full account of the life of Hosius, and a discussion of various points in his history, will be found in Gams (*Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, Band ii. pp. 1–309, Regensburg, 1864). The following will be found useful:—The Greek Church historians, ed. Reading; Hilarii *Opp.* ed. Migne; Athanasii *Opp.* ed. Migne; Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'Arianisme*, 4th ed. 1683; Hermant, *Vie de S. Athanase*, 1761; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, 1762–83; Möhler, *Athanasius der Grosse*, Mainz, 1844, 2nd ed.; Vogt, *Die Lehre des Athanasius*, Bremen, 1861; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vols. i. and ii., of which there is an English translation; Tillemont, *Mém.* tom. vii. p. 300, 4to ed.; Dom Ceillier, *s. v.* tom. iii. 392, new ed.; Zahn, *Const. der Gr. u. die Kirche*, 1876; Florez, *España Sagrada*, La Provincia de Bética, vol. ix. and x. Madrid, 1754.

[T. D. C. M.]

HOSIUS (2), bishop of Lacedaemon, subscribed the synodal letter of the province of Hellas to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. There is no earlier bishop of this see known. (Mansi, vii. 612; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 189.) [L. D.]

HOSPITALIS, bishop of Valencia towards the end of the 7th century. He was represented by his deacon, Asturius, at the twelfth council of Toledo (681), and was probably dead in the following year. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 172.) [M. A. W.]

HOSPITIUS, ST., a recluse in the neighbourhod of Nice in Provence. The authority for his life is Gregory of Tours, who places him in the reign of Childebert, and only a little earlier than his own time. His cell resembled a prison and his bare limbs were fettered with voluntary chains, in penance for many sins he confessed to have committed. To his visitors he predicted the irruption of the Lombards into Italy; the bulk of his story is occupied with details of alleged miraculous cures. Papebroch, who comments on Gregory's narrative, which is transferred to the *Acta Sanctorum*, places the abode of Hospitius on the long narrow peninsula which forms the eastern boundary of the bay at the head of which stands the town of Ville Franche near Nice. Papebroch mentions some remains of monastic buildings on the spot, and the maps still shew the name of St. Sospir (probably a misprint of Sospit) still clinging to the peninsula. This saint died about 580, and was commemorated on May 21. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* vi.; *Glor. Confess.* cap. 97; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 40.) [C. H.]

HOSPITO, "dux Barbaricinorum," in the island of Sardinia. He is praised by Gregory the Great because he is a Christian, while his people are heathen worshipping stocks and stones. He is urged to give all possible help to Cyriacus and the bishop Felix, whom Gregory has sent to convert them. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iv. indict. xii. 23; Migne, lxxvii. 692.) [FELIX (146).] [A. H. D. A.]

HOTIFREDUS. [HOOTFRIDUS.]

HOWEL, HOWELUS, brother of Gildas. (Rowlands, *Mon. Ant. Rest.* 180; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 177, c. 4.) [J. G.]

HOWYN, Welsh saint. [HYWYN.]

HOYLDIS (HOILDIS, OTHILDIS, HOU, HOILDE, HOULDE), **ST.**, according to a legendary life published by the Bollandists and by them attributed from internal evidence to the 14th century, was one of seven daughters of Sigmarus, a count of Parta or Perta, near Châlon-sur-Saône; St. Lintrudis, St. Ama, St. Manehildis, and St. Pusinna were her sisters. The date of the sisters is assigned to the 5th century, but the Bollandists suggest that Hoyldis is identical with a St. Hilda, the disciple of St. Helena the mother of Constantine. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 773.) [S. A. B.]

HROTHWARI, HROTWARA, a Mercian abbess, daughter of Bugga, and grand-daughter of Dunna, the abbess of a monastery at Withington, in the diocese of Worcester. Dunna left her monastery to Hrothwari, under the guardianship of her mother, who when she came of age refused to surrender it. Archbishop Nothelm, in 736 or thereabout, examined into the case in a synod, and compelled the mother to give up the monastery. Hrothwari in 774 surrendered her rights to bishop Milred of Worcester, who bestowed the monastery on the abbess Ethelburga, daughter of Alfred of Hwiccia, for her life. (Kemble, *C. D.* 82, 124.) An abbess of this name is commemorated in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, p. 3. [S.]

HUA BECCE, Irish abbat. [HUI BECCE.]

HUAETBERT (HUAETBERCTUS, HWAETBYRHT), abbat of Jarrow and Wearmouth, A.D. 716.—At the close of his *Life of Ceolfrid*, Bede gives some valuable notices of his successor. Huaetbert was elected abbat on Whitsunday, A.D. 716, by a joint vote of the inmates of the twin monasteries assembled at Wearmouth. His qualifications for the office were considerable. He had been brought up at Jarrow from his childhood, and was a thoroughly trained and experienced person. In addition to what he had learned there, he had acquired at Rome in the time of pope Sergius I. (A.D. 687–701) all the information he could gain. He had also been in priest's orders for twelve years, so that he was in the prime of his life and activity. When the election at Wearmouth took place, Ceolfrid, although on his way to Rome, had not yet left England, and Huaetbert's first act was to go after him with a few friends to catch him, if he could, before he set sail. He came up with him at a monastery belonging to Aelberht, at a place called Cornu Vallis, and gave him some presents for Gregory II. (A.D. 714–731), and a commendatory letter for himself, in which he spoke of him in most eulogistic terms. The two abbats met at Cornu Vallis for the last time, and the elder gave his younger brother his blessing, with the best advice he could offer for his guidance. They parted, and when Ceolfrid's companions returned from Rome they brought back with them to Huaetbert a complimentary reply from the pope.

When Huaetbert went back to Jarrow he received the customary benediction from bishop Acca. Bede informs us that he was remarkable for the energy with which he maintained the rights and dignity of his houses. He records, unfortunately, only one point in which Huaetbert's zeal was manifested, and wherein he seems to have greatly pleased the historian. He took up the bones of abbat Easterwini, which were lying in the porch as you entered the church of Wearmouth, together with those of Sigfrid, his old master, and depositing them in a coffin with a separation in the middle, placed them in the interior of the building near the remains of Benedict Biscop himself. This was done on August 23, the anniversary of Sigfrid's birth, and the same day was the last of a venerable inmate of the house of the name of Witmer, whose body was interred in the place which had just been left empty.

The sole authorities for this account of Huaetbert are the anonymous biographer of the abbats of Jarrow (Bede, *Opp. Hist. Minora*, 318–334), and Bede's work (chiefly borrowed from this) on the same subject (ed. Smith, 293–302). Bede dedicated to Huaetbert his treatise *De Temporibus.* [J. R.]

HUAIL (HUEIL, HUIL), son of Caw, was first a warrior under king Arthur, and called in the Welsh Triads one of the three front leaders of battle, with Trystan and Cei (Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ii. 460). As afterwards devoted to religion, and a member of the college of St. Cattwg, he is classed among the Welsh saints, and a church in Euas, Herefordshire, was dedicated to him (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 232). But according to others, his character was not saintly, and he was beheaded by king Arthur on the Maen Huail in Ruthin, Denbighshire (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 69; E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 508, 515, 653; Lady Ch. Guest, *Mabinog.* ii. 260, 335; Jones, *Welsh Bards*, ii. 22; R. Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 224). [J. G.]

HUBERTUS (1), fifth bishop of Séez, between Hillus and Litaredus, A.D. 500. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 675.) [S. A. B.]

HUBERTUS (2) (HUCBERTUS, HUGBERTUS, HUMBERTUS), **ST.**, 31st bishop of Maestricht succeeding St. Lambert, and first of Liége, whither he transferred the see. Few figures have undergone a greater transformation at the hands of legend-writers than St. Hubert. All that is authoritative concerning him is to be found in a life written by an anonymous disciple, probably within twenty years of his death. But the definite information conveyed is small, the account being unusually overlaid, even for that age, with disquisitions, reflections, and miracle-stories. It was first published by Surius (Nov. 3, tom. vi. 50 sqq.), afterwards by Joannes

Roberti with notes (see his *Hist. S. Huberti*, p. 20, sqq. Luxembourg, 1721). It ends with an account of the first translation of the saint's remains, which took place in 745, sixteen years after his death, and was probably the occasion of the work. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 74–5.)

After the martyrdom of St. Lambert, Hubert was elected to fill his place (A.D. 708), and won universal love by his blameless life. In the twelfth year of his episcopate he was warned in a vision to translate the bones of St. Lambert from Maestricht, where he had been buried, to the place of his martyrdom, Liége. This he accomplished in the following year with solemnities attended by bishops, priests, and people. This removal of St. Lambert's remains was equivalent to a transfer of the see to Liége, which takes its first start as a place of importance from that event. (See Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 560, and the authorities there referred to.) St. Hubert did not confine himself to Liége, but preached in the Ardennes, Toxandria (a country extending from near Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine, Gibbon, c. xix. n.), and Brabant, and broke in pieces the idols which still existed in those parts. His last illness seized him on a journey he had undertaken to Brabant to consecrate a newly-built church, and he died at Fura, between Brussels and Louvain (A.D. 727). His body was carried back to Liége, where it was buried in the church of St. Peter. His son Florebert, who succeeded him in the see, was present.

The St. Hubert of this meagre account has assumed very different proportions in later legends. A son of Bertrand Duke of Aquitaine, and grandson of Charibert king of Toulouse, strenuous in study and in arms, he held the post of Count of the Palace under Theodoric, and at an early age was married to Floribana the mother of Florebert. His conversion became the future patron saint of the chase. One holy day, whilst others were going to church, Hubert started forth to hunt. As he rode there appeared in the path a stag with a supernatural cross between its horns, and at the same time he heard a voice saying, "Unless thou turnest to the Lord and leadest a holy life, thou shalt quickly go down into hell." Leaping from his horse he fell down and worshipped, and henceforth led a new life. Leaving the part of France where the tyranny of Ebroin was now supreme (*i.e.* Neustria) he betook himself to duke Pippin in Austrasia, accompanied by St. Oda, the widow of his father's brother Boggis, another duke of Aquitaine (cf. the *Vita S. Odae*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 10, 139), or, according to another version, his own wife. From the court of Pippin he visited St. Lambert at Maestricht, by whose counsel he made a pilgrimage to Rome. Here the pope, St. Sergius (who however had been dead seven years), saw in a vision the martyrdom of St. Lambert, and was bidden to consecrate Hubert as his successor. St. Peter himself gave the new bishop a key which, besides the power of binding and loosing, had the virtue of healing lunacy (an allusion to the saint's posthumous renown for the cure of hydrophobia). Seated on the episcopal throne he confronted Pippin, whose creatures, according to the legend, had slain St. Lambert. (*Conversio S. Huberti*, Roberti, *ib.* p. 5 sqq.; Fétis, *Légende de S. Hubert*, Bruxelles, 1846; Rettberg, *ib.*)

In the 16th year after his death St. Hubert's remains were solemnly elevated, Carloman and his nobles taking part in the ceremony (Surius, *ib.* c. 19, 20, p. 59). After this they were undisturbed till the year 825, shortly before which Walcandus bishop of Liége had rebuilt and endowed the monastery of Andain (Andaginum) in the Ardennes. On Sept. 30, 825, the bones were solemnly transferred to Andain. which henceforth bore the name of St. Hubert, (Surius, *ib.* c. 21–24, pp. 60–2; Roberti, *ib.* 64–71; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iv. 1, 295–7, Paris, 1668–1701. For the monastery of Andaginum or S. Huberti, see *Gall. Christ.* iii. 966 sqq.)

The legendary St. Hubert was a popular figure throughout the middle ages, especially in his character of patron of the chase and healer of hydrophobia. Several military orders and archer companies took their name from him, and he has formed the subject of many literary compositions, especially of a devotional and non-critical order. For works that treat of him, see Chapeaville, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, i. 129–144; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* tom. iv.; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Nov. 3, tom. vii. 494 sqq.; *Abrégé Curieux de l'Histoire de Liége*, Liége, 1673; *Cantiques en l'Honneur de St. Hubert*, Tournay; Prioux, *St. Hubert, Apôtre des Ardennes, Patron des Chasseurs*, Paris, 1853; Des Granges, *Bibliothèque des Chasseurs, Vie de St. Hubert*, Moulins; Kneip, *St. Hubertus-Büchlein*, Luxemburg, 1874. [S. A. B.]

HUBERTUS (3) (GERBERTUS), twenty-ninth bishop of Soissons, succeeding Gerobold, or Gobaldus, and followed by Madalbertus, a little after the middle of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 339.) [S. A. B.]

HUBERTUS (4), bishop of Coutances, succeeding Angulo, and followed by Willardus, said to have been sitting in A.D. 798. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 866.) [S. A. B.]

HUCBERTUS (HUBERTUS), **ST.**, a monk at Bretigny (Bretiniacum), on the Oise, in the diocese of Soissons, in the early years of the 8th century. In the *Martyrologium* of Usuard, under May 30, occur the words, "ipso die sancti Hucberti episcopi et confessoris" (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 101). Hucbert, however, never was a bishop, and this mistake has betrayed many later martyrologists into a confusion between him and Hubert [HUBERTUS (2) of Maestricht and Liége (*ibid.* 103–4; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 277). There seems to be no trustworthy information about him, but the Bollandists publish a life, the basis of which they think may be as old as the 10th century, though it has been added to by a monk named Piso in the 14th or 16th century. According to it St. Hucbert was born at Bretigny, of noble parents named Peter and Joanna, who were also rich and pious. At twelve he ran from home to the monastery church, where the subdeacon was reading the prophets. Asking that the words might be explained to him, he was instructed by the old man in some of the doctrines of religion. Much taken with the exposition, he asked to be

admitted to the monastery, and, nothing daunted by his instructor's account of the hardships of the monastic life, he formally submitted himself to the rule of St. Benedict, in the reign of Hildebert king of France (apparently Childebert III. A.D. 695–711). His parents were greatly disturbed at hearing that he had become a monk, but at length consented. Henceforth, St. Hucbert devoted himself more zealously to sacred studies and austerities, and at the age of twenty was ordained a priest. He died on May 30, in the reign of Dagobert (apparently Dagobert III. A.D. 711–715), after spending ten years and three months as a monk. He was buried at Bretigny. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 271 sqq.; cf. Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. i. 720–1, Paris, 1668–1701. For the monastery of Bretigny see the *Gallia Christiana*, ix. 390.) [S. A. B.]

HUEAMINANAIG, the Wise, abbat of Clonmacnois, is in *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 767. (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 101, cf. *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 366, n. s, 367.) [J. G.]

HUEIL, Welsh saint. [HUAIL.]

HUEL, Welsh saint. [HYWEL.]

HUETLAC (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 87, charter of Ethelbald king of Mercia, A.D. 742), bishop; probably Heatholac bishop of Elmham. [C. H.]

HUGBERT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 1023, charter of Kenulf king of Mercia, A.D. 801), bishop; probably Higbert of Lichfield [C. H.]

HUGBERT, bishop. [HUBERTUS (2).]

HUGH. [HUGO.]

HUGHIERIUS (HILDERICUS, HULDERICUS), bishop of Coutances, succeeding Waldalmarus, and followed by Frodomundus, thought by Mabillon to be the bishop Hughierius who subscribed the charter of Emmo archbishop of Sens, for the monastery of St. Pierre le Vif, in A.D. 658 or 659. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1175; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 866.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (1) PEREGRINUS, ST., confessor, commemorated July 7 at Nanvigné, in the diocese of Auxerre. The Bollandists publish a short life of him, translated into Latin from the French, which they regard as a 15th century embodiment of popular traditions. It is of course worthless historically. According to it, he was born at a place called Morondia in the diocese of Autun, of poor but pious parents. On attaining manhood he was moved to relinquish the world and issue forth from his home barefooted and destitute. Coming to Buxiacum, a village near Varzy, in the diocese of Auxerre, he threw himself down under a tree exhausted with thirst. A blind woman, who compassionated him, recovered her sight. Escaping secretly from the admiration of her neighbours, he came to Nanvigné, about two leagues from Varzy, where there was a chapel dedicated to St. Simeon Stylites. The place and its tutelage pleased him, and he took up his abode there. The remainder of his life was spent in imitating the austerities of his patron. He died July 6, and, according to conjecture, towards the close of the 5th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 447, vii. 864.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (2) I., 19th bishop of Geneva, succeeding Rusticus, or Patricius, and followed by Andreas Graecus, early in the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 382.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (3) I., thirteenth bishop of Alby, between St. Amarandus and Joannes, said in the chronicle of the bishops of Alby to have been sitting in A.D. 722, at which time the Saracens took possession of the city. Le Cointe believes he survived till 725, when Alby was restored to the Franks. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 7; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 722, lviii., 725, xxiv.; tom. iv. 681, 732.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (4), ST., 37th bishop of Paris, between Bernecharius and Merseidus; 25th of Rouen, between Radilandus or Rolandus and Ratbertus; and 15th of Bayeux, between St. Framboldus and Leodeningus. In addition to these dignities, which he held at the same time, he was abbat of Fontenelle and Jumièges (Gemeticense), and in earlier life precentor of Metz. He was the son of Drogo duke of Burgundy and Champagne, and consequently grandson of Pippin of Heristal, and nephew of Charles Martel. To this last relationship he owed this accumulation of offices, which he could only hold in disregard of the canons. If we may believe the chronicler of Fontenelle, his numerous dignities served only to furnish extended opportunities for well-doing. He was, at any rate, the most liberal of all the abbats of Fontenelle in his gifts to that foundation. The year 722 is given for his elevation to the greater portion of his dignities, though the precentorship and archbishopric of Rouen were held by him before that date. He died at Jumièges, in A.D. 730, on April 8, though he is commemorated on the following day. He was buried in the church of St. Mary, at Jumièges, but in the 9th century his remains were translated to the priory of Hasprum, a dependency of that monastery in the diocese of Cambray. (*Chronicon Fontanellense*, viii. in the *Spicilegium*, ii. 270, Paris, 1723; and Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores*, ii. 280; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. i. 844; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 28, xi. 17, 351.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (5) I., eighteenth bishop of Séez, between St. Chrodegandus or Godegrandus, and Benedictus, in the latter half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 677.) [S. A. B.]

HUGO (6), legendary patron of the abbey of Tewkesbury, who is said to have buried Brihtric king of Mercia in the chapel of St. Faith at Tewkesbury, and to have been buried there himself in 812. (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 60.) The story is an impudent fabrication; and the Hugh in question, if the name belong to any real person, must have been either earl Hugh of Chester or Hugh of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, at the end of the 11th century. [S.]

HUGON, abbat. [HAGONA.]

HUI BECCE (HUA BECCE), abbat of Fobhar now Fore, co. Westmeath, died A.D. 769 (*Ann. Ult.*) or 765 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 765). [J. G.]

HUIL, Welsh saint. [HUAIL.]

HUILLUS, a Jew who instructed Origen. (Jerom. *Apol. adv. Rufin.* § 13, *Opp.* ii. 469, ed. Vall.) [C. H.]

HUITA, bishop of Lichfield. [HWITTA.]

HULDERICUS, bishop. [HUGHIERIUS.]

HUMATUS, 19th bishop of Bourges, between Siagrius and St. Honoratus (*circ.* A.D. 523–7). (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 11.) [S. A. B.]

HUMBEAM (*Chron. Mail.* ann. 749), king of the East Angles. [HUNBEANNA.] [C. H.]

HUMBERHT, a priest who attests a charter of Aldred ealdorman of the Hwiccians, about the year 780. (Kemble, *C. D.* 146.) [S.]

HUMBERTUS, bishop. [HUBERTUS (2).]

HUMBERTUS (1) (HUNTBERTUS), **ST.**, first abbat and second founder of the monastery of Maroilles in the diocese of Cambrai, in the 7th century. Four lives of him have been discovered, but probably all worthless historically; (1) published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 559); (2) published by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 767, Venice, 1733); (3) published in the supplement to Surius (6 Sept.); (4) discovered by the Bollandists (*ib.* p. 559), and apparently only constructed out of the first (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, vii. 317). Probably the only trustworthy information about St. Humbertus is to be found in his deed of grant for the monastery. By this he endows with lands the monastery called Maricolae, which one Chronebertus, or Radobertus, had built. It is first given by Baldericus in the *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium* (i. 27 in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 44), but the names are there transposed, Humbertus being made the founder and Chronebertus the donor of the land. The grant amended may be seen, besides other places, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1197, where a list of the various editions of it is given in the notes, and in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 560.

St. Humbertus lived in the time of Childeric II. (A.D. 660–673), and was the son of noble parents—Eurardus or Ebrardus, who has the title of Beatus, and Popita. At Laon he became a priest and entered a monastery. In course of time he departed home to inquire after the possessions which had descended to him. Here he met two travellers, St. Amandus and St. Nicasius, whom he hospitably entertained, and hearing they were on their way to Rome, obtained permission to accompany them. On a second visit to Rome he offered his patrimony to the pope, but was bidden return and build with it a church in France. At Maroilles, therefore, he erected a monastery. (According, however, to the deed of grant, he endowed a monastery already founded. Possibly the biographer was misled by the incorrect version of Baldericus already mentioned.) Here he spent the remainder of his life. He was visited by St. Aldegundis the abbess of Maubeuge, with whom a friendship arose that lasted till his death on March 25. In the *Gallia Christiana* (iii. 127) the second abbat is Hormungus, whose name occurs in a royal decree of the year 750.

Humbertus is commemorated March 25, the day of his death, and Sept. 6, that of his translation, but his name does not appear in the older martyrologies. For the history of his monastery, see *Gall. Christ.* iii. 127 sqq. [S. A. B.]

HUMBERTUS (2) I., archbishop of Tarentaise, succeeding Leodrandus, and followed by Benimondus, perhaps early in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702.) [S. A. B.]

HUMBERTUS (3) (HIMBERTUS), 22nd bishop of Avignon, succeeding Josephus and followed by Ragenutius, from A.D. 794 to 820. He is said to have subscribed a charter of Wigo bishop of Girone, in favour of the monastery of St. Stephen, which was preserved among the records of the church of Arles, and either he or his predecessor rebuilt the church of St. Mary after its destruction by the Saracens. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 802; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 794, cx. 820, xxi. tom. vi. 531, vii. 530; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 504.) [S. A. B.]

HUMELIANUS (EMILIANUS), bishop of Seville, was one of the successors of OPPAS, and ranks therefore among the bishops of the captivity. His name occurs only in the catalogue of the bishops of Seville given in the *Cod. Aemilianensis.* (*Esp. Sagr.* iv. 236.) [M. A. W.]

HUMERIUS, a deacon whom Acacius patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 471–489, ordained to the presbyterate, notwithstanding that he had been deposed from his office, and was also an excommunicate at the time. (Felic. iii. *Ep.* 6, *ad Acac.* July 28, A.D. 484; Mansi, vii. 1053; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 52.) [T. W. D.]

HUMFRIDUS (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 746, 756, ed. Coxe), bishop of Winchester. [HUNFERTH.] A bishop of the same name occurs in some spurious charters (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 987, 988) before A.D. 675. [C. H.]

HUNA, a monk and priest of the family of St. Etheldreda, who attended her on her deathbed and buried her. After the burial he retired to an island near Ely, called from him Huneia, and there spent the rest of his life as a solitary. After his death miracles were wrought at his tomb, and his relics were in consequence carried to Thorney. (*Hist. Eliens.* lib. i. c. 22, ed. Stewart, p. 59.) [S.]

HUNALDUS (HUNOLDUS), tenth bishop of Cambray and Arras, between Hildebertus and St. Hadulphus (circ. A.D. 713–717). The name occurs in the *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium* (lib. i. 34, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 49, *Gall. Christ.* iii. 8). [S. A. B.]

HUNBEANNA, king of East Anglia, who divided that kingdom with Alberht after the death of king Elfwald in 749. (*Sim. Dun. M. H. B.* 662.) Thorpe in his edition of Lappenberg believes the name to be a corrupt misreading of Beorna (vol. i. p. 243). Nothing is known of him under either name. [EAST ANGLES, KINGS OF.] [S.]

HUNEGUND, ST., abbess of Humolariae (Homblières), near the walls of St. Quentin, in Picardy, in the 7th century. Her body was supposed to have been discovered A.D. 946, soon

after which the nuns were replaced by monks. Berner, the first abbat, wrote St. Hunegund's life. He states that she was of a noble family of Vermandois, born at the villa of Lambaïs or Lembaïde, two miles from the monastery of Homblières, to which the villa was afterwards given, probably by her parents. St. Eligius (Eloy), afterwards bishop of Noyon, was her godfather. Being betrothed, perhaps married, to Eudaldus, she persuaded him to take her to Rome, that they might begin their married life with the pope's blessing. In the presence of the pope she made a vow of virginity, receiving from him instead of the nuptial blessing a nun's veil. Eudaldus, indignant, returned at once to his own country. A few years later, when Hunegund had become abbess of Humolariae, Eudaldus was reconciled to her, eventually made her his heiress, and was buried, at his own request, in her convent. She died 690, or perhaps several years earlier. Her name is in many of the codices to Usuard, and notably in four of the oldest, viz. *Cod. Herinensis*, and those of Antwerp, Utrecht, and Leyden; also in a calendar supposed to be of the year 826, preserved by D'Achéry, and in most of the chief martyrologies of more recent date. Her day was Aug. 25. The authorities are Usuard.; Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 946, 954; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. 1018, saec. v. 213, 215, ed. 1669; Bouquet, *Recueil*, ix. cvii. and 92 e; Stilting in Boll. *AA. SS.* Aug. v. 223; Saussaye, *Mart. Gall.* 554; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 1074; D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ii. 66, ed. 1723. [A. B. C. D.]

HUNFERTH (1) (HUNFRITH), the seventh bishop of Winchester, appointed to succeed Daniel in 744. (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 329.) He held the see until 754, and was then succeeded by Cyneheard (*ib.* 330). He attended the council of Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360), and attested two grants of king Cuthred to Winchester in 749. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1006, 1007.) He is mentioned in a letter to Lullus (*Mon. Mog.* p. 269) by his successor Cyneheard, as "mitissimus episcopus." [S.]

HUNFERTH (2) (HUNFRITH), a deacon of the diocese of Elmham, who attests the act of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547; Kemble, *C. D.* 1024.) He is possibly the Hunferth who became bishop of Elmham, and whose profession of obedience to archbishop Wulfred is extant, 816–824. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 591.) [S.]

HUNFERTH (3), a Kentish priest, who attests the act of archbishop Wulfred, dated April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

HUNFREDUS, HUNFRIDUS, the name of a bishop in a spurious charter of Ethelbert I. king of Kent. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 982.) [C. H.]

HUNGUS (UNGUS), son of Urguist king of the Picts, appears in the *Legend of St. Andrew* (Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 138 sq. 183 sq. 375 sq.; *Brev. Aberdon.* Prop. SS. p. hyem. f. lxxxii.) as king in the east of Scotland, when St. Regulus brought the relics of St. Andrew, and received Kilrymont, now St. Andrews, and the surrounding district, to build churches to the honour of God and the apostle. This Hungus of the legend is identified with Unnuist, Oengus, or Angus, son of Fergus king of the Picts, who ruled for thirty years (A.D. 731–761), and who, according to the chronicle at the end of Bede's History, "regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruentum tyrannus carnifex perduxit" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 289). For the interpretation of the legend and the localisation of Hungus in history, see Skene, *Celt. Scot.* i. 288–299, ii. 271, 272, and his *Notice of the Early Ecclesiastical Settlements at St. Andrews*, in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* iv. 300 sq.; Reeves, *Culdees*, Evid. M.; Gordon, *Scotichr.* i. 70 sq.; Grub, *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. c. 9, who adopts, however, a second Angus, Ungus, or Hungus, son of Urguis, Urgust, or Fergus, king of the Picts (A.D. 821–833), as the Hungus of the legend. [J. G.]

HUNNERIC (UGNERICUS, HUNERIX, HONORICHUS), the eldest son of Genseric, whom he succeeded as king of the Vandals Jan. 24, A.D. 477. In his youth he had been sent to Rome as a hostage for the observance of the treaty his father had made with Valentinian III., and after the sack of Rome had married, 462, the captive Eudocia, the eldest of the daughters of that emperor. His reign was not marked by any war except against the Moors, who revolted, and ultimately succeeded in establishing their independence. Soon after he ascended the throne he ordered diligent search to be made for Manichaeans, of whom he burnt many, and sent more into exile across the sea. For this conduct he is commended by Victor. His subjects were oppressed with taxes and exactions, but at the beginning of his reign he shewed himself favourable to the Catholics, relaxed the strictness of his father's laws against them, and at the intercession of his sister-in-law, Placidia, the widow of the emperor Olybrius, and the emperor Zeno, allowed, in A.D. 481, a bishop of Carthage to be elected, the see having remained vacant since the death of Deogratias, in A.D. 457. Hunneric, however, made this concession only upon condition that a similar liberty should be allowed to the Arian bishops and laity in Zeno's dominions, and declared if this were not granted not only the newly elected bishops, but all the other orthodox bishops with their clergy, would be banished to the Moors. Eugenius was accordingly consecrated bishop of Carthage.

With the view of securing the succession to his son, Hunneric treated the members of his family with great cruelty. His brother Theodoric was sent into exile, and his wife and children were put to death. The Arian patriarch of Carthage, who was supposed to favour Theodoric, was burnt alive in the midst of Carthage, and for the same reason many of his clergy shared a like fate or were thrown to the wild beasts; nor did Hunneric spare the friends whom his father had commended to him on his death-bed, if he suspected they were inclined to support his brother.

Having thus consolidated his power, Hunneric took measures against the Catholics. The influence of Eugenius on the Vandals was especially dreaded by the Arian clergy, at whose suggestion the king forbade him to preach in public, or to allow men or women in Vandal dress to enter the Catholic churches; for Hunneric, like his father, was determined that none of the dominant race should adopt a

belief opposed to that of his sovereign. The bishop replied that the house of God was open to all, and no one could forbid them to come in, especially as a great number of Catholics, being the king's servants, wore the Vandal dress. Men were thereupon posted at the church doors with long rakes, with which, whenever they saw a man or woman in Vandal dress entering, they seized them by the hair so as to tear off hair and scalp together. Many died in consequence of this treatment. Hunneric's next proceedings were against Catholics who held posts at the court or belonged to the army. They were deprived of their offices and pay; many of the former were forced to work in the fields near Utica, and the latter were deprived of their property and exiled to Sicily or Sardinia.

A law confiscating the property of deceased bishops and imposing a fine of 500 solidi on each new bishop at his consecration was contemplated, but the project was abandoned for fear of retaliatory measures being taken against the Arians in the Eastern empire.

Virgins were hung up naked with heavy weights attached to their feet, and their breasts and backs burnt with red-hot irons, to extort, if possible, a confession of immorality, which might be used against the bishops and clergy. Many expired under the torture, and the survivors were maimed for life. Catholic bishops, priests, deacons, and laity, to the number of 4976, were sent in a body into banishment among the savage Moors of the desert. Victor gives a touching description of their sufferings during their marches by day and in the crowded dens where they were obliged to pass the night.

But these cruelties were only the prelude of a more extensive and systematic persecution. Hunneric on Ascension Day, A.D. 483, published an edict to Eugenius, and the other Catholic or, as he termed them, Homoousian bishops, ordering them to assemble at Carthage on Feb. 1, in order to meet the Arian bishops in a conference, and to decide the points in controversy between them, promising them a safe conduct. Eugenius suggested that the foreign Catholic and Arian bishops should be summoned by either party to the conference, but this proposal was rejected by Hunneric.

Even before the conference, however, the persecution began. Victor mentions various bishops who were cruelly beaten and sent into exile, while on Sept. 20, Laetus bishop of Nepta was burnt, to terrify the rest of the Catholic party. When the meeting assembled, the Catholics were indignant to find that Cyrila, the Arian patriarch, occupied the presidential chair. After a scene of much confusion and mutual recrimination the Catholics presented to the assembly a statement of their belief and the arguments by which they supported it. The Arians received it with indignation, as in it the opposite party claimed the name of Catholics for themselves, and falsely suggested to the king that the disturbance was the fault of their opponents. Hunneric seized this pretext for publishing, on Feb. 25, an edict he had already prepared and distributed to the magistrates throughout his dominions. He thereby ordered all the churches of the orthodox party to be handed over with their endowments to the Arians, and further, after reciting the penalties imposed on the Donatists in A.D. 412 and 414, by edicts of Honorius (*Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 5, 52 and 54), enacted that the Catholics should be subject to the same scale of penalties and disabilities. Pardon was promised to those who should renounce Catholicism before June 1.

The persecution, however, began before the three months' grace had expired. The first to suffer were the bishops assembled at Carthage. They were expelled from the town with nothing but the clothes they had on, and were obliged to beg their bread. The inhabitants were forbidden to give them shelter or food under pain of being burnt alive with their whole family. While they continued outside the walls in this miserable state, they were summoned to meet persons sent by the king at the Temple of Memory, and were required to take an oath to support the succession of Hilderic the king's son, and to hold no correspondence with the countries beyond the sea. On these conditions the king promised to restore them their churches. Some took the oath, but others refused to swear, excusing themselves by the precept "Swear not at all." They were then told to separate, and the names and sees of the bishops of each party were taken down, and they were all sent to prison. A few days afterwards those who had taken the oath were told that, as they had infringed the precept of the Gospel, the king had ordered they should be banished to the country and have land assigned them to cultivate, on condition, however, that they should not chant, or pray, or baptize, ordain or receive any into the church. To those on the other hand who had refused, they said, "You refused to swear because you did not wish our master's son to succeed him. Therefore you are exiled to Corsica, where you shall cut timber for our master's navy." Of the 466 who attended the council, 88 fell away to Arianism; among the remainder one was a martyr and one a confessor, 46 were banished to Corsica, and the remainder to the country parts of Africa.

In the meantime throughout Africa a most cruel persecution raged, neither age nor sex being a protection; some were cruelly beaten, others were hung, and some were burnt alive. Noble ladies were stript naked and tortured in the public streets. Victorian, a former proconsul of Carthage, was the most illustrious victim of the persecution. Victor's fifth book is filled with accounts of the constancy and sufferings of the Catholics. Eugenius was entrusted to the custody of the cruel Antonius, the Arian bishop of a city in Tripoli, where his hardships brought on a stroke of paralysis. Another bishop, Habetdeus, was bound and gagged by Antonius, and forced by him to undergo the rite of a second baptism, which indeed was imposed by force or fraud upon many of the orthodox party. The Vandals, who had renounced Arianism, were treated with peculiar cruelty. Some had their eyes put out, and others their hands, feet, noses, or ears cut off. The eyes of Uranius, who had been sent by the emperor Zeno to intercede for the Catholics, were shocked by these horrible sights, as Hunneric, to insult the ambassador and his master, had ordered some of the cruellest scenes of torture to be enacted in the streets through which he had to pass on his way to the palace.

The most celebrated event of the persecution occurred at Typasa, a seaport town of Mauritania. When the citizens saw that a former notary of Cyrila's had been consecrated as the Arian bishop of their town, the greater part of them took shipping and crossed to Spain. A few who could not find room on board remained behind, whom the Arian bishop on his arrival endeavoured, first by persuasion and then by threats, to induce to become Arians. They refused, and having assembled in one house began publicly to celebrate the divine mysteries. When this became known to the bishop he secretly despatched to Carthage an accusation against them to the king, who sent one of his officers with orders to have their tongues cut out by the roots, and their right hands cut off in the middle of the forum before the assembled province. This cruel punishment was duly performed, but they continued to speak as plainly as before. This event is attested by Victor, who was probably an eye-witness, though he does not expressly say so; by the eye-witnesses Aeneas of Gaza the Platonic philosopher (*Theophrastus*, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.* lxxxv. 1000), Justinian (*Codex*, i. 27), and Marcellinus (*Chronicle* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* li. 933), all of whom had seen some of these persons at Constantinople; by Procopius (*de Bello Vandalico*, i. 8); by Victor Tununensis (*Chronicle* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 946); and by pope Gregory the Great (*Dialogues*, iii. 32 in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 293), and has generally been considered not only to have been a miracle, but the most remarkable one on record after apostolic times. The variety of the witnesses who attested it, and the consistency of their testimony on all material points, give it claims to belief, such as few apparently praeternatural events possess. Dr. Middleton was the first to suggest (*Free Inquiry*, 313–316) that, assuming the account to be true, it by no means follows that the event was miraculous, a position he maintains by instances of a person born without a tongue, and of another who had lost it by disease, who, however, were able to speak.* Mr. Twisleton in his recent book, *The Tongue not Essential to Speech*, has shewn this explanation of the event to be probable. He gives numerous cases of persons in Eastern countries who had suffered a similar mutilation, and also of persons in England whose tongues had been removed by surgical operations, and who still were able to pronounce distinctly all the letters except *d* and *t*: one of the latter was actually seen by the author, and conversed with him. He sums up his inquiry by saying: "The final result seems to be that questions connected with the phenomenon of speech in the African confessors are purely within the domain of natural science, and that there is no reason for asserting or suspecting any miraculous intervention in the matter." The persecution continued to rage till the death of Hunneric, which took place the following Dec. 11. Like the persecutor Galerius his body mortified, and bred worms.

* Gibbon in this case, as in some others, appears to take a malicious pleasure in representing the case for the miracle on the testimony as impregnable, being sure that few rational men will admit the *miracle*. Middleton wrote before Gibbon, yet Gibbon does not refer to him here, though familiar with his writings.

The sources of the above account are Victor Vitensis *De Persecutione Vandalica*, ii., iv., and v. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lviii., with Ruinart's Appendix; *Procopius de Bello Vandalico*, i. 8; the Appendix to the *Chronicle* of Prosper, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* li. 605; and the *Chronicle* of Victor Tununensis in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxviii.; Gibbon (c. xxxvii.) gives a good narrative of the persecution, and Ceillier (*Auteurs Sacrés*, x. 452–462) may also be consulted. [F. D.]

HUNOLDUS, bishop. [HUNALDUS.]

HUNTBERTUS, abbat. [HUMBERTUS.]

HUNUANUS (MINARUS, NUMIANUS), 27th bishop of Noyon and Tournay, between Framengerus and Guido I. He is said to have died in 741, after an episcopate of 18 years. But this date is very doubtful. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 985; *Vita S. Berlendis*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 381.) [S. A. B.]

HUPARCIUS, bishop. [EPARCIUS.]

HUPORTUNUS, twenty-seventh bishop of Geneva, succeeding Albo and followed by Eucherius. The name is perhaps a corruption of Opportunus or Importunus. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 383.) [S. A. B.]

HURMAN, bishop of Hulwan in Persia and martyr under Sapor II. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

HWAETRAED, a Kentish abbat, who, together with archbishop Bregwin, attests an act of king Eanmund appended to a grant of Sigiraed, king of half Kent, to Rochester. (Kemble, *C. D.* 114; *Mon. Angl.* i. 163.) He is probably the same person as Hwitred or Wetred, abbat of Reculver (*Mon. Angl.* i. 454), to whom Eardulf king of Kent gave land at Berhamstede (Kemble, *C. D.* 1005), and Ealhmund about 784 gave land at Scildwic. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1013; *Mon. Angl.* i. 455.) The charters are very doubtful. [S.]

HWICCA, bishop of Lichfield. [HWITTA.]

HWICCII, HUICCII, HWICCAS, WICCII, the inhabitants of a district between the south and middle Angles and the Welsh, which is ecclesiastically represented by the ancient diocese of Worcester, and comprised Worcestershire (except sixteen parishes beyond the Abberley hills, which belonged to Hereford), Gloucestershire, on the east of the Severn, including Bristol, and the southern half of Warwickshire. Worcester, the chief town, derived its name from the nation, appearing first as Wigernaceaster, Wigarceaster, Wigraceaster, and, in Latin, Wigornia. As this district contained a large number of early ecclesiastical foundations, and remained for a longer time than the other Mercian provinces under the separate rule of hereditary under-kings or subreguli, who were patrons of the early church, it seems desirable to give a chronological series of these rulers, many of whom were not of so much eminence as to require independent treatment.

At the time of the conversion of Mercia the Hwiccian princes seem to have extended their rule over that portion of Somersetshire which lies north of the Avon, and so included Bath as well as Bristol, Worcester, and Gloucester. All

of these were seats of early monastic bodies; besides these Hwiccia contained the more rural monasteries of Evesham, Pershore, Deerhurst, Winchelcomb, and Tewkesbury, and a large number of still smaller monasteries, the possessions of which were at a later period included in the estates of the cathedral monastery of Worcester. Of these, Bredon, the monastery in which archbishop Tatwin was educated, Westbury, on the foundation of which the later monasteries of archbishop Oswald were based, and Berkeley, which subsequently was appropriated to Reading abbey, were the most famous.

The first Hwiccian rulers of whom we have any knowledge were Eanfrith and Eanhere, who were Christian at least as early as A.D. 661 (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13). [EANFRITH.] The title of king is not given to these princes. Osric, however, who is mentioned by Bede as ruling about A.D. 690, is distinctly termed by him "Rex Osric." He is recognised as the founder of Bath abbey, of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and of the cathedral monastery of Worcester, and flourished, so far as we know from charters, as early as A.D. 676. He probably was connected with the royal house of Northumbria. (See Bede, *H. E.* iv. 23; and OSRIC.) Oswald, brother, and possibly joint ruler, with Osric, was the founder of Pershore. [OSWALD.] In 692 Oshere, possibly a son or a nephew of Osric, was able to call himself "rex Hwicciorum" in several charters, some of which are genuine (Kemble, *C. D.* Nos. 17, 36). [See OSHERE.] Oshere is the last person to whom the title of king is given. In the next generation the family is represented by Ethilweard, who calls himself "subregulus, Osheri quondam Wicciorum regis filius" (Kemble, *C. D.* 56). In close connexion with him are Ethilheard and Ethelric (Kemble, *C. D.* 53, 57), who seem to be his brothers, Ethelric calling himself a son of king Oshere. (Kemble, *C. D.* 83.)

In 757 Eanberht (Kemble, *C. D.* 102, 105) was "regulus Hwicciorum," conjointly or contemporaneously with his brothers Uhtred and Aldred, but whether they were sons, nephews, or grandsons of Ethelheard is not clear. Possibly an intervening ruler, Alhferth (*C. D.* 124, 146) may have been father of the three. Uhtred is "Hwicciorum subregulus," in 767 (*C. D.* 117), 770 (*ib.* 118), and possibly later (*ib.* 148); Aldred in 777 (*C. D.* 131), and earlier (*ib.* 125), and possibly later (*ib.* 145, 146, 150, 154); he is called by Offa a "dux propriae gentis Hwicciorum."

Wigferth, or Wiferth, duke of the Hwiccas, was buried in the church-yard of St. Peter's at Worcester, as were also the parents of Aldred, Uhtred, and Eanberht (Kemble, *C. D.* 102, 128). He was then probably of the same family, and his date seems to fall between 781 and 798 (Kemble, *C. D.* 175, &c.).

Ethelmund, whose death is recorded in the *Chronicle* under the year 802 (*Chr. S.* A.D. 800), was then ealdorman of the Hwiccas. He was the son of Ingild, who is mentioned by Uhtred in 767 as one of his comites (Kemble, *C. D.* 117). The elder line of succession must either have died out or been set aside. Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, went on pilgrimage, and left his estates to several churches, with remainder to Worcester (*C. D.* 186). This inheritance became at a later period a matter of dispute in council and witenagemot, *ib.* 218. (See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 483, 514, 549, 592.)

These dates can only be regarded as an approximation to a true chronology, and are drawn from materials scarcely any portion of which is beyond suspicion; but the consistency of the computation, and the basis which it has in the references made by Bede to the royal rulers of the Hwiccii, are arguments in favour of the existence of some such line of succession, of which fuller particulars may have been existing in the records of the Worcestershire monasteries at the time when their extant cartularies were drawn up. The documents on which they are founded are to be read in the Gloucester Cartulary (ed. Hart), in the Worcester Cartulary of Heming (ed. Hearne), and in the great collection of J. M. Kemble. [S.]

HWITTA, HWITA (HWITA, HWIOCA), the tenth bishop of Lichfield (*M. H. B.* 623). On the death of bishop Aldwin, who had held the two Mercian sees until 737 (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 659), the diocese of Mercia under Lichfield, and that of Middle Anglia under Leicester, were finally divided; Hwitta being consecrated to the former and Totta or Torthelm to the latter. Hwitta attended the council of Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360), and his name is attached to a charter granted by Ethelbald of Mercia at Godmundeslaech, in 749. (Kemble, *C. D.* 99; Spelman, *Conc.* i. 256; Wilkins, i. 100; Malmesbury, *G. R.* lib. i., ed. Hardy, pp. 116, 117; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 386.) He was succeeded by Hemele, who first appears in charters in 752. [S.]

HYA, of St. Ives. [HIA.]

HYACINTHUS (1)—July 3, martyr. He was a native of Caesarea in Cappadocia and became a chamberlain in the court of Trajan, where he followed the Christian religion. Being charged with this he was bidden to sacrifice to the gods and eat of the meat which had been offered in sacrifice. On his refusal he was imprisoned, and as the emperor would only permit food to be supplied to him which had been previously offered to idols, he was starved to death. (Bas. *Men.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. i. 633.) [G. T. S.]

HYACINTHUS (2), a eunuch who brought up Marcia, afterwards concubine to the emperor Commodus. He was employed by her to bear to Sardinia an order which she had obtained for the release of certain Christian prisoners who worked there in the mines; and his relations with Marcia gave him influence enough to procure on his own responsibility the release also of CALLISTUS (1. p. 391), who had not been included in the list. Hyacinthus was a Christian, and his mutilation did not prevent his holding the office of presbyter. (Hippol. *Ref.* ix. 12, p. 288.) [G. S.]

HYACINTHUS (3)—Sept. 11. A eunuch who suffered at Rome with another, one Protus, under the emperor Gallienus, A.D. 260. (*Mart. Usuard.*) [G. T. S.]

HYACINTHUS (4), bishop of Miletus, present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1146.) [L. D.]

HYACINTHUS (5), 5th bishop of Perpignan, or, as the see was then, Helena, between Ilitaricus and Clarus, said to have taken up arms against Wamba king of the Visigoths, with the rebel Paul, and to have been captured by him in A.D. 673. The date of his death is unknown, but apparently it happened previously to 676, when his successor is known to have been sitting. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 1032.) [S. A. B.]

HYACINTHUS (6), bishop of Sorrento. He signed the second epistle of pepe Agatho, in 680. (Mansi, xi. 302; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

HYACINTHUS (7), bishop of the Lusitanian see of Cosia, the first of whom we have authentic knowledge. He appears at the third council of Toledo as the junior bishop, his signature occurring in the sixty-second place before those of the vicars. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 56.) [M. A. W.]

HYACINTHUS (8)—July 26. Roman martyr at Portus under a magistrate named Leontius. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Till. ii. 573.) [G. T. S.]

HYACINTHUS (9)—Sept. 9. A martyr at the thirtieth milestone from Rome in the Latin country with Alexander and Tiburtius. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HYCHAN, ST., the saint of Llanhychan, in the vale of Clwyd, Denbighshire, in the 5th century. His festival was Aug. 8. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 144.) [C. W. B.]

HYDROCK, ST., to whom Lanhydrock in Cornwall is dedicated. The feast day is 5th May: William of Worcester (*Itin.* 108), "Sanctus Ydrocus confessor, die 5 Maii, F litera." The names beginning with Lan are ancient; it is a Cymric prefix, and rare in Scotland. [C. W. B.]

HYDROPARASTATAE (Ὑδροπαραστάται), a name given to the followers of Tatian and other Gnostics who rejected wine in the Eucharist and substituted water for it. The practice is condemned in Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 19, where we read: "Those destitute of prudence, that is, those involved in heresies, 'I enjoin,' remarks Wisdom, saying, 'Touch sweetly stolen bread and the sweet water of theft,' the Scripture manifestly applying the terms bread and water to nothing else but to those heresies which employ bread and water in the oblation, not according to the rule of the church. For there are those who celebrate the Eucharist with mere water." The context shews that Ebionite practices are here referred to, and we otherwise know that celebration in water only was used by the Ebionite sects (Iren. v. 1; Epiph. *Haer.* xxx. 16, and the *Clementines* generally). Theodosius, in an edict of 382, classes the Hydroparastatae with the Manichaeans and accuses them of all kinds of crimes, and pronounces sentence of death upon all those who take the name of Encratites, Saccophori, or Hydroparastatae, ordering Florus, pretorian prefect of the East, to make strict search for them (Haenel, *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. v. p. 1530, 1570; cf. Mosheim, *H. E.* cent. iv. p. ii. c. 5 § 1). The rejection of wine was a leading principle with perfect Manichaeans: they called it "the gall of the Prince of Darkness." Others before them even among the heathen held it in abomination, and refused to offer it in libation to the gods as being the blood of the giants who waged war with heaven (cf. Plutarch, *de Iside*; Jortin, ii. 288, ed. 1752). By way of reaction against the views of the Hydroparastatae, the Armenians fell into the opposite practice of rejecting the mixed chalice, taking their stand upon St. Chrysostom's homily on Matt. xxvi. 29, where he repudiates the heresy of the Hydroparastatae and urges strongly the necessity for the presence of wine to constitute a valid sacrament. Against the Armenian view the Trullan council A.D. 692 passed its 32nd canon (cf. Assemani, *Biblioth. Juris Oriental.* v. 109 sqq.). We find the practice of substituting water for wine in the Eucharist, but without any heretical intent, opposed by St. Cyprian (*Ep.* lxiii.). Some in his time were accustomed to celebrate the Eucharist in the morning without wine, in the evening with wine. From this epistle it would seem as if the custom arose during the time of persecution. Men were then daily communicants, and could be detected by the smell of the wine. "It remaineth that the whole discipline of the truth is overthrown, unless what is spiritually enjoined be faithfully maintained. Unless indeed this be any one's fear in the morning sacrifices, lest by the savour of wine he smell of the blood of Christ. Yet so then the brotherhood is beginning to be kept back from the Passion also of Christ in persecution, while in the oblations they learn to be ashamed of the Body and blood-shedding of Christ." The whole epistle is deserving of most careful study. It shews what St. Cyprian's opinion was about Communion in one kind [ENCRATITES]. (Mosheim, *H. E.* cent. ii. p. ii. c. 5 § 9; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. iv. 8, xviii. 9, vii. 15; J. Vogt, *Biblioth. Hist. Haeres.* p. 239.) [G. T. S.]

HYDROTHEITAE, a name invented by the author of "Praedestinatus" (75) for the heretics represented by Philaster (96), and after him by Augustine (75) as holding that water was not made by God, but had existed from eternity. [G. S.]

HYDULPHUS, bishop. [HILDULFUS.]

HYGBALD, an abbat in Lindsey, mentioned by Bede (*H. E.* iv. 3) as having heard from the great missionary Egbert St. Chad's vision of the ascent to heaven of his brother Ceddi's soul. There can be little doubt that he is identical with the Hygbald whose name occurs in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis* (p. 9). Hygbald's monastery seems to have been Bardney, where he is said to have educated St. Swidbert. (*V. S. Swiberti*, ap. Surium, *AA. SS.* 1 March, tome ii. p. 3; Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. index.) He is no doubt the person from whose name Hibaldstow in Lindsey is called, and in whose name the church of that period and three others in the neighbourhood are dedicated. Sir Harris Nicolas (*Chron. Hist.* p. 154) gives Sept. 22 as the day of his

commemoration; Mabillon mentions July 21; Mr. Parker gives Sept. 20 (*Angl. Kal.* p. 247). [S.]

HYGBERHT (Kemble, *C. D.* 1020). **HYGEBEORHT** (K. *C. D.* 985). **HYGEBERHT** (K. *C. D.* 141, 143, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 164, 167, 175), archbishop. [HIGBERT.] [C. H.]

HYGINUS (1), bishop of Rome after Telesphorus, probably from 137 to 141, during four years and some months. Our early authorities for the dates and duration of his episcopate are confused and uncertain, as is the case with other bishops of that early period. The Liberian Catalogue is probably correct in giving Caesar and Albinus (Balbinus) as the consuls of the last year of Telesphorus, denoting A.D. 137; but is certainly wrong in giving twelve years as the duration of the episcopate of Hyginus. The dates of his accession and decease are absent from the catalogue, as we now have it, there being several such lacunae about the period referred to, including the entire omission of three popes known to have existed between Hyginus and Callistus. The later Felician Catalogue, followed as to the number of years by subsequent editions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, gives four years, three months, and three days as the duration of the reign of Hyginus, which may be accepted as most probable (see Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, pp. 169, 263). Anastasius (*Lib. Pontif.*) says of him that he was a Greek by race, son of an Athenian philosopher, of unknown genealogy, and that he sat for four years, three months, and eight days, in the times of Verus and Marcus, from the consulate of Magnus and Camerinus (? Niger and Camerinus, A.D. 138) to that of Orfidus and Priscus. Orfitus and Priscus being the consuls of the year 149, the date thus indicated is inconsistent with the duration of four years assigned by the same authority, being due apparently to the error with respect to the latter, above noticed, in the Liberian Catalogue. Anastasius adds, "hic clerum composuit, et distribuit gradus," that he was buried near the body of St. Peter in the Vatican on the 11th of January, and that the see remained vacant for three days.

Nothing certain is known about Hyginus. Several spurious decretals are assigned to him. One, addressed "to all living in the apostolic faith and discipline," is on matters of such faith and discipline. Another, addressed to the Athenians, is hortatory against sin in general, and especially (as is usual in spurious decretals) against disobedience to the apostolic see. Gratian has other *decreta* under his name. He appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on the 11th of January as a saint and martyr, and is said to have suffered gloriously in the persecution of Antoninus. But the title of martyr being shared with him by all the first thirty bishops of Rome but two, there is no solid ground for concluding him to have been one. [J. B—y.]

HYGINUS (2) (ADYGINUS, or IGINUS), bishop of Cordova (Corduba) towards the end of the 4th century. Taking great alarm at the first outbreak of the Priscillianist heresy, he reported it to his colleague, Idatius of Emerita (Merida). On the severity of the persecution increasing, Hyginus inclined to lenient measures. For this cause he was treated with special indignation by the orthodox party. (Sulp. Sev. ii. 47.) [M. B. C.]

HYGINUS (3), martyr. [GENIUS.]

HYLAS, a freedman of Jerome's friend Melania. He accompanied St. Jerome and his friends from Aquileia to Syria, and died in 374 at Antioch, at the same time with Innocentius. Jerome esteemed him highly, and speaks of him as one "qui pietate morum maculam servitutis abluerat." (Jer. ep. iii. 3, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

HYLDRADUS, an abbat who sent a psalter to Florus priest of Lyons, with a request that he would correct it so accurately that it might serve as a model for transcription. The answer of Florus was discovered by Cardinal Mai, and published by him in his *Scriptores Veteres*, iii. 251–5. (See Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univ. de l'Église Cath.* 5th ed. vi. 313, and Ceillier, xii. 492.)

The letter contains an allusion to some verses of Florus, which he had sent to Hyldradus. These were published by Muratori, as addressed to an abbat Eloradus, but with an expression of doubt as to the correctness of the name (Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* iii. 855–7). The letter makes it clear that the name Eloradus was a misreading of Hyldradus. [S. A. B.]

HYLDREN, ST., William of Worcester (*Itin.* 114) says, "Sanctus Hyldren episcopus jacet in parochia Lansalux juxta parochiam Lanteglys, ejus festum agitur primo die Februarii." The parish of Lansallos in Cornwall was dedicated to St. Ildierna in 1331, but probably this is the same name. There seems to have been a very early sanctuary in this parish. [C. W. B.]

HYLDULFUS (Orderic. Vital. *H. E.* v. 9), bishop of Rouen. [HIDULPHUS.] [C. H.]

HYMELINUS. [HIMELINUS.]

HYMENAEUS, bishop of Jerusalem. He is stated to have held the see for the long space of thirty-two years, A.D. 266–298; but the whole period is absolutely barren of recorded events connected with his own church, although for the last fourteen years of his episcopate Diocletian was emperor (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 14; *Chron.* ad ann. 266; Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. § 20). Hymenaeus was one of the leading bishops at the synods held at Antioch 264–269, on the case of Paul of Samosata (Euseb. vii. 28–30). The conversion of St. Maurice and the Thebaean legion of which he was leader, is stated in the acts of their martyrdom, A.D. 285, to have been due to a bishop of Jerusalem, who, from a consideration of the dates, as Le Quien and Papebroch have shewn, may be probably identified with Hymenaeus. (Neale, *Patriarchate of Antioch*, p. 56.) [E. V.]

HYMENAEUS, bishop of Alexandria. [EUMENES.]

HYMERIUS, bishop of Ameria. [HIMERIUS.]

HYMETIUS, a Roman of high rank, who held the office of vicar of the city of Rome, A.D. 362, in the time of the emperor Julian (*Cod. Theod.* XI. xxx. 29). He was uncle to Eusto-

chium, the friend of Jerome (*q. v.*), and was averse to the ascetic practices in which his niece was being educated. With his wife Praetextata, he endeavoured, by flattery, and by introducing her into society, and even by some degree of compulsion, to draw her away from those practices, but without success. (Jerome, ep. 107, 5, ed. Vall.) Ammianus Marcellinus, circ. A.D. 368, relates that Hymetius, having been made proconsul of Africa, greatly distinguished himself by his generosity to the people of Carthage during a time of famine; but an accusation of treasonable designs being brought against him, he was recalled by the emperor Valentinian and committed for trial. The senate only sentenced him to banishment to the island of Boa. Valentinian was indignant at what he considered their too great lenity, and it was only at the urgent intercession of the nobles, one of whom was the ex-prefect Praetextatus, probably a relative of Praetextata, that he relented and spared Hymetius's life. The sentence of the senate, however, seems to have been executed. (Am. Marc. xxviii. 1.) [W. H. F.]

HYMNA, Welsh abbess. [HINNA.]

HYMNEMUND, chosen abbat of Agaunum or St. Maurice, in the Valais, at the council held there in A.D. 515. (Mansi, viii. 533; *Gall. Chr.* xii. 789.) [I. G. S.]

HYMNETIUS, a physician probably of Caesarea, from whose skill Chrysostom had derived great benefit, for which he expresses his gratitude in a letter written after his arrival at Cucusus, A.D. 404 (Chrys. *Epist.* 81). In a second letter, written perhaps in A.D. 406, he commends to Hymnetius's care a bishop named Seleucus, who had been to visit him, who was suffering from a severe cough (*ibid.* 37, 38). [E. V.]

HYNYD, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, wife of Tudval the yellow-haired, and mother of Cuincov. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 604.) [J. G.]

HYPATIA (1). The account given by Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* vii. 15) of this celebrated person is as follows:—"There was a lady in Alexandria, by name Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon. She advanced to such a point of mental culture as to surpass all the philosophers of her age, and receive the office of lecturer in the Platonic school, of which Plotinus had been the founder, and there expound all philosophic learning to any who were desirous of it. Students of philosophy came from all quarters to hear her. The dignified freedom of speech, which her training had implanted in her, enabled her to appear even before the public magistrates with entire modesty; none could feel ashamed to see her take her station in the midst of men. She was reverenced and admired even the more for it, by reason of the noble temperance of her disposition. This then was the woman upon whom malicious envy now made its attack. She was wont to have frequent communications with Orestes [the prefect]; this aroused enmity against her in the church community. The charge was that it was through her that Orestes was prevented from entering upon friendly relations with the bishop [CYRIL]. Accordingly some passionate fanatics, led by Peter the Reader, conspired together and watched her as she was returning home from some journey, tore her from her chariot, and dragged her to the church called Caesarium; there they stripped her and killed her with oyster shells, and, having torn her in pieces, gathered together the limbs to a place called Cinaron, and consumed them with fire. This deed occasioned no small blame to Cyril and the Alexandrian church; for murders, fightings, and the like are wholly alien to those who are minded to follow the things of Christ. This event happened in the fourth year of the episcopate of Cyril, in the consulships of Honorius (for the tenth time) and Theodosius (for the sixth time) in the month of March, at the season of the fast" (*i.e.* March, A.D. 415). Little can be added to this account. Synesius of Cyrene (afterwards bishop of Ptolemais) was a devoted disciple of hers. According to Suidas, she married Isidorus. No trustworthy account connects Cyril directly with her murder; but of course he must bear the blame of participation in the temper which led to it. [J. R. M.]

HYPATIA (2). In the synodical book of the council of Ephesus is given a letter, from its style evidently the work of a female writer, which is falsely attributed to Hypatia, the philosopher of Alexandria. The writer of the letter has still to be called Hypatia for want of the real name. The letter complains of the condemnation and banishment of Nestorius, which took place seventeen years after the death of the real Hypatia. The writer is struck by the teaching of the Christians that God died for men; she founds her plea for Nestorius on an appeal to reason and Scripture. (Baluze, *Concil. App.* p. 837, Paris, 1683, fol.; Ceillier, viii. 387.) [W. M. S.]

HYPATIANUS, bishop of Heraclea on the coast of Propontis, and metropolitan of Thracia. He is mentioned in a life of Parthenius bishop of Lampsacus (see Boll. *AA. SS.* Feb. 7); present at the second council of Sirmium, A.D. 357, according to Epiphanius. (*Haeres.* lxxiii. 21; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1104.) [J. de S.]

HYPATIUS (1), bishop of Gangra in Paphlagonia. Our only knowledge of him is drawn from the untrustworthy Menaea of the Greek church. According to these he was present at the council of Nicaea, and met his death at the hands of a party of Novatians in a mountain defile in the reign of Constantius. (Sirlet. *Menolog. Graec.* Mar. 31, Nov. 14 in Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 420, 486; *Menol. Basil.* Nov. 14; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* vi. 642, ix. 651; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 549.) In a Greek MS. of the *Magnum Menologium Graecorum* for November, in the Imperial Library of Vienna, once belonging to Sambucus, there is a *Life and Martyrdom* of this Hypatius, occupying nine folio pages. It is described by Lambecius in his *Comment. Biblioth. Caesar.* lib. viii. num. 36, p. 803, ed. Kollar. [E. V.]

HYPATIUS (2) I., Arian bishop of Nicaea in Bithynia, ejected along with other Arians and Eunomians by the emperor Theodosius, c. A.D. 379, when he retired to his native town of Cyrus

in Syria (Philost. *H. E.* ix. 19). He was a pupil of Aetius, and was appointed to Nicaea by Eudoxius. (Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* lxxiii. in Migne, Patr. Gr. xlii. 886; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 642.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (3), chorepiscopus, who, together with another of the same order named Abraham, and Alypius the superior of the monks of his diocese, men remarkable for their piety and intelligence, was sent by Theodoret to pope Leo, in A.D. 449, to appeal against his deposition by the "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus (Theod. *Ep.* 113, ad fin.). At a later period of his life Theodoret undertook, at his request, his commentary on the Octateuch and on the Books of the Kings (Theod. *in Octat.* praef.; *in Reg.* praef.). [E. V.]

HYPATIUS (4), bishop of Zephyrium on the coast of Cilicia, present at the fourth general council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and signing the synodical epistle addressed by the bishops of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 457. (Mansi, vi. 569, and vii. 430; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 884.) [J. de S.]

HYPATIUS (5), bishop of Hadrianopolis in Vetus Epirus. He signed the letter of his provincial synod to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 619; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 141.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (6), bishop of Sidyma in Lycia. He subscribed the letter of the synod of Myra, the metropolis of the province, to the emperor Leo, 458. (Mansi, vii. 580; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 973.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (7), bishop of Claudiopolis, the metropolis of the province of Honorias, adjoining Paphlagonia, signed the petition of the Constantinopolitan synod A.D. 518 to the patriarch John concerning the conduct of Severus of Antioch, which was read at the fifth session of the synod under Mennas A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1048; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 569.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (8) I., bishop of Ephesus, along with Epiphanius of Constantinople and Eusebius, introduced St. Sabas on his arrival from Palestine to the emperor Justinus I.

On the invitation of the emperor Justinian, bishop Hypatius and others held a conference with the Severian bishop concerning the faith in the palace A.D. 532, when we have the first unequivocal mention of the writings of Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita, which were produced by the Severians in support of their Monophysite views; Hypatius, however, impugned their genuineness [DIONYSIUS, PSEUDO-AREOPAGITA]. (Mansi, viii. 817–836.) In 533 he was sent by the emperor together with Demetrius of Philippi with a letter to pope John II., asking for letters condemnatory of certain monks, called Acoemetae, who adopted Nestorian views. This letter and John's answer are extant (Mansi, viii. 795). Hypatius's name is also found among those who were present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas A.D. 536 which condemned Anthimus. (Mansi, viii. 1143; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 681.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (9), bishop of Nicopolis, the metropolis of Vetus Epirus, concerning whom there is extant a letter of pope Honorius I., dated Dec. 13, A.D. 626. The pope refuses to send him the pallium till he should come into Roman ground, and before St. Peter swear that he had honourably obtained his bishopric, and had taken no part in the murder of his predecessor Soterichus, whilst he held his former position as deacon of the church. (Mansi, x. 581; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 137.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (10) II., bishop of Ephesus, a supporter of the veneration of images, barbarously put to death along with a priest named Andrew at Constantinople by the emperor Leo the Isaurian A.D. 730. Commemorated by the Greeks on Sept. 20, by the Latins on Aug. 29. (Sirlet's *Menologium Graecorum* in Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 469; *Mart. Rom.* Aug. 29; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 683; *Acta SS.* Boll. vi. Aug. 514.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (11) II., bishop of Nicaea, present at the seventh general council A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 365.) [L. D.]

HYPATIUS (12)—June 3. A boy martyr at Byzantium. He was a native of Nicomedia. He suffered with Lucillianus, a priest, and with three other boys, Claudius, Paulus, and Dionysius, in the reign of Aurelian. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

HYPATIUS (13), consul A.D. 359, in association with his brother Eusebius (Athan. *de Synod.* p. 576, § 8 in *Pat. Gr.* xxvi. 691; Ammian. Marcell. xxix. 2). He was the brother of Eusebia wife of the emperor Constantius. Ammianus Marcellinus describes him as "vir quieti placidique consilii, honestatem lenium morum velut ad perpendiculum librans" (*u. s.*), c. 371. Hypatius and Eusebius were at Constantinople with the emperor Valens, and were falsely accused to him of treasonable designs. Valens lending a too willing ear to their accuser their lives were in great danger; but they managed to escape, and soon afterwards returned to the West. In 379 Hypatius was prefect of Rome (*Cod. Theod.* XI. xxxvi. 26), and in 382–383 he was prefect of Italy (*Cod. Theod.* II. xix. 5; III. i. 4; XI. xvi. 13; XII. i. 99, 100; XVI. vii. 3). He is probably the Hypatius whom Gregory of Nazianzus addressed in his ninety-seventh letter (ὦ πάντων ἄριστε, *Ep.* 97 in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxvii. 169; Gothofred. *Prosopogr. Cod. Theod.* s. n.). [T. W. D.]

HYPATIUS (14), a relative of Basil, commended by him to Eusebius bishop of Samosata, in order that by his prayers, and those of other holy men about him, a cure of the malady under which Hypatius had been long suffering, in which physicians had proved helpless, might be granted. If these means failed, Basil begged that Hypatius might be sent with commendatory letters to other holy men. (Basil. *Epist.* 31 [267].) [E. V.]

HYPATIUS (15), a friend and correspondent to whom Gregory Nazianzen wrote from Arianzus, A.D. 382, that he had given way before the envy of others, and had left the government of the church to those who regarded it as a stage-play, careless of the seriousness of its interests. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 192 al. 96.) [E. V.]

HYPATIUS (16), a presbyter, who, with the deacons Eusebius and Lamprotatus, had been called to suffer severely in the persecution against Chrysostom, who wrote two letters from Cucusus, A.D. 405, to console him and to encourage him to maintain his struggle. (Chrys. *Epist.* 97, 180.) [E. V.]

HYPATIUS (17), one of those who begged of Epiphanius to compose a treatise in exposition of the faith, having visited him expressly from Egypt for that object. The result was Epiphanius's *Ancoratus*. (Epiph. *Ancor.* § 1, p. 6, in *Pat. Gr.* xliii. 18, 19.) [C. H.]

HYPATIUS (18), addressed in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, begging his consent to the sale of half the estate at Ebrolium (Ebrail), near Clermont, to Donidius, one of his clergy, who possessed half of it, and whose ancestors had owned the whole. (*Epist.* iii. 5 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 499.) [S. A. B.]

HYPATIUS (19), presbyter and hegumenus of the Rufinian monastery in Bithynia. He was a native of Phrygia, and from his father, a scholasticus, received a learned education. Leaving his home he passed into Thrace, where after some time spent in a pastoral employment he erected a monastery, which he fortified against the Huns, who vainly attempted to capture it, but devastated the surrounding country. He then abandoned the spot and repaired to Constantinople, where he met two ascetics like himself, Timotheus and Moschion. Crossing over to Chalcedon in company they wandered eastward in search of a mountain or a cave. At a distance of about three miles they came to an abandoned monastery originally presided over by Rufinus. Here he established himself, being then about forty years old, and gathered a community over which he presided many years. His period is the first half of the 5th century. His life by Callinicus his disciple is given by the Bollandists. (*Acta SS.* 17 Jun. iii. 303.)

Callinicus relates the following instances of the zeal of Hypatius bringing him into collision with his lukewarm bishop Eulalius [EULALIUS (12)]. Understanding that Nestorius, before his formal accusation, was broaching novel opinions, Hypatius had the patriarch's name removed from the office books of the church wherein he officiated, which was the church of the apostles adjoining his monastery (§§ 14, 38, 51, 53). Eulalius bishop of Chalcedon, alarmed at this daring act, which amounted to an excommunication of the all-powerful patriarch, remonstrated and threatened, but Hypatius undauntedly persisted in what he had done. While Nestorius was at the council of Ephesus in 431 Hypatius is said to have had a vision of his condemnation there, and when official news of his deposition arrived Hypatius and Eulalius were both present in church at the reading of the sentence (§ 44). On another occasion, when Leontius the prefect of Constantinople was taking steps for the re-establishment at Chalcedon of the Olympic games abolished by Constantine, Hypatius, finding that Eulalius was for doing nothing and incurring no risks, openly declared that he would by main force defeat this restoration of idolatry at the head of his monks, though it should cost him his life. Leontius having had warning of this opposition relinquished the project and returned to Constantinople (§ 45). A certain ascetic archimandrite, Alexander, from Asia Minor, having taken up his abode in the capital with a hundred monks, gained amongst the people much reputation for sanctity, but in consequence of his bold rebukes of the imperial household was ordered to leave. The exiles betook themselves to the church of Hypatius, but Eulalius, having received orders from the palace, had them beaten and expelled. Hypatius immediately welcomed them into his monastery and dressed their wounds. The bishop threatened fresh violence, but the rustic neighbours volunteered a defence, and a riot was imminent, when a messenger from the empress ordered that the servants of God should not be molested. Alexander and his party retired in peace, and founded in the neighbourhood a monastery, of which the inmates bore the name of Acoemetae, the Sleepless. (§ 57; vid. art. ACOEMETAE in the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, and the Bollandist account of their founder in *Acta SS.* Jan. i.1018.) [C. H.]

HYPATIUS (20), father-in-law of Salvian, bishop of Marseilles in the last quarter of the 5th century.

Authority.—Salviani *Epistolae* [SALVIANUS], especially letters iv. and ix. We know little of Hypatius, except that the name of his wife was Quieta, and that he was still a heathen when Salvian married his eldest daughter, Palladia. Palladia, it appears, became a Christian either at the period of her marriage or shortly before it. Hypatius subsequently became a Christian also. From the marriage of Salvian and Palladia was born a daughter named Auspiciola; but while their child was still an infant they mutually agreed to lead a life of continence. This resolution becoming known to Hypatius greatly annoyed him. His son-in-law and daughter wrote in very affectionate terms to soothe him, but whether their appeal was successful or not is unknown. [J. G. C.]

HYPATUS—June 18, tribune, martyr under Adrianus, who was prefect of Phoenicia under Vespasian. Having been sent to apprehend the martyr Leontius he fell into a fever and heard a voice warning him that if he would recover he should call upon the God of Leontius. He did so, and the result was his recovery, baptism, and martyrdom. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

HYPERECHIUS (1) (SPERECHIUS), comes rerum privatarum, under the emperor Honorius, A.D. 397 (*Cod. Theod.* VII. xiii. 12; Sperechio. n. Gothofr. X. i. 14). He is probably the "castrensis apparitor" of c. A.D. 365, who is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvi. 8), Gregory of Nazianzus warmly recommends an Hyperechius to Victor, a magister militum, as most honourable (*Ep.* 134, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 229). Basil of Caesarea also wrote to an officer of rank of that name, who seems to have been a friend and a correspondent of his (*Ep.* 328 in Patr. Gr. xxxii. 1073), and an Hyperechius is also frequently named in the correspondence of Libanius. In one of his letters to Caesarius, apparently the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, who was comes rerum privatarum,

A.D. 364, and praefectus urbis of Constantinople, A.D. 365 (Gothofred. *Prosopogr. Cod. Theod.* s. n.), he speaks of Hyperechius in very high terms, and pleads that he will do his best to secure him promotion in the imperial service (*Ep.* 1285, cf. *Ep.* 1070). An Hyperecius is also mentioned more than once in the letters of Aurelius Symmachus. From one of these addressed to Eutropius it would appear that Hyperecius was a foreigner by birth (*Ep.* lib. iii. 51). [T. W. D.]

HYPERECHIUS (2), bishop of Zela, A.D. 435. The epistle to the emperor Leo from the synod of Helenopontus is signed with the name of Hyperitius episcopus Tili, where Zela should be substituted. (Mansi, vii. 608; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 541.) [F. A.]

HYPERECHIUS (3) (HYPERETHIUS, HYPERICIUS), bishop of Aspona in Galatia Prima, at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 571 C, 945 A; vii. 122 B, 404 B; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 480.) [T. W. D.]

HYPERECHIUS (4), a priest and abbat, who lived in the early part of the 6th century. He was the author of some monastic rules, and of an "*Adhortatio ad Monachos.*" (Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Eccles.* xi. 697; Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxix. 1471, &c.) [I. G. S.]

HYPERIUS, bishop of Junopolis (Abonotichus) on the coast of Paphlagonia, mentioned in the heading of the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 608; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 555.) [L. D.]

HYPOLISTUS (HIPPOLYTUS), presbyter and martyr, cir. 303, at Atripalda, or Tripalda, a village in the south of Italy, north of Salerno, on the Sabbato near Avellino. His *Acta*, printed by the Bollandists from an ancient monastic manuscript, are of the usual legendary character. He came as a missionary from Antioch, and found the people for the most part votaries of Diana, but they flocked to his preaching in large numbers. Having built his little oratory (aediculam) near a temple of Jupiter, it was found that the demon who resided within the image of that god gave no responses. Hypolistus was seized, taken before the senators, and commanded to sacrifice, which he indignantly refused to do. While he continued to oppose the prevalent idolatry, the temple and its image were destroyed by lightning, whereupon he was seized, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Sabbato. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 41.) [C. H.]

HYPSISTARII (Greg. Nazianz.), **HYPSISTIANI** (Greg. Nyss.), worshippers of the Most High, a sect first discovered in the earlier part of the 4th century. It presented features partly Christian, partly Jewish, and partly heathen, which prove it to have been one of the precursors of Mahometanism which appeared from time to time in the East. It seems to have been a remnant of Sabaeism, which was propagated from its cradle in the region of the Euphrates into Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and especially into Cappadocia (Herodot. edit. Rawlinson, i. 72, v. 49, vii. 72, and critical Essay xi. sec. 7, at end of t. i.; Cramer's *Asia Minor*, i. 261). It thus came into contact with Jewish ideas, especially in the form of Essenism, and with Christianity, by both of which it was materially influenced, but with neither of which it coalesced. The first historical notices of it occur in the works of St Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xviii. 5) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (*contra Eunom.* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xlv. 483). They describe the sect as adoring a supreme God, but as opposing a Trinity on the one hand and polytheism on the other. They were distinguished from the ancient Sabaeans in giving the Supreme Being the name of ὕψιστος or παντοκράτωρ, and ascribing to him universal dominion over the world, while they still preserved traces of their origin in retaining the symbols of fire and light, the only ones they admitted, and which, according to some, they adored. They rejected all intermediate or secondary beings between man and the Most High, and professed monotheism pure and simple, distinguishing themselves thus from the ancient Sabaeans, as in turn they differed from the Christians in the denial of the revelation of God in the character of Father (Greg. Nyss. *l. c.*). This monotheistic element connected them with Judaism in its various forms. They were distinguished, however, from Jews in their pure theosophic worship, in rejecting sacrifices, circumcision, and every external practice, worship in their view being purely interior. Yet with that inconsistency which ever clings to human nature, they retained the observance of the Sabbath and abstinence from certain kinds of food. This absence of an external cultus hindered them from making proselytes; they seem to have been few in number even in Cappadocia, though reinforced there by an immigration of Magi, mentioned by Strabo (*Geograph.* lib. xv. p. 504, ed. Casaub.). They were an outcome of the religious ferment on the borders of the Roman empire, caused by the contact of Christianity, Judaism, and Oriental theosophy. They seem to have been identical in principle with the θεοσεβεῖς of whom Cyril speaks (Cyril. Alex. *de Adorat.* lib. iii.), and with the Coelicolae proscribed by Byzantine law (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 8, lib. xix. tit. 5; Augustin. *Ep.* 44), mentioned also in *Constit. Sirmond.* xii. ed. Haenel, p. 465, though this last authority professes ignorance of their peculiar dogmas. [COELICOLAE.] The EUPHEMITAE mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxviii.) seem also to have been closely allied, if not identical, with this sect. He describes them as "sprung from gentiles, but tending neither to Judaism nor Christianity, acknowledging that there are gods, but worshipping none but one alone, whom they call the Omnipotent." [EUCHITES.] This opinion has been advocated by Suicer (*Thes. Eccles.* t. ii. p. 1406). Tollius, in his *Insignia Itin. Ital.* p. 108, *note*, traces the gipsies back to the same Euchitae or Euphemitae, quoting Theod. *Haeret. Fabular.* iv. 11. The father of the celebrated Gregory of Nazianzus belonged originally to this sect, whence he was converted by the influence of his wife Norma, and of Leontius bishop of Caesarea, the metropolitan of Cappadocia, to become in time a bishop of the Catholic church (Gregor. Naz. Sen.). To this circumstance we owe our knowledge of this sect (Matter. *Hist. du Gnost.* ii. 389; Fleury, *H. E.* l. xi. s. 30; Neander *H. E.* iv. 487, Bohn's tr.). In the early part

of this century exhaustive treatises on this sect were written in Germany by Ullmann (Heidelb. 1833) and Boehmer (Berol. 1824). The latter especially, in an essay published in 1824, with a preface by Neander, has discussed, with minute accuracy, every view which has been taken of this sect, but without adding anything of material value to the information which we derive from the two Gregories, upon whose testimony all his speculations are founded. His conclusion is, as already stated, that the Hypsistarii were a remnant of ancient Sabaeism, but without making, in our opinion, sufficient allowance for the necessary influence of Jewish and Christian ideas upon the sect. He is also inclined to hold that the Hypsistarii acknowledged inferior divinities and worshipped idols, basing this view on a chance expression of Gregory Nazianzen in one of his poems, where, speaking of his father, he says, ὃν' εἰδώλοις πάρος ἦεν ζώων. A mere poetical expression seems however a very slight ground to base a conclusion so contrary to all other authorities, and unsupported by Gregory's own more formal statement. (Till. *Mém.* ix. 312; Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* art. "Hypsistarii.") Wetstein (*Proleg. Nov. Test.* pp. 31, 38) also identifies them with the Coelicolae, and derives them from the proselytes of the gate. The Hypsistarii do not seem to have been extinct even in the 9th century, as they are referred to by Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople, in his *Antirrhet. I. adv. Constant. Cop.* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* t. c. p. 210, as a "spurious and abominable sect, compounded of heathenism and Judaism." Cf. Lyde's *Asian Mystery*, cap. iv.–vi. Lond. 1860, where he describes the Ansaireeh of Syria, who present many features similar to those of the Hypsistarii. On p. 154 will be found an extract from their catechism describing their mass, which they have evidently derived from Christianity, though Lyde classes them with Mohammedan sects. In this catechism they quote our Lord's words of institution. See also a paper by M. V. Langlois on the Ansaireeh in *Revue d'Orient* for June 1856. Probably a critical investigation of the religious state of Asia Minor and Syria would discover many remains of ancient heresies (cf. Lightfoot *on Colossians*, p. 405). [G. T. S.]

HYPSISTIUS, bishop of Philadelphia in Isauria, on the river Calycadnus, to the north of Aphrodisias (Wiltsch. *Handbuch der Kirchl. Geogr.* i. 203). He was present at the second general council at Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi iii. 568; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1021.) [J. de S.]

HYPSIUS or **HYPSES** appears among those Eutychians, who, styling themselves ἀρχιμανδρῖται ἐλάχιστοι, appealed for a general council to the emperor Marcian in 481 A.D. (Labbe, iv. 524). The orthodox archimandrites in the council of Chalcedon refused to recognise him as an archimandrite, and described him as a μεμορίτης [ELPIDIUS (31)], having two or three others under him (Labbe, iv. 521 A). [C. G.]

HYPYTHIANI, heretics mentioned by Origen (*Comm. Ser. in Matt.* 28) as using apocryphal writings, different however from those used by the Basilidians. The name does not occur elsewhere, and it is likely there is a corruption of reading. Lipsius conjectures "Sethiani" [GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL, p. 715], and the Sethites certainly were quite distinct from the Basilidians, and used apocryphal writings. (Epiph. *Haer.* 29, p. 286.) [G. S.]

HYRALDUS (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 765, ed. Coxe), bishop of Elmham. Matthew Paris (ed. Luard, i. 345) calls him Halardus, and the name appears to have been intended for the person known as Alheard [ALHEARD]. He is assigned to 765 in an imaginary list of bishops who were placed under the archbishop of Lichfield. The list should be dated 787, but it is without historical authority. [S.]

HYSEBERHT, an abbat of the diocese of Worcester, who stands first on the list of the clergy who attended bishop Deneberht at the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) He may have been abbat of the monastery of St. Mary at Worcester. [S.]

HYSTASPES, PROPHECY OF. In the 2nd century there was in circulation a book of prophecies purporting to have been written by Hystaspes, father of Darius king of the Medes. The story went that Hystaspes was a disciple of Zoroaster, and that having been instructed by the Brahmans in astronomical and magical science, he was skilled in foretelling future events (Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6; see also Agathias, ii. 24, p. 117, Bonn ed.). The book came, no doubt, from the same workshop as some of the so-called Sibylline oracles, with which it is coupled by all the Christian fathers who cite it. These are (1) Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 20, 44), from whom we learn that it contained a prediction of the destruction of the world by fire; (2) Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 5, p. 761), apparently quoting a speech put into the mouth of Paul in the "Preaching of Peter" (see PETER, PREACHING OF), whence we learn that the book foretold the opposition to the Son of God made by kings, their persecution of those who believed in Him, His patience and second coming (παρουσία), language indicating a Christian, rather than a Jewish author; and (3) Lactantius (*Inst. Div.* vii 15, 18), who tells that Hystaspes prophesied the destruction of the Roman empire, the wickedness of the end of the world, the prayers of the oppressed faithful to Jove, answered by his destruction of the sinners. If we are to believe Justin, the reading the books of Hystaspes and the Sibyl was made a capital offence, and certainly the circulation of predictions of the fall of the empire may well have been regarded as dangerous to the state. [G. S.]

HYSTERA. Irenaeus (i. 31, p. 112), followed by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 38, p. 276), speaking of the sect which the latter calls Cainites, and telling how they counted opposition to the Creator to be a duty, states that he had met a work of theirs in which their disciples were exhorted to undo the works of Hystera, and that by Hystera was meant the maker of heaven and earth. This phrase does not occur elsewhere in the extant remains of Gnostic teaching. What most nearly resembles it is the word μήτρα, used by the Sethites (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 19, pp. 140–142). They taught (p. 140) that the form of heaven and earth resembled that of the pregnant womb; and they

appear to have applied the word womb with some reproachful epithet (ἡ ἀκάθαρτος μήτρα) to the lower or material principle. It seems plain that it is the same sect whose doctrine is briefly described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 25, p. 80), where also both the word μήτρα and some other Sethite words are found. Possibly the words Hystera and Metra are independent Greek translations of the same Syriac word [G. S.]

HYSTEREMA (*ὑστέρημα*), a technical word in the system of Valentinus. As the system is reported by Hippolytus (vi. 31, p. 180) this word is used as the complement of the word Pleroma, denoting all that is not included in the meaning of the latter word. Thus the *ὅρος* or boundary is described as separating the Hysterema from the Pleroma, itself partaking of the nature of both; but preserving all inside fixed and immovable by permitting nothing from without to enter. We can understand in the same sense the passage in Epiphanius (*Haer.* 31, 4, p. 166), where the same name is given to the Demiurge; for it appears in the case of the word Hebdomas that the Valentinians gave to the Demiurge the name of the realm over which he ruled, and from which he had his origin. Marcus speaks of the Demiurge as *καρπὸς ὑστερήματος* (Iren. I. xvii. 2, p. 86; xix. 1, p. 90), probably, as Lightfoot suggests (*Coloss.* p. 335), in contrast with the description of the Christ as *καρπὸς πληρώματος*. Marcus would seem to have used the word Hysterema, in the sense already explained, to denote the region outside the Pleroma (see Iren. I. xvi. 2, p. 82), where, in his usual way of finding mysteries in numbers, he regards the former region as symbolised by the numbers up to 99 counted on the left hand, the latter by 100 counted on the right hand. As Marcus uses the word Pleroma in the plural number, so (see Lightfoot, *l. c.*) he may have used Hysterema also in the plural number to denote the powers belonging to these regions respectively. But it seems to us likely that the assertion that Marcus counted a second or a third Hysterema is but an inference drawn by Irenaeus himself (I. xvi. 3, p. 83), from the fact that he found the name *καρπὸς ὑστερήματος* applied not only to the Demiurge, but to his mother, Sophia Achamoth. Irenaeus ordinarily uses the word, usually rendered *labes* by the old Latin translator, in no technical sense, but with the general meaning of defect, commonly joining it with the words *ἄγνοια* and *πάθος*. In Irenaeus the usual antithesis to Pleroma is not Hysterema, but *κένωμα*. The word Hysterema is found also in *Excerpt. Theod.* 2, 22 (Clem. Alex. pp. 967, 974), in the latter passage in a technical sense; but the context does not enable us to fix its meaning. Hysterema is said by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 24, p. 74) to have been used as a technical word by Basilides. [G. S.]

HYSYCHIUS, bishop of Vienne. [ISICIUS II.]

HYVAIDD HIR stands in the Welsh Triads as one of three princes of alien origin, who were raised to sovereignty for bravery. He was son of Bleibb, Bleibbian, or Bleibbig Sant, better known as that St. Lupus bishop of Troyes who accompanied St. Germanus to Britain to put down Pelagianism. (Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 42, 229; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 126, 160.) [J. G.]

HYWEL (HOEL, HUEL), Welsh saint found at Llanhywel or Llanhowell, attached to Llandeloy, co. Pembroke. He may be the same as Huel or Hywel, eldest brother of Gildas [HUEL] (ap. *Vit. Gild.* by Caradoc), but it is uncertain. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 225, 245, 348; *Nat. Gazet.* ii. 633, 652.) [J. G.]

HYWGI, or BUGI, a saint who lived in the 6th century, and was the father of St. Beuno. He gave all his lands for the endowment of his brother Cattwg's college at Llancarfan, where he spent the latter part of his life. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 233.) [C. W. B.]

HYWYN, ST., said to have founded Aberdaron on the coast of Carnarvon, from whence pilgrims generally crossed to the island of Bardsey (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 219). He was one of a large company of refugee saints who returned from Armorica to insular Britain with St. Cadvan, A.D. 516. He first joined the famous congregation at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan, and afterwards retired to Bardsey. The churches at Gloucester and Hereford dedicated to St. Owen, and those at Bristol and Chepstow to St. Ewen, probably belong to him. The Celts held this frontier till Athelstan's time, who expelled the Britons from Hereford, Exeter, and other places (see Kerslake, *St. Ewen, Bristol, and the Welsh Border*, 1874). [C. W. B.]

I

IA (1), Aug. 4, martyr in Persia under Sapor II. cir. 360. The Basilian Menology represents her as belonging to Castrum Romanum near the frontier, where she was taken captive with nine thousand Christians, by Sapor. On being discovered in the practice of her religion, she was delivered to the Magi, before whom she not only refused to abjure Christianity, but boldly ridiculed the Persian faith. She was tortured, and finally beheaded (Basil. *Menol.* Aug. 4, Sept. 11). Assemani (*Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 133) discusses the question of her identity with Eudocia [EUDOCIA (2)] and decides in the negative. A martyrium in her memory at Constantinople, on the left hand of the Golden Gate, was found in a ruinous condition through age in the reign of Justinian, who restored it at a great expense. (Procop. *Aedif.* lib. i. § 12 Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* p. 102.) [C. H.]

IA (2), the wife of Julian the Pelagian, bishop of Eclanum, early in the fifth century. Their epithalamium was written by Paulinus of Nola (poem. xxv. in *Pat. Lat.* lxi. 633). Rosweyd (*ibid.* p. 921, note 289) mentions other examples of the name Ia, remarking that it exists in modern German as Ida, Iye, Iyken. [C. H.]

IA of St. Ives, in Cornwall. [HIA.]

IABRAOTH, the leader of the six great archons who repented when Sabaoth Adamas and his six persisted in disobedience. (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 360.) [G. S.]

IACTHANABAS, in the system of *Pistis Sophia*, one of the five great archons (see HECATE) who preside over the punishments of the "middle

region." Under him are the demons which when they enter into men lead them to accept persons, to take gifts as judges, and wrong the innocent, to forget the poor, and bestow their cares on things wherein there is no profit. Such souls are tortured in this region for 150 years and eight months. (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 370.) [G. S.]

IAGO (1). Fourth bishop in the short succession at Margam before its union with Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 625, n. [a].)

(2) Ab Beli ab Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, king of North Wales A.D. 599–603, assassinated by Cadavael Wyllt, king of Gwynedd. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 273, 283.) [J. G.]

IALDABAOTH, a being who, in the system of the Ophites, as described by Irenaeus (i. 30), and after him by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 37), held a place corresponding to that occupied by the Demiurgus in the system of Valentinus. The most probable derivation of the name is that given by Gieseler, son of Chaos, ילדא בהות. For the myth told of him, see OPHITES. In the places cited he is described as chief of the seven angels, by whom the world was made, and by whom the planets are ruled [HEBDOMAS]; but in another system described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26, p. 91; see also *Haer.* 25, p. 77) he holds but the second position. Epiphanius tells that Gnostic books were current which bore the name of Ialdabaoth, or which treated of him (*Haer.* 25, p. 78; 26, p. 89). In the latter passage he is connected with the Sethites; and Theodoret also (*Haer. Fab.* v. 9) speaks of the Sethites as counting him as the framer of man. The name of Ialdabaoth does not occur in the account of Ophite and Sethite doctrine given by Hippolytus in the fifth book of his treatise against heresies, unless we adopt a very doubtful conjecture of Duncker and Schneidewin, who, at p. 104, where Esaldaeus is spoken of as the framer (δημιουργός) of this creation, propose to substitute Ialdabaoth. In PISTIS SOPHIA Ialdabaoth has sunk from his high estate and resides in chaos, where, with his forty-nine demons, he tortures wicked souls in boiling rivers of pitch, and with other punishments (pp. 257, 382). He is an archon with the face of a lion, half flame and half darkness (p. 47). [G. S.]

IALUHAM, the satellite of Sabaoth Adamas, who gives the cup of oblivion to souls which have completed their punishment, and are about to be sent back into a body. (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 381.) [G. S.]

IAMBERT (Kemble, *C. D.* 106, 139). [JAENBERT.]

IAMBUS, African bishop. Syn. 2 Carth. A.D. 252 (Cyp. *Ep.* 57). Syn. 4, A.D. 254 (*de Basilide*, Cyp. *Ep.* 67), and in Syn. 7 Carth. A.D. 257 (*de Bap.* 3; *Sentt. Epp.* No. 47), where he is called a confessor (ed. Erasmus) and bishop of Germaniciana, in prov. Byzacena. His see contained a nucleus of German veterans (? the first German Christians; Fell), and subsequently had some of its farms attached to the see of Rome (see Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.*). It was near Aquae Regiae. [E. W. B.]

IAO, in the Ophite system, the name of one of the archons who rule the seven heavenly spheres (Irenaeus, I. 30, p. 109; Origen, *adv. Cels.* vi. 31; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26, p. 91). [HEBDOMAS.] In the Valentinian system, the magic word with which Horus restrained the attempts of Achamoth to enter the Pleroma (Irenaeus, I. iv. p. 91).

In the first system, though Harvey (Irenaeus, I. p. 33) has offered a more recondite explanation, there seems no reason for thinking the word anything but the Tetragrammaton יהוה, which, together with other Hebrew names for the divinity, the Ophites pressed into the service of their angelology. It would seem as if the Valentinians, ignorant of the true etymology of the word, tried to find another account for its origin in their myth of the interjection uttered by Horus. Again the Marcosian formula of redemption (Iren. I. 21, p. 96) runs in the name of Iao, "Who redeemed his soul in the living Christ." Possibly this may be the hidden name which, in the same section, we are told Jesus of Nazareth put on for the redemption of angels. From the explanations given by Irenaeus (II. 35, p. 170), and the difference which he makes between Jaoth and Jaoth, it is to be feared nothing can be gathered but the slenderness of the venerable father's knowledge of Hebrew. [HEBREW.] In the mythology of PISTIS SOPHIA there are at least two beings of the name, the little Iao ἀγαθός, from whom is derived a power which resides with John the Baptist (p. 12), and the great Iao ἀγαθός (p. 371). It is natural to infer that the system had a number of evil beings of the same name. [G. S.]

IARLAITHE (HIERLATH, HIERLATIUS) (1), third bishop of Armagh, cir. 468, commemorated Feb. 11. He was the son of Trena, son of Fieg, descended from the Dal Fiatach, and is said to have been cousin to St. Dichu (April 29), the special friend and first disciple of St. Patrick. [DICHU.] He died in the year 482 (*Ann. Tig.*), and was succeeded by Corbmac as fourth bishop, St. Patrick being still alive.

(2) Bishop of Tuam, commemorated June 6 and Dec. 26. He has a memoir compiled by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 308–10). His first monastery is said to have been at Cluainfois, near Tuam, where he also had a school; but his chief residence was at Tuam, to which he afterwards removed, founding what became one of the famous schools of Ireland, and becoming first bishop of Tuam; he is also called archbishop of Connaught. Of his episcopal acts we hear nothing beyond his asceticism and the utterance of some prophecies regarding his see and his successors, but the genuineness of these is more than doubted (O'Reilly, *Irish Writ.* xxxv.). His name does not appear in the Irish Annals. As he is placed in the second class of Irish saints, we seem to come nearer the truth by saying that he was not a disciple either of St. Patrick (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 268 b) or of St. Benignus, but flourished about the middle of the 6th century. Colgan says he founded Tuam in the year 510 and died in 540. His chief feast is Dec. 26. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 32.) [J. G.]

IARLUGH (IARLOGA, HIEROLOGUS, IARNLAIG), bishop and abbat at Lismore, co. Waterford

died 699, commemorated on Jan. 16 (O'Clery, *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 19). [COLMAN (25).] His name assumes a variety of forms, as IARLOGA, IARNLA, IARNLAIG, HIERLOG. [J. G.]

IARNOG (IERNOC), the pilgrim, commemorated July 31. He was the son of Oengus, son of Nathfraich king of Munster. He flourished in the end of the 5th century, his father having been slain A.D. 489. In the *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves 206 n., 207) he is called Uithir the sickly. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 174, n. [18].) [J. G.]

IBAR is said, in the *Life of St. Fillan* (Jan. 9), to have found that saint when an infant in a lake, baptized and educated him. St. Ibar was a bishop, preached the gospel in many parts of Scotland, and died in Teviotdale. This person is perhaps to be distinguished from St. Ibhar (April 23) of Begery [IBHAR]. His feast is March 22. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 49; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 236, 342, 344, 359.) [J. G.]

IBAS, bishop of Edessa c. 435–457 A.D. Ibas was a Syrian by birth. His name in Syriac is ܗܝܒܐ, *Ihiba*, or in its shortened form ܗܒܐ, *Hiba* = Donatus. We are destitute of all particulars as to his early years. He appears first as a presbyter of the church of Edessa during the episcopate of Rabbulas, and warmly espousing the theological views of which his bishop was the uncompromising opponent. Ibas was an ardent admirer of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which he translated into Syriac and diligently disseminated through the East. The famous theological school of Edessa, of which, according to some accounts, Ibas was the head, and to which the Christian youth from Persia and the adjacent lands had for a considerable time resorted for education, offered great facilities for this propagation of Theodore's tenets. The growing popularity of doctrines which appeared to him decidedly heretical caused Rabbulas much alarm, and he used all his efforts to get Theodore's works anathematised and burnt. Ibas accuses him of having carried out this design in a high-handed, despotical way, more worthy of a tyrant than a bishop, and "under the cloke of orthodoxy, punishing not the living only, but the dead," and publicly before the church launching his anathemas on the writings of the blessed Theodore, because they convicted him of unsoundness in the faith (*Epist. ad Marim.*, Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 662). The church of Edessa was generally favourable to Theodore's line of teaching, and Ibas was supported by the majority, in opposition to their bishop. Andrew, the venerable bishop of Samosata, the unflinching opponent of Cyril and all who ranked themselves under his banner, was consulted by Ibas and his friend whether they should publicly denounce Rabbulas, and risk a schism, and he strongly advised immediate action (*Tragoed. Iren.* c. xliii. Baluz. col. 748). Ibas attended the council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. as a presbyter, and was cognisant of Cyril's autocratic conduct (*Epist. ad Mar. u. s.*). In 433 he wrote the letter to Maris, either then or subsequently bishop of Hardaschir in Persia, to which subsequent events attached a celebrity entirely unwarranted by its contents. The greater part of this letter is contained in the acts of the councils of Chalcedon (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 661), and of Constantinople (*ibid.* v. 510), and in Facundus, *Defens. trium Capitulorum* (lib. vi. c. 3). Maris had been at Edessa previous to the outbreak of the controversy between Nestorius and the orthodox party, and Ibas wrote to him as to a friend to acquaint him with what had occurred since his visit. This letter, though evidently written under great exasperation of feeling, shews Ibas to have been a man of independent judgment, free from party spirit. On the one hand, Nestorius is so severely censured for his refusal to allow the title θεοτόκος to be given to the Virgin, and for the incautious statements which had led many to identify his views with those of Paul of Samosata, who thought Christ to be mere man, that the indignation of Irenaeus of Tyre, the unswerving adherent of Nestorius, was roused (*Trag. Iren.* Baluz. col. 821). On the other, he accuses Cyril of Apollinarianism, and denounces the heresy of his twelve chapters, charging him with maintaining the perfect identity of the manhood and Godhead in Christ, and denying the Catholic doctrine of the union of two Natures in One Person. He then proceeds to narrate, with strong reprobation, Cyril's conduct at Ephesus in securing the condemnation of Nestorius before the arrival of John of Antioch and the Oriental bishops, out of personal animosity, and draws a lamentable picture of the bitter animosities, suspicions, and dissensions, of which this had been the cause. He acquaints his correspondent in a tone of triumph with the reconciliation which had at last been brought about between Cyril and John, on the former having accepted orthodox definitions, and begs that he will everywhere publish the victory of sound doctrine by which peace had been restored to the church, and the mid-wall of partition of enmity taken away. He tells him that the Egyptian and his party have been brought to shame and compelled to eat their own words; no one daring as heretofore to assert that the Godhead and the manhood form one nature, but acknowledging both the temple and Him that dwells therein, Jesus Christ. At the same time Ibas communicated to Maris John's letter to Cyril and Cyril's reply, the perfect orthodoxy of which he acknowledges, and states that on the strength of it he had reopened communications with Cyril, writing letters to him and receiving letters from him (Labbe, iv. 660, 662). On the death of Rabbulas in 435 or 436 A.D. a reactionary wave carried Ibas to the episcopal throne of Edessa. Ibas's appointment was very distasteful to those of his flock who adopted the strong anti-Nestorian views of their late bishop, and they speedily concerted measures to secure his deposition. They prepared the way by spreading charges against him, as being the cause of the dissensions between the Egyptian and Syrian bishops, and as openly preaching heretical doctrines. The sensitive orthodoxy of the monastic party was soon aroused, and Ibas was made to feel how fallacious were the hopes of the restoration of peace expressed in his letter. The accusations so industriously disseminated were not slow in reaching the ears of Theodosius and Proclus, who in 434 had succeeded Maximian as

patriarch of Constantinople. To the latter the matter appeared so serious that towards the close of 437 A.D. he wrote to John of Antioch, as the leading prelate of the East, though really having no canonical jurisdiction over Osrhoene, begging him to persuade Ibas, if innocent, to remove the scandal by condemning both publicly in his church and by his signature certain heretical propositions chiefly drawn from Theodore's writings which Proclus had annexed to a "tome," or official letter, which he was sending to the church of Armenia against the errors of Nestorius. The same demand was made by Proclus of all the Eastern bishops; but with only partial success. The letter was received without scruple by Ibas and the bishops generally, but they refused to condemn Theodore's propositions. (Labbe, v. 511–514.)

But though for the present foiled, the malcontent faction at Edessa maintained the same hostile attitude to their bishop. They watched his words and actions with jealous vigilance, and eagerly noted everything that might swell the roll of charges they were secretly preparing to bring forward at a favourable moment. The leaders of the cabal were four presbyters, Samuel, Cyrus, Eulogius, and Maras, acting at the instigation of one of Ibas's own suffragans, Uranius bishop of Himeria, a pronounced Eutychian. Samuel had a private grudge against his bishop, who some years before had taken him to task for stating in a sermon that "the Life had suffered death," and had inhibited him from preaching. (Labbe, iv. 654.) Domnus, who had in 442 succeeded his uncle John as bishop of Antioch, visiting Hierapolis for the enthronisation of the new bishop Stephen, the conspirators chose that moment for action. Cyrus and Eulogius formally laid before Domnus the accusation against Ibas, signed by about seventeen of the clergy of Edessa, and supported by as many as thirty. (Labbe, iv. 658.) It was asserted also that the charge was backed by many of the leading laymen of the city and military officers. (Labbe, v. 512.) Ibas, who was on the point of starting for Hierapolis to pay his respects to Domnus, on hearing of the accusation, at once summoned his clergy, and, after pronouncing excommunication on Cyrus and Eulogius as calumniators, warned the rest that he would treat in the same way all who participated in their proceedings. No immediate step seemed to have followed the presentation of the libel. The friends of peace, among whom the excellent Theodoret was ever the most prominent, laboured hard to restore tranquillity, but to no purpose (Theod. *Epist.* 87, 111). In 445 Ibas was summoned by Domnus to the synod held at Antioch in the matter of Athanasius of Perrha, but he excused himself by letter. (Labbe, iv. 739.) The sympathies of Domnus were with Ibas rather than with his persecutors, and he shewed no readiness to entertain the charges brought against him. At last, in Lent 448, the four chief delators presented their indictment before Domnus and the council of the East in a manner too formal to be neglected. Domnus consequently summoned Ibas to appear before him after Easter to answer to the charges. At the same time, by the advice of Theodoret, who was then at Antioch, he recommended him to hold off the excommunication from his accusers, in order that they might not be deprived of the Eucharist and other Christian privileges at Easter. Ibas declined to do this himself, but left the matter in the hands of Domnus, who restored them to communion on condition of their not leaving Antioch till the affair was settled, threatening those who disobeyed not with excommunication only, but deposition. (Labbe, iv. 639–643; Liberat. c. 13; Theod. *Epist.* 87, 111.) After Easter the council was held at Antioch. It was not attended by a large number of bishops. The existing acts bear only nine signatures. (Labbe, *u. s.* 643.) That of Theodoret, the warm friend of Ibas, is not among them. He was detained, to the great chagrin of Ibas's accusers, by the imperial prohibition to leave his diocese. (Theod. *Ep.* 87, 91, 111.) Ibas in person answered the charges laid against him. These were eighteen in number; the greater part of a frivolous character and destitute of proof. Among them was that he had appropriated a jewelled chalice to his own use; that the wine at the Eucharist was inferior both in quality and quantity; the malversation of sums given for the ransom of captives; simoniacal ordinations, and the admission of unfit persons to the ministry and even the episcopate, especially his nephew Daniel, stated to be a scandalous person, whom he had made bishop of Charrae. The most weighty charges, however, were that he had anathematised Cyril and charged him with heresy; that he was a Nestorian; and especially that at Easter 445, in the presence of his clergy, assembled according to custom to listen to the bishop's paschal address, and receive the *Eulogiae* or Easter gifts, he had delivered himself of the blasphemous words: "I do not envy Christ His becoming God, for I can become God no less than He." "This is the day that Jesus Christ became God." (Labbe, iv. 647–654; Liberat. c. 12.) The first of these charges he acknowledged, the others he indignantly repudiated, and denounced their authors as base slanderers. On the opening of the council only two of the four accusers appeared. Samuel and Cyrus had gone off to Constantinople, in defiance of the terms on which the excommunication had been taken off, to lay their complaint before the emperor and the patriarch, the favourable feeling of Domnus towards the accused being too evident for them to hope for an impartial trial. The question being one of facts, Domnus and the council declined to proceed with the investigation in the absence of the chief witnesses, and it would seem that the case was postponed indefinitely. (Labbe, iv. 642 sq.; Theod. *Epist.* 111.) Baulked of their prey, Eulogius and Maras hastened to join their fellow conspirators at Constantinople, where they found a powerful party in strong hostility to the Eastern bishops, Theodoret in particular. Their faction was soon strengthened by the arrival of Uranius, the prime mover of the whole cabal, and half a dozen more of the Edessene clergy. The emperor and Flavian, who had succeeded Proclus as patriarch, listened to their complaints, but declined to hear them officially. The case was remitted for trial to the East, and by an imperial commission, dated Oct. 26, 448, Uranius of Himeria, Photius of Tyre, just elected Sept. 9, A.D. 448, on the deposition of Irenaeus, and Eustathius of Berytus were deputed to hear it, and Damascius, the tribune and secretary of state, was despatched as

imperial commissioner. Flavian deputed his deacon Eulogius to keep him informed of the proceedings. Ibas's nephew, Daniel of Charrae, and John of Theodosiopolis, were included in the indictment. The whole proceeding was manifestly illegal. It was contrary to the canons of the church that a number of bishops should be subjected to the judgment of other bishops, two belonging to another province, on the strength of an imperial decree. No one, however, protested. The imperial power was regarded as absolute, and the Christian world, weary of strife, was ready to accept any arbitration which might restore peace. The tribunal also was grossly unfair. Of the three judges, one, Uranius, was the ringleader of the movement against Ibas, and the other two were his creatures who had obtained their sees by his instrumentality. (Martin, *Le Brigandage d'Éphèse*, pp. 118–120.) Tyre was named as the place of trial, but the case was soon transferred to Berytus, where it was opened in the episcopal residence, Feb. 1, 449, according to Pagi (ad ann. 548, no. 9). The exasperation at Tyre, stirred up by the monks and presbyters, at the blasphemies charged against Ibas was so great that it was thought more politic to remove the trial to Berytus to avoid disturbances. (Labbe, iv. 636.) The court sat in the hall of Eustathius's episcopal residence. The bill of indictment was produced by Ibas's accusers. Ibas in reply laid before his judges a memorial signed by a large body of his clergy, denying that he had ever uttered the blasphemies attributed to him; if he had, they would have left his communion, and begging that he might be sent back to Edessa in time for the Easter duties. (Labbe, iv. 667–671.) Only three witnesses appeared to support the accusation, two of whom were deacons, David and Maras. They also urged that Ibas had treated Cyril as a heretic, and brought forward as proof the celebrated letter to Maris (*ibid.* 659–662). The commissioners found it prudent to decline coming to any judicial decision. From judges they became arbitrators, and persuaded both parties to acquiesce in a friendly arrangement. His enemies agreed to lay down their accusations on Ibas promising that he would forget the past, regard his accusers as his children, and, should any fresh difficulty arise, remit it for settlement to Domnus; and that, to avoid suspicion of malversation, the church revenues of Edessa should be administered, like those of Antioch, by oeconomi. Ibas gave equal satisfaction on theological points. He engaged that on his return he would publicly anathematise Nestorius and all who thought with him, and declared the identity of his doctrine with that agreed upon by John and Cyril, and that he accepted the decrees of Ephesus equally with those of Nicaea as due to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The concordat was signed, Uranius alone dissenting, Feb. 25, A.D. 449. (Labbe, *u. s.* 630–648.)

The truce thus made had no elements of permanence, and a very few weeks saw it thrown to the winds. The Eutychian party had resolved on the ruin of Ibas, and, irritated at their failure at Berytus, left no stone unturned to secure this end. All powerful at Constantinople through the intrigues of Chrysaphius, Dioscorus and his partisans easily obtained from the feeble emperor, indignant at the condemnation of Eutyches, an edict summoning a general council to meet at Ephesus on the 1st of the ensuing August. Before this could meet, much could be done to punish Ibas for his dangerous good fortune in securing his acquittal. The reports diligently spread in Edessa of Ibas's heterodoxy during his absence had poisoned the minds of his people against him. His reception was so unfavourable that he was obliged to consult his safety by leaving the town and calling upon the 'magister militiae' for a guard to protect his person. He soon discovered that all appeal to the civil power was idle; he was regarded as a public enemy, who was to be crushed at all hazards. The count Chaereas as civil governor of Osrhoene, but with secret instructions from Constantinople, emanating from Chrysaphius and Eutyches, was deputed to arrest and imprison him, and reopen the suit against him. When Chaereas entered Edessa, April 12, 449, to commence the trial, he was met by a turbulent body of abbats and monks and their partisans, male and female, clamouring very furiously for the immediate expulsion and condemnation of Ibas and his Nestorian crew. Ibas was "a second Judas," "an adversary of Christ," an "offshoot of Pharaoh." "To the fire with him and all his race." Two days afterwards the enquiry began in the continued absence of Ibas, in the midst of the same violent and disorderly interruptions. All Edessa knew that Chaereas had come not to hold a legitimate investigation, but to ratify a sentence of condemnation already passed, under the colour of judicial proceedings. Chaereas, however, was moving too slowly for their hatred. His pace needed to be accelerated by pressure from without. The populace of Edessa were therefore adroitly plied with highly coloured statements of the enormities of which Ibas had been guilty, and on the following Sunday, April 17, the excitement of the people assembled in the church for worship was so violent that the count was compelled to quiet them by the promise that the verdict of the synod of Berytus should be reviewed, and a new investigation commenced. This began the next day; all the old charges were reproduced by the same accusers as before, amid wild yells of "Ibas to the gallows, to the mines, to the circus, to exile," drowning every attempt at explanation or defence. The issue was what had been determined from the beginning. Chaereas addressed a report to the imperial government, declaring the charges against Ibas proved, and on the 27th June the emperor acknowledged the receipt o. the document, and commanded that a bishop should be substituted for Ibas, who would command the confidence of the faithful. (Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*; Martin, *Le Brigandage d'Éphèse*, livre ii. ch. ix.) His deposition could only take place at a legally constituted synod, but meanwhile the malice of his enemies could be gratified by his maltreatment. He was forbidden to enter Edessa, apprehended and treated as the vilest of criminals, being dragged about from province to province, so that he changed his quarters forty times and had experience of twenty different prisons. (Labbe, iv. 634; Liberat. c. 12; Facundus, lib. vi. c. 1.) The council of Ephesus, so notorious for the scandalous violence of its proceedings, which gained for it, from Leo the Great (*Epist.* 95), the title of the

"Gang of Robbers," opened on the 3rd of the following August. One of the objects for which it had been convened was to get rid finally of Ibas. This was the work of the second session, held on Aug. 22. Ibas was not cited to appear; indeed to have done so would have been a mockery, as he was then in prison at Antioch. (Labbe, iv. 626, 634.) Before the witnesses were allowed to enter, the three bishops who had conducted the investigation at Tyre and Berytus were requested to give some account of their proceedings. Instead of declaring the fact that, after examination made, they had acquitted Ibas of the charges laid, these miserable men made some pitiful excuses as to their inability to arrive at the truth from the distance of the place of trial to Edessa, and endeavoured to shift the whole burden from their shoulders by reminding them that an investigation had subsequently been held at Edessa itself, which had received the approbation of the emperor, and that the wisest course for the council would be to enquire what was the decision there arrived at before proceeding with their own investigation. This advice was followed. The monks of Edessa and the other parties to the indictment were admitted, and the whole of the depositions and correspondence read to the assembly. The termination of the reading of the document was the signal for an outburst of wild maledictions, invoking every kind of vengeance, temporal and eternal, on the head of this "second Iscariot," this "veritable Satan." "Nestorius and Ibas should be burnt alive together. The destruction of the two would be the deliverance of the world." Eulogius, the presbyter of Edessa, who had been one of the first accusers of Ibas before Domnus, followed with a summary of the proceedings from their commencement, specifying all the real or supposed crimes laid to his charge. The question of deposition was then put to the council, and carried without a dissentient voice. Among those who voted for it were Eustathius of Berytus and Photius of Tyre, who had previously acquitted him on the same evidence. The sentence was that he should be deposed from the episcopate and priesthood, deprived even of lay communion, and compelled to restore the money of which it was pretended he had robbed the poor. So ended the trial which has made so much noise in history. Ibas, twice acquitted, was condemned without being heard, without even being summoned; and no protest was raised in his favour, not even by those who, a few months before, had honoured him with their suffrage. (Martin, livre iii. ch. ii. *u. s.* p. 181; Labbe, iv. 674; *Chron. Edess.* anno 756; Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* i. 202.) We have no certain knowledge of what befel Ibas on his deposition. Assemani asserts that he took refuge with Theodoret in the monastery of Apamea, but he gives no authority for his statement. A letter written to him by Theodoret to encourage him under his calamities, and sent by a presbyter named Ozeas, proves that at that time, and for some time previously, they had not been together (Theod. *Epist.* 132). The sudden death of the feeble Theodosius, which occurred in less than a year, followed by the elevation of the orthodox Marcian to the imperial throne, and the execution of Chrysaphius, brought about a complete revolution in ecclesiastical affairs. At the beginning of 451 A.D. the deposed and banished bishops were allowed to return from exile, but the question of their restoration to their sees was reserved for the consideration of the general council which had been summoned, and which met in October at Chalcedon. In the 9th session, Oct. 26, after the restoration of his faithful friend Theodoret, the case of Ibas came before the assembled bishops. On his demand to be restored in accordance with the verdict of Photius and Eustathius at Berytus and Tyre, the acts of that synod were read, and the decision deferred till the morrow.

The next day, on the opening of the session, the legates of the pope gave their opinion that Ibas, as being unlawfully deposed, should be at once restored. Several of the bishops opposed this, and desired a fuller investigation. Some persons who were present to bear witness against him having declined to proceed, the council contented itself with having the acts of the synod of Berytus read, concluding with the celebrated letter to Maris. (Labbe, iv. 635–666.) Ibas followed with the memorial of his clergy in his favour, produced at Berytus. (*Ibid.* 666–671.) The proposition that the acts of the "Latrocinium" should be read was negatived by the papal legates, and after some discussion on that point, the restoration of Ibas was put to the vote and carried unanimously. The legates led the way, declaring his letter orthodox, and commanding his restitution. All the prelates agreed in this verdict; Juvenal alone, whose complicity in the "Latrocinium" might have well kept him silent, qualifying his vote by some depreciatory expressions to the effect that he was a repenting heretic, who had seen the error of his ways, and whose advanced years demanded compassion. (*Ibid.* 678.) The condition of his restoration was that he should anathematise both Nestorius and Eutyches, and accept the tome of Leo. Ibas consented to these terms without any difficulty. "He had anathematised Nestorius already in his writings, and would do so again ten thousand times, together with Eutyches, and all who teach the One Nature, and would accept all that the council holds as truth." On this he was unanimously absolved, and restored to his episcopal dignity, and voted as bishop of Edessa at the subsequent sessions. (Labbe, iv. 793, 799; Facundus, lib. v. c. 3.) Nonnus, who had been chosen bishop on his deposition, being legitimately ordained, was allowed also to retain his episcopal rank, and on Ibas's death, Oct. 28, 457, quietly succeeded him as metropolitan. (Labbe, iv. 891, 917.) The fictions invented to save the credit of the council of Chalcedon, that Ibas had disowned the letter to Maris, at Chalcedon (Greg. Magn. lib. viii. *ep.* 14), as he was asserted by Justinian to have done before at Berytus, as having been forged in his name, are thoroughly disproved by Facundus (lib. v. c. 2, lib. vii. c. 5). This is not the place to enter on the controversy concerning his letter to Maris, which arose in the next century, in the notorious dispute about the "Three Articles," when the letter was branded as heterodox, together with the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret's writings in favour of Nestorius, in the edict of Justinian, and was formally condemned in 553 A.D. by the fifth general council, which pronounced an anathema,

in bold defiance of historical fact, against all who should pretend that it and the other documents impugned had been recognised as orthodox by the council of Chalcedon. (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 38; Labbe, v. 562–567.) Ibas is anathematised by the Jacobites in their profession of faith as a Nestorian. (Asseman. tom. i. p. 202.) According to the chronicle of Edessa, Ibas, during his episcopate, erected the new Church of the Apostles at Edessa, to which a senator gave a silver table of 720 lbs. weight, and Anatolius, praefectus militum, a silver coffer to receive the relics of St. Thomas the Apostle, who was said, after preaching in Parthia, to have been buried there. (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 18.)

Ibas's literary work lay more as a translator and disseminator of the writings of others than as an original author. His translations of the theological works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodoret, and Nestorius himself, were actively spread through Syria, Persia, and the East, and were very influential in fostering the Nestorianising tenets which have, even to the present day, characterised the Christians of those regions. His influence was permanent in the celebrated theological school of Edessa, in spite of the efforts of Nonnus to eradicate it, until its final overthrow, and the banishment of its teachers to Persia. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xv.; Asseman. *Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 199 sq., tom. iii. pp. lxx.–lxxiv.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 426; Facundus, *Defens. Trium. Capitul.*; Schröckh, xv. 438, xviii. 307–311; Perry, *Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus*; Abbé Martin, *Actes du Brigandage d'Éphèse*; *Le Pseudo-Synode d'Éphèse.*) [E. V.]

IBBAS, an officer ("comes") under Theoderic, who led the army of the Ostrogoths into Gaul, and defeated the Franks and Burgundians. (Jordanis, *de Getarum Origine*, c. 58; Procopius, *de Bello Goth.* i. 12.) [A. H. D. A.]

IBBO (IBO), thirty-fifth archbishop of Tours, succeeding Palladius or Ebartius, and followed by Guntrannus II. circ. A.D. 720–728. He gave a charter of privileges to the church of St. Martin at Tours. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1264; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 31; Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, pp. 91, 179, 214, 297.) [S. A. B.]

IBBOLENUS, sixth abbat of the monastery of St. Carilefus (St. Calais) on the Anisola (Anille) in the diocese of Le Mans, A.D. 692. (Bouquet, iv. 670; *Gall. Chr.* xiv. 446.) [T. W. D.]

IBE, abbat. [EOBE.]

IBERIA, wife of Ruricius who became eleventh bishop of Limoges, and daughter of Ommatius, a patrician of Clermont. Sidonius Apollinaris wrote her *epithalamium* (*Carm.* x. Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 705). We find from a letter of Faustus, bishop of Riez, to Ruricius, that they both afterwards entered a monastery. (*Epist.* ix. Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 861; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 502.) [S. A. B.]

IBERIAN CHURCH. The early history of the Iberian or Georgian Church is wrapped in fable. St. Andrew, Simon the Canaanite and Elioz, the soldier who obtained the Lord's coat by lot, are said to have been the first evangelists of this country, where too the children of Barabbas the robber are said to have taken refuge after the destruction of Jerusalem (Klaproth in *Jour. Asiatique*, 1834, t. xiii. p. 47). The national conversion, however, of Georgia was not effected till about the same time as that of Armenia, at the conclusion of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century. Some fix it at 276; others, as Brosset, at 318; and Baronius, at 327; others at 335 A.D. It was brought about by a pious woman, St. Nina, Nino, Nunia, or Nouni (NINA), from Cappadocia, with her companions, Ripsima and Gaiana (Moses Chor. ii. 83), whose exertions were rewarded by the conversion of the King Mirian, the first of the line of Chosroes who sat on the Georgian throne. Nina was related to ST. GEORGE, the great martyr, whence according to some the name by which the district is now distinguished. Her history will be found detailed at length in the almost contemporary historian Rufinus (*H. E.* i. 10), who claims to have heard the story at Jerusalem from the Armenian prince Bacurius, who then held the position of Domesticorum Comes among the Romans, and did the state great service as a general. (Cf. Soc. *H. E.* i. 20; Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 7; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 24; all of whom, however, only repeat or enlarge the story of Rufinus.) Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* ii. 83) tells the same story, quoting it from the Armenian historian Agathangelus. (Cf. Langlois, *Hist. Graec. Frag.* t. v. pars i. p. 136, for remains of this author.) We may therefore conclude that St. Nina is a historical character. During the 4th century the Georgian church on the whole prospered. The Patriarch Eustathius of Antioch is said to have come into Georgia to establish the people in the faith, when he consecrated a certain John as first bishop of Iberia. The Georgian church had, indeed, during this century an attack of Arianism at the hands of its patriarch Mobidakh, and of heathenism under the apostate king Miridates IV. During the 5th century its fortune was similar to that of the neighbouring church of Armenia. It received a great literary impulse at the hands of the Armenian scholar Mesrobes, who invented for it an alphabet of thirty-eight letters, and assisted in the translation of the Scriptures and church Services into the vernacular out of the Greek, in which they had been hitherto read (Moses of Chorene, *Hist. Arm.* iii. 54). The Iberian church continued in subjection to the Patriarch of Antioch till about A.D. 556, when the Catholicus Pharsman III. severed the ancient connexion, a separation which was finally completed by the Catholicus Saba in 601. Between 596 and 615 a separation took place between the Iberians and the Armenians, the former adhering to the decrees of Chalcedon, while the latter took the Monophysite side. In the beginning of the 5th century according to some, in the middle of the 6th century according to others, A.D. 541–555, there was a great revival of religion under the preaching of the "Thirteen Syrian Fathers," led by a certain John, celebrated as an ascetic and saint in the Georgian Calendar on May 7. The names of his companions were Habibus, Antonius, David, Tenon, Thaddaeus, Jesse, Joseph, Isidore, Michael, Piros, Stephanos, Shio, and the deacon Elias, at-

tendant upon John. From the same Syria came Manichaean, or perhaps Mazdakite, missionaries according to Renan (quoting the Armenian historian Samuel of Ani in *Jour. Asiat.* 1853, t. ii. p. 431) in A.D. 590; according to Joselian's History of Georgia, trans. by Malan, p. 82, in A.D. 650. Both authorities agree, however, in stating that they were forcibly expelled, though Samuel of Ani regrets that they left their Manichaean works behind them, among which were the Repentance and the Testament of Adam, whence spread many wild Gnostic and Cabbalistic ideas among them and their Armenian neighbours, as can easily be proved by a comparison between the Apocalypse of Adam, published by Renan, *l. c.*, and the opening of the Hist. Chronol. of Mkhithar of Airavank, in the *Mém. d'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, t. xiii. 1869. Though the Manichaean leaders were expelled, their doctrines remained, as we find that Armenia and its neighbourhood afforded large supplies of Manichaean allies to Leo the Isaurian and the iconoclastic emperors of the 8th century [ICONOCLASTAE]. From the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 7th the Iberian church suffered much from Persian invasions. The Persians were finally expelled in 642 by Stephen I., to be succeeded, however, by a greater woe in the shape of the Saracens, who first invaded it under Mirvan, Mahomet's nephew. During the 8th century there were two terrible Saracen invasions, one at the beginning, the other towards the end thereof. The further history of the Iberian church lies beyond our period; let it suffice to say that it has always held fast to its early faith, and has even in these latter times shewn some symptoms of that literary spirit which rendered glorious the earliest days of Armenian and Iberian Christianity. (Joselian's *Hist. of the Georgian Ch.*, trans. by Charles C. Malan; *Mém. sur la Relig. Chrét. en Georgie*, by M. Rottiers in *Jour. Asiat.* sér. i. t. xi. Paris, 1827; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* t. i. p. 1333.) Those desirous of pursuing the subject of the modern history, language, literature, &c. of Georgia, will find ample materials in the first, second, and third series of the *Jour. Asiatique.* See specially a History of Armenia, written by Vakhtang, a Georgian prince at the beginning of the last century, and trans. by Klaproth, t. xii. Dec. 1833, p. 519, continued in t. xiii. In trois. sér. t. xiv. pp. 505–506, A.D. 1842, there will be found a general index, where, under head of Georgie and Georgien, are references to a vast number of memoirs on this subject by the most eminent French Orientalists of that time, cf. *Jour. Asiat.* 1850, t. xv. pp. 48–86. The *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg* and the *Bullet. de l'Acad. St. Pétersbourg* have also many valuable papers by Brosset, some of which we have quoted. [G. T. S.]

IBHAR (EBUR, IBERIAN, IBERIUS, YBOR), bishop of Begery, commemorated April 23. St. Ibhar is spoken of in the legends of the middle ages as one of the four bishops who preached the gospel in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick, but this probably had its origin in the desire to oppose the primatial claims of the see of Armagh. In the older Lives he assumes the more probable position of disciple of St. Patrick. Dr. Todd attaches him to a southerly tribe, the Ui-Eachach Uladh in Iveagh, co. Down (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 334 sq., 348 sq.; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 335–6). He is first found in the Arran Isles in Galway Bay, and then in the plain of Geshille, King's County. But St. Ibhar's most celebrated residence was on the island of Begery, in Wexford Haven. There he had a famous school, to which they came from all quarters of Ireland, and a house for monks, clergy, and others. When he became a bishop is not known. He seems, however, to have had nothing to do with the episcopate at Kildare, though he may have been a friend of St. Brigida's (Feb. 1). He died at Begery in the year 503 (*Ann. Tig.* ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 127), or perhaps with greater probability in A.D. 500 (O'Conor, *ib.* ii. 127, n. [a]), which is the date given by the *Four Masters*, at the fabulous age of 303, as stated in the Irish Annals, or 350, as given in the *Annales Cambrenses* (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 830). His memory was deeply revered in Leinster, and a curious story is told (*Journ. Kilken. Archaeol. Assoc.* iv. 90, new ser.) of a wooden image which was long preserved in Begery for worship and for taking oaths, and was called St. Iberian. Among the wonders attributed to him is that of driving the rats from the district of Fernegina in Leinster, as related by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Top. Hib.* Dist. ii. c. 32). (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 41, § 13 et al.; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, Wks. vi. 335, 347, 348, 429, 430; O'Curry, *Lect. Man. Irish*, iii. 45, conf. *ib.* ii. 364, 365; Moroe, *Hist. Ir.* i. 234, 250; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* Proleg. ii. 12, and vol. iv. 9, 125, 126. For his remains at Begery and St. Iberius parish, bar. Forth, co. Wexford, see *Proc. Ir. Acad.* viii. 61; *Journ. Kilken. Archaeol. Soc.* new ser. iv. 61, 68, 90, v. 143; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc. &c.* i. 7 n., and see Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2 ser. 2, 392, upon the name Begery.) [J. G.]

ICARIUS, officer of state, by whom, along with Olympius governor of Cappadocia, Theodosius sent his second invitation to St. Gregory Nazianzen to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 382. (Greg. Naz. *Epp.* 130, 131.) [J. G.]

ICELIA (HYICELIA), the widow of a prefect, and the friend of St. Theodosius, abbat in Palestine. Some account of her is given by Cyrillus of Scythopolis (*Vita S. Theodosii Coenobiarchae*), and special attention is drawn by Leo Allatius (*De Method. Scrip. Dial.* 85, 86) to the use of lighted candles as part of the ceremonial of the Feast of Purification at her monastery between Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the middle of the 5th century. (Bolland. *Acta SS.* 11 Jan. i. 686.) [J. G.]

ICELIUM, the daughter of Basil's friend, Magninianus (probably to be distinguished from the count of that name). She brought letters from her father, for which Basil thanks him. (Basil. *Ep.* 325 [381].) [E. V.]

ICHTBROCHT, an Irish form of EGBERT (Reeves, *S. Adamnan*, p. 7.) [J. G.]

ICONIUS, bishop of Gortyna in Crete, present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 258; Mansi, iv. 1213.) [J. de S.]

ICONIUS, bishop. [HICONIUS.]

ICONOCLASTAE (*εἰκονοκλάσται, θυμολέοντες, χριστιανοκατήγοροι*, Johan. Damasc., and Nicephorus; *εἰκονομάχοι, χριστομάχοι*, Theod. Stud., HAGIOCAUSTAE). In the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, under the head of IMAGES, there will be found an exhaustive statement (1) of the position taken up by the church of the first three centuries upon the question of images; and (2) of their gradual introduction into the Christian church. To the history of images and their religious use as there stated we have nothing to add. Our task will be to treat of them so far as they have been in any degree a subject of controversy during the first eight centuries. We shall therefore, as far as possible, avoid the ground already covered by that article, simply discussing the iconoclastic controversy in its rise, its development, its final issue, noting, as we pass, the circumstances and tendencies—political, religious, and philosophical—which so completely altered the church's standpoint on this question.

We may divide the history of the controversy thus: (1) from the apostles to the time of Leo the Isaurian, A.D. 717; (2) from Leo the Isaurian to the final triumph of the image worshippers in A.D. 842.

During the first three centuries this controversy can scarcely be said to have arisen. No more conclusive proof of this can be given than a comparison, which can be very easily made, between the apologies addressed to Jews or Gentiles by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen, by Justin, or Minucius Felix, with those addressed to the same classes some four or five hundred years later by Leontius of Cyprus, A.D. 600, or John of Damascus, A.D. 730. In the former case, the Christian writers glory in their rejection of images. In the latter, they are perpetually on the defence against the assaults of Jews and Saracens on this special point. Dr. Pusey has, however, examined the alleged proofs of image worship in the early church with great learning and minuteness in a note to cap. xvi. of the *Apolog. of Tertullian* in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, and has shewn conclusively that it had no existence therein. (Cf. *Roma Sotter*. t. ii. by Brownlow and Northcote for what can be said on the other side.)

In the beginning of the 4th century we find this question making its first appearance within the bounds of the church as an internal controversy. At the council of Elvira, in 305 or 306, according to Hefele, we discover the first trace of it in the 36th canon, "Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur." We must conclude then that, in Spain at least, some of the new converts, many of whom may have been wealthy, as the 40th canon implies,* were introducing pictures into the churches.

The next trace of this controversy which we discover is in the celebrated correspondence between Eusebius and Constantia, widow of the emperor Licinius, sister of Constantine the Great and an Arian. This lady, probably between 323 and 327, wrote to Eusebius asking for an image or picture of our Saviour. To this request he replied in a letter which, however its arguments may be regarded, is conclusive as to the practice of the church of the Nicene age. As this letter formed the ground round which, during the controversies of the 8th and 9th ages, and specially at the councils of 754 and 787, many a hard-fought battle raged, we give the essential portions of it, as it is found in the completest shape in the latest authority (Niceph. *Antirrhet.* c. ix. in Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.* t. i. p. 383). "Since you have written to me concerning an image of Christ, what kind of image then do you seek? Whether is it of that true nature which in His substance bears His character (*χαρακτῆρα*), or of that form of a servant which He assumed for us? Since, then, He is composed of a double form, I do not think thou art solicitous about that form of God concerning which we were once taught by Him that no one knows the Father save the Son, and no one knows the Son save the Father who begot Him. Thou askest then, unless I am deceived, for an image of the form of a servile body which He assumed for us. But we learn that it has been mixed with the glory of the Deity, and that its mortal part has been swallowed up of life. Nor can we conceive what He is like now, after His return to heaven, since when God's Word was among men, granting a vision of His kingdom as a kind of foretaste and pledge, He transfigured the form of a slave and shewed it superior to human nature, when His countenance shone as the sun and His clothing as light. Who therefore can paint in dead colours the splendour of such glory and majesty as His disciples could not look upon? If, therefore, His form in the flesh could obtain such power from God dwelling in it, what must it have been when, mortality being discarded, it has changed the form of a slave into the glory of God? Now His body has been transfigured, and has become immortal and incorruptible, and has been transferred into the light ineffable, most suitable to God the Word. How, therefore, will any one attempt the impossible? How delineate the image of that admirable and incomprehensible (*ἄληπτος*) form, if we may call that divine and intellectual (*νοερός*) nature a form? unless indeed we shall act like heathen painters, delineating things in no way like their archetypes. If you desire, again, an image of the servile body before it was changed into God, dost thou not remember God's command, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself the likeness of anything in heaven above,' &c.? Dost thou not know that such things are specially forbidden by the universal church?" He then proceeds to mention two facts which illustrate the church's decided opposition to images in any shape: (1) that he once met a girl bearing about two paintings, which she said were St. Paul and the Saviour, which he took from her, "since," said he, "I do not think such things should be let loose among the vulgar, lest we seem to turn our God into an image. For I hear Paul teaching that we all should no longer cling to carnal things; and if we have known Christ according to the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." (2) He tells the empress that the heretics have images of Simon Magus and of Manes, which they worship, and then

* This canon forbids landlords, when receiving their rents, accepting anything in payment which had been offered in sacrifice to the gods under pain of five years' excommunication.

adds, "May such things be far from us, that we, as pure in heart, may truly deserve to see God." Such is the substantial argument of the letter to which the patriarch Nicephorus, A.D. 800, in the work discovered by cardinal Pitra, devotes a lengthened reply, seizing with great skill upon the many vantage points which the letter affords, as Eusebius again and again expresses himself with the theological inaccuracy which characterises so many of the aute-Nicene fathers. Here we may just note that Eusebius in this letter suggested the line of thought which the Iconoclasts adopted and worked out; nay, even the very language they used when he spoke of the glorified humanity of the Saviour as changed into God, and therefore "incomprehensible," "unbounded," "uncircumscribed," "ἄληπτος," and incapable of delineation in a limited and circumscribed figure. In opposition to this, as they said, Monophysite view, the image worshippers contended for the reality and limitation of His glorified body and the consequent possibility of its delineation, which, of course, apparently placed them on the side of Catholic orthodoxy as against heresy. This much we say by anticipation that the reader may see the important bearing of this document upon the entire controversy. As to the practice and belief of the church at that period, this letter, in union with the decree of Elvira, is decisive, and shews that though some attempts had been made to innovate upon the ancient rule, no church sanction could as yet be pleaded for such action. Two other documents have come to light of late years which establish the same conclusion though from opposite points of view, viz., the works of Macarius Magnes, a writer of the 3rd or 4th century, published at Paris in 1877, and the *Antirrhet.* of Nicephorus, by Card. Petra in his *Solesm. Spicileg.* t. i. The arguments of Macarius Magnes were pressed by the Iconoclasts at the time of the second Nicene council and were answered by Nicephorus [MACARIUS MAGNES]. During the rest of the 4th century we discover no further trace of this question as a controversy, though the use of painting was gradually introduced more and more, as we learn, for instance, from the oration of Gregory of Nyssa upon the martyr Theodore (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* xlvi. 738), where we are told that the scenes of martyrdom were depicted upon the wall of the church, but with express mention that it was for instruction, not for reverence or worship. The case of Paulinus at Nola, discussed in the DICT. OF ANTIQ. (*l. c.*), shews the same tendency in the West, while the celebrated destruction of the painted curtain at Bethlehem by St. Epiphanius proves that the introduction of paintings in any shape was distasteful to very many. This is the first instance of Iconoclasm in the history of the Christian church, one which afforded much trouble to John of Damascus, and of which he could only dispose by declaring, in his first oration, the story to be a forgery. The circumstances are related in Epiphanius's own letter to John of Jerusalem (Hieron. *Epist.* li. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxii. 517–527). This letter proves that Epiphanius held the strictest view, and regarded any use of pictures in the church as wrong. It is abundantly evident, however, that the laxer view was widely spread by the year 400. Yet that no reverence or adoration of any kind was paid to such pictures between 400 and 420, is shewn by two pieces of evidence both of a negative and yet most convincing character. (1) Vigilantius seems to have been a very keen censor of the errors of his time. He condemns and ridicules relic worship, invocation of saints and martyrs, use of lights, masses at the graves of the martyrs, and monasticism. Yet he never once hints at image worship as an existing evil. (2) St. Augustine, in commenting upon Psalm cxiii. 5, and in *Ep.* 102, *ad Deograt.*, speaks of the special danger connected with images, refuting the argument of the pagans, who, taught by the Neoplatonic philosophy, anticipated the favourite defence of image worship put forth by the second Nicene council. St. Augustine would not sanction any relative worship which says "nec simulacrum, nec daemonium colo, sed effigiem corporalem ejus rei signum intueor, quam colere debeo." He expressly mentions and repudiates the distinction between λατρεία and προσκύνησις as applied to images[b] (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. xxxvii. 1483; cf. also Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalt.* ii. 42, and Neander, *H. E.* iii. 407–418, where are given other testimonies against the practice drawn from Asterius, Amphilochius, and other writers of the 4th century). The introduction into churches of mosaics and paintings of all kinds became universal during the 5th century. The Holy Ghost was commonly represented as a golden dove, placed over the altar and over the font (Amphiloch. *Vita S. Basil.* c. vi.; Ambros. *Lib. de iis qui Myst. Usit.* c. iii.; Du Cange, *s. v.* Columba; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. xxx. c. 18). The Nestorian controversy also gave a great impetus to the introduction of pictures of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child Jesus; while, again, the Eutychian discussions, by emphasising the real and continuous existence of His glorified humanity, intensified the tendency to honour Christ's image, which, as many believed, testified to this truth. Two other circumstances accelerated during this century the aesthetic movement within the church. (1) The patronage of the imperial family and of the wealthy classes who followed their example. By them magnificent churches were built, into whose decoration the most expensive paintings were introduced without remonstrance. Kugler (*Handbook of Painting*, pp. 25–28) mentions mosaics of the 5th century as still existing in the cathedral at Ravenna, and a full-length picture of Christ in the monumental chapel of the empress Galla Placidia in the same place. (2) The desire to make the transition from heathenism to Christianity as easy as possible, by Christianising every custom which possibly could be adopted.

The development of image worship from this point was very rapid, as is minutely traced in the DICT. OF ANTIQ. (Art. CROSS; CRUCIFIX; IMAGES), till the church, in its Eastern division especially, was wholly devoted to the practice. Yet we are not to imagine that a change so complete and so striking took place without

[b] The distinction thus rejected by St. Augustine was adopted by Leontius of Cyprus and all later writers in defence of image worship. In fact we find a direct contradiction of St. Augustine's words in the first letter of pope Gregory II. to Leo the Isaurian (Mansi, t. xii. p. 959 sqq.).

occasional protests, even in the 5th and 6th centuries. Such protests from time to time were made; but unfortunately the history of them must always be derived from opponents. We possess, however, indirect evidence of high value on this point. Montanists, Novatians, Nestorians, Eutychians, all of whom broke with the church before 452, preserved in their constitution and doctrine clear proof that image-worship was not then an authoritative church-practice (DICT. OF ANT. Vol. I. p. 820). [NOVATIANISM.] To this day the Nestorians have no images in their churches, and the Monophysites have, from the first, been opposed to the use of any images save that of the cross. Thus we find at the end of the 5th century, or beginning of the 6th, Xenaias, or Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis, taught that the angels were incorporeal; he would not allow them to be represented with human bodies; he held that Christ was dishonoured by pictorial representations of His body; that the only worship acceptable to Him was purely spiritual, and that it was a childish thing to represent the Holy Ghost under the form of a dove. He therefore destroyed the images of angels and hid those of Jesus Christ (Fleury, *H. E.* l. xxx. s. 18). A little later (A.D. 518) the clergy of Antioch complained of their patriarch Severus, who was also a Monophysite, to the patriarch John of Constantinople and his synod, charging him with heathen and magical practices, and also with melting down the doves of silver and gold usually suspended over the altars and fonts, saying that they ought not to represent the Holy Spirit in such a manner (Fleury, *H. E.* l. xxxi. s. 39; Du Pin, on council of C. P., A.D. 536, in *H. E.* t. i. p. 701, Dub. ed. 1723). In Mansi, t. xiii. p. 318, we have formal testimony to this opposition of the early Monophysites to image-worship from Epiphanius, the authorised advocate of images at the second Nicene council. In the West again we find Serenus bishop of Marseilles demolishing the images and casting them out of the churches in the beginning of the 7th century. The letters of Gregory the Great to Serenus, an accurate analysis of which will be found in Fleury (*H. E.* lib. xxxvi. 9 and 35), Neander (v. 275), and the article on images in DICT. OF ANTIQ. shew clearly that the church-teachers in the West held very moderate views on this question. Gregory praises Serenus for his zeal against image worship, but thinks pictures in churches useful for those who cannot read. From outside the church the Jews and Saracens kept up, during the 7th century, incessant reproaches against this practice. The *Apology* of Leontius of Cyprus (A.D. 600), directed against the Jews, shews us the arguments by which image-worship was defended. It will, perhaps, save time to remark that this work of Leontius seems to have been the storehouse whence all later advocates of images derived their weapons, as his arguments are identical with those used by Bede (A.D. 710) in his work *De Templ. Salom.* c. xix., in *Opp.* t. 8, p. 40, ed. Colon. 1688; by Gregory II. in his letters to Leo the Isaurian; by Joan. Damasc. in his orations for images (730), and by the 2nd Nicene council. Leontius argued that the Mosaic law was not directed unconditionally against all devotional use of images, but only against the idolatrous use of them, since the temple and tabernacle both had their images, as the cherubim, the brazen oxen, &c. He argues that in the Old Testament the ceremony of prostration sometimes occurs as a mark of respect even to men, and therefore could not by any means imply the notion of idolatry. He refers to the cures said to have been wrought by means of images. Summing up all, he says, "The images are not our gods, but they are the images of Christ and His saints, which exist and are venerated in remembrance and in honour of these, and as ornaments of the churches."

We have already noted some circumstances which aided the progress of image-worship, but it might fairly be asked, Were these sufficient to work such a radical change? We certainly think not. Christianity resisted the might of Rome for three centuries, and were there not some deeper and subtler influences at work we do not believe that she would have changed her position when the Caesars treated her with smiles instead of frowns. In our view the seeds of this change, pregnant with such vast results, were sown in the 3rd century by the philosophy of Origen and the Alexandrian school. That philosophy was in its essential principles, whether taught by Philo, Ammonius Saccas, Clemens Alexandrinus, or Origen, essentially the same. The limits of this article necessarily forbid us to adduce the proofs of this position, which will, however, be found in abundance in Neander, *H. E.* i. 29–48, 68–84, as concerning heathen and Jewish Neo-Platonism, and in a lengthened and able treatise on the Christian Alexandrian school (t. ii. 224–266). Its teachers, Christian and Pagan alike, were all agreed in adopting the aristocratic principles of the Platonic philosophy, which distinguishes between the position of the multitude, whose views of religion are gross and carnal, and that of spiritual men who rise above the sensuous and soar upwards to the supreme original essence. With this view they all connected a method of allegorising or of symbolical interpretation, whereby it was possible to spiritualise and appropriate every part of existing religious systems, teaching that they were useful for the gross multitude who could rise no higher, while the spiritual man used them as types and symbols of eternal realities. This philosophy, as taught by Origen, though its author lived and died under suspicion, powerfully affected the whole Christian world, and influenced, like all great spiritual movements, even those who were most fiercely opposed to it. Through Gregory Thaumaturgus in the 3rd century, through Pamphilus, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus in the 4th, the teaching of the Alexandrian school permeated the whole church; and as it had taught Dio Chrysostom under Trajan, Porphyry, Hierocles, Theotecnus, Julian, Hypatia, and the rest of the Neo-Platonic school to spiritualise the cultus of heathen idols, so it prepared the ground for the same view of Christian art. The influence of Origen became at last triumphant in the 6th century through the pretended works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which, by their higher mysticism, intensified the movement towards image worship. "Precisely as, in earlier times, Platonism had attached itself to the pagan cultus, and to the hierarchical system of paganism, out of which combination arose a Mystico-theurgical

system of religion, so we find a theurgical system or mystical symbolism of this sort, formed out of a mixture of Christianity and Platonism, completely elaborated in the writings forged under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite" (Neander, iii. 497; cf. Westcott on Dionysius Areopag. in *Contemporary Review*, May 1867, sec. viii.). In accordance with this view of Origen's influence upon the church, we find that John of Damascus, the fathers of the second Nicene council, and Nicephorus the Patriarch appeal for support more frequently to the writings of the followers of Origen, to Basil, the Gregories, and Dionysius than to those of any others (Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, ed. Porter, p. 325, chap. on Patristic Philosophy after Council of Nice).

Another influence which helped to change the position of the Church was the adoration of relics and invocation of saints, both of which practices were sternly suppressed by Constantine Copronymus as the logical antecedents of image worship. Porphyry witnesses to the belief in the power of relics during the 3rd century, as he ascribes to the tricks of devils the miracles asserted to be worked by them (Hieron. *Cont. Vigilant.*); and, as to the 4th century, that same treatise of St. Jerome, and St. Chrysostom's *Orat. in Mart.* (Migne, *Pat. Graec.* t. l. pp. 661–666) shew to what an extravagant length the cultus of relics had then proceeded (cf. story of GERVASIUS), while as to the invocation of saints the series of stories told by St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, lib. xxii.) concerning miracles worked by prayer to them, sufficiently prove how firmly established the practice was at that time (FIDENTIUS). For men who adored the relics of the saints, and invoked the saints themselves, the transition to the adoration of the pictures of the men thus invoked would not be very difficult, since the principle involved—viz. whether worship should be paid to aught save God—had been already conceded (Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctr.* ii. 73, ed. Clark; Basnage, *Hist. d'Eglise*, liv. xviii.–xxiii.).

2nd Period—from Leo the Isaurian to the triumph of image-worship, A.D. 842. "At the head of the controversies by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the 8th and 9th centuries, since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the East." Such is the way in which Gibbon, in his forty-ninth chapter, introduces the history of this question. He clearly perceived its important political and religious effects, but did not see how directly this controversy resulted from the "mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation," of whose progress he had already treated. Even Neander fails fully to grasp the connexion between the Eutychian, Monophysite, and Monothelite controversies and the iconoclastic movement. He seems to consider this latter an isolated phenomenon, dependent for its existence upon the iron will of the Isaurian dynasty, and not springing from any pre-existing spiritual forces. And yet it is impossible to believe that a struggle so fierce, touching men's most sacred feelings, and lasting for a century and a half, could have been maintained by any race of sovereigns unless they found spiritual as well as material support in a considerable section of the people. Such support, we believe, the Isaurian dynasty did find, as the iconoclastic movement was the natural outcome of the Monophysite view of Christ's person. We may, in fact, sum up the matter thus. Hitherto we have been tracing a superstitious movement, whose roots extend backwards even as far as Philo, and before the Christian era. Now we have to trace a counter-movement, whose foundations were laid in the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, at least two hundred and fifty years before its triumph. The Monophysite party had always a powerful following in the East. We have already noticed the opposition to image-worship manifested by Xenaias and Severus, two bishops of that party between 480 and 520. We have not mentioned, however, that they both flourished under an emperor Anastasius, 492–518, who himself held Monophysite and even Manichaean views (Le Beau, *l. c.*) [MAZDAK]. From time to time we find other emperors upholding the same system, or the kindred Monothelitism, for though treated as a distinct heresy, this last was only a development of the older Monophysitism—Monothelitism having arisen from the attempts of the emperor Heraclius to unite the Monophysites of Armenia to the Greek church, in pursuance of which he held a conference at Hierapolis with Athanasius, the catholicus of Armenia in 629, wherein he devised a formula which satisfied the Monophysites, and gave birth to the Monothelite heresy (Mosheim, *H. E.* cent. vii. p. ii. c. v.; Neander, *H. E.* v. 242). [MONOPHYSITISM; HERACLIUS.] This system was supported by Heraclius himself and his grandson Constans II. during the first seventy years of the 7th century; and though condemned at the sixth general council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, yet found a vigorous patron in the Armenian Philip, almost the immediate predecessor of Leo the Isaurian, and who was even, if we may trust cardinal Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* t. i. p. 338, note), an iconoclast before Leo. Nicephorus, in his work *De Rebus post Maurit.* under the year 712, and Theophanes in his *Chronographia*, both testify that Philip was supported in his Monothelite views by John patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus metropolitan of Cyzicus, afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, and very many priests and senators. Again, outside the immediate bounds of the Greek church, the Monophysite party was very strong. The Armenian church was so devoted to this view as to date its era from the national council of Tiben or Tiven, at which the decrees of Chalcedon were formally rejected [ARMENIANUS] (cf. *The People of Turkey*, ed. Poole, Lond. 1878, t. ii. pp. 323, 325), while the entire Egyptian church and a considerable portion of the Syrian held the same doctrine. Now the essential principle of this heresy, whether we view it as Eutychianism, Monophysitism, or Monothelitism, is this—that in Christ's person His human nature, or perhaps more strictly His human body, has been absorbed into—swallowed up, we might almost say—in the divine (the very word "demersum" is used in Combefis, *Hist. Monoth.* p. 362, with reference to our Lord's flesh: cf. Mai, *Script. Vet.* vi. 422; and *Acta Concil. Chalced.* Actio I. in Mansi, vi. 649),

and thus sharing in the attributes of the divine nature, is free from the conditions of space and time, incomprehensible, unlimited, and therefore incapable of delineation.[c] Such then was the state of parties in Greek Christianity, and such the tone of mind in a large section thereof at the accession of Leo the Isaurian, A.D. 716. The policy of this emperor will be detailed in the article under his name, and it will be sufficient here to state that his famous edict against images was issued in 726, in which year likewise was destroyed the great statue of Christ at Constantinople. In 731 a synodal excommunication of the Iconoclasts under Pope Gregory III., to which Leo replied by measures of war, virtually severed the Papacy and Italy from the throne of Constantinople.

The earlier years of Constantine Copronymus, who succeeded Leo in 741, were very troubled ones. His brother-in-law Artabasdus, who headed the revolt against him, proclaimed himself protector of the image-worshippers. After the conquest of Constantinople, Nov. 2, 743, and the execution of the usurper, Constantine seems to have spent nine years consolidating his power and feeling his way before he resumed the attack on images, whose supporters had proved themselves so powerful. In 752 he held throughout the East silentia, or provincial synods of clergy and laity combined, to prepare the minds of the people for his intended legislation. Constantine then summoned a general council by his own authority in 754, at which three hundred and thirty-eight bishops attended under the presidency of the aged Theodosius archbishop of Ephesus, the theological adviser of Leo thirty years before. The acts of this council are only known to us by the abstract preserved for us in the sixth action of the second Nicene council, in Mansi, xiii. 207, where their recitation and refutation occupy more than one hundred and sixty pages. Their argument against image-worship is briefly as follows, and is evidently based on the letter of Eusebius, already quoted, and upon the principles of Monophysitism. They consider the question under two heads:—(1) As regards images of Christ. (2) As regards images of the saints. With respect to images of Christ, they hold such to be unlawful on several grounds. Since the Incarnation the human nature of Christ has been deified. It therefore partakes of the properties of Deity. His human nature is therefore incomprehensible (ἀκατάληπτος) and uncircumscribed (ἀπερίγραφος), and therefore cannot be depicted within the bounds of a circumscribed figure. If it be pleaded, however, that the flesh of Christ alone is painted, as not being divine, there is a division of the substance, and consequently Nestorianism. If it be pleaded that the deified humanity is painted, but not so far forth as Christ is by nature God, then this is adding a fourth person to the Trinity. Further, Christ has left us in the eucharist the only lawful image of Himself when He said, "This is my body," &c. Again (2), as regards the images of the saints, they took different ground. Here the union of the divine and human natures did not confuse the question, as in our Lord's case. Why should not circumscribed images be made of persons whose natures were undoubtedly limited and conditioned? They, therefore, distinguished the position of Christianity as standing between, and apart from, Judaism and heathenism. It rejected on the one hand the bloody sacrifices of the Jewish law. It rejected on the other the idols of heathenism. Here, however, they took up the position of a fanatical opposition to all art. The heathen, not having the hope of a resurrection, strove to represent things as present which were absent, and thus deceived themselves by the "abominable art of painting." The saints are now at rest with God; it is therefore unlawful to represent them by a dead and hateful art discovered by pagans. They then proceed to quote authorities from the Fathers, and to prohibit the use, or possession even, of images, either in public or private, with a salutary provision added guarding against the indiscriminate destruction of rich buildings or shrines under pretence of iconoclastic zeal. They therefore decreed that no alteration was to be made in existing churches without the special permission of the patriarch and emperor. The second council of Nicaea, by the mouth of their advocate, and Nicephorus, the ablest writer on that side, in his *Antirrhet.*, as published by cardinal Pitra in his *Spicileg. Solesm.* t. i. p. 338, make the following reply to this argument, which we give here, though anticipating the order of time. The iconoclasts had staked their all upon their special view of Christ's person. Their opponents therefore bent all their efforts to prove the circumscription of Christ's human nature, a conclusion which indeed necessarily results from the decrees of Chalcedon on this subject. Epiphanius, the advocate of the council, argues thus. "Christ was circumscribed according to His humanity both before and after His resurrection," quoting John xi. 15, and Acts i. 11. It is manifest, therefore, that so far as He is God, and the Word of God, He is invisible, uncircumscribed, and incomprehensible (ἀόρατος, ἀπερίγραπτος, ἀκατάληπτος), and in every place. So far as He is man He is visible and circumscribed, and therefore may be depicted within a limited and circumscribed figure (Mansi, xiii. 339). By far the ablest defence of the popular practice was that put forward by Nicephorus. At the meeting of the Nicene council he was nearly thirty years of age, and occupied the position of secretary to the imperial commissioners, John and Petronius, in which capacity he officially attended its sittings. After its dissolution he retired to a monastery, where he spent his time till A.D. 806 in study and writing. In his *Antirrhet.* (Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesm.* t. i.) he deals with the arguments and quotations of the council of 754. Taking up this argument about the limitation of Christ's glorified human nature, he strove to identify the cause of the image-worshippers with that of Catholic orthodoxy, and thus ensured the final defeat of their opponents, who had chosen a line of defence

[c] While some modern historians have missed the connexion between Eutychian and Monothelite views, Combefis, in his *Hist. Monothel.* Disp. 1, p. 6, has exactly noted it. He has, in the same work, shewn the intimate connexion between the Monothelite view of Christ's person and iconoclasm, pp. 262–268, where he reprints an anonymous tract, *De Haerese Jacobitarum Chatsitzariorum.* Compare in the same volume, another treatise by a certain Isaac Catholic, *Invect. in Armenios*, 323–326, 362, 410.

which seemed heretical. On page 338 he shews that the Fathers all testify that "Christ was perfect in His divine and human natures. They openly proclaim that the distinctions and properties of each nature met in one person, without change or confusion; so that neither was Deity changed into the nature of flesh, nor the substance of flesh into Deity. Whence it results that He is circumscribed according to the flesh, uncircumscribed according to the spirit." The iconoclasts, having taken up their ground, were forced by him to work out their premises to their logical conclusions. He shews their views to be essentially docetic. He calls them phantastici, as they seem to have adopted the idea, which, indeed, was necessarily involved in the Monophysite conception, that all the bodily actions of our Lord after His resurrection were not real, but phantastic. Cardinal Pitra (*l. c.*) regards their controversial defeat by Nicephorus as so complete that he describes them in a note as convicted of being men "qui humanitatem violarent ac divinam discerperent Verbi personam" (cf. Neander, *H. E.* v. 300, ed. Bohn, where the arguments of the two parties are ably contrasted). We have been led thus to unite the history of the two councils as the story or arguments of the one cannot be understood apart from the other. We can now make our narrative of the facts more concise. The council of 754 decreed the suspension of any clergymen who were possessed of an image, and the excommunication and punishment by the civil power of any laymen who offended thus. This enactment was not suffered to be a dead letter. The emperor first strengthened his military position by a large immigration of fierce iconoclasts, Paulicians, Manichaeans, and Monophysites, from Germanicia, Doliche, Melitene, and other towns on the borders of Armenia (Finlay, ii. 55; Renan, *Hist. des Langues Sémitiq.* p. 281; Schmidt, *Hist. des Albigeois.* Some attribute to this immigration the origin of the Albigenses). He then began and maintained till the end of his reign a most vigorous persecution, which was principally directed against the monks, the most ardent champions of image-worship. Those desirous of investigating more minutely the history of this period should consult the works of the new Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Oct. 8, p. 131, published A.D. 1853), where in relating the martyrdom of St. Andrew of Crete, they discuss the chronology and events of Constantine's reign.[d] He also entered (A.D. 757) into negotiations with Pepin king of France, with the double object of regaining possession of the exarchate of Ravenna, and engaging him in an opposition to images. With the embassy in 757 he sent presents, among which was an organ, which was the first seen in Western Europe (Hefele, *Councils*, t. iv. § 338, ed. Paris). Constantine died Sept. 14, 775, and was succeeded by his son, Leo IV., a prince of a gentle and moderate disposition, who pursued the policy which had become traditional in the Isaurian line, but who does not seem to have engaged in any active persecution. However, the seeds of reaction had been already sown. During the lifetime of Copronymus image-worship had found favour among the female members of the imperial household. His wife Irene, and his daughter Arethusa, were devoted to this practice. Severe towards his subjects who transgressed, he permitted his third wife to protect a nun who was a devoted worshipper of images, and to whom the education of this daughter was entrusted. Leo IV. died Sept. 8, 780, when IRENE his wife was proclaimed regent during the minority of her son Constantine VI. Under her name will be noticed the reactionary steps which issued in the Nicene Synod of 787. The pith of this council's work was contained in the seventh actio, where it was decreed that "the holy and venerable images may be exposed to sight, as well as the cross, both those which are made in colours, or any other kind whatsoever. That they may be placed in churches, set upon sacred vessels, upon sacerdotal vestments in houses and highways. That these images may receive kisses and reverence (ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν), but may not be adored with the true adoration due to God alone (τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν)." By the decrees and deliberations of this assembly, followed by the writings of Nicephorus and Theodorus Studita, iconoclasm received a blow from which it never fully recovered. Other circumstances also tended to ensure the triumph of the opposite view, especially the practical extinction of the Isaurian dynasty, on whose determination and iron will the movement had depended for its principal support. Constantine VI., however willing he might have been to follow the traditional policy of his house, was mentally unfitted for doing so by the education his mother had given him, and physically incapacitated by the same mother,

[d] The iconoclasts of Constantine's time are charged with various enormities by their enemies, but it is hard to say with what exact amount of truth. A certain bishop was accused before the council of 754 of having trodden under foot a sacramental cup because it was ornamented with figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The bishop was pardoned by the assembly on the score of his zeal for God's honour, while his accusers were excommunicated as defenders of idols. They are again accused of destroying service books with images engraved on them. Leo bishop of Nicaea remarked at the second council of Nice that in the city where he resided above three hundred books had been burned on account of images. While hating the use of images, which reverence and piety dictated, they are said to have delighted in opposite courses. They painted out the images of Christ and the saints in the churches, substituting instead scenes of revelry, of beasts, flowers, and from the chase, while the monasteries were turned into inns and taverns, and the monks compelled to marry, and even to dance publicly in the circus locked in the embrace of women of ill-fame. The author of St. Stephen's Life, for instance, in the *Analecta Graeca*, t. i. 446, 454, published by the Maurinians, thus describes the alterations made by Constantine in a church of the Virgin Mary at Constantinople; Ὀπωροφυλάκιον καὶ ὀρνεοσκοπεῖον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησεν. As for Constantine himself, he is reported to have disapproved the practice of calling any one a saint, while the iconoclasts in general seem to have anticipated the Puritans in this direction. In the life of St. Stephen (*l. c.* p. 481) we are told that they avoided the phrase in common use, "we are going to this or that saint," viz. his church; they preferred to say, "we are going to Theodore, or to this or that martyr or apostle." All such accusations indeed must be taken cum grano salis, as we only possess the accounts of their opponents. However, it is evident that a purely negative movement like theirs would be apt to produce irreverence among the vulgar (cf. Neander, *H. E.* v. 299–302, and the authorities there cited).

when she deprived him of his sight, Aug. 19, 797.

The first twenty years of the 9th century were very similar to the first twenty years of the 8th, as far as the Eastern empire was concerned. Sovereign succeeded sovereign in rapid succession. During the reign of Nicephorus I., 802–811, and of Michael I., 812–13, the image-worshippers remained supreme, though their opponents were tolerated. In 813 Leo the Armenian mounted the throne. Then again iconoclasm triumphed for a time. He held a council at Constantinople, A.D. 816, which re-affirmed the decrees of the synod of 754, and ordered images and pictures to be removed from churches. (Bower, *History of the Popes*, iv. 189–196, ed. 1754, gives an accurate account of this council and of Leo's action against images.) The next two emperors, Michael II. (the Stammerer) and his son Theophilus, pursued the same policy. By Theophilus iconoclasm was supported with a very high hand, according to the monkish writers, who duly tell us of all the persecutions raised by the iconoclasts, but never of their own. The following instance, however, shews that this emperor was sternly intolerant. "In the year 832 an edict was issued, prohibiting every display of picture-worship, and commanding that the word holy, usually placed in letters of gold before the name of a saint, should be erased. A celebrated painter of ecclesiastical subjects named Lazarus was imprisoned and scourged, but subsequently released from confinement at the intercession of Theodora" (Finlay, ii. 148). Milman tells us in addition, that as Lazarus "persisted in exercising his forbidden skill, hot iron plates were placed on his guilty hands. He took refuge in the church of the Baptist, where, having recovered the use of his hands, he painted, on the restoration of images, the celebrated picture of our Saviour over the gate Chalce," whose destruction inaugurated the iconoclastic war (*Lat. Christ.* lib. iv. c. viii.). The history of iconoclasm has a remarkable uniformity. Another female comes into power, another restoration of images. After the death of Theophilus, his widow Theodora administered the empire in the name of her son Michael, afterwards called the Drunkard. She had always been a worshipper of images, though in secret. As soon, therefore, as she had extorted from the clergy a sentence of absolution for her dead husband, she proclaimed a solemn festival for the restoration of images, since which time, Feb. 19, 842, images painted on a flat surface, as distinguished from statues, have formed part of the recognised religious worship of the Eastern world.

The Controversy in the West.—Our narration has already shewn that image-worship had taken as firm root at Rome as in the East. It was different among the Franks. Constantine Copronymus opened negotiations with Pepin, and endeavoured to gain him to his side. A synod of the Frankish nation was therefore held at Gentilly, A.D. 767, where this question was discussed, but with what result we know not. Under Charles the Great matters were different. He took a decided stand in opposition to the iconoclasts on the one side, and to the pope and the Nicene council on the other (CHARLES THE GREAT; CAROLINE BOOKS). His successor, Lewis the Pious, pursued the same moderate course. No plainer proof can be required of this monarch's hostility to the views of the pope and image-worship in general than the decrees of the council of Paris, A.D. 824 (Du Pin, *H. E.* cent. ix. cap. i.), combined with the fact that he appointed Claudius, the most violent Western iconoclast, bishop of Turin. The same spirit prevailed among the Franks throughout the 9th century, as is manifest from one simple fact. In the *Chronicon* of Ado archbishop of Vienne (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxiii. p. 128), the Nicene council is expressly called a false synod on account of its decrees in favour of image-worship.

Contemporary Literature.—In the 8th century the works of Germanus, John of Damascus, Nicephorus, Theodorus Studita, and the letters of the popes in Mansi, t. xii. and xiii., set forth the views of the image-worshippers. Perhaps the works of the patriarch Nicephorus, as contained in Migne's *Patr. Graec.* and Pitra's *Spicileg. Solesm.* t. i. iv., and in Mai *Spic. Rom.* x. 152, afford the best insight into the dogmatic position of that party. In Combefis (*Orig. Constant. Manipulus*, pp. 159–190) will be found another work on this subject ascribed to the same person. It is the report of a disputation between Nicephorus and the emperor Leo the Armenian, in which the patriarch produces the same arguments as in the other works to which we have referred. A polemical tract, by John of Oznum, primate of the Armenian church subsequent to 718, may also be consulted. His works were published in 1834 by the Mechitarists of S. Lazare, near Venice.*

On the iconoclastic side we have, practically, no Eastern literature remaining, as their opponents destroyed it all. In the *Hortus S. Crucis* of the Jesuit Gretser, we find indeed some of the popular squibs of the day in a number of acrostics by the iconoclasts and their opponents, composed in honour of the cross, which both parties agreed in reverencing. They were discovered in the 16th century by Fronto (cf. Theod. Studd. *Opp.* Migne, *Patr. Graec.* t. xcix. 438–40). The iconoclastic literature of the West is much richer. Not to mention the Caroline books, we possess some remains of the works of Claudius of Turin, and a treatise of Agobard archbishop of Lyons, against images. On the other side we have the writings of Jonas bishop of Orleans, and the deacon Dungal of Paris. Wal. Strabo, a monk of Fulda, in his work *De Divinis Officiis*, takes a middle view, but still one decidedly opposed to that of the Greeks. The most of these works are analysed in Du Pin, cent. ix. cap. i.

Modern Authorities.—The more modern literature of the subject is so immense that it would be both impossible and useless to name all the books which have treated of the subject. We append some of the most important, in addition to those mentioned in the body of our article. On the Roman Catholic side are the works of Natalis Alexander, Petavius, Maimbourg (*Hist. des Iconoclastes*). On the Protestant side those of Spanheim (*Hist. of Imag.*), and of Dallaeus;

* Upon the origin and meaning of the Mechitarist schism in the Armenian church, see *The People of Turkey*, t. ii. by a consul's wife and daughter. ed. by S. L. Poole, London, Murray, 1878.

see also Dean Comber, *A Discourse concerning the Second Council of Nice* in Gibson's *Preservative;* Goldast., *Imperialia Decreta de Cult. Imag.* A.D. 1608; Walch, *Ketzerhist.*; Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürm. Kaiser.*; Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.* t. iii. p. 198, Clark's ed.; Greenwood's *Cathedra Petri,* lib. v. cap. iii. iv.; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclop.* t. lxxxiv. published 1867, which contains Carl Hopf's *Geschichte Griechenlands von Beginn des Mittelalters,* re-issued in vols. vi. and vii. of Brockhaus's *Griechenland;* Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire.* Ceillier, under the head of Images (in index), contains ample details about the whole subject. Kugler's *Handbook of Painting,* edited by Eastlake, and Didron's *Iconography* (ed. Bohn), will be found most useful for the early history of images. Bower, in t. iii. p. 197, t. iv. 89–115 of *Hist. of Popes,* ed. 1754, treats the same subject in an exhaustive manner. The articles in this Dictionary on the various persons mentioned in this article may also be consulted. [G. T. S.]

ICONTIUS, presbyter and abbat of the Roman monastery of St. Stephen pope and martyr, addressed in 761 by pope Paul I. in *ep.* 12 of the series of his letters known as the *Labbeana Sylloge.* Another reading of the name is Leontius, while the title of the letter reads Joannes. (Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 1190; Mansi, xii. 645.) [T. W. D.]

ID, bishop of Ath-Fhadhat. If a disciple of, and baptized by, St. Patrick, he is omitted from Colgan's list. He was of Ahade, or Aghade, co. Carlow, and commemorated on July 14. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 195; Butler, *Lives of the Saints,* July 14, vii. 216.) [J. G.]

IDA, IDE, Irish saint. [ITE.]

IDA, a dux in Gaul under Theoderic king of Italy, during his occupancy of the Visigothic dominions in Gaul. He was charged by Theoderic to see to the restoration of the property of the church of Narbonne, which had been alienated during the reign of his son-in-law Alaric. (Cassiodor. *Var.* iv. 17 in Migne, *Patrol.* lxix. 622.) [T. W. D.]

IDABERGA (EDBURGE, IDBERGE, IDUBERGA, ITISBERGA), English virgin, commemorated on June 20 at Bergue St. Winox in Belgium, her translation being associated with that of the Northumbrian king St. Oswald, but the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 20 Jun. iv. 29–30) are unable to define her history, and say she may have flourished in the 7th century. Butler (*Lives of the Saints,* June 20) considers her as daughter of Penda king of Mercia. [J. G.]

IDALIUS, bishop of Barcelona, who, to judge from the subscriptions to the 13th and 15th councils of Toledo, probably succeeded Quiricus A.D. 666. He was the most intimate friend of Julian of Toledo, who dedicated to him his work the *Prognosticon futuri saeculi.* Julian, in the letter which accompanied the copy sent to Idalius, describes how the book originated in the suggestions of Idalius, who was spending Easter with him at Toledo; probably in A.D. 688, in which year Easter fell on March 29, the council at which Idalius is known to have been present meeting on May 11. According to Felix (*Vita S. Juliani* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcvi. 448) Julian also dedicated to Idalius a book entitled *Responsiones,* which is no longer extant, in defence of the canons and laws forbidding Christian slaves to serve heathen masters. Idalius probably died about A.D. 689, as in 693 his successor, Laulfus, at the sixteenth council of Toledo precedes twelve bishops. (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xxix. 139, 444; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 513, 550, 586; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien,* ii. (2), 178; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcvi. 454, 815.) [F. D.]

IDATIUS (1) CLARUS (IDACIUS), bishop of Merida at the time of the origin of Priscillianist heresy. He is first mentioned when this heresy had begun to spread. He was then warned by Hyginus bishop of Cordova to take measures to check it; but he attacked Instantius and his followers with more zeal than discretion, and thereby only added fuel to the flame. At the council of Saragossa, which condemned Priscillian, A.D. 380 (Mansi, iii. 635), the signature of Idatius appears in the last place. The Priscillianist bishops replied by consecrating Priscillian bishop of Avila. This step roused Idatius and Ithacius to greater exertions, and after many scandalous contests, Idatius procured a rescript from the emperor Gratian, which ordered the expulsion of the heretics from the whole of Spain. When cir. 385 Priscillian appeared before Maximus at Trèves, Idatius and Ithacius came forward as his accusers, and Priscillian was sentenced to death. Idatius did not long enjoy his success. According to Sulpicius Severus he resigned his see, an act of wisdom and moderation, which was, however, tarnished by an unsuccessful attempt to regain it. According to St. Isidore, he was excommunicated (in A.D. 389 according to Prosper of Aquitaine) on account of the share he had taken in the death of Priscillian, and sent into exile, where he died in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian III., *i.e.* before May 15, A.D. 392, the date of Valentinian's murder. His excommunication and exile must have been later than the defeat of Maximus by Theodosius, which happened in the latter half of A.D. 388. The sentence of excommunication was probably pronounced by St. Ambrose and St. Martin, who had opposed the infliction of the punishment of death for heresy, and by the bishops who had taken the side of Theodosius; and that of exile by Theodosius, to whom he was inimical as a partisan of Maximus. Idatius was the author of a treatise against the Priscillianists, and Isidore relates he was surnamed Clarus, a name he deserved for his eloquence. [PRISCILLIANUS, AMBROSIUS.] (Isidore, *de Viris Illust.* c. 15, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 1093; Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* ii. 46–51, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 155–160; Prosper of Aquitaine, in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 387; Ceill. *Auteurs sacrés,* iv. 613 et seq., 640; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xiii. 149; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte,* ii. 361–386; St. Ambrose, *Ep.* 24, to Valentinian, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xvi. 1041.) [F. D.]

IDATIUS (2) (YDATIUS), a Gallic bishop, who subscribed the synodical epistle of the bishops of Gaul to St. Leo (451), thanking him for his epistle to Flavianus upon the Eutychian heresy,

and accepting it as a satisfactory exposition of the orthodox faith. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* xcix. in Patr. Lat. liv. 1107.) [R. T. S.]

IDATIUS (3) (IDACIUS; surnamed LEMICENSIS), bishop of Aquae Flaviae (Chaves or Chiaves) in Gallicia, from A.D. 427 to about 470, and author of a well-known chronicle which takes its place in history as one of the various continuations of Jerome. Our sources for his life are, first, the notices contained in his own work, and, secondly, the meagre life of him by Isidore in the *De Vir. Ill.* cap. ix., which, however, is nothing but a summary of Idatius's own prologue. The existing material was elaborately sifted and put together by Florez (*Esp. Sagr.* iv. Madrid, 1749), and more recently in a less complete and satisfactory manner by Garzon, the learned Jesuit chancellor of the university of Ghent, whose edition of Idatius, finished before 1763, was published at Brussels in 1845 by P. F. X. de Ram. (See list of editions given below.)

Birth-place and bishopric of Idatius.—Idatius tells us in the prologue to his chronicle, that he was "Provinciae Gallaeciae natus in Lemica civitate," a passage which has given rise to various misunderstandings, especially to the persistent ascription to him of the bishopric of Lamego (so even Wattenbach, in the last edition of his invaluable *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 70), a Lusitanian town, of which he was certainly neither native nor bishop. "Lemica" in the sentence just quoted is a copyist's error for Limica, the town of the Limici on the river Limia, now Lima, which runs into the sea midway between the Douro and the Minho. Pliny, Mela, Strabo, and Ptolemy mention the river Limia, Limius, or Limaea (Idat. ed. De Ram, *Dissert. praevia*, p. 9), while the Limici are known to us from the famous inscription placed under Trajan on the bridge of Aquae Flaviae (Chiaves), and still existing there, in which they, with nine other civitates, are mentioned, probably—though not certainly—as having cooperated in the work of the bridge (*Corpus Inscrr.* ii. 2477; *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 314). The town of the Limici has been variously identified by different authors (Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* i. 256; Florez, iv. 304). Hübner, in vol. ii. of the *Corpus Inscrr.* p. 350, gives what is probably the true solution of the question, in distinguishing the site of the civitas or Forum Limicorum from that of the mansio Limia or Limaca further down the river, while at the same time he makes the term civitas Limicorum, as it occurs on the Chiaves inscription, cover all the settlements along the Limia valley. However this may be, we may safely conclude that Idatius was born in the town of the Limici of the Chiaves inscription on the river Limia. Against his connexion with Lamego, either as native or bishop of the town, geographical facts are conclusive. Idatius was born about the year 388, very shortly after the execution of Priscillian and his companions at Trèves, and just about the time when, as he himself tells us in his Chronicle (ad ann. 386), the Priscillianists, falling back with fresh force on Spain after the death of their chief, took a special hold on the province of Gallicia. About the year 400 Idatius was in Egypt and Palestine, where, as he informs us in his prologue, and in the body of his chronicle (ad ann. 435), he, "et infantulus et pupillus," saw St. Jerome at Bethlehem, John bishop of Jerusalem, Eulogius of Caesarea, and Theophilus of Alexandria. His return from the East to Gallicia may be dated about 402. (Compare Florez's arguments, based on a comparison of three entries in the chronicle, *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 301, with Garzon's attempt, ed. De Ram, p. 11, to establish a later date). He thus reached his native country in safety before the storm of barbarian invasion, which drove out OROSIUS (*q. v.*) and prevented Avitus presbyter of Braga from journeying homewards from Jerusalem between 409 and 416 (*Epist. Aviti ad Balconium*, *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 374). What took him to the East is unknown to us, but the fame of St. Jerome's retreat at Bethlehem may very well have attracted thither those with whom the boy travelled, as we know that it drew other travellers from the West at the time. With Augustine, the friend of the Gallician Orosius from 410 onwards, Idatius in his Eastern journey seems to have had no personal contact, to judge from his notice of Augustine (ad ann. 412), as compared with that of St. Jerome. In 416, seven years after the irruption of the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals into the peninsula, Idatius entered the church, for so no doubt we are to understand the entry in the *Chron. Parvum* (see below) under that year, "Idatii conversio ad Dominum peccatoris" (cont. Florez, *l. c.* p. 302), and in 427 he was made bishop (see Prol. *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 348). In 431 matters were so bad in Gallicia, and the rule of the Suevi had become so intolerable, that Idatius was sent by the Gallician provincials to Aetius in Gaul to ask for help. He returned in the following year accompanied by the legate Censorius, by whose efforts possibly, although not till after his departure from Gallicia, the bishops were enabled to persuade HERMERIC, the Suevian king, to a peace with the provincials. Thenceforward for about twenty-four years Gallicia enjoyed comparative tranquillity, whatever might be the disturbances and troubles of the rest of Spain, and the Gallician bishops found themselves to some extent free to deal with the Priscillianist and Manichaean doctrines then prevailing in Gallicia, and which had even infected some members of the episcopate (*Epist. Leo Magn. ad Turribium*; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. &c.* ii. p. 889). Between 441 and 447 must be placed the letter of Turribius to Idatius and Ceponius (? bishop of Tuy) on the subject of the Priscillianist apocryphal books (*Esp. Sagr.* xvi. 95; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 887). In 444–5, in consequence of the confessions of certain Roman Manichaeans, in which the names of their cobelievers in the provinces were given up, letters were sent to the provinces by pope Leo, informing and warning the bishops (Prosper ad ann. 444; see Garzon's note 6, ed. De Ram. p. 83). Accordingly we find Idatius and Turribius in 445 holding a trial of certain Manichaeans discovered at Astorga, no doubt by aid of the papal letters, and forwarding a report of the trial to the neighbouring metropolitan of Merida, evidently with the object of putting him on his guard. And in 447, in answer to various documents from St. Turribius on the subject of the Gallician heresies, Leo sent a long decretal letter to Spain to be circulated by Turribius, urging the assembly of a national council, or if that

should be found impossible, at least of a Gallician synod, in which, by the efforts of Turribius, and of Idatius and Ceponius, "fratres vestri," a remedy might be devised for the prevailing disorder. It is scarcely possible that such a synod should have ever actually met, or we should have had a mention of it in Idatius's Chronicle, which rarely omits any ecclesiastical news it was in his power to give.

In the troubled times which followed the flight and execution of Rekiar [FRUMARIUS, FRANTA], Idatius himself fell a victim to the disorders of the country. His capture at Aquae Flaviae by Frumari (July 26, 460) was owing mostly, no doubt, to his importance as a leader and representative of the Roman population, but partly, perhaps, as Florez suggests, to the hatred of certain Gallician Priscillianist informers (their names at least are Latin; conf. Chron. ad ann.), who had felt the weight of the bishop's authority. He was released in three months, and after his return to Chiaves lived at least eight years longer under the Suevian kingdom which he had too hastily declared to be "destructum et finitum" in the year 456 (? "*pene* destructum," as Isidore, his copyist in *Hist. Suevorum*, eod. loc.), but which took a new departure on Frumari's death (464), under Remismund. His Chronicle breaks off at the end of the year 469, and he himself must have died before 474, the year of the death of the emperor Leo, under whom Isidore places the death of Idatius. (*Esp. Sagr.* iv. 303, ed. De Ram. pp. 15, 39.)

(2) *Idatius's Chronicle.*—The prologue to the Chronicle, composed apparently after its completion, at any rate in the extreme old age of its author, gives a full account of its intention, sources, and arrangement. It was intended as a continuation of the chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome, Idatius including his own works in one volume with theirs (ed. De Ram. p. 48, note 3, and p. 59, note 4), and its author himself divides it into two parts, the first starting from the year 379, where Jerome breaks off, and ending at the year 427, in which Idatius was made bishop; the second extending from the year 427 to the end. In the first division his information was derived, as he himself tells us, "vel ex scriptorum stylo vel ex relationibus indicantum." Sulpicius and Orosius seem to have been his main authorities, to which may be added the works of SS. Augustine and Jerome (*Esp. Sagr.* iv. 335, 356), and the lives and writings of certain contemporary bishops (John of Jerusalem, *l. c.* 357, Paulinus of Beziers, *ib.*, Paulinus of Nola, 358, &c.). "Thenceforward" (*i. e.* from 427), he says, describing his second division, "I, undeservedly chosen to the office of the episcopate, and not ignorant of all the troubles of this miserable time, have added both the falling landmarks (metas ruituras) of the oppressed Roman empire, and also what is more mournful still, the degenerate condition of the church order within Gallicia, which is the end of the world, the destruction of honest liberty by indiscriminate appointments (to bishoprics), and the almost universal decay of the divine discipline of religion, evils springing from the rule of furious men, and the tumults of hostile nations. This is the note of the whole Chronicle, which gives us a vivid and invaluable picture of one scene, a most important scene in the great drama of the fall of the Western empire, and without which we should be almost in the dark as to the events of the first half of the 5th century in Spain. Idatius's description of the entry of the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi into the Peninsula in October 409, and of the two following years of indiscriminate pillage and ruin before the division of the country by lot amongst the invaders took place, is well known, and we can only refer to it here.

The Chronicle altogether embraces ninety-one years inclusive. On the chronology of the last five years, and on the possible interpolations of certain chronological notes by the copyist, see ed. De Ram, p. 39, also Florez, iv. 310. St. Isidore says that the Chronicle goes down to the eighth year of Leo. It really goes down to the eleventh, although the eighth year is the last year of Leo mentioned in it, introduced wrongly, where we ought to have the eleventh. Did the MS. used by Isidore only go down to the eighth year of Leo (466), or were there already copyists' errors in it which deceived him? On the whole subject see the elaborate work of De Ram and Florez.

MSS. and Editions.—No MS. of the complete Chronicle of Idatius is now known to exist. The MS. belonging to the Jesuit College of Clermont in Paris, which was first printed by the Spaniard San Lorenzo at Rome in 1615, and then by Sirmond in 1619, is now lost. It is thought by Waitz to have passed from the College of Clermont to the Paris Library and to have existed there for some time under the description *Suppl. Lat.* 696, but it cannot now be found there, and has been sought for vainly elsewhere (Waitz in *Pertz's Archiv*, 8, 13; Th. Mommsen, *Corpus Inscrr. Lat.* i. 484). The MS. was described by its first editor as "Parisiensis." Sirmond, however, says it ought to be rather called "Metensis," as he believes it to have been copied in a Metz monastery, whence it came into the hands of the Parisian Jesuits (Sirmond, *Opera*, 1728, ii. 227). A list of the editions will be found in De Ram's preface to Garzon's Idatius.

(3) *The Fasti Idatiani* were first attributed to Idatius by Sirmond, partly because in the ancient MS. from which he printed the Chronicle, the Fasti followed immediately upon the Chronicle, and partly also because he believed that there was strong internal evidence for the Idatian authorship (*Opera*, 1728, ii. 287). This opinion has been generally adopted up to the present day, notably by Dr. Mommsen (*Corpus Inscrr. Lat.* i. 484), Florez being the great exception. The grounds on which Florez, however, based his dissent are extremely slight, and have now fallen out of the debate (see *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 457, and Garzon's answer, ed. De Ram, p. 41). Of late the history of the Fasti has been cleared up with the utmost learning and acuteness by the German scholar Oswald Holder-Egger in the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, ii. pp. 59–71. His general conclusions are (1) that the *Fasti Idatiani* are one of two derivatives of certain consular Fasti put together at Constantinople in the 4th century, the *Chronicon Paschale* (Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, xcii.) being the other. (2) That the common source of the Fasti as we have them and of the *Chron. Pasch.* was itself compiled at Constantinople from older Roman Fasti, such as are still

preserved to us in the Chronographus of 354 (Mommsen, *Corp. Inscrr. Lat.* i. 483; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 48) the notices peculiar to Constantinople beginning from the year 330, when Byzantium became the second capital of the empire. (3) That after the years 390–5, when the *Chron. Pasch.* branches off from the *Fasti Idatiani*, a copy of the Constantinople Fasti came westward, received first certain additions in Italy, and lastly reached Spain, where a Spanish reviser and continuator gave them the shape under which they are now known to us as the *Fasti Idatiani*. That Idatius the author of the Chronicle was the reviser of the Fasti, Holder-Egger does not believe, but is inclined to hold that the agreement between Chronicle and Fasti is best explained by the theory that Idatius *used* but did not compose the Fasti. His arguments, however, on this point scarcely seem to be conclusive, and he is indeed prepared to admit that *certain* trifling additions to and alterations in the Fasti were probably made by Idatius. For the later use of the *Fasti Idatiani*, the East Roman Fasti, as the Ravenna annals are the West Roman Fasti (Wattenbach, i. 49), see the rest of Holder Egger's article, *Die Chronik des Marcellinus Comes und der Oströmischen Fasten*, *Neues Archiv*, &c. ii. 44.

Editions of the Fasti Idat.—Sirmond, *Opera*, vol. ii. *partially;* first completely by Philip Labbe, *Bibl. Nova MSS.* i. 3, from the lost *Codex Claromont.*; Graevius, *Antiq. Rom.* xi.; Roncalli, *Vetust. Latt. Script. Chron.* ii.; Ducange, appendix to *Chron. Paschale*, p. 439; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 51, a reprint of Roncalli; *Patr. Gr.* 92, a reprint of Ducange.

MSS. of the Fasti.—A full account of the MS. material is given by Dr. Mommsen, *Corp. Inscrr. Lat.* i. 484.

(4) *The Chronicon Parvum Idatii.* — Florez published this from three MSS.: (1) a MS. which had formerly belonged to the historian Mariana; (2) a MS. from the collection of the antiquary Perez at Toledo; (3) a fine 13th-century MS. from the Colegio Mayor of San Ildefonso at Alcala, containing the chronicles of Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, Victor Tunnunensis, the so-called Chronicle of Sulpicius and others. The *Chron. Parv.* is the work of a compiler who made an unskilful abbreviation of the larger chronicle, leaving out a great deal, but tacking on a continuation up to the time of Justinian. It is not to be confused with the *excerpta* from Idatius made under Charles the Great, and first published by Canisius (see above). Florez supposes that as no complete MS. of the Chronicle has ever been discovered except that possessed and printed by Sirmond, the *Chron. Parvum* is what is meant wherever mention is made of the Chronicle of Idatius in old catalogues of MSS. Mariana was only acquainted with the *Chron. Parv.*, and Morales possessed an edition of Idatius even less complete than the *Chron. Parv.* It is worth notice that one passage at least, the entry under the year 416 already referred to, "Idatii conversio ad Dominum peccatoris," which must once have existed in the large Chronicle, but was not present in the unique MS. printed by San Lorenzo and Sirmond, has been preserved to us in the *Chron. Parvum.*

To the references already given should be added Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Vetus*, i. 256; Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* iv. 319; Potthast. *Bibl. Hist. Med. Aevi;* Baehr., *Gesch. der Römischen Litt.* Supp.-Band. i., Carlsruhe, 1836, 102–105; Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Litt. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, i. 1874; Teuffel, *Gesch. der Römischen Litt.* 1875; Manso, J. C. Fr., *Chron. Prosperi Aquit., Idatii aliorumque qui post Eusebium atque Hieronymum hoc est ab A. C.* 379 *universam historiam persecuti sunt, per annos digesta, inter se connexa, et in unum corpus redacta, cum brevi annotatione*, part ii., Wratislav, 1825. [M. A. W.]

IDAXIUS, Donatist bishop of Muzuca, in Byzacene, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carthag.* cognit. i. 206.) [H. W. P.]

IDDON, son of Ynyr Gwent, and prince of South Wales, who, in gratitude for victories over the Saxons, gave churches and lands to bishops Teilo and Arwystyl and the see of Llandaff, in the 6th century. The grants consisted of Llanarth, Llandeilo Porthhalawg, Llandeilo Cresseney, all in Monmouthshire, and a place named Llancoyt. The charters conferring them are given in the Book of Llandaff. Rees points out that Godwin assigns their dates incorrectly. He afterwards devoted himself to religion, on which account he is reckoned among the Welsh saints. He had two brothers, who are also accounted saints, Ceidio and Cynheiddon. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 358 sq., 412 sq.; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 233–4; Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 238.) [J. G.]

IDDUAS, bishop of Smyrna at the council of Ephesus, 431 (Mansi, v. 589). On Dec. 18, A.D. 437, Sixtus III. bishop of Rome, writing to Proclus bishop of Constantinople, says, "You have the latest copy of the procedure lately held in the case of our brother Idduas, concerning whom we have decreed that your decision should be maintained, as we did not wish in any way to impair your authority, persuaded of your justice, integrity, and good intention." If this is the same prelate, it would appear that the bishops of Constantinople already exercised patriarchal authority over the province of Asia, although by the council of Constantinople, canon 2, the jurisdiction of the bishops of Thrace was to be confined to Thrace itself, and it was not till the council of Chalcedon that the patriarchate of Constantinople received its full dimensions. It might be expected that the usage would grow up before it was formally recognised. In the fifteenth actio of the council of Chalcedon, the presbyter Philippus stated that John Chrysostom had deposed fifteen bishops of the province of Asia. The second and third canons of the council of Constantinople were not accepted by the bishops of Rome even to the time of Hormisdas. (Xysti III. Pap. *Epist.* ix., Patr. Lat. t. l. p. 612; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 741; Ceillier, viii. 253.) [W. M. S.]

IDLOES, ST., the founder of Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire; his day is Sept. 6. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 298; Williams, *Dict. of Welshmen*, p. 236; *Myv. Arch.* i. 172, ii. 25, 45; E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 558, 651; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 596.) [C. W. B.]

IDNERTH, the last bishop of Llanbadarn in the 8th century, said to have been killed there

by his people. (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Kamb.* ii. 4; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 146; Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, 266.) [C. W. B.]

IDOINUS (ODONIUS), twenty-second bishop of Senlis, between Bethelmus and Adelbertus, apparently about A.D. 800. (*Gall. Chr.* x. 1384.) [C. H.]

IDOLFUS, IDOU, IDULFUS, bishop of Trèves. [HILDULPHUS.]

IDONIUS, bishop of Rusadum in Mauritania Caesariensis, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 59· Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 264.) [R. S. G.]

IDUBERGA (ITTA, ITTABERGA, YDUBERGA), widow and nun, was daughter of Godinus duke of Aquitaine, and wife of Pippin of Landen. She was also sister of St. Modoaldus archbishop of Trèves, and mother of Grimoald who became mayor of the palace, St. Begga and St. Gertrude. When Pippin died, Iduberga, according to the *Vita S. Gertrudis* (c. 1, Bolland. *Acta SS.* 17 *Mart.* ii. 594, 8 Mai. ii. 307), devoted herself to religion, and, by the advice of St. Amandus, built a monastery at Nivelle in Brabant, into which she entered under her own daughter St. Gertrude. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 8 Mai. ii. 307) date her birth about A.D. 592, and St. Gertrude's about A.D. 625, the widowhood of the former A.D. 640, and her death, a sexagenarian, A.D. 652. [J. G.]

IESTYN (JESTIN, YESTINUS). (1) Son of Cadfan ab Cynan, Welsh saint of the 4th century. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 89, 102; Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 238; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 45.)

(2) Son of that Geraint, prince of Damnonia, who was slain at the battle of Llongborth, was the founder of Llaniestin in Carnarvonshire and of Llaniestin in Anglesey, where a stone was seen in the last century with an inscription purporting that he was buried there. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 113, 232; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 628.) [C. W. B.]

IEUAN (IEFAN), Welsh saint, sharing with Sannan and Afran the dedication at Llantrisaint in Anglesey (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 31, 324). He was probably the pupil of St. Dubricius, and the clerical witness to grants by king Pebiau of Ergyng to St. Dubricius and the see of Llandaff early in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 314–21, 324). [J. G.]

IGILIUS (VIGILIUS), fourth bishop of Avignon, placed by some lists in the year 134, is said to have ruled for forty years. (*Gall. Chr.* i. 851.) [R. T. S.]

IGINUS, bishop. [HYGINUS.]

IGNATIUS (1), ST. (called THEOPHORUS), Oct. 17, the second bishop of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 70–*c.* 107), between Evodius and Hero [EVODIUS (1), HERO (1)]. He is sometimes reckoned the third bishop, St. Peter being in that case reputed the first. As one of the series of Antiochene bishops he will be found in Bosch (*Pat. Ant.* in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. introd. p. 8) and Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 700).

The question of the life and writings of Ignatius, including the connected subject of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, has been described by M. Renan as the most difficult in early Christian history next to that of the fourth gospel. We propose to introduce the reader to the present condition of this problem by first setting down what is known of the matter from sources whose date and authorship is ascertained; proceeding then to consider the professed histories of the saint contained in the various Acts of his martyrdom; and discussing lastly the epistles in the various forms in which they successively presented themselves to the modern world, assigning to each form, with what certainty we may, its proper antiquity.

I. About A.D. 165 Lucian wrote his satire *de Morte Peregrini.* He relates to us (cc. 14–41) that Peregrinus was made a prisoner in Syria. But the Christians (not of Syria but) of Asia Minor sent messengers and money to him according to their usual custom in the case of persons imprisoned for their faith. Peregrinus, on his part, wrote letters to all the more important cities; forwarding these by messengers whom he appointed (ἐχειροτόνησε) and entitled *νεκραγγέλους* and *νερτεροδρόμους.* The coincidence of this *story* with that of Ignatius, as told us afterwards by Eusebius, would, if it stood alone, be a strong evidence of connexion. The similarity of these *expressions* with the *πρέπει χειροτονῆσαί τινα ὃς δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι* of *ad Pol.* vii. would if the words stood alone make it almost certain that Lucian was mimicking the words of the epistle. These two probabilities together represent the reason which we have for believing that the composition in which they both occur was written by one who was acquainted with the story and even some of the letters of Ignatius. (Renan, i. 38; Zahn, i. 517; Pearson, i. 2; Denzinger, 85; Lightfoot, ii. See *Authorities* at foot of this article.)

Theophilus of Antioch, who flourished before A.D. 167, has a coincidence with Ignat. *Ad Eph.* xix. 1, where the virginity of Mary is said to have been concealed from the devil.

Irenaeus, about A.D. 180 (*adv. Haer.* iii. 3, 4), bears his testimony to the fact that Polycarp wrote to the Philippians. The same writer (v. 28) mentions how a Christian martyr said, "I am the bread-corn of Christ, to be ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found pure bread;" which remarkable words are found in Ig. *Ad Rom.* iv. 1. The passage of Irenaeus is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36) as a testimony to Ignatius. [For 17 apparent coincidences of expression between Irenaeus and the shorter Greek epistles of Ignatius see Zahn, ii. 331. Some, however, of these fall at least very far short of a demonstrable connexion.]

Origen, early in the 3rd century, *Prol. in Cant.* (*Op.* ed. Delarue, iii. 30), in vindicating the glowing expressions of love to God used by saints, writes, "I remember also that one of the saints, by name Ignatius, said of Christ, 'My love was crucified';" and the words are found in Ig. *Ad Rom.* vii. 2. Origen also (*Hom. in Luc.* vol. iii. 938) says, "I find it well written in one of the epistles of a certain martyr, I mean Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch after Peter, who in the persecution fought with beasts at Rome, that the virginity of Mary escaped the prince of this world" (Ig. *Ad Eph.* xix. 1).

But in Eusebius, early in the 4th century, we find the full account which explains these fragmentary allusions and quotations. In his chronicle he twice names Ignatius as second

bishop of Antioch after the apostles; in one case adding the fact that he was martyred. In his ecclesiastical history, besides less important notices both of our saint and Polycarp, he relates at large (iii. 22, 37, 38; iv. 14, 15) that Ignatius, whom he calls very celebrated among the Christians, was sent from Syria to Rome to be cast to the beasts for Christ's sake. When journeying guarded through Asia he addressed to the cities near the places of his sojourn both exhortations and epistles. Thus while in Smyrna, the city of Polycarp, he wrote one letter to Ephesus, another to Magnesia, another to Tralles. Besides, he wrote a letter to the Romans, begging them not to impede his martyrdom. And of this epistle Eusebius, thinking it good to give a specimen, appends Rom. v. at length. Then he tells how Ignatius, having left Smyrna and come to Troas, wrote thence to the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans, and also to Polycarp their bishop. One sentence from *Smyr.* iii. Eusebius copies as containing the record of a saying of Christ not otherwise handed down. [The attempts of Daillé, 433 sq., to evacuate the foregoing testimonies are really captious. He argues that "the martyr *said*" in Irenaeus is not equivalent to the martyr "*wrote*"; denies the genuineness of the works of Origen referred to; and slights the authority of Eusebius as too late in point of time to be of value. See the answer, Pears. i. 6–8.]

The *Apostolical Constitutions* in their interpolated condition shew very evident connexions indeed with the interpolated or so-called longer epistles of Ignatius. But in their uninterpolated form as known to us through the Syriac translation of the *Didascalia* these Constitutions in several places coincide very strikingly with the shorter Greek or seven Vossian epistles.

An epistle which passes under the name of Athanasius, and which if not by him is by a contemporary writer, quotes a passage from *Ad Eph.* vii. 2, as written by Ignatius, who after the apostles was bishop of Antioch and a martyr of Christ. [See the question of the genuineness of this epistle argued, Cureton, lxviii.; Zahn, i. 578.]

St. Basil (ed. Ben. ii. 598) quotes, without naming Ignatius, the familiar sentence from *Ad Eph.* xix. 1, concerning Satan's ignorance of the virginity of Mary. St. Jerome's testimony upon the subject is altogether secondary, being dependent on that of Eusebius.

St. Chrysostom (*Op.* vol. ii. 592) has a homily on St. Ignatius which relates that he was appointed by the apostles bishop of Antioch; was sent for to Rome in the time of a persecution to be there judged; instructed and admonished with wonderful power all the cities on the way, and Rome itself when he arrived; was condemned and martyred in the Roman theatre crying, Ἐγὼ τῶν θηρίων ἐκείνων ὀναίμην; and his remains were transferred after death with great solemnity to Antioch. [Zahn (i. 33–49) does not believe that proof can be adduced from the genuine writings of Chrysostom that he was acquainted with the writings of Ignatius. But see the other side powerfully argued by Pearson, i. 9; Denzinger, 90; Lipsius, ii. 21.]

Theodoret is frequent in his citations of the seven Vossian epistles, and mentions Ignatius as ordained by St. Peter, and made the food of beasts for the testimony of Christ.

Severus of Antioch (A.D. 513–551) has a long catalogue of sayings from Ignatius, in which every one of the seven epistles is laid under contribution. These are to be found in the Syriac in Cureton, in the Greek in Zahn (ii. 352). And Cureton also furnishes us with a large collection of Syriac fragments, in which passages taken everywhere from the seven Vossian epistles are declared to have the force of canons in the church.

The foregoing may suffice to furnish us with a solid framework of ancient testimony, to which all theories of the history and writings of Ignatius which pretend to credence must be adapted.

II. But we possess also a multitude of Acts of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, which, if we could accept them, would furnish us with very particular accounts of his life and death. Of these Ussher published three in whole or part; one in Latin from two related MSS.; another, also in Latin, from the Cottonian library; a third in Greek from a MS. at Oxford. The Bollandists published a Latin martyrdom in the *Acta SS.* for Feb. 1; Cotelerius a Greek one by Symeon Metaphrastes. Ruinart, and afterwards Jacobson (*Pat. Ap.* ii.), printed a Greek MS. from the Colbertine collection (Ms. Colb.); J. S. Assemani found a Syriac one which, being unpublished, may perhaps be the same as that partly printed by Cureton (i.). Aucher, and afterwards Petermann (p. 496), published an Armenian one. Dressel printed a Greek version of the 10th century (Ms. Vat.). Of these Colb. is the original of Ussher's first-named Latin, and the Syriac is identical. The Greek printed by Ussher is identical with Ms. Vat. Ussher's Cottonian and the Bollandist are closely related, being a combination of Ms. Vat. and Ms. Colb. The nine are reduced therefore to five, possessing each a certain independence. But of these Ms. Colb. and Ms. Vat. are by far the most valuable, being completely independent of each other, while the remaining versions are mixtures of these two, adding nothing new to them save in the case of that of Symeon Metaphrastes, who gives a legend (plainly derived from the misunderstanding of the name Θεοφόρος) that Ignatius was the child carried and blessed by the Lord.

Ms. Colb. (see Zahn, ii. p. 301) relates the condemnation of Ignatius by Trajan in Antioch; and incorporates the epistle to the Romans. From the arrival at Puteoli the narrative proceeds in the first person plural, as if the writer was a companion of the saint, who is thrown to the beasts on Dec. 20. The bones alone remain, which are transferred to Antioch. This MS. bears at least marks of interpolation. The saint, contrary to the testimony of the letters, is brought by sea from Seleucia to Smyrna. The "we" in the latter part is plainly imitated from the Acts of the Apostles, and commences at an impossible point. The prayer of the saint that the beasts should be his grave is inconsistent with the collection of the bones and the funeral which follows, and which bears the appearance of having been added in support of the claims of relics. Thus the story is a lame one, and our chief obligation to it lies in its incorporation of the epistle to the Romans. The other epistles the author has not read carefully. He speaks of a general persecution under Trajan, and makes Ignatius a disciple of John and fellow-hearer

with Polycarp. Now Jerome, who in his book *de Vir. Illust.* cap. xvi. (ed. Vallars. ii. 855), makes Polycarp a disciple of John, but plainly implies that Ignatius was not so, in his account of the chronicle of Eusebius classes both Polycarp and Ignatius with Papias as hearers of the apostle (*ib.* viii. 692). Ms. Colb. must then have derived from Jerome, or the mistaken form of Eusebius which appears in him. If so the account must date from the end of the 4th century. But when we compare the narrative with Eusebius, we find that the fable of the general persecution under Trajan agrees only with the loose expressions of the *Chronicle*. The *Ecclesiastical History* of the same writer, had it been known, would have corrected the error. Eusebius plainly knew nothing of the martyrdom or the story we find in it. But there are apparent connexions between it and Chrysostom as above quoted, which lead us to the belief that some one acquainted with that writer gave the martyrdom its present form. Dec. 20, the date given in this martyrdom for the feast of St. Ignatius, was originally in all probability the feast of the translation of the relics under Theodosius II. (408–450). We thus arrive at the belief that this martyrdom, written in the 4th century, assumed its present form after the first half of the 5th. The author, possessing but a general knowledge of the other epistles, which he imagined to have been all written from Smyrna, is best acquainted with that *To the Romans*, which he gives at length.

Ms. Vat. (Zahn, ii. 307) omits all judicial proceedings in Antioch. Ignatius is sent for by Trajan to Rome, as a teacher dangerous to the state; an argument takes place before the senate between the emperor and the saint; the lions kill him, but leave the body untouched, and it remains as a sacred deposit at Rome. Notice follows of the letter of Pliny to Trajan, plainly out of Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 33); Dec. 20 is marked as the saint's day. Now the use of the history of Eusebius, written A.D. 325–30, gives a terminus a quo for the composition of this martyrdom, while a terminus ad quem is furnished by the use of *it* made by Symeon Metaphrastes early, perhaps, in the 10th century. There is a certain connexion between Ms. Vat. and Jerome and Chrysostom, notably in the account given of the purpose of the journey to Rome. And it has also, as Ussher pointed out, undeniable coincidences with the spurious and interpolated epistles, the date of which will presently be fixed in the latter part of the 4th century. Thus we find that Ms. Vat. arose on the basis of an account of the journey and death of the saint, extant at the end of the 4th century. On the whole, the martyrdoms are late and untrustworthy compositions, wholly useless as materials for determining the question of the epistles; we are thrown back on Eusebius.

III. Eusebius in the *Chronicle* (ed. Schöne, ii. 152, 158, 162) omits (contrary to his custom) the durations of the episcopates of Antioch, and there is a gap of three years between Peter and Euodius. The accession of Ignatius is placed ann. Ab. 2085; but no exact time is stated for that of his successor, Hero. The martyrdom of Ignatius is mentioned, indeed, in connexion with the beginning of Hero's episcopate, but is not said to be contemporary with it. We are, therefore, thus far left to place Ignatius's death at any time between Ab. 2123, Traj. 10, and 2132, Traj. 19. In *H. E.* iii. 22, Eusebius, in a general way, makes the episcopates of Symeon and Ignatius contemporary with the first years of Trajan and the last of St. John, and (iii. 36) with Polycarp and Papias. The only record of the martyr's date which we possess before Eusebius, is that of Origen, who states (*ut sup.*) that Ignatius had been of old regarded as the second bishop after Peter, and a martyr; though it would seem from Chrysostom that Euodius was in his time forgotten at Antioch. We have then a tradition of the early part of the 3rd century at latest, that Ignatius was third bishop of Antioch, and at the beginning of the 4th at latest, it was held that he was martyred in the persecution under Trajan, which was not in the earliest years of his reign. We are at liberty to date his epistles, journey, and death, in any year from 105 to 117. Funk fixes it at 107.

In the year 1878, Harnack published a tract (*Die Zeit des Ign.* Leipz.), in which the tradition that Ignatius was martyred under Trajan is impugned. The argument rests upon the fact that the acts of the martyrdom being proved by Zahn, with the general assent of all his critics, to be untrustworthy, the date of the saint's death rests wholly on the testimony of Eusebius; while (1) the date in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius is traceable to the Chronicle of Julius Africanus (A.D. 222); (2) the date in that author depends on a chronological scheme, in which a fixed relation is observable between the accessions of bishops of Antioch and bishops of Rome, so that Ignatius's death was placed just one Olympiad after the accession of the fifth Roman bishop Alexander; (3) Eusebius shews his want of confidence in this date by placing the death of Ignatius *after* it; (4) in his *Eccl. Hist.* Eusebius has given no repetition of the chronology of the *Chronicon*, or any other in its place, and shews that he had no other data to rest on but the information of Julius Africanus, untrustworthy as that has been shewn to be (Harnack, p. 66 sqq.). But (1) it is very improbable that Eusebius had no tradition save through Africanus, or the latter no tradition save four names; (2) the relation of the Antiochene list to the Roman is only made out by considerable forcing (Harnack, p. 15), and it is very possible that while this principle of arrangement might be partially used, yet in cases where there was a trustworthy tradition of a date, that date was given, whether it exactly agreed with the scheme or not; and of such cases, Ignatius on the face of the table seems to be one; (3) Harnack asserts (p. 70) the great likelihood that Julius Africanus only included in his Antiochene list names which he really knew, the very fact that he is obliged to assign them unnaturally long periods of office proving this. But if this were so, why assume that the names which he knew would be those which lay nearest to his own time? Would it not be likely that such a name as Ignatius would be preserved to him in connexion with its proper date, which was but a little more than a century before his time, while perhaps two or three later but less important names might have been lost? When we add to this the

independent testimony of Origen, contemporary with Africanus, that Ignatius was second bishop after St. Peter, repeated as this is in the *Eccl. Hist.* of Eusebius (iii. 36), we can see that if the date of Ignatius were set afloat, it might very well be backwards and not forwards that we should be compelled to move it. See, however, the article EVODIUS.

We may here, also, notice the theory of Volkmar, which the author of *Supernatural Religion* (i. 268) regards as "demonstrated," that the martyrdom of Ignatius happened not in Rome but in Antioch, in A.D. 115, upon Dec. 20 (on which day his feast was kept), in consequence of the excitement produced by an earthquake which had occurred a week previously. Professor Lightfoot has said enough about the respect due to the authority of John Malalas, upon whom this attractive theory rests. But Zahn, ii. (xii. 343, 381), renders a still more decisive answer. It is now known from the ancient Syriac *Menologion*, published by Wright (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 45), that the feast of St. Ignatius was originally kept not upon Dec. 20 at all, but upon Oct. 17, a few days before which was the feast of a St. Pelagia, in exact agreement with the opening words of Chrysostom's oration upon our saint. (Zahn, i. 33, and Lightfoot, ii. 352, note §, are to be corrected in accordance with this discovery.)

The other details, which we find in the Martyrdoms and elsewhere, are but expansions from hints supposed to be found in the letters, of which we find an instance in the long dialogue between Ignatius and Trajan upon the name **Θεοφόρος**. But there is no reason to suspect the genuineness of this addition to the saint's name in itself. It is given untranslated in the Syriac version of the 4th century. The interpolator found it in his copy, for it stands in all his epistles except that to Polycarp; and in all the MSS. of the shorter translation, both Greek and Latin, it holds its place. The writers of the 4th century, regarding it as a title of honour, do not quote it; in the 6th it came to be regarded as a name.

The tradition that Ignatius was martyred at Rome for the faith can be traced higher than the records of it in Eusebius and Origen. The designation of world-famed, which Eusebius gives to our saint, shews that he had, besides the epistles, the information of general tradition; and the words of Origen are to the same effect. The testimony of Irenaeus, which Eusebius adduces as perfectly agreeing with the tradition known to him, dates but seventy years after the fact. It is true that these expressions come from writers who knew the epistles; but the mere existence of the epistles at such a date, even if they were spurious, would be sufficient proof of the existence of the tradition. And it is impossible that such a story should have arisen so soon after Trajan, if it had contradicted the known facts or the prevalent customs of his reign.

It is plain that Eusebius wrote with the collection of letters before him, and knew of no other collection besides the seven which he mentions. These, as we have seen, he arranges according to place and time of writing, gives his quotation from Romans as out of "the Epistles," and cites Irenaeus's quotation from Ignatius, as proof of that writer's knowledge of them, although Irenaeus did not mention the author's name.

IV. The gradual presentation of the various Ignatian documents to the modern world is related in the introduction to Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum* and is briefly as follows. Late in the 15th and in the beginning of the 16th century twelve epistles, purporting to be from Ignatius, were given to the world, first in Latin translations, and then in the original Greek, together with three others manifestly spurious, which existed in Latin alone. The epistles which bear non-Eusebian titles were soon suspected of spuriousness, and it was proved that the text of the Eusebian, as then known, was interpolated. But Ussher first restored the genuine text by means of a Latin translation which he discovered, and his arguments (except in the particular of his doubt whether Ignatius wrote separately to Polycarp) were confirmed by Vossius's publication of the Medicean MS. Thenceforward the world has had before it the longer and the shorter (or Vossian) recensions, the former of which contains the seven Eusebian epistles abovenamed in a longer text, and in addition epistles of Mary of Castabala to Ignatius, with his reply, of Ignatius to the Tarsians, Philippians, Antiochenes, and Hero, his successor; the Vossian comprising only the Eusebian letters, and those in a shorter text. The longer recension has had few defenders, while the shorter had many and early assailants, moved especially by its support of episcopacy. Of these Daillé was perhaps the ablest, but he was very widely considered to have been sufficiently answered by bishop Pearson. At present we may consider the genuineness of the longer recension as a whole to be out of court; the time and method of its interpolations and additions are the only points which it presents for consideration.

Mr. Cureton had in 1839 transcribed from Syriac MSS. in the British Museum a fragment of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and of the Epistle to the Romans therein contained. In 1847 the same scholar discovered, among the Syriac MSS. in the meantime acquired, three epistles of Ignatius, namely those to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans, transcribed in the 6th or 7th century. These epistles are in a form considerably shorter still than the shorter recension of the earlier time. Its discoverer believed it to be the sole genuine text, and argued the point very ably, but with a confidence which in its contrast with the present state of belief should operate as a warning to all who are tempted to be too positive on any side of this difficult controversy. Many scholars at the time accepted the Curetonian theory, among whom Bunsen signalised himself by a voluminous work in its defence.

Among the various forms in which we possess the epistles, it but remains to notice the Armenian version, first printed, though very incorrectly, in 1783. It is mentioned by Cureton, who, however, by no means perceived the effect which its testimony was to have upon his own argument. The scholar to whom the correct publication and due estimate of the Armenian version are due is Petermann. According to this authority the Armenian was rendered out of the Syriac in the 5th century, and it agrees with Ussher's Latin MS. in that, while it con-

tains several post-Eusebian epistles united with the Eusebian, the latter are free from any such systematic interpolations as those of the longer recension.

V. When we proceed to fix the date of the longer recension, we find that the latest of ancient writers who cites only the Eusebian epistles in the uninterpolated text is the monk Antonius in the early part of the 7th century (Cureton, p. 176; Zahn, ii. 350). Severus of Antioch, 6th century (Cureton, 212; Zahn, 352), cites all the Eusebian epistles in a text free from interpolations. So also Timotheus of Alexandria and Theodoret. In a rich collection of sentences culled from Ignatius, and given in the Syriac as ecclesiastical canons (Cureton, 197), there is no sign of the post-Eusebian epistles nor of interpolations, and all the Eusebian are cited except Romans.

We cannot doubt, then, that in Ussher's MS. and in the Armenian translation we have (minute textual criticism apart) the seven epistles as the fathers from Eusebius to Severus of Antioch used them; and as the interpolator had them before him to form the foundation of his work. The arguments of Ussher upon this point have never been answered. But he (p. 127) fixes the interpolations in the 6th century on the ground, perfectly sure, so far as it goes, that they must have been before Stephanus Gobarus, Anastasius of Antioch, and Gregory the Great, all of whom cite the interpolated text. But the Armenian, with the Syriac translation from which it sprang, bring back the composition of the six additional epistles to the year A.D. 400 at latest; and these are undoubtedly the work of the same hand which interpolated the others. On the other hand, the work of interpolation cannot have been done before 325, or Eusebius would have cited or alluded to it; moreover, it shews undoubted marks of dependence on his history. The epistle to the Antiochenes, for instance, commences with an expression cited by Eusebius (vi. 11) and by no other, from Alexander's epistle to that people. The period of the interpolator is thus fixed at the latter part of the 4th century. His doctrine, as Ussher shewed (p. 221), is stark Arianism.

Turrianus observed the connexion of Pseudo-Ignatius with the *Apostolical Constitutions*, thinking both genuine. Vedelius and others supposed that Pseudo-Ignatius used the *Constitutions* in his work of interpolation. Ussher believed that the interpolation of both the letters and the *Constitutions* came from the same source. But we do not seem to know more than that there is a near relationship of the two. The actual identity of the two interpolators does not seem consistent with the different ideas about the proper age of bishops in the two works: the *Constitutions* (ii. 1) directing that men not under fifty are to be chosen, and that any departure from this is only to be allowed as exceptional, while in Pseudo-Ignatius a deacon (Heron), who is not to be despised for his youth, is to succeed Ignatius upon his speedily approaching death, and the letters from and to Mary of Castabala have for their object the choice of young men. Pseudo-Ignatius appears to know the rule of the *Constitutions* on this point, and, from some motive or other, to oppose it. He shews acquaintance with the first six books of the *Constitutions* already interpolated from the Didascalia (see *Apostolical Constitutions* in DICT. OF CHRIST. ANTIQ.) not with books vii. and viii. (Zahn, i. 151).

Several of the names in Pseudo-Ignatius are borrowed from the period A.D. 360 to 380. (Philost. iii. 15; Theod. i. 5; v. 7; Soc. iii. 25; iv. 12.) The titles selected for the new letters are also easily accounted for in the same period. It was very natural to insert a letter to the Antiochenes; for that to Tarsus in Cilicia the mention of Philo, the Cilician deacon, in the shorter letters (*Smyrn.* and *Philad.*) gives a motive. That to the Philippians is hardest to account for; but its date from Rhegium points to Mart. Vat., which brings Ignatius that way. Pseudo-Ignatius also interests himself against the Quartodecimans; proving that they must have been still strong when he wrote, which was not the case at the very conclusion of the 4th century. The object of the fiction is the establishment of loyalty and unity against provincialism and novelty; hence the opposition at once to the Nicene formulary and to Marcellus and Photinus. These oppositions point to the period 360–380.

Thus all historical indications point out the second half of the 4th century as the date of the interpolations; their style and spirit indicate their author as a literary man full of platitudes, and detesting everything striking or extraordinary. The freshness and originality of the shorter recension are totally wanting in his work.

Upon the whole Zahn conjectures the interpolator to have been Acacius, the scholar, biographer, and successor of Eusebius at Caesarea, who, as Sozomen (iv. 23) informs us, was regarded as heir to the learning, as well as the position of that divine. The roughness of the known character of Acacius agrees with the abusiveness of Pseudo-Ignatius. His attacks upon ultra asceticism in respect of meats and marriage are in harmony with the part which Acacius took in the deposition of Eustathius of Sebaste in 360.

VI. Ussher had heard news of a Syrian translation of Ignatius, but Renaudot first gave to the world certain information on the subject, and published a collection of canons in which passages of Ignatius were included (Cureton, 197 sq.). The nature of the discovery made by Cureton has been narrated above. This scholar, it may be conjectured, would not so eagerly and confidently have sprung to the conclusion that he had detected a mass of forgery in the shorter Greek epistles, if it had not been for the similar achievement of Ussher in respect to the longer. But really there is nothing in the fact that the shorter recension had been enlarged into the longer which should lead us to anticipate that any previous process of the kind had taken place. The conjecture of Cureton, after Daillé, that the interpolator of the longer was tempted to his undertaking by a knowledge that the same thing had been done before, is most improbable. The probability is quite the other way, for one wishing to produce an effect by such means would certainly choose as the foundation of his inventions a composition to which no suspicion had ever been attached; the theory seems to be hardly more worthy of serious notice than M. Renan's airy statement that Ignatius was fated to be the subject of interpolation. A serious inquirer, after he has disposed of the longer recension, will find himself face to face with the question whether

still another fiction remains behind without any rational prejudgment whatever derived from the proved forgeries, which, though earlier discovered, were long subsequent in their concoction to any possible date of the suspected ones.

Different Syriac translations of Greek works give similar citations from Ignatius in somewhat varying language. The most probable solution of this phenomenon appears to be that the authors mentally recalled and cited from memory an existing Syriac version. Merx (*Meletemata Ign.* p. 79) contends that there were two such translations, and further believes that he discerns signs even of a third; the first the *versio Severiana*, the second more ancient, but both belonging to the 3rd century, the third containing the non-Eusebian epistles. To Merx, who is referred to with scant justice by Zahn, belongs great credit, as having first carried out that careful general examination of all the Syriac fragments which Cureton ought to have made, but had omitted. But against the theory of a plurality of Syriac versions, Zahn's arguments are apparently accepted by Lipsius (iii.). From the one Syriac translation Zahn contends that the Armenian version came in the 5th century, and from it, at perhaps a somewhat later period, the extracts were taken, which Cureton mistook for the original epistles.

We are to remember that the connexion in which Cureton's epistles were found is that of a series of extracts from fathers whose remaining works are not supposed to be rendered doubtful by their absence from this Syriac MS.; and Petermann (xxi.) has corrected Bunsen's supposition that the concluding words of the MS. imply that the epistles of Ignatius, as known to the writer, were all comprised in what he copied. Zahn (pp. 199, 200) compares the Syriac extracts numbered i. and ii. in *Corp. Ign.*, taken as they were, beyond doubt, from the existing Syriac translation, with S. Cur. (*i.e.* Cureton's *Syriac Epp.*); and apparently succeeds in making out that the same translator, whose work is presented in a fragmentary form in S. Cur. meets us in these extracts. *E.g.* the expression θηριομαχεῖν, and many other peculiar words, are similarly rendered; though no. i. seems sometimes to preserve better the text from which it was copied. [We may here mention that Lipsius (iii.), while recalling his former opinion that S. Cur. is the genuine form of the epistles, maintains his belief that there is a difference between the text of the seven Eusebian epistles as we have them in their shorter form, and that which formed the basis of the interpolator's work, and that the Curetonian epistles often agree with the latter rather than the former.] Zahn (i. pp. 187, 213, 221) offers evidence, that independently of the Armenian version, unmistakeable allusions in Ephrem Syrus and in one Cyrillonas prove the existence of a Syriac translation of Ignatius soon after the middle of the 4th century; and that, not in Cureton's text, but in a far completer one. The letter of John the Monk (*Corp. Ig.* 205), contemporary with Ephrem Syrus, has been thought to be a witness in favour of S. Cur., since he cites four sentences from Romans which are to be found in that version. But he speaks of Ignatius as writing letters to the famous cities, by which he must mean the greater cities which lay in the way from Antioch to Rome; and it seems impossible he could have used the expression had he known, besides Romans, which he cites, only the epistles to the Ephesians and Polycarp. The isolation of Romans (see next section) does not seem to have prevailed in the East, since the manner in which it and the others are quoted is precisely similar. If Cureton's fragment (i.) cites the six others and not Romans, that is accounted for by the fact that Romans contained nothing about church government. The Syrians and Armenians know nothing of the seven Eusebian epistles in their interpolated condition; the additional six cannot have been translated into Syriac sooner than from 400–450, and Petermann has shewn that in respect of these, too, the Armenian version is from the Syriac. The translator of the six must have attached them to the former version of the seven without interpolating the latter.

We may cull from S. Cur. itself certain proofs that it was not the original. The epistle to Polycarp ends in that version with the words, "I salute thee who wert deemed worthy to go to Antioch in my place;" an expression which, in spite of what Lipsius has urged, certainly implies that the person in question was supposed to be Ignatius's successor in the bishopric. Now Ignatius could not have written this; such a method of filling the bishopric of Antioch as the despatch of a successor from Smyrna, could not have been thought of by him; and if the writer of S. Cur. was led into this error by the epistle to the Antiochenes (xiv.), that proves that he used the same larger collection as the Armenian translator a century before him. In the beginning of Romans, again, the correct reading is: "I write to all the churches, and testify to every man"; an expression very unsuitable if he was writing only to two churches and Polycarp. S. Cur. therefore knows of other epistles. Must we not see in its words an allusion to the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, and Trallians written during the same residence in Smyrna, which his Syrian countrymen knew long before he wrote, and which we have in our hands? (See on this whole question Baur, Erster Abschnitt.)

Moreover, there are certain passages in Cureton's Syriac which are plainly not complete in themselves; we select one from each of his three epistles. That to the Ephesians begins with a salutation, but has none at the conclusion; and the version of the celebrated passage concerning the three secrets of the cry is incomprehensible as it stands in the Syriac. For the epitomator, not understanding that the three New Testament facts just mentioned were themselves the three secrets in question, inserts an "and" which utterly confuses the sense. The conclusion of the epistle to Polycarp in the Syriac is also plainly imperfect. And Lipsius himself confessed that Rom. vi.–x. flow so well in the Greek text that the tests by which he discovers interpolations quite failed him in this case, and he called in the aid of the Syriac fragments to fill up the blank in Cureton's text, thus admitting the imperfection of the latter. On the whole, as Baur observes (52), "it is much easier to explain the Syrian text by the professedly interpolated one than *vice versâ*."

As for the motive of the epitomator it is surely quite sufficient to suppose that he intended to make one of those selections of the best parts of a good work, which in all ages have been practised upon the most eminent writers without disrespect; Hefele (see Denzinger, pp. 8, 196)

believes himself able to discern the practical ascetic purpose of the selection, and we observe that very naturally the abbreviator begins each epistle with a design of taking all that is most edifying; but his resolution or the space at his command fails him before the end, and he abridges far more at the conclusion than at the beginning. His form of Ephesians has alone an uniform character of epitome from the first; which seems accounted for by the fact that very early in Ephesians come a number of personal names plainly fit to be omitted. Denzinger powerfully urges (p. 77 sq.) the certainty that the Monophysites would have complained when the seven epistles were quoted against them had these been spurious, and he and Uhlhorn have fully shewn how entirely the epitomator is committed to any doctrines in the shorter recension which can be found difficult. What a useless and objectless task then would any one have had in interpolating and extending Cureton's three into the seven which we possess! And upon the whole case we seem able to pronounce with much confidence that the Curetonian theory is never likely to revive from the abeyance into which it has at present fallen.

VII. The epistle to the Romans stands in a position somewhat different from the other six Eusebian letters, being used by some authors who use no others, and omitted by some who cite the others. The explanation of this fact is, according to Zahn, that Romans did not at first belong to the collection, but was propounded by itself, whether in union with a martyrdom or not. That a literary man like Eusebius, or an admirer of Ignatius, such as Severus of Antioch, should possess both Romans in this separate form and the collection of six, does not prove that the whole seven were united in a volume. That Romans was at first absent from the collection seems to be indicated by the fact that it escaped without the interpolations which the other epistles suffered at the hands, probably, of Acacius. And the solution of this difference of fate Zahn finds in the circumstances of the first collection of Ignatius's letters. The church of Philippi having heard Ignatius during his journey through Macedonia, learnt that he had written letters from Smyrna and Troas, and wrote to Polycarp to send them. Polycarp replied in the epistle which we possess, before the news of the death of Ignatius at Rome had arrived; and he attached to his answer the letters to the bishop and church of Smyrna and those to the Ephesians, Trallians, Magnesians, and Philadelphians, all which were easily attainable to him; Romans only had gone out of his reach. Among Zahn's critics Hilgenfeld (ii.) does not believe that this distinction between the position of Romans and that of the other epistles is reconcilable with Eusebius; while Renan, on the other hand, accepts it so fully as to maintain that Romans alone is genuine, the rest spurious.

VIII. The circumstances of the journey and martyrdom of Ignatius, as we gather them from the seven epistles and from that of Polycarp, are as follows:—He suffers under a merely local persecution. It is in progress at Antioch while he is in Smyrna, whence he writes the epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Magnesians, and Trallians. But Rome, Magnesia (xii.), and Ephesus (xii.) are at peace. And in Troas he learns that peace is restored to the church in Antioch. Of the local causes of this Antiochene persecution we are ignorant, but it is not in the least difficult to credit. The imagined meeting of the emperor and the saint is not found in the epistles; it is "the world" under whose enmity the church is there said to suffer. All now recognise that, according to the testimony of the letters, Ignatius has been condemned in Antioch to death, and journeys with death by exposure to the beasts as the settled fate before him. He deprecates interposition of the church at Rome (quite powerful enough at the end of the 1st century to be conceivably successful in such a movement) for the remission of a sentence already delivered. The supposition of Hilgenfeld (i. 200) that prayer to God for his martyrdom, or abstinence from prayer against it, is what he asks of the Romans seems quite inadmissible, and we could not conceive him so assured of the approach of death as we find him to be, if the sentence had not been already pronounced. The right of appellation to the emperor was recognised, and could be made even without the consent of the criminal, but only if the sentence had proceeded from some magistrate other than the emperor himself. And thus the Colbertine Martyrdom, which makes Trajan the judge at Antioch, contradicts the epistles no less than the Vatican which puts off the process to Rome.

Ms. Colb., in spite of what Denzinger has said (p. 68), brings Ignatius by sea to Smyrna; but Eusebius, who had read the epistles, supposes the journey thither to be by land, and it is plain that he is right. The journey "by land and sea" (*Ad. Rom.* v.) may easily refer to a voyage from Seleucia to some Cilician port, and thence by road; but that the journey was chiefly by road follows from *Rom.* ix., where he says that the churches received him *οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα* and *κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον*; and he met the heretics against whom he warns the Ephesians on the way journeying from thence (*παροδεύσαντας ἐκεῖθεν*). It seems that the ordinary way of passing from Antioch to Ephesus was by land, and Ignatius calls the messenger to be sent by the Smyrnaeans to Antioch *θεοδρόμος* (*Pol.* vii.). Ignatius did not come by the common road which led through Magnesia and Ephesus, but left the great road at Sardis, and came by Laodicea, Hierapolis, Philadelphia, and perhaps Colossae, as we learn by the fact that he had certainly visited Philadelphia and met there the false teachers from Ephesus (Zahn, 258 sq. also 266 sq.).

The churches to which the author writes were not chosen at random, but were those which had shewn their love to him by sending messengers to him. The letters were therefore, in the first place, letters of thanks, which quite naturally extend themselves into admonitions; and this furnishes the *occasio scribendi*.

We find the writer throughout his journey in the enjoyment of much freedom, though chained to a soldier. In Philadelphia he preaches, not in a church, but in a large assembly of Christians; in Smyrna enjoys intercourse not merely with the believers of that place, but with the messengers of other churches. He has much speech with the bishops concerning the state of the churches. That of Ephesus he treats with special respect, and anticipates writing a second

letter (*Ad Eph.* xx.); that of Tralles he addresses in a markedly different manner (*Ad Tr.* 2, 12). He must, therefore, have had time in Smyrna to acquaint himself with the condition of all the neighbouring churches. If the writing of epistles under the circumstances of his captivity should cause surprise, it must be remembered that it is only short letters that he writes, and not books. The expression *βιβλίδιον*, which in Eph. xx. he applies to his intended second missive, is often applied to letters. He dictated to a Christian, and thus might, as Pearson remarks, have finished one of the shorter letters in an hour; the longest in three. Perpetua and Saturus wrote in prison narratives as long as the epistles of Ignatius (*Acta SS. Perp. et Fel.* Ruinart). The supposition of a ten days' sojourn in Smyrna would amply meet all the necessities of the case; and we know too little of the circumstances to pronounce it unlikely that his guard, for some reason of their own, would have made such a stay. Nor is there anything in the treatment which the letters suppose extended to Ignatius inconsistent with that used to other Christian prisoners; notably not with that of St. Paul. There is, indeed, no exactly parallel case on record (see Lightfoot, ii.); but the numberless libelli pacis, written by the martyrs in prison, and the celebrations of the holy mysteries there with their friends in periods when we have no reason at all to suppose the treatment of Christians more lenient than in that of Ignatius, forbid us to consider the liberty given him extraordinary, more especially as the word *εὐεργετούμενοι* which he applies to his guard points, doubtless, to money given them by the Christians.

Ignatius is always eager to know more Christians, and to interest them in each other. The news of the cessation of persecution in Antioch stirs him to urge Polycarp to take an interest in that church. The great idea of the Catholic church is at work in him. He does not deny that his request that messengers should be sent to Antioch is an unusual one, but dwells upon the greatness of the benefit which will result (*Pol.* 7; *Sm.* 11; *Phil.* 10).

But when Polycarp, in a few weeks or months afterwards, writes his epistle to the Philippians, the messenger has not yet been sent. At this later period Ignatius has but lately passed through Philippi, going by the Via Egnatia to Neapolis. The Philippians have written immediately after to Polycarp; and forwarded a message to the Antiochenes, expecting to be in time to catch the messenger for Antioch before his departure. Ignatius has plainly been suggesting the same thoughts to them as he had to Polycarp; and this would be plainer still if the reading in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 36. 14 (*ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος*) were more sure, and thus a second letter had been received by Polycarp from Ignatius. But this second epistle, if written, has been lost. Polycarp wrote immediately after receiving the epistle of the Philippians. He speaks of the death of Ignatius, knowing from the fact of the sentence in Antioch that it was certain; knowing also probably the date of the games at which he was to die. But he is not acquainted with any particulars, since he asks for news concerning the martyr and those with him (*Ep. Pol.* xiii.), and according to the request of the Philippians Polycarp forwards all the epistles of Ignatius to which he had access, namely, those to the Asiatic churches, which it is natural to suppose copied and exchanged among them; but not all that he knew to have been written.

IX. The chief difficulty in the way of accepting the epistles as genuine has always been found in the form of church government which they record as existing, and which they support with great emphasis. In the cities of Asia Minor and in Syria, they display to us the threefold ministry established, and the terms Ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are applied to perfectly distinct orders; a state of things and use of language which is argued to be wholly incompatible with a date early in the 2nd century. Hence Daillé derived his "palmary argument" (cap. xxvi., answered by Pears. ii. 13). But Daillé ascribed the forgery to the period when the conversion of Constantine or of his father had begun to be rumoured; departing herein from the belief of former critics upon his own side, who had suggested dates varying from 150 to 210 (Pears. i. 6). Later negative critics have found themselves, for other reasons, compelled to return to the earliest of these dates, or (as in the case of Lipsius) to one ten years earlier still. But though the era of the supposed forgery is thus brought within a quarter of a century of a period consistent with the genuineness of the writings, the certainty is not abated with which it is thought possible to pronounce the episcopacy of the letters inconsistent with that belief.

But it is very noteworthy that the testimony of the epistles on this point extends no further than the localities just named. In the epistle to the Romans Ignatius only once names the office of a bishop, and that in reference to himself; and in Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians, there is absolute silence as to the existence of any bishop, while the deacons and presbyters are addressed at considerable length. At the first blush this circumstance strikes one as being adverse to the supposition that the epistles are forgeries. For instance, if we accepted the theory that either the seven or, omitting Romans, the six, Ignatian epistles were fabricated in the interests of episcopacy, while that of Polycarp was composed as an introduction to them (Hilgenfeld, ii.), it seems inexplicable that the introduction should be thus entirely unconnected if not inconsistent with the body of the forgery upon the very point which is supposed to furnish its motive. It is unnecessary to this argument to imagine with Zahn that the letters on supposition of their genuineness imply a consent on the part of their authors to the existence of presbyterian government at Rome and Philippi, or even the fact that there were no bishops there. All that is needed is to observe that the writers of these two epistles have not urged upon our attention the existence of any bishops in these eminent churches, whose example was more likely to be influential with those whom it was desired to guide than any others in the list. According to Zahn the principle discernible in the epistles is this, that where bishops existed, as they did in Asia Minor and Syria, obedience should be rendered to them under those sacred and awful sanctions, the mention of which has appeared so exaggerated to many in after times; but that

this does not imply any condemnation, on the part of the writer, of churches such as Rome, where he knew that episcopacy did not exist. In fact it would seem that, according to Zahn, Ignatius recommends obedience to church governors for the sake of unity, in a very parallel way to that in which submission to the powers that be in the temporal government is inculcated in the New Testament without implying any abstract preference for one form of power above another. Certainly this seems to put a considerable force upon the words of the epistles. But the phenomena are perfectly consistent with the supposition that episcopacy existing from the times of the apostles in Asia Minor and Syria, and believed by the Christians of those parts to be a divinely ordained institution, made its way gradually throughout other parts of the church, and that those who most valued it might yet know that it did not exist in churches to which they wrote, or not be assured that it did, and might feel it no part of their duty to enter upon a controversy concerning it.

Zahn's scheme finds a difficulty in the words of *Ad Eph.* iii. *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες.* And though (i. 299) he tries to explain the passage consistently with his theory, yet it appears from his note (ii. *in loc.*) that the explanation does not satisfy him, and he seems inclined to alter the text (see Hilgenfeld, ii.). But the passage is consistent with the supposition that the institution, thoroughly needful in the writer's opinion, was gradually making its way in various parts of the world. A similar observation may be made upon the passage in *Trall.* 3, which declares of bishops and presbyters that *χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.* Zahn understands the declaration to be opposed not to the supposition of a church constituted without bishops and presbyters, but to that of a church practically conducted without the concurrences of the ministry of whatever degree, who as matter of fact existed in it. No doubt this is the immediate application of the words; but it is difficult to deny that a stronger sanction of episcopacy lies at their root. This, however, is perfectly in harmony with the conception of the condition of the time which we have just sketched.

But there is one branch of Zahn's argument to which we can give the fullest concurrence, and to which, so far as we are aware, his critics have attempted no answer. He observes that there is no attempt whatever even in those epistles in which obedience to the bishop is exalted to the highest, at recommending it in opposition to other forms of church government. Not only is the supposition that Ignatius was introducing episcopacy utterly out of the question, but none of the epistles bear the slightest trace of any recent introduction of the institution in the places in which it exists; for the passage in *Mgn.* 3 refers, as the preceding context shews, to the rule of a young bishop, not a recently introduced episcopate. There is no sign of any dispute of the episcopal authority on the part of the disobedient; even those who resist it yet recognise it in words (*Mgn.* 4). If episcopacy had not been a settled institution, the opposition to it would have come from the inferior orders of the clergy; but there is no trace of any such thing (*Eph.* 4, 6; *Mgn.* 2, 3). The presbyterate is everywhere identified with the episcopate in its claims to obedience, and those who resist the one resist the other. Passages of this nature indeed afforded to the early Puritans arguments that Ignatius favoured the "congregational way," which Hammond (ch. vi.) is not altogether successful in repelling. It is extremely hard to reconcile these characteristics with the supposition that the letters were forged, either to introduce the rule of bishops, or to uplift it to an unprecedented position for the purpose of resisting the assaults of heresy. Those who feel any plausibility in such suppositions will do well to read the letters over, with the special intention of observing whether they support episcopacy in the particular way and against the particular opponents and objections, of which we should necessarily have found traces in the case supposed.

A good deal of uncertainty remains as to the relations which the smaller congregations outside the limits of the cities held in the Ignatian church order to the bishops of the latter. In the idea there expressed, the jurisdiction of the bishop is co-extensive with that of the college of presbyters, and no provision seems to be made for episcopal rule over country congregations whose pastors are not in the "presbytery"; an uncommon expression in antiquity, but used thirteen times by Ignatius. We may, however, conceive very well that a good deal in these matters remained to be arranged by the necessities of things in the course of time. For instance, we may not quite go with Pearson, who argues that when Ignatius calls himself (*Ad Rom.* ii.) *τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας*, he means that Syria was, in the modern sense of an organised authority, his diocese. Yet diocesan episcopacy may in its germ be comprehended in the phrase, like the rule of a temporal prince, consolidated in some centre, and ready to be extended in time and by the necessity of things, to the outlying parts.

The duties which the epistles ascribe to the bishop are very similar to those which St. Paul (Acts xx.) lays upon the presbyters. Only in one place (*Pol.* 5) do they speak of the preaching of the bishop; and it is not peculiar to him, but common with the presbyters. The deacons have other duties wholly distinct from these; they concern themselves with the meat and drink given to the poor, and with the distribution of the mysteries of the Eucharist. But the presbyters are very closely united with the bishop. They are not his vicars, but his *συνέδριον* (*Phil.* 8; *Pol.* 7), and yet the bishop by no means appears as a mere president of the college of presbyters. Zahn shews that even though the development of episcopacy were thought to have taken place through the elevation of one of a college to a presidency, in those parts where it did not exist in the end of the 1st century, it would still be impossible to hold this to have been the case in Asia. The one fact of the youth of many of the earliest Asiatic bishops puts this theory out of the question in respect to them. Whatever development or change is implied in the passage from the state of things represented in 1st Peter and 1st Timothy to organised episcopacy, took place, according to the testimony of all records both of Scripture and tradition, in the thirty years between the death of St. Paul and the time of Domitian; had Asia Minor for

its centre, and was conducted under the influence of St. John and apostolic men from Palestine, in which country Jerusalem offers us the records of a succession of bishops more trustworthy perhaps than that of any other see. Now the Syrian churches were from the first in the closest union with Palestine. And thus all the most undoubted records of episcopacy in the sub-apostolic age centre in the very same quarters in which our epistles represent it as existing, a coincidence which is certainly of weight in determining the question of their authenticity.

It is certainly somewhat startling to those accustomed to regard bishops as the successors of the apostles that Ignatius everywhere speaks of the position of the apostles as corresponding to that of the existing presbyters, while the prototype of the bishop is not the apostles, but the Lord Himself. Zahn does not sufficiently mark, however, how hasty it would be to infer from this that Ignatius regarded bishops as representatives of a position higher than that of the apostles, or denied that the office and authority of the apostles is represented and historically succeeded by that of the bishops. The state of things visibly displayed when the Lord and His apostles walked the earth together is for Ignatius the type of church order for all time. And he is not to be taken as denying that after Christ had left the earth, and while His apostles still remained on it, each of them in his sphere represented the Lord, while the presbyters under him took towards him the place which he and his brother apostles had taken towards their Master. (See Bp. Harold Browne, *The Strife and the Victory*, 1872, p. 62.) There can, however, be little doubt that had the epistles been forged to support episcopacy, they would not have omitted an argument of such weight as the apostolical authority and succession.

As may be expected from this close union of the invisible Saviour with the visible church order, the duty of submission is with Ignatius the first call upon each member of the church, and exhortations to personal holiness go hand in hand with admonitions to unity and obedience. The word ὑποτάσσεσθαι denotes the duty of all, not (be it marked) towards the bishop alone, but towards authority in all its steps (Mgn. 13 and 7). But the bishop represents the principle of unity in the church. Ignatius does not seem to feel the need of grounding his demand of obedience to the bishop upon personal service rendered by the latter. It follows directly from duty to God for all who have place in His church.

Sprintzl ingeniously argues (p. 67) that the supremacy of the bishop of Rome is taught by Ignatius, on the ground that, first, he teaches the supremacy of the Roman church over others (*Rom. prooem.*), and, secondly, teaches the supremacy of the bishop in every church. But the explanation of the passage in Romans is very doubtful, and the marked omission of any mention of the bishop of Rome seems, at all events, inconsistent with the supposition of a supremacy belonging to him apart from the natural position of his church.

The emphatic terms in which these letters propose the bishop as the representative of Christ have always presented a stumbling-block to many minds, even apart from the question of date. But before we pronounce these expressions exaggerated, we must remember that obedience to the bishop is valued by the writer for the sake of unity, while unity is for him the only fence against the heresy to which small and disunited bodies are subject (*Phil.* 4, 8; *Mgn.* 1, &c.). Also it seems obvious to remark that identification of the position of the church ruler with that of the Lord would be more easy to a writer of an age very close to Christ than to one of later date. When the Divine nature of the Lord and His elevation in heaven come through lapse of time to overshadow the remembrance of His life on earth, it seems a superhuman claim on the part of any office to say that it represents Him. But it would naturally be otherwise when the recollection of His human intercourse with men was fresh; for why should not men represent one so truly man? Thus the strong expressions in question may in truth be a mark of early date.

X. In our epistles (*Sm.* 8) is first found the phrase Catholic Church. The expression is pronounced by Lipsius (iii.) to prove of itself the later date of the epistles. But it is impossible to feel such a decision otherwise than very precarious, even if, with Lipsius, we reject the testimony of the Martyrdom of Polycarp to the use of the expression. It must first have been used by some one; why not by Ignatius as well as another? If, indeed, his use of it implied the Catholic organization of later times, the argument would have much weight. But this is not at all the case. The expression, "Where Jesus Christ is there is the Catholic church" might be used by any one who had taken in the idea of the church presented to us in such passages of Scripture as *Eph.* iv. (see on the use of the phrase Lightfoot; p. 205). Sprintzl remarks that the phrase naturally follows upon the preceding statement of the relation of the bishop to the particular church: what the bishop is to it, that Christ is to the Catholic church at large. And thus to Ignatius the church of each place is a miniature of the church at large (*Sm.* 8), and its unity is guarded by all the sanctions of the Christian faith.

The one faith, that is to say, the continued activity of the divine facts of Christianity, is in the epistles the bond of the church. "The gospel" is that which the apostles as the presbyterate of the church proclaimed (*Phil.* 5). It means not the four written gospels, but the substance of the message of salvation. The manner in which the writer speaks of the apostles as the proclaimers of this gospel implies that they, like the prophets and like the flesh of Christ, to which He compares their message, have a way of being as actually present as the existing presbyters. And this shews that their writings at the time existed to be the constant model of the proclamation of the gospel by the church. The New Testament is for Ignatius already a written collection like the Old. (*Sm.* 5, and especially *Sm.* 7, 2.) He quotes it with the word γέγραπται (*Phil.* 8). Its revelation consists of the deeds and sufferings, and also of the words of Christ. (*Mgn.* 8; *Eph.* 8, 9, 17; Rom. *Inscr.* *Mgn.* 2.) The apostles being for Ignatius the presbyterate of the church and ruling being the office of presbyters, admonition to right doing is the office of the apostles. Διατάσσεσθαι is the word which denotes its

exercise (*Tr.* 3, 7; *Rom.* 4), and the διατάγματα of the apostles are normal for the church. Thus the facts of Christianity living in the church constitute the bond of a unity which is invisible as regards its essential elements and principles, but visible and real in its results. It is a fleshly union, exercised and exemplified in individual congregations (*Rom.* ix.; *Eph.* i.); and in it the bishop is the type and exemplification of Christ, the presbyters of the apostles. The deacons have no counterpart in the invisible church.

We find in the epistles the germ of the great ideas of worship afterwards developed in the church. The altar-idea and the temple-idea as applied to the church are there (*Eph.* 5; *Mgn.* 7; *Phil.* 4). The Eucharist holds its commanding place (*Rom.* 7; *Phil.* 4, and probably *Eph.* 5), though the question what were its rites at this early period is hard to answer from the letters. Ἀγάπη (*Sm.* 8) is applied to the Eucharist, and ἀγαπᾶν (*Sm.* 7) means to celebrate it. In Ignatian phraseology Εὐχαριστία is used where the blessing of Holy Communion is denoted, Ἀγάπη means the whole service of which the consecration is only a moment. In *Sm.* 7 those who speak against the gifts of God are plainly those who deny τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. From *Mgn.* 8, 9, we learn that Christians did not keep the Jewish Sabbath, but did observe the Lord's Day.

XI. With respect to the theology of the epistles great differences of opinion have prevailed. The more significant theological statements are called out by the heresies to which the writer opposes his conception of the nature of Christ, yet does not fall into a controversial tone. The originality and reality of the revelation in Christ is the great point with him. Hence follows the unreasonableness of Judaizing, which he sometimes presses in terms apparently inconsistent with the recognition of Jewish Christians as really believers. But probably, like St. Paul, he is treating the question from the Gentile stand-point alone. Prophets and the law are worthy of all honour in Christ; πάντα ὁμοῦ καλά ἐστιν ἐὰν ἐν ἀγάπῃ πιστεύητε. The prophets were Christians in spirit, and Christ raised them from the dead (*Mgn.* 9). They were believers in Christ; yea, even the angels must believe in His blood (*Sm.* 6). But for this practical and real salvation finding its expression in history the heretics would substitute a shadowy representation of religious notions in a merely apparent and unreal life of Christ. Therefore we find Ignatius constantly adding the word ἀληθῶς to his records of the acts of Christ (*Sm.* 3, 4; *Tr.* 10). Ἐν σαρκί is an equivalent phrase. And the Blood is named with or instead of the Flesh, to shew that the Lord had in death the same bodily constitution as in life, of which the faithful partake in the Eucharist. Being real flesh Christ was the New Man, and the revelation of God in the earth (*Eph.* 18). He is an eternal Person, but He is God's Son, as born of Mary and of God. When the writer speaks of an outcoming of Christ from God, he means the Incarnation, and not anything previous. Though he uses the epithet ἀΐδιος with Λόγος, yet he does not seem to mean that it is *as* Λόγος that the Lord is eternal. It is as incarnate and as man, that He is the Logos of God. His twofold nature furnishes the explanation of the opposite attributes ascribed to Him (*Eph.* 7; *Pol.* 3). Baur and Lipsius have discovered Patripassianism in the last quoted passage. But this accusation is inconsistent with all the rest of the epistles, and seems, indeed, to have been since surrendered by Lipsius himself. In opposition to Baur's assertion that except in one suspected place there is no mention of Christ as Son of God, Zahn finds himself able to enumerate twenty-nine cases in which this takes place. The epistles lay vast stress upon the Godhead of the Lord; it is because of this that His birth is the entrance of the New Man, and His death the resurrection of the faithful. To them He stands in a personal and practical relation, which makes Him their God. His present invisible relation to them involves an increase of the activity of His Godhead, and of its revelation to men (*Ad Rom.* 3; *Ad Eph.* 15); but He was always God. Therefore Ignatius can speak of the blood and of the suffering of God (*Eph.* 1; *Rom.* 6). The τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, the three mysteries loudest in proclamation of truth to those who can hear, are the Incarnation, Birth, and Death of Christ, hid in their real significance from the devil and from the unbelieving. Neither the term Son nor the term Λόγος is applied to express the relations of the divine Persons in themselves. The writer contents himself with maintaining on the one hand the unity of God, on the other the eternal personality of Christ. The absolutely Trinitarian expressions in the epistles are few, but remarkable from the fact that the Son is repeatedly placed before the Father and the Spirit, shewing that it was no mechanical recollection of the formula of baptism which caused the juxtaposition of the Three Persons (*Eph.* 9; *Mgn.* 13).

XII. The question what special heresies are denounced in the epistles possesses, in relation to their date, an importance scarcely below that of episcopacy. All of them, except Romans, contain warnings against heresy, and the exhortations to unity and submission to authority derive their urgency from the pressure of this danger. It was long a question whether two forms of heresy, Judaic and Docetic, or only one, Judaeo-docetic, were aimed at. But already in 1856, despite the arguments of Hilgenfeld (i. 230), it appeared to Lipsius (i. 31) that this question was decided in the latter sense. The heretics in question were wandering teachers, ever seeking proselytes (*Eph.* 7), and all the denunciations of heresy are directed against that mixture of Judaism with Gnosticism, the representatives of which had been met by the writer in his journey (*Mgn.* 8, 10, 11; *Tr.* 9; *Sm.* 1). The idea of Ritschl (*Entst. der altk. Kirche*, p. 580), that Montanism is to be discerned in the teachers whom the epistles reprove, appears to have met with little favour. No separation in the church had occurred save in Philadelphia, and perhaps at Ephesus; the former being apparently the place where these false teachers had come in contact with the writer. But we are not to suppose that he had no acquaintance with their form of heresy until he had met it in Asia Minor. He speaks as one who knew it well, having met it in Antioch, where also other heresies had been developed. But this particular form alone had spread into Asia Minor. The teachers of it do

not appear to have been openly immoral, and they did not require circumcision of the Gentiles. But thinking of Christianity as a temporary development of the permanent religion Judaism, they drew chiefly from the Old Testament, and Ignatius repeatedly explains that his condemnation of them implied no depreciation of the prophets. In *Phil.* 8 occurs a well-known passage, which, if we read *ἀρχαίοις* and *ἀρχαῖα*, involves a declaration on the part of the heretics that they would not believe unless convinced from the Old Testament. But Zahn, with many authorities, reads *ἀρχείοις* and *ἀρχεῖα*, *i.e.* original sources or written records; and his observations upon Hilgenfeld's opposite criticism will be found in ii. 78. Thorough Docetism is the only Gnostic doctrine which Ignatius ascribes to these men. They applied it to the whole life of Jesus before death and in resurrection, and by a perfectly natural sequence of thought they applied it to the doctrine of the Eucharist. We are not in a position to decide whether they thought of all the earthly acts of Jesus as unreal, or of these acts as real while the connexion of the real Christ with them was illusory. Probably the former was the case.

Cureton and other critics have supposed themselves to discern direct allusions to the teaching of Valentinus in the epistles (but see Pearson II. vi.). But the allusion contained in the words *Λόγος ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθών* (*Mgn.* 8) is not applicable to Valentinus, who placed many aeons between *Σιγή* and the Logos, and in respect of whom Irenaeus recalls his dependence on previous systems precisely at this point of the invention of an aeon *Σιγή*. (On the reading in this passage see Zahn, ii. *in loc.*; Lightfoot, ii.; Funk, lxv.) In truth it is not possible to fix the date at which heresy first took hold of the conception of the Logos. (See on the whole question Denzinger, p. 15 sq.) The Docetism which is so persistently attributed in the epistles to the heretics who are the subjects of their denunciation, afford better means of comparison than this one sentence concerning the Logos.

Now, for the records which are most nearly contemporary with Ignatius, A.D. 110, we must fall back on the later New Testament writings, on the so-called Epistles of Barnabas, on Hegesippus, and on the information given us by the fathers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries upon the earliest form of the heresies of Basilides and Valentinus. The latter may be in his own person too late. But Basilides is probably early enough, and disciples of his might have been wandering in Asia Minor; Cerinthus too was of this age. In the New Testament the two first epistles of St. John contain warnings against Docetism, which Polycarp in his Epistle (7) applies to the heretics of his own time, which was also that of Ignatius. Of all the heretics whom Bunsen and others have supposed the epistles to denounce, Saturninus alone can be really proved to have held the doctrines which they condemn. He taught Docetism strongly enough (*Ir.* i. 24, 2); and all the condemnations which our epistles direct against that tendency might apply to him; although the particular teachers whom the writer has in view added Judaistic tenets to his Docetism. But he was a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Ignatius. In truth we have not much information outside our epistles regarding the development of Gnosticism in the reign of Trajan; only a few words of Hegesippus and Justin. But these convey two facts highly consistent with the epistles. 1. The connexion of Gnosis with Judaism. 2. That the older form was the more Docetic. The form of heresy which the letters denounce must have existed at some time or other; we really cannot feel the least confidence that it is more likely to have existed in A.D. 145 than in A.D. 110. And Uhlhorn (in Herzog's *Enc.*) well remarks that the expressions *τινες* and *ὀλίγοι ἄφρονες* (*Sm.* 5; *Tr.* 8) would have been inapplicable to the heretics at any late period of the spread of Gnosticism.

XIII. When we try to frame to ourselves a conception of the personality of the writer of these epistles, we are of course shut up to the information which they themselves convey. And from the epistles, as Hilgenfeld (i. 225–6) truly remarks, different critics, according to their bias, have conceived themselves able to derive in some cases the very highest, and in some the very poorest, notion of the writer's character. The letters are in themselves indeed more characteristic than any which remain to us between the time of St. Paul and the great fathers of the 4th century; but they give us no record of the writer's surroundings or of his ways in his diocese when the times were quiet. His name is Latin; but this indicates nothing as to his race any more than the names Crispus and Marcus which occur in the New Testament. His style is very Semitic. He had not seen the Lord or the apostles, and was not, as Ms. Colb. makes him, a fellow pupil with Polycarp, of St. John. It is perhaps somewhat precarious to infer with Zahn, from his strong terms of self-reproach (*Eph.* 21; *Mgn.* 14), that he had led an un-Christian or anti-Christian life in early years. The longing for death which he expresses is we grant extreme; but such is the realizing power of his faith that this longing is really for life under another and better form. We do not know that he courted martyrdom before his judges, since we only meet him after he has been condemned, and is well used to the idea. And as he was the only martyr of the persecution—certainly, at least, the only one sent to Rome—it seems not unnatural (in spite of what Hilgenfeld, i. 220, objects) that he should, out of the fulness of a simple heart, and without any contradiction of a genuine humility, make his martyrdom a chief theme in every epistle. We do not really know that he considered martyrdom in the light which was afterwards so common in the church, as a reconciliation for others (see Zahn, ii. 13, on the words *ἀντίψυχον* and *περίψημα*). All his exhortations have the one burden and object, closer union with Christ. He bids others seek, and seeks himself that union in permanence and perfection which the Holy Eucharist gives here in part. He does not imagine death in itself to have any value (*Rom.* 4; *Tr.* 3, 4; *Eph.* 12; *Sm.* 4). The prayers he asks are not for his death, but for his due preparation (*Eph.* 21; *Mgn.* 14; *Tr.* 12, 13). Flattery has been attributed to him; but his strongest expressions of praise are given to the church of Antioch, to which he does not write at all. For an interesting summary of the moral aspect of the Ignatian epistles in respect, first, to the personality of the

writer, and, secondly, to the ideal which his teaching presents, see Sprintzl, p. 244 sqq.

XIV. The great majority of critics, whether adverse to the genuineness of the epistles or not, have recognised the fact that the seven epistles professing to be of Ignatius, and the one of Polycarp, form an indivisible whole. As regards the seven Ignatian, the great reason for this is found in the individuality of the author as there displayed. M. Renan, indeed, is an exception to this prevailing tone of opinion. He recognises the freshness and individuality of Romans, but regards the others, with the exception of two or three passages, as cold, commonplace, desperately monotonous, without living peculiarities. But this character of the style of the writings appears to us extremely exaggerated. It has always, indeed, been allowed that Romans is the brightest and most interesting of the letters. But the circumstances shew a reason for this. The chief subject of Romans is the personal eagerness of the writer for martyrdom; he is writing to the place where he expects to suffer, and to people who have the power of helping or hindering his object. It would have been unnatural had the other letters of admonition and exhortation displayed the same rapidity of style. But they also are full of characteristic phrases, and are not different from what might be expected of the author of Romans, writing in the circumstances and on the subjects to which they refer.

The epistle of Polycarp contains a witness for the whole body of epistles, which (if it be genuine) renders almost all others superfluous; since it mentions letters written to Smyrna itself by Ignatius, and by Polycarp collected and sent to Philippi; and it intimates the existence of others besides. Thus those who believe the Ignatian letters to be a production of the second half of the 2nd century are forced to consider the epistle of Polycarp as a fraud also, in whole or in part. But for a satisfactory defence of the epistle of Polycarp, we must refer to Professor Lightfoot's essay on the subject, *Cont. Rev.* 1875. With it we might consider the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles as well nigh proved.

It is not denied by Daillé or even by Renan that Ignatius wrote epistles; and the improbability that the letters of such a man should have utterly disappeared, is well shewn by Pearson (I. v.). We have before mentioned certain characteristics which a forgery, written for the purposes supposed, would have displayed. And it is truly observed by Zahn, that fictions regarding sub-apostolic times are very prone to introduce apostolic names; instances of which tendency may be found in the story of Abgarus and in Pseudo-Ignatius. Nothing of the kind is discernible in our epistles. For a forger late in the 2nd century, it would have been impossible to avoid mentioning Polycarp's connexion with the apostles, or alluding to the epistles to the seven Asiatic churches in Revelation; they are never mentioned. In all the historical fictions of antiquity, reiterated pains are taken to make one understand the facts meant to be maintained. In Ignatius the facts are hard to reach; the writer is not thinking of readers who have all to learn from him. Lastly, no ancient fiction has succeeded in individualising character to the degree which is here displayed; let it for instance be considered whether it is possible to suppose the picture of the false teachers which meets us in these epistles to be an invention.

We possess the advantage of knowing what so acute a critic as M. Renan (ii.) has to reply to the arguments of Zahn. He objects that while the development of one of the *ἐπίσκοποι* into an *ἐπίσκοπος* must have been very early, it cannot have been so early as A.D. 110 or 115. But the origin of episcopacy in the elevation of a presbyter, and the date of that origin, will probably not be considered by all to be matters so well settled, as to form the basis of an argument. Again, M. Renan argues that the heresies combated in the epistles are of later date and kindred to the Valentinian. But he himself seems to grant that this objection is precarious. For he observes that similar errors are reproved in the Pastoral and Johannine epistles, which he conceives to be of the first half of the 2nd century. The opinion that there is an orthodox form of belief outside of which all is error, seems to M. Renan more appropriate to the time of Irenaeus; but the student may be left to judge by comparison whether this idea is more apparent in our epistles than in the admitted writings of St. Paul. The great sign, M. Renan again observes, of apocryphal writings is a *tendency;* and this, as he thinks, is to be observed in the epistles as regards episcopacy and the condemnation of heresy. But this test must not be urged so far as to pronounce all writings forged which embody strong opinions; and that the tendencies in question are so manifested in our epistles as to deprive them of the marks of connexion with actual life and circumstances, is exactly what seems to us contrary to fact. Again, M. Renan urges the slight use of the epistles (except Romans) among the fathers. And, perhaps it may be strange, but on this as well as many other objections (as *e.g.* Daillé's imputation [p. 440] of *κακοζηλία*, in the frequent use of Pauline words), it is to be remarked that the strangeness is quite as great if the epistles be regarded as forged, as it is on the supposition that they are genuine. If, indeed, it were possible to contend that they were composed later than the time of the fathers in question, the argument might be worth something. But it is granted that they belong to the 2nd century, and no advanced period of it. And Eusebius shews that they were widely circulated and of uncontested authorship. The difficulty, therefore (if it be really so great at all), is pretty nearly the same upon the one hypothesis as upon the other. The difference in point of testimonies of genuineness, which M. Renan labours to establish between Romans and the other epistles, is rebutted by the patent fact that Romans iv. itself bears witness that other epistles were written by the same author. It is true that upon this point M. Renan objects that the tenor of the other epistles does not record any fear of hindrance to the martyrdom on the part of the Romans, which might correspond to the words of the passage in question: "I write to all the churches, and tell them all that I willingly die for God if ye do not hinder me." But it seems very natural to suppose that the willingness to die for God is that which he means to declare as the burden of his epistles, while the

words "if ye do not hinder me" are added only for the admonition of the Romans themselves.

Our space does not permit us to notice the exceedingly precarious and arbitrary process by which M. Renan on the one hand selects from Romans, which he acknowledges on the whole to be genuine, certain spurious expressions, and from the other six, which he thinks on the whole to be spurious, certain sentences too racy not to be genuine. Neither the external nor the internal testimony allows such dismemberment. M. Renan, in conclusion, lays down as probable the following points. A Christian of Antioch, about A.D. 115, was arrested, condemned, and sent to Rome; the churches demanded counsel of him; he saw Polycarp in Asia, and had an extended correspondence with churches, among the rest with Rome. Thirty or thirty-five years afterwards, Polycarp wrote to the Philippians concerning him, and about A.D. 170 a forger, zealous for episcopacy and orthodoxy, wrote in imitation of the pastoral epistles six letters in his name, the epistle of Polycarp serving him for a basis; and the same writer tampered with the epistle of Polycarp to make it correspond with the Ignatian forgery, adding c. 13 in order to represent the Philippians and Ignatius as having written to him.

Thus it appears that these improbabilities, on which the author of *Supernatural Religion*, and even, though less decidedly, Hilgenfeld (17), rely as condemning the whole story for an undoubted fabrication, are recognised by M. Renan as established facts, even though he does not believe that the epistles we possess are those to which the story refers.

Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, Eng. tr. ii. 216) only claims with respect to the doctrinal contents of the Ignatian epistles, that the Judaistic character of the Gnosticism controverted in them does not afford satisfactory grounds for referring their date to an earlier period than the middle of the 2nd century, to the second half of which he asserts that all other indications point. But this writer seems in his own words rather to have "assumed as proved," than carefully investigated the spuriousness of the Ignatian letters. He shews no acquaintance with the writings of Zahn, and misdates the tract of Merx, to which he does refer, by ten years. We may safely decide that any writer who pronounces a question, on one side of which such a work as that of Zahn remains unanswered, to be settled on the other side, merely proves himself unworthy the attention of earnest inquirers. Far less decided is the conclusion with which Hilgenfeld ends his review, namely, that Zahn is not so successful that criticism need strike sail in its decision against the genuineness.

The question is one which the supporters of episcopacy may see with the utmost equanimity decided either way. On the one hand, the epistles, if pronounced genuine, exhibit, as we have shewn, certain phenomena which are somewhat puzzling to maintainers of an episcopacy universally diffused from the first. And, on the other hand, even if spurious they are still documents of the highest value, because belonging to the middle of the 2nd century. [See Lightfoot, i. 211, 232, and Lipsius, i. 160, the latter of whom believing them forged still thought them more valuable than the Curetonian epistles which at that time he considered genuine. The former scholar has since adopted opinions far more favourable to the genuineness of the epistles (ii. 357, and Zahn, ii. vi., where Dr. Lightfoot is recorded to have expressed himself in a letter as more and more impressed with the unity and priority of the seven epistles as representing the genuine Ignatius).]

On supposition of forgery the epistles would still stand good as proofs of the existence of episcopacy from a period far earlier than their own time. They do not, as has been before remarked, bear any appearance of recommending the institution to persons who doubt its right, but rather that of exalting its importance where it is already in full possession. Yet the forgery must have had some motive. To furnish this, episcopacy must have been in some sense making its way, if not to established existence, yet to power and efficiency. And that it would have to make its way through opposition is but what human nature tells us. We suppose also, in order to afford a reason for the forgery, that testimony from previous ages must have been at the time valued and weighed. Under these conditions some one is presumed to have devised a fiction which, though not at all defending episcopacy against the particular persons who in the case supposed would be its assailants, yet exalted it in terms well-nigh extravagant. He placed his fiction at a period which at the highest estimate cannot have been more than fifty-five, and was probably not more than thirty-five, or even twenty-five, years behind his own time. And he chose the form, not of a treatise, or of a letter to an individual, but that of seven or eight letters to various churches, in every one of which many persons must have been alive to testify that no such letter had been received. The supposition that such a figment should have been received without a trace of doubt or resistance which has come down to us, would seem to presume the Christians of those days to have been not only uncritical but of a different intellectual nature from the men of to-day.

On the whole we must avow our belief that while no opinion on the subject will ever probably be so established as to exclude doubt, the supposition of the genuineness of the seven Vossian epistles is that which involves the fewest difficulties.

Authorities.—Cotelerius, Pat. Ap. vol. ii. ed. Joh. Clericus, Amst. 1724, containing the epistles longer and shorter, with new and old Latin translations, Ussher's dissertation, and the larger portion of the work of Pearson, with a dissertation by Clericus against Whiston. Hammond in Works, vol. ii. fol. Lond. 1684, and vol. iv. 744. Ussher, *Dissertatio de Ig. et Pol.* 1644, in *Works* by Elrington, vii. 87–295. Joannis Dallaei, *de Scriptis quae sub Dion. Areop. et Ign. Ant. nominibus circumferuntur*, lib. ii. Genev. 1666. Pearson, *Vindiciae Ignatianae*, ed. nov. Oxf. 1852. Lipsius, i. in *Niederl. Zeitsch.* 1856; ii. in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1859; iii. in *Hilgenfelds Zeitsch.* 1874, note on article, "Martyrertod Polyc." Zahn, i. *Ignatius von Antiochien*, pp. 629, Gotha, 1873; ii. *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, fasc. ii. Lips. 1876. Hilgenfeld, i. *Die apostolischen Väter*, Halle, 1853; ii. in his

Zeitsch. 1874, p. 96, sq. Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, Eng. tr. Lond. 1877; ii. 214 sq. Pressensé, *Trois Prem. Siècles de Christianisme*, Paris, 1858, ii. 505 sq. Lightfoot, i. in Phil. pp. 208–210; ii. in *Cont. Rev.* Feb. 1875. Petermann, *S. Ign. Epist.* Lips. 1849. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1850, 577 sqq. Harnack, *Die Zeit des Ignatius*, Leipzig, 1878. Baur, *Die Ignatianischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1848. Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, Lond. 1849. Denzinger, *Ueber die Aechtheit der Ign. Briefe*, Würzburg, 1849. Merx, *Meletemata Ignatiana*, Halae, 1861. Renan, i. *Les Évangiles*, Paris, 1877; ii. in *Journal des Savants*, 1874. Uhlhorn; in *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1851, 283; ii. in *Herzogs Encyclopädia*. Funk, *Op. Pat. Ap.* ed. 5, Tubing. 1878; Sprintzl, *Theologie der Apost. Väter*, Wien, 1880.

While this article is passing through the press the work of the Bishop of Durham upon the Ignatian epistles so long and so eagerly looked for by all students of the subject is announced as speedily to appear.

Cureton (*Corp. Ign.*) or (better still, except for Syriac scholars) Zahn (ii.) will furnish the student with all the documents and ancient testimonies. The special treatise of Zahn on Ignatius is, as Prof. Lightfoot remarks, little known in England, and is of an exhaustive character. The reader will understand that, while we have not hesitated to dissent from this work where necessary, we have very freely availed ourselves of its pages. [R. T. S.]

IGNATIUS (2) (EGNATIUS), Roman martyr. (Cyp. *Ep.* 39.) [See CELERINUS.] [E. W. B.]

IGNATIUS (3), fourteenth bishop of Mainz, said to have ruled for thirteen years, cir. A.D. 295, and been martyred. (*Gall. Ch.* v. 434; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 288, who, however, does not accept the list in which the name of Ignatius appears, nor does Potthast, *Bibl. Hist.* supp. 353.) [R. T. S.]

IGNATIUS (4). Three bishops of Caesena (Cesena) occur under the name: viz. c. 232, reputed to have destroyed temples of Jupiter and Minerva; a second, c. 403; a third 500–539. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 452, 453; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 526, 527.) [R. S. G.]

IGNATIUS (5), hegumenus of Syces, at the seventh synod, 787. (Mansi, xiii. 151.) [T. W. D.]

IGNATIUS, a name regularly borne by the Jacobite patriarchs.

IGONOMUS, bishop. [EGEMONIUS.]

ILAN, bishop at Caerleon in the 4th cent. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 154.) [J. G.]

ILAR, ST., was the founder, early in the 6th century, of Llanilar in Cardiganshire, and probably of other churches now thought to be dedicated to St. Hilary (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 224). But the parish of St. Hilary, in which St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall is situated, is probably named after St. Hilary of Poitiers. Mont St. Michel on the opposite coast is also in the parish of St. Hilaire, and there is a parish of St. Paul close by in each case—*i.e.* St. Pol de Leon. [C. W. B.]

ILDEBRAND, king. [ILDIBAD.]

ILDEFONSUS (1), bishop of Assisi, cir. 600, according to the catalogues of the see, between Aventius and Aquilinus (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 90, 187). Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* i. 479) does not include him. [C. H.]

ILDEFONSUS (2), ST. (HILDEFONSUS, HILDEFUNS), bishop of Toledo from December 657 to January 667. Of St. Ildefonsus two early lives exist; one historical in tone, and contemporary, by JULIAN his successor in the see, the other, extravagant and legendary, written about a hundred years after his death, by Cixila bishop of Toledo towards the end of the 1st century of Mohammedan rule in Spain. (Florez places the pontificate of Cixila between 774 and 783, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 344.) According to the life attributed with tolerable certainty to Julian, which appears in certain MSS. among the appendices to the *Libri de Viris Illustribus* of Isidore and Ildefonsus, the latter was the successor of EUGENIUS II. in the see of Toledo. He shewed an early devotion to the monastic life, and, while still a boy, ran away from home to the famous monasterium Agaliense, close to Toledo, from which sprang many eminent churchmen of Spain in the 7th century. [HELLADIUS (12), JUSTUS, EUGENIUS (26).] His father pursued him in vain. The youth managed to conceal himself till the parental search was over, and then promptly became a monk. About the year 632 he was ordained deacon in the monastery by the venerable Helladius, then bishop of Toledo (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. vii.), and between 632 and 652 became abbat of Agali, possibly as the successor of the Richila "Agaliensis monasterii pater," mentioned in his biography of Justus (*l. c.* cap. viii.). While abbat, he attended and signed the important eighth council of Toledo, under RECCESVINTH, in 653, at which abbatial signatures occur for the first time, and the ninth in 655. Thence, "post multum tempus" (*Vita* by Cixil.), he was translated to the see of Toledo, being forced thither by the king (principali violentiâ) in 657, on the death of Eugenius II.

From the date of his accession to the see of Toledo onwards, all that history knows of Ildefonsus may be summed up in the date of his death, the place of his burial, and the list of his works as given by Julian. He died, according to Julian, on the day following the completion of the eighteenth year of Rekesvinth, *i.e.* on Jan. 23, 657, and was buried in the famous church of St. Leocadia, at the feet of his predecessor, Eugenius II. Julian gives a full catalogue of his works (see below), and says that besides the completed writings, of which he inserts the titles, many others were left begun or half finished by the saint. It is not, however, upon these dry and trustworthy facts that the fame and cultus of San Ildefonso rests in Spain, but upon the well-known legends of Cixila's life, which, filtering down into the popular saint-lore and devout belief of the peninsula, are still realities to thousands (Ribadeneyra, *Flos Sanctorum*, i. 368; Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* i. 246; Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 279).

Ildefonsus's Works.—According to Julian, Ildefonsus divided his writings into four volumes, of which the first contained seven theological trea-

tises. Four of these are now lost. The remaining three are—

(a) *Liber de Virginitate S. Mariae contra tres infideles*, *i.e.* Jovinian, Helvidius, and "a certain Jew," first printed at Valencia by Carranza in 1556 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcvi.). This may be classed among those controversial treatises against the Jews so common among Hispano-Gothic churchmen and their Spanish successors.

(b) *Liber de Cognitione Baptismi*, or *Liber Adnotationum de Ordine Baptismi.*—This is the most important of the works attributed to or written by Ildefonsus. Nothing was known of it but the title as given by Julian, till Baluze, about 1738, discovered a MS. of it in Normandy, and published it in his *Miscellanea*, lib. vi. (Paris, 1738). No second MS. has been discovered, and Cardinal Lorenzana reprinted Baluze's edition in the *SS. Patrum Tol. Opp.* (i. 162), adding critical notes and emendations. Adolf Helfferich (*Der Westgothische Arianismus*, p. 41) was the first to point out that in this supposed book of Ildefonsus is preserved the earlier work of a certain bishop JUSTINIAN, of Valencia, of which the title is given in the short biography of him by St. Isidore (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. 33).

Helfferich shews (1) that the contents of the present book as regards four at least out of five divisions can be identified with those of Justinian's as described by Isidore (p. 44); (2) that Isidore, a generation before Ildefonsus, borrowed from it in his *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* (p. 37); (3) that the varying discipline and practice allowed by the book (especially in the point of single or threefold immersion in baptism) is contrary to the views and laws of the Spanish church in the middle of the 7th century, but is consistent with what we know of them in the 6th. Ildefonsus shortened the book in some respects, leaving out for instance the controversy with the Bonosiani, mentioned by St. Isidore as present in Justinian's work, probably because it treated the same questions as had been already handled by him in his treatise on the Virgin (we are here at variance with Helfferich), and added to it in others (conf. the passage from Greg. *Moralia*, i. 15, in cap. 127). But here his claim to the work ends. The *Liber de Cognitione Baptismi* contains 233 chapters, and is divided into two books. It is undoubtedly of considerable interest to the student of church antiquities.

(c) *De progressu spiritualis deserti*, or *Liber de itinere Deserti quo pergitur post Baptismum*, a genuine work of Ildefonsus, intended evidently as a sequel to the *Liber de cogn. bapt.*

The second volume consisted of letters, of which only two doubtful examples remain, addressed to Quiricus of Barcelona (*Esp. Sagr.* v. 499).

The third volume contained hymns, sermons, and masses. Of the hymns none can now be pointed out with certainty (Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2), p. 188. Conf. also the learned *Ilustracion* of Amador de los Rios in vol. i. of his *Historia de la Literatura Española*, on *Himnos de la Iglesia Española durante el siglo* vii. p. 471). Fourteen sermons, including the three first published by Florez, were printed by Cardinal Lorenzana under the head of *Opera dubia*, and have probably nothing to do with the saint. According to Cixila, Ildefonsus wrote two masses in honour of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of Agali. Cixila also speaks of masses by him in honour of the Virgin. On the subject of the identification of these masses see Florez, v. 510.

The fourth volume contained "epitaphia" and "epigrammata," none of which are extant. Many spurious poems attributed in the 16th and 17th centuries to St. Ildefonsus are to be traced to the fertile brain of Roman de la Higuera (conf. Nicolas Antonio with Bayer's notes, lib. v. cap. 6, 308; also Lorenzana's *SS. Patr. Tolet. Opp.* i. 291, and Godoy Alcantara, *Historia critica de los falsos chronicones*, Madrid, 1868, p. 216).

De Viris Illustribus.—This genuine work of Ildefonsus is not mentioned by Julian. It is commonly found attached to the similar work by Isidore, of which it is an avowed continuation (see preface), and contains fourteen lives, of which seven are those of bishops of Toledo, Asturius, Aurasius, Montanus, Helladius, Justus, Eugenius I., and Eugenius II. In addition we have biographies of Donatus, founder and abbat of the monastery of Servitanum, Joannes bishop of Saragossa, St. Isidore, Nonnitus of Gerona, Conantius bishop of Palencia, and Braulio of Saragossa. Ildefonsus's lives are more concerned with literary history than with biography, but they have both a historical and literary value, and are a precious addition to our knowledge of the time. They are marked throughout by the loftiest assertion of the claims and dignity of the see of Toledo, which is described in the preface as "locus terribilis omnique veneratione sublimis."

Chronicon Ildefonsi.—This fabulous continuation of the *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore, attributed by Lucas of Tuy and Roderic of Toledo to Ildefonsus, extends to the eighteenth year of Rekesvinth, and contains the stories of the deposition of Theodisclus of Seville and the preaching of Mohammed in Spain. This curious and early forgery deserves a more critical examination than it has yet received. It is printed in Schott, *Hispania Ill.* iv., and in the *SS. Patr. Tol. Opp.* i.

The life of St. Ildefonsus written by Rodericus Cerratensis, the author of a 13th-century *Sanctorale*, of which the greater part is still unpublished, was first printed by Lorenzana. The *Acta Sti. Ildefonsi*, printed by Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* i. p. 246, were professedly taken from a MS. breviary belonging to the cathedral of Astorga. From them are derived the traditionary names of Ildefonsus's parents, the reputed date of his birth, and his supposed relationship to Eugenius II.

The standard edition of St. Ildefonsus is to be found in the work already quoted, *SS. Patrum Toletanorum quotquot extant Opera*, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, Madrid, 1782–85–93. A reprint of this and of much of Nicolas Antonio's criticism is given in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcvi.; Conf. *AA. SS. Boll.* Jan. ii. 535, 1148; Mabillon, *AA. SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 515, 519–21, iii. 628; Ceillier, *Hist. des Aut. Eccl.* xvii. 712–18; Carranza, *De Vita Sti. Ildefonsi Toletani Archiepiscopi*, Valentiae, 1556; Mayans Siscar, *Vida de Santo Ildefonso*, &c. Valencia, 1727; also Baehr, *Gesch. Röm. Litter.* suppl. ii. 468–70, and Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Litteratur des Mittelalters im*

Abendlande, i. p. 568–9; Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat. Med. Aevi*, iii. 765–70; Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources historiques*, &c. Fasc. ii. 1109.
[M. A. W.]

ILDERICUS (GILDERICUS), a bishop present at the council of Braga, A.D. 563 (Mansi, ix. 780), thought to be the same as Adoricus the first bishop of Egitania (Guarda) in Lusitania. (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 100.) [T. W. D.]

ILDESINDUS, presbyter of the diocese of Urgel, one of the disciples of Felix bishop of Urgel. (Alcuin. *Opp.* i. 917, ed. Froben.) [C. H.]

ILDIBAD, king of the Ostrogoths, 539–541. He was in charge of Verona at the time when Ravenna was taken by Belisarius, and Vitigis sent prisoner to Constantinople. He sent an embassy, probably of submission, to Belisarius, who had possession of his sons in Ravenna, but he did not himself come into his hands, for Belisarius being now recalled to Constantinople, the Goths resolved to elect another king. They assembled at Pavia, and asked Uraias, nephew of Vitigis, to be king. He however refused on the ground of the misfortunes of his uncle Vitigis, and designated Ildibad as a fitter man, especially as his uncle was Theudis king of the Visigoths. The Goths summoned Ildibad from Verona, clothed him with the purple, and saluted him as king. He addressed the assembled Goths. advising them rather to obtain if possible Belisarius for their king. In accordance with his advice messengers were sent to Ravenna to Belisarius, who had not set out for Constantinople, to entreat him to be king, and to say that Ildibad was willing to come and lay the purple at his feet, and acknowledge him as king of the Goths and Italy. Belisarius refused, and the messengers returned to Ildibad. At first Ildibad had only a thousand men with him, and was restricted to Pavia alone. But the fiscal oppression of Alexander the Logothete, an official from Constantinople, alienated many, and Ildibad grew stronger. The general Vitalius came with a force against him at Treviso, and was completely defeated. But now Ildibad alienated the hearts of the Goths from him. On account of his wife's jealousy of the wife of Uraias, he murdered Uraias. Then Vilas, one of the king's bodyguard of the nation of the Gepidae, bearing a grudge against the king because his wife in his absence had been given to another, seized his opportunity while Ildibad was feasting with his nobles, and cut off the king's head, ann. 541. (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* ii. 29, 30, iii. i.; Jordanis, *de Breviatione Chronicorum*, Muratori, i. p. 241; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 223–226.) [A. H. D. A.]

ILDISCLUS (HILDISCLUS, IDISCLUS, ISDISCLUS), bishop of Segontia (Siguenza) from cir. 631 to soon after 638 (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 124). He signed at the fourth council of Toledo in 633 (Mansi, x. 643), and from his low place in the list it is inferred by Florez that his appointment was then recent. He was also at the fifth council of Toledo in 636 (Mansi, x. 657) and at the sixth in 638 (*ib.* 671). In the seventh in 646 his successor Ubideric or Wideric is placed high up and had probably been long sitting.
[C. H.]

ILDOARDUS, bishop of Piacenza, c. 715. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 15; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 198.) [A. H. D. A.]

ILDOLFUS, bishop. [HILDULFUS.]

ILDULFUS (Mansi, xi. 159), bishop of Iria. [FELIX (92).]

ILERGIUS, bishop of Egara from 599 to 610. His signature appears last among those of the second council of Barcelona (Nov. 1, 599), and occurs again appended to the *Decretum Gundemari* (610?) [see GUNTHIMAR]. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 191.) [IRENAEUS.] [M. A. W.]

ILERUS (ISERUS), **ST.**, appears in the lists as tenth bishop of Mende, succeeding Agricola, perhaps early in the 7th century (*Gall. Christ.* i. 87; Gams, *Series Episc.* 577), and is commemorated in the diocese Dec. 1. He is only known to us from the story of St. Enymia, who is said to have been the sister of Dagobert and daughter of Clotaire II., and whom he consecrated as abbess of the monastery, which she built in the district of Mende (A.D. 628). (See Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 408, *de S. Enimiâ.*) But since the investigation of the recent Bollandists (Oct. xi. 628), it seems doubtful whether his claims to an existence, independent of St. Hilarus the sixth bishop [HILARUS (7)], can be made good. The result of their researches is that no mention of him can be found in the older records of St. Enymia (*ibid.* 628), the first being in the songs of the 13th-century Provençal poet, Bertrand of Marseilles, who, amid many anachronisms, makes much mention of a St. Yles, or Ylis, in connexion with St. Enymia. Finally they conclude that there never was a St. Ilerus at Mende distinct from St. Hilarus, and they trace his commemoration on Dec. 1 to a confusion with St. Eligius, whose day it is, the popular appellations of both being St. Chely (p. 630 seqq.). No bishop of Mende's name is known for more than two centuries after the date ascribed to Ilerus. [S. A. B.]

ILID (1), **ST.**, "a man of Israel," said to have come with Caradog or Caractacus from Rome to Britain in the 1st century, and to have taught Christianity. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 77–81.)
[J. G.]

ILID (2), Welsh name of JULITTA, martyr with her son Curig. Ilid and Curig are patrons of Llanilid, Glamorganshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 82, 97, 139, 307.) [J. G.]

ILITARICUS, ILITARIUS, fourth bishop of Perpignan, or, as the see was then called, Helena, succeeding Acatulus, and followed by Hyacinthus, was present at the tenth council of Toledo in A.D. 656. (Mansi, xi. 43; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 1032.) [S. A. B.]

ILLADHAN (ILANDUS, ILLANDUS, IOLLADHAN, ILUNDUS, JOLLATHAN), bishop of Rath-Liphthen, commemorated June 10. He was son of Eochaidh of the race of Laeghaire son of Niall, and lived in Fircall, King's County, A.D. 540. He is noted as one of the masters of St. Aed. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 165, 429; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi.

534, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 540; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 191, 422; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 3.) [J. G.]

ILLIDIUS, third in the list of the bishops of Dax between Gratianus I. and Cartorius, early in the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1038; Gams, *Series Episc.* 543; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 201.) [S. A. B.]

ILLIDIUS (HILLIDIUS, ST. ALLYRE), fourth bishop of Clermont, the pupil and successor of St. Avitus. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Fr.* i. 40) gives a very high character of him, and records (*Vitae Patrum*, ii.) that in his old age he was sent for to cast a devil out of the daughter of the emperor of Treves (*i.e.* Maximus), which he did, and refusing the treasures which Maximus offered him, obtained for his Arverni the boon of being allowed to pay their tribute in gold instead of corn and wine. The saint died upon his way back. Gregory relates several miracles wrought by the relics of St. Illidius. The date of his death is uncertain, but it must have been between 381–387, if the story of his intercourse with Maximus be true. There is an epitaph on him by Sidonius Apollinaris (vii. 17). He was commemorated on June 5. (Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* xi. 380; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 425; *Gall. Ch.* ii. 227.) [R. T. S.]

ILLOG, ST., the saint of Hirnant in Montgomeryshire. His day is August 8. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

ILLOGANUS, ST., the patron saint of Illogan, a parish north of Camborne in Cornwall. William of Worcester, 128, says, "Sanctus Illugham de Cornubia jacet prope Redruth," taking his account from the Dominican martyrology at Truro. The parish feast now takes place on the nearest Sunday to Oct. 18. [C. W. B.]

ILLTYD, Welsh saint. [ILTUTUS.]

ILLUS (HILLUS, HYLLUS, ELLUS), a civil officer of high rank under the emperors Leo I. and Zeno. For his connexion with civil affairs see *Dict. Gr. Rom. Biog.* [ILLUS]. It was probably his friendship with Pamprepius that involved him in the suspicion of being favourable to heathenism. Damascius the Neo-platonist, a contemporary and apparently a heathen, mentions him among those who met with an ill fate for setting themselves against the Christian religion (quoted in Photius, cod. 242 *s. f.* in *Pat. Gr.* civ. 1301 D). Theodorus Lector, however (*H. E.* ii. 1), implies that Illus successfully used his influence with Zeno for the protection of the orthodox bishops, and Suidas bears similar testimony (*s. v.* Λεόντιος Μοναχός). Illus was certainly a great friend of Joannes Talaia the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria. [T. W. D.]

ILTUTUS (ELTUTUS, ELCHUTUS, ILLTYD, HILDUTUS), **ST.**, was by birth an Armorican, being the son of Bicanys, by a sister of Emyr Llydaw, whom John of Tynemouth calls Rieniguilida, and was therefore the great nephew of St. Germanus (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 123, 179), and lived in the latter part of the 5th century. His name is preserved at Llantwit Major (Llanilltyd Fawr), where he is said to have built a church and a school, under the patronage of Meirchion, a chieftain of Glamorgan. "The Welsh further honoured him for his having introduced among them an improved method of ploughing; before his time they were accustomed to cultivate their grounds with the mattock and over-treading plough, implements which, the compiler of a triad upon husbandry observes, were still used by the Irish." Hence his name was connected with many churches (R. Rees, 44, 54, 139, 178–80, 323). He was commemorated Feb. 7 and Nov. 6, and is said to have been buried near the chapel that bears his name in Brecknockshire, where there is a place called Bedd Gwyl Illtyd, or the grave of St. Illtyd's Eve, from its having been the custom to watch there during the night previous to the saint's day. A life of the saint is printed in W. J. Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 158–182, from the Cottonian MS., Vesp. A. XIV.; but it is later than the 12th century, when it was the fashion to write lives of the saints for public edification, and to bring down the account of their miracles to the Norman times. David, Samson, Paulinus, and Gildas, are said to have been educated in St. Illtyd's school, which, with Llancarfan and Docwinni, were the three great monastic schools of Llandaff diocese. An inscribed cross at Llantwit Major, thought to be of the 9th century, has on it 'Samson posuit hanc crucem pro anima eius, Iltet, Samson regis, Samuel, Ebisar' (Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christianae*, No. 61; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 628), which at least serves to shew the connexion of Samson with Illtyd. The name Ebisar occurs also in No. 65 (if that is a distinct inscription). A chapel of St. Iltutus existed at St. Dominick in Cornwall (Oliver, *Monasticon*, 438). It is to be noted that Christian inscriptions are hardly ever found in the districts where pagan Roman inscriptions abound, and *vice versâ:* they are nearly confined to the more purely Celtic country districts. Those which contain the word "anima" are comparatively late (Hübner, p. xvi.), and generally it may be said that these British inscriptions have something peculiar about them; the Britons in this, as in other matters, were divided from the rest of the world. There is a curious legend about Iltutus in Nennius, § 79, and an earlier notice in Gildas's Epistle, § 36, if Usher is right in identifying the "preceptorem magistrum elegantem" with Iltutus. See too the *Liber Landavensis*, 288–93, 313. Bale says that there remain of the saint's writings two epistles, *Super quaestione ad Sampsonem* and *Ad Isaaum et Atroclium abbatem.* There was a saint Isan connected with Illtyd's College (R. Rees, 257). [C. W. B.]

ILUARIUS, bishop of Isaura, at the council of Constantinople, 381 (Mansi, iii. 570). In Mansi's margin the name is Illyrius, but Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 1085) reads Hilarius, and identifies him with the bishop [HILARIUS (9)] in the Testament of Gregory Nazianzen. [C. H.]

ILUNDUS, Irish bishop. [ILLADHAN.]

IMBETAUSIUS (BETHAUSIUS, AMBETAUSUS), bishop of Rheims; attended the first council of Arles, A.D. 314 (Mansi, ii. 476). (*Gall. Chr.* ix. 4.) [R. T. S.]

IMERICUS, one of the accusers of pope Martin I. at Constantinople. (Mansi, x. 855 D.) [T. W. D.]

IMMA (1), a thegn of Elfwin, brother of Egfrid king of Northumbria. Bede (iv. 22) gives an account of his adventures. He was brother of Tunna, the abbat of a monastery called from him Tunnacaestir. At the battle on the Trent in which Elfwin was killed, in 679, Imma was left for dead, but recovering strength after a few hours bound up his own wounds and was carried as a prisoner to the captain of the Mercian forces. Being asked what he was, and fearing to confess himself a king's thegn or "miles," he declared that he was a rustic and a married man, and had come on the field bringing supplies to the army. He was then received, cured of his wounds, but kept in chains. In the meantime, his brother Tunna had searched the field of battle, and having found a body which he supposed to be Imma's, had buried it, and offered masses for his brother's soul. Strange to say, the effect of this ceremony on the still living Imma was that no chains could bind him. His captors supposed that he carried a charm, but he himself disavowed this, and suggested that the miracle might be owing to the prayers which Tunna, supposing him to be dead, was offering for him. The captain, now suspecting that Imma was not what he pretended, questioned him strictly, and compelled him to acknowledge the truth. Having thus ascertained his value, he sold him to a Frisian at London, but the miracle still continued to work, and his new master, weary of binding him, gave him leave to ransom himself. Having sworn to return or send the ransom, he was suffered to go into Kent, where he made himself known to king Hlothere, who was related to the Northumbrian kings, and who enabled him to pay the price required. He then returned to his country and told his tale, which Bede heard from one who had heard it from Imma himself. See also *Hist. Eliens.* lib. i. c. 23. [S.]

IMMA (2), ST. (IMMINA, IRMINA, UMBINA, YMMA), princess and nun in Franconia in the 8th century, the only child of Hetthan, or Otto, or Hattan, last duke of the Eastern Franks. Hetthan and Imma built a church near their castle on the hill afterwards called Marienburg, or Old Würzburg. Imma lived there as a nun with several companions for more than forty years; then for greater quiet she gave up her own residence and patrimony to St. Burchard, first bishop of Würzburg, obtaining in exchange the neighbouring monastery of Karelburg or Carloburg. There she abode till her death, and was buried by Burchard in the church built there by St. Gertrude. Her name does not appear in the principal calendars, but she is counted among the saints of Germany, and is called "blessed," and "venerable" by many writers. The authorities are the *Life of St. Burchard* by Egilward, of unknown date, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pars i. 706, 707, 718, ed. 1672; Bueus in *Acta SS.* Boll. Oct. vi. 584, 585; Müller, *Würzburger Chronicke*, in Ludewig's *Geschichtschreiber*, 359; Mergetherius, *Historie der Bischoffen*, in Ludewig, *ut supra*, 390; an anonymous *Chronicon Wurziburgense*, preserved by Baluze, Ludewig, *ut supra*, 1004; Cratepoleus, *De German. Episc.* 93; Cratepoleus, *Catalogus Archiepisc.* 108; Ferrarius, *Catalogus Sanctorum qui in Romanò Martyrologio nón sunt*, 43, n.; Hugo Menardus, *Martyrolog. Bened.* App. p. 123. Mabillon and Bueus give 751 as the date of St. Burchard's death; Ludewig places it forty years later. [A. B. C. D.]

IMMA (3), wife of Einhard the secretary of Charlemagne. According to a letter of Lupus to Einhard (*Ep.* iv. *inf.*) she was "nobilissima femina," but her origin and family are unknown, unless, as has been conjectured, she was a sister of Bernhar bishop of Worms. They had one son named Vussenius. To her and her husband Louis the Pious granted the estate of Michilinstat in the Odenwald, where Einhard might obtain leisure for his *Life of Charles the Great*. With her consent he afterwards gave it to the monastery of Lauresheim. When Einhard became a priest, they separated. She died in A.D. 836, and a letter expressive of Einhard's grief is extant (Bouquet, vi. 402; Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 535).

According to a late legend, which first appears in the *Chronicon Laureshamiense* of the 12th century, she was a daughter of Charlemagne, and betrothed to the king of the Greeks, but fell in love secretly with Einhard. Although the story has not lacked believers, it is plainly refuted, if by nothing else, by the fact that Einhard himself, who in his *Life of Charles* enumerates all his children, makes no mention of her. It seems to have been borrowed from William of Malmesbury's story of the emperor Henry and his sister in the *Gesta Reg. Angl.* ii. § 190. (Lupus, *Epist.* iv. ad Einh.; Einhardi *Epist.* xxx. Migne, Patr. Lat. cix. 410, civ. 519; *Chronicon Laureshamiense* in Bouquet, v. 383, 384; Ideler, *Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen*, i. 26–33.) [S. A. B.]

IMPORTUNUS (1), placed by Hilary of Arles and his supporters in the see of Besançon, upon their deposition of Celidonius for marrying a widow; but deprived when Celidonius was restored by St. Leo. (Hilar. Arelat. *Sermo de Vit. Honorat. Arel.* in Patr. Lat. l. 1257; Leo Mag. *Ep.* x. in Patr. Lat. liv. 633.) [R. T. S.]

IMPORTUNUS (2) (called OPPORTUNUS in Marcellin. and *Chr. Pasch.*), sole consul in 509 under Theoderic king of Italy (Cassiod. *Chron.* in *Pat. Lat.* lxix. 1248 A; Marcellin. Com. *Chron.* in *P. L.* li. 937 A; *Chron. Pasch.* in *P. Gr.* xcii. 1109 A; Clinton, *F. R.* s. a.). During his consulate he incurred the displeasure of Theoderic for his harshness to the Prasini, or charioteers of the leek-green faction at the games, who had offended him by their conduct in the public exhibitions, apparently at Rome (Cassiod. *Var.* i. 27). Not long afterwards Theoderic raised him to the patriciate, and in announcing his elevation spoke of his father and uncle in terms of high praise (*Var.* iii. 5, 6). Importunus was one of those who accompanied pope John I. to Constantinople by order of Theoderic, and on the return of the embassy was imprisoned at Ravenna with the rest. (Auctor. Ignot. *Excerpt.* sec. 90, appended to Ammianus Marcellinus; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Miscella*, lib. xvi. art. JUSTINUS, in *Pat.*

Lat. xcv. 978 A, where the text misreads "Hypatius" for Importunus; Anastas. Bibl. *Lib. Pontif.* art. JOANNES in *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 515.) [T. W. D.]

IMPORTUNUS (3), a bishop at the second council of Orleans in 533. (Mansi, viii. 838.) [T. W. D.]

IMPORTUNUS (4), a cleric ordained by Vigilius bishop of Rome, who afterwards deposed him along with others in the affair of the deacons Rusticus and Sebastianus, cir. 550. (Vigil. ep. in *Pat. Lat.* lxix. 50; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 548 ii., 550 xxxiv.; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 80.) [T. W. D.]

IMPORTUNUS (5), bishop of Atella. Gregory the Great wrote to him, A.D. 592, and after the bishop's death, A.D. 599, gave directions about his will. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 13; lib. ix. indict. ii. 77; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 99, 131.) [A. H. D. A.]

IMPORTUNUS (6), a "vir palatinus" of Ravenna. From a letter of Gregory the Great in 600 (lib. xi. ind. iv. ep. 26; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 141), it appears that an argentarius named John had been reduced to great straits in standing bail for Importunus, who is described as "in ecclesia diu jam residens." [T. W. D.]

IMPORTUNUS (7), thirty-first bishop of Paris, succeeding Sigobaudus, and followed by St. Agilbertus, subscribed the charter of Drauscius, bishop of Soissons, for the nunnery of St. Mary in that diocese in 666 (Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1186). There is extant an angry letter, addressed by him to a "papa" Frodobertus or Chrodebertus, possibly the thirty-first archbishop of Tours. It was published, though with many lacunae, by Baluze in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 563, Paris, 1780. (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 26, xiv. 30.) [S. A. B.]

IMRAITEACH (INNRACTHECH), of Gelann-Cloitighe (now probably the vale of the river Newtown-Barry), anchoret, died A.D. 769. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 373.) [J. G.]

IMRILIUS (MIRILIUS, MIRINUS), Irish saint, brother of St. Comgan (Feb. 27) of Glenn-Uissen, in the 6th century, according to the kalendar of Cathald Maguire. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 417, 418.) [J. G.]

INA, king of Wessex, commemorated Feb. 7, as patron of Llanina, Cardiganshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 52, 322.) [INE.] [J. G.]

INACHIUS, addressed by Firmus, bishop of Caesarea, who had sent him a hound, named Helena, and probably a hawk. (Firmus, *Epp.* 43, 44, ap. Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxvii. 1509, sq., the latter epistle being Inachius's answer, though erroneously given as a second letter to Inachius; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés*, x. 152.) [J. G.]

INAN (EVAN), confessor, commemorated Aug. 18. He is represented by the Scotch hagiologists as belonging to Irvine, Ayrshire, where he lived in great holiness, and wrote *Locorum Sacrorum nomina, Homiliae ex Sacra Scriptura, Epistolae* (Tanner, *Bibl.* 429, from Dempster). According to some, he flourished in A.D. 839, under the Scotch king Kenneth I., but this Kenneth reigned two centuries earlier. St. Inan died, and was buried at Irvine. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 18 Aug. iii. 663) treat "de S. Inano seu Evano Conf. in Scotia, saec. ix.," but refer with great hesitation to the accounts given by the Scotch authorities, and place Inan in the reign of Kenneth I. or II. Dedications are doubtful as between him and St. Ninian. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 379; Camerarius, *De Scot. Fort.* 200; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 160, 206, 208, 242, 359, but at page 208 calls him "Juani;" Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. 173; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xi. 295–6, with topographical notes on his dedications at Beith and Irvine, Ayrshire.) [J. G.]

INANTIUS (YNANTIUS, UNANTIUS, HYMNATIUS), a Gallic bishop, who subscribes the synodical epistle to St. Leo in 451. He is also in 449 addressed by St. Leo, with his comprovincials of Arles, in a congratulatory epistle on the elevation of Ravennius to that see. (Leo Mag. *Epp.* 40, 66, 99, 102, in Patr. Lat. liv. 890, 998, 1112, 1135.) [R. T. S.]

INCARNATION OF THE WORD. The history of the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, the doctrinal centre of Christianity, brings us into relation with almost every heresy of the Eastern church. In the ordinance of God "the world's salvation was without the incarnation of the Son of God a thing impossible"; and as "He which without our nature could not on earth suffer for the sins of the world, doth now also by means thereof both make intercession to God for sinners and exercise dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy," so are we, in pursuing the history of this doctrine, and in the elucidation of the difficulties connected with it, continually reminded of the truth of other words of our great divine from whose writings the above quotations are taken. "It is not in man's ability either to express perfectly or conceive the manner how this was brought to pass. But the strength of our faith is tried by those things wherein our wits and capacities are not strong. Howbeit because this divine mystery is more true than plain, divers having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true. Insomuch that by the space of five hundred years after Christ, the church was almost troubled with nothing else saving only with care and travail to preserve this article from the sinister construction of heretics." (Hooker, *E. P. V.* li. 3 and lii. 1.) We must add that these five hundred years were needed for the church to struggle through the thickets and entanglements of unprecedented difficulties, and to attain the power of mapping out the results of her enquiries by lines which no subsequent investigations have succeeded in obliterating.

It seems that the expectations which the Israelites had formed of their Messiah were these. He was to be a man of the family of David, a "man born of human parents" (καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι (Trypho in the *Dialogue*, Justin M. cap. xlix. p. 263), and "Elias would come to anoint him." "In this some amongst us" (says Justin in the dialogue)

"agree." With the nations of the West, at all events with the uneducated amongst them, the conception that the gods might come down in the likeness of man was not unknown. But the Persian religious system exercised also a considerable influence on the heresies of the earliest years. "The principal sources of Gnosticism may probably" (says Dean Mansel) "be summed up in these three. To Platonism modified by Judaism it owed much of its philosophic form and tendencies. To the Dualism of the Persian religion it owed one form at least of its speculations on the origin and remedy of evil." "To the Buddhism of India, modified again probably by Platonism, it was indebted for the doctrine of the antagonism between spirit and matter." (*Lectures on Gnosticism*, pp. 31, 32.) To these and other influences was the teaching of St. John exposed: "The Word became flesh"; "Whoso believeth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is born of God."

In an article like this we must limit ourselves to giving only the broad outlines of the history of these momentous struggles, and we must begin with that which, if not the very earliest, is at least one of the earliest phases of Gnostic error. CERINTHUS, who is supposed to have been a man of Jewish descent (Mansel, *ut supra*, p. 112), adopted that which Trypho describes as the Jewish view of the Messiah. He believed that Jesus was the Christ, but that Christ which the nation expected their deliverer to be. The tradition is as old as Irenaeus, who quotes it as from Polycarp (Irenaeus, III. iii. 4), that St. John, seeing Cerinthus in a bath at Ephesus, rushed out, alleging that he feared lest the house should fall upon him. Cerinthus held that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; that He became distinguished above all others by His wisdom and His life; that after His baptism the Christ descended upon Him; that He then preached the unknown Father and performed miracles; but towards the end of His passion the Christ departed from the Jesus, and the Jesus suffered and was raised, whilst the Christ remained impassible, being, as He was, "the Spirit of the Lord." In the former of these tenets the EBIONITES and the CARPOCRATIANS consented. Epiphanius could not discover whether the NAZARENES held the mere humanity of Jesus.

We have mentioned that Cerinthus held that the Christ who was impassible left the Jesus, the Man of sorrows, before His crucifixion. It is difficult to resist the belief that it was in anticipation of the difficulties of both Jews and Gentiles in this behalf that St. Paul was led at Corinth to preach "Christ as having been crucified," though this preaching was to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness. The semi-converted Jews and Greeks struggled against this teaching; they invented first one mode, then another, of evading the difficulty. Dorner (English translation, i. p. 111) suggests that the Docetae, who were prominent before the mind of Ignatius, were probably Jews, and the suggestion, coming from such an authority, is worthy of the most respectful consideration. The Jews, we know, have uniformly rejected the conception of a suffering Messiah; and thus Jewish half-converts would be anxious to remove out of the way of their brethren the stumbling-block of the Apostle's teaching. Whether or not they were the inventors of the conception that the sufferings of the cross were borne in appearance only by Him who had performed the miracles which Cerinthus acknowledged, they were ready to adopt any suggestion that came from any source which would help them out of their difficulty; and thus they were prepared to combine *so far* with those who held that our Lord's body was only a phantasm.

But the teaching of the apostles on the sufferings of our Lord was firmly retained by the apostolic fathers. Clement of Rome assumed that His sufferings stood before the eyes of the Corinthian church; and in the Ignatian epistles, as we read them in the Greek, we find the Trallians urged to stop their ears when unbelievers said that Christ suffered only in appearance. "Jesus Christ was truly born, was truly crucified, and died." And to the people at Smyrna even stronger language was addressed. "He truly suffered; He truly raised Himself, not, as some unbelievers say, that He suffered in seeming only, themselves existing in seeming too. If Christ has existed only in appearance, my bonds are vain."

But as yet there was no attempt to explain the difficulty. The fathers were content to insist that the Saviour was truly born and truly suffered. They had learnt from St. Peter (1 Ep. iii. 18) to distinguish between the flesh and the spirit in our Lord, and thus they continued to uphold the truth. Nay, they proceeded further, and upheld with equal fervour the truth of St. John's teaching, "The Word became flesh." Thus the writer of the homily commonly called the Second Epistle of Clemens Romanus begins by telling his hearers that they must think of Jesus Christ as of God, and remember how many things Jesus Christ endured to suffer for our sakes (§ 1). In § 9 the preacher urged his hearers to meditate on the resurrection of the flesh. "If Christ the Lord," he said, "who saved us, being first spirit then became flesh, and so called us; in like manner shall we also in the flesh receive our reward"; and in the newly recovered portion (§ 14) we read of the church that "she was spiritual, as was also our Jesus; but He was manifested in these last days that He might save us." Still the difficulty remained; and even the words of Clement, partially quoted above, if taken literally, shew that the church was not as yet prepared clearly to distinguish the two elements in the truth of Christ's passion: "Ye were content with the provisions which God supplies. And, giving heed unto His words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and His sufferings were before your eyes."

So there were in these earliest of times two distinct tenets, held to some extent by the same schools: the EBIONITES, CARPOCRATIANS, and CERINTHIANS, denying the deity of our Lord; the schools of SATURNINUS, VALENTINUS, BASILIDES, and others, denying His humanity [see DOCETISM, Vol. I. pp. 868, 869]. Cerinthus to a certain extent denied both; and it is a most deeply interesting problem to follow out the history of the controversies which resulted from these imperfect and heretical teachings.

But, first of all, we must duly appreciate the historic fact that the great body of Christians did continuously hold and proclaim the belief

that Christ Jesus was God and Man. They held this against all assailants. It is impossible to read the declaration of Irenaeus that "the churches amongst the Celts and the Iberians, in the East and in Egypt, held and taught the belief in the Son of God who was made flesh [τὸν σαρκωθέντα] for our salvation, and that He is our Lord and our God and our Saviour," without acknowledging that Irenaeus believed that what he declared was true. We put by the side of this the well-known words of Pliny that the Christians sang a hymn to Christ as God; we compare it with the repeated contention of CELSUS, who must have lived before 180, and who takes it for granted that the Christians held that Jesus was the Son of God and God. Of His humanity, Celsus had no doubt; his arguments were based on the unreasonableness of the belief that one who was divine could or would have undergone what Jesus suffered. (See the passages cited by Dorner.)

The Gnostics granted this. They allowed that this was the belief of the ordinary Christian world; but they held that the apostles had also handed down "among the perfect" an esoteric doctrine, a *disciplina arcani*, and that they had been the recipients and were now the teachers of this doctrine. The indignant language in which Irenaeus repudiated this assertion is well worthy of study; but we ought equally to notice how anxious all these Gnostics were to avail themselves of every verse of Scripture which might be forced to give some support to their opinions; an indication this of the value universally set upon the writings of the apostles, and of the belief that every word they wrote was worthy of attention. Ultimately the only method the heresiarchs found of invalidating the testimony of Scripture was that of rejecting from the canon all passages which they could not bring into accordance with their schemes.

Before we pass on, we must refer to a passage in the *Visions of Hermas* which has caused great questioning. It is of considerable moment in the history of the doctrine before us. The peculiar Christology of the volume has been misunderstood in consequence of a clause, "Filius Spiritus Sanctus est" (*Simil.* v. 5), found in that Latin version with which, until recent years, we were compelled to be content. The words are not in the MS. of the Palatinate first edited by Dressel, nor are they in the Aethiopic version, nor are they in the Greek MS. carried by Simonides to Leipzig. (We have in *Simil.* ix. 1, "That Holy Spirit [which spake to them in the form of the church] is the Son of God.") Still the genuine words of Hermas are remarkable. Expounding the vision he had seen, the man told Hermas, "The field was the world. The Lord of the field was He who had created all things and adapted them and empowered them. The servant [of the parable] was the Son of God. The vines were this people whom He planted." "God had planted the vine; that is, He created the people and delivered them to His Son; and the Son appointed angels over them to preserve them together; and He purged their sins, labouring much, and enduring many toils. Having purged the sins of the people, He shewed them the way of life." But now comes the difficulty. "The Holy Spirit, which existed previously, which created all the creature, God made to dwell in [the] flesh which He selected. And this flesh, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, did well serve the Spirit, walking in holiness and reverence, absolutely in nothing defiling the Spirit." And thus the flesh itself was rewarded.

We can point boldly to this passage as indicating the belief of the writer in the pre-existence of the Son of God as Spirit and as Holy Spirit; we can point to it as representing symbolically His taking up His abode in human flesh, flesh entirely free from pollution. But we miss the precision of later years; there is no allusion—perhaps the parable did not permit it—to the Christian tenet that this flesh proceeded from the Virgin.

We must refer to the several articles to which the names of the heresiarchs to whom we shall refer are prefixed, for details of their respective doctrines, being content with simply mentioning the effect which their teachings had on the subject of the Incarnation. Of some of them we have already spoken. CARPOCRATES seems to have applied the theory of the pre-existence of the human soul to the soul of Jesus; he held that its powers were simply far greater than the powers of the souls of others; that it not only remembered what it had seen in prior existence, but also was able to pass through the conditions of this life without contamination. Thus in a sense he held the humanity of our Lord, but denied His divinity. (Dorner, p. 187, and Irenaeus, i. 24.) The CARPOCRATIANS went beyond their master; they held not only that Jesus was a man, born like other men, but that the divine power which was given to Him was no more than may be acquired by any other man. (Mansel, p. 122.)

SATURNINUS held the malignity of matter; and as it was impossible for the divine to have direct relation with the material world, he was compelled to describe the Saviour as ἀγέννητον ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον, unborn, without body and without form, and as manifested in appearance only (Irenaeus, i. 24, 1, and Mansel, p. 130, 132). TATIAN is said in some MSS. of Jerome (*On Galatians*, vi. 8) to have held that "the flesh of Christ was putative," and by some it has been supposed that, in consequence, he omitted from his Diatessaron the genealogies of our Lord and all allusion to His descent from David (Mansel, p. 133): but the best MSS. of Jerome have CASSIANUS, not TATIANUS (see above, Vol. I. p. 413). BARDESANES, BASILIDES, and VALENTINUS are said by Theodoret (*Epist.* 145) to have held that our Lord was born of the Virgin, but they maintained that He received nothing from her substance, but πάροδόν τινα δι' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ διὰ σωλῆνος ποιήσασθαι (Mansel, p. 140). Theodoret adds that they also held that He only seemed to be a man, seen as He was seen by Abraham and others of old. But, if this is correct, the disciples of Basilides deviated in one respect from their master: they admitted the reality of the bodily sufferings of Jesus (Hippolytus, vii. 27, fol. 94 v. and Mansel, 157); they conceived that these were undergone to separate the spiritual in Jesus from the material. Valentinus, on the other hand, maintained that there was no need of such separation, for the body in which our Lord appeared was not material, although it was visible, tangible, capable of suffering, like a material body (Mansel, 192).

We come now to MARCION. He denied much

that his predecessors had acknowledged. With him, Christ appeared on the earth suddenly, with the appearance but not the reality of the mature humanity. He denied the birth from Mary. His gospel began with the words, "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, God came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught on the sabbath days." The death of Christ was seeming. He went down to Hades to proclaim the kingdom of the true God to those whom the Demiurge had condemned as transgressors. It is a question whether Marcion distinguished between the persons of the Father and the Son. Neander held that virtually, if not explicitly, Marcion was a Patripassian. (Mansel, 216.)

We may here mention the somewhat strange phenomenon that the Clementine homilies represented the Saviour as a mere man, born like other men. Dean Mansel (p. 231) considers that this resulted from the antagonism exhibited in these homilies to the teaching of Marcion. Because he denied to the Saviour all human parentage, his opponents did not distinguish Him from the prophets of old.

We have already referred to the creed of Irenaeus, and the distinct statement contained in it that the Son of God was made flesh, *σαρκωθέντα*, for our salvation. In iii. 16, &c. the bishop, after describing in detail many of the heresies we have mentioned, proceeds to insist that Jesus Christ is the one and the same Word of God, the Only Begotten, incarnate for our salvation, and that He was born of the Virgin: Son of God made Son of man. He says that we express our belief "in one Jesus Christ." He quotes 1 Cor. xv. 21, to prove His true humanity, and Rom. xiv. 15, to shew that it was Christ that died. It was a man who overcame the enemy of man; the Mediator between God and man was associated with both God and man. His quotations and his assertions are deeply interesting. He held clearly and distinctly that our Saviour was man, and was the Word of God. The Word was, as it were, silent in the temptation and crucifixion and death. It spake in the victory and the endurance and the love and the resurrection and the assumption.

But Tertullian devoted an entire treatise to vindicate the truth in regard to the humanity of our Lord. That treatise is generally entitled *De Carne Christi*. It was further described by the writer as *De Carne Domini adversus Quatuor Haereses*. He maintained that Christ had the power to continue to be God, though clothed with man; that Christ suffered nothing, if He did not suffer truly. "The property of each substance exhibited the man and the God: here born, there not born; here of flesh, there of spirit; here weak, there wondrous strong; here dying, there alive." We need not multiply quotations, but we must observe that Tertullian used language of a character which would scarcely suit the necessary refinements of our later Christology. "Was not God truly crucified? Did He not truly die as He was truly crucified? Was He not truly raised up, as He truly died?" Tertullian maintains that this flesh of Christ was earthly, *terrena*; not heavenly, *caelestis*. It was not *animalis* in the sense which some would introduce, as if the *anima* became *caro* or *carnalis*. The soul of Christ was like ours, sensible and rational, and must be distinguished from the flesh. It was man, not angel, that He bore, for He came to deliver man. Still less was His flesh spiritual. Thus He did away with the sin in the flesh; He did not do away with that which Tertullian calls the flesh of sin, apparently taking the thought from St. Paul's words, "body of sin." He is Son of God in the spirit, Son of man in the flesh; Spirit descended into the Virgin's womb, to partake of flesh from that womb. To justify the words of his creed, *ex Virgine* (not *per Virginem*), he appeals to Matt. i. 16, "virum Mariae ex qua nascitur Christus." This treatise deserves well the commendation of Dorner. "So rich had been the development of Tertullian's powers relative to the truth of the humanity of Christ. No preceding writer can compare with him in this respect. No one plunges into the act of the Incarnation with such love, such admiration, such penetration."

There can be little doubt that the work *Against Praxeas* was written at a later period of Tertullian's life than his treatise *De Carne Christi*. The heresy which, for the sake of maintaining the unity of the Godhead, identified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, assumed the truth of the deity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: it was an effort to escape the charge of polytheism. Tertullian puts forward in opposition the rule of the church: "We believe one only God, but with this dispensation, which we call the economy, that of this one God is a Son, His Word, who proceeded from Him, through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made; that He was sent by the Father into the Virgin, and was born of her, God and man, Son of man and Son of God, and named Christ Jesus." This was the rule which came down from the beginning of the gospel; measured by it, the novelty of Praxeas became rejected. It is towards the end of the treatise (ch. xxvii.) that Tertullian explains the relation between the two natures in our Lord, in a marvellously interesting fashion, his language being more guarded than that we quoted above. "'The Holy Thing that shall be born shall be called the Son of God. The flesh was born: the flesh then is Son of God.' Nay (says Tertullian), the words are spoken of the Spirit of God . . . . the language cannot be used of the flesh; but of Him, God, who was born in flesh: the Word and the Spirit, which by the Father's will was born with the Word . . . . Was then the Word transfigured in flesh or did He clothe himself with flesh? Surely, clothed Himself. God cannot change. And transfiguration is the destruction of the earlier state. That which is transfigured into something else ceases to be what it was before, and becomes to be what it was not before . . . . If the Word became flesh by transfiguration or change of substance, then the substance of Jesus would be one, formed of two, viz. of flesh and spirit; a mixture, as *electrum* is a mixture of gold and silver, which is neither gold nor silver, but a *tertium quid*. And thus Jesus would be neither God (for the Word had ceased to be) nor flesh nor man, for that is not properly flesh which is Word. Of both would come something which is neither, but which is far different from either . . . . But Christ is Son of God and Son of man, God and man, each substance being distinguished in its own properties: . . . . we see a twofold state,

not confused but conjoined in one Person, God and man. The Spirit performed the works peculiar to it, the works and signs: the flesh underwent the sufferings, hunger, thirst, grief unto death." Such was Tertullian's anticipation of the judgments of the four great councils.

It is interesting to turn from the great Carthaginian writer to the almost contemporaneous leader of the school of Alexandria. Clement's views of the human character of our Lord are instructive. He held that the body of our Saviour was true human body, but a body without form or beauty. It was the form of a servant; how could it then be adorned? Thus Christ was God undefiled in the fashion of a man. The peculiarity of Clement's view was this. He held that our Lord did not need food. He did eat indeed, but not for the sake of His body, but to prevent His followers from falling into the docetic errors which had subsequently arisen amongst professing Christians. For (proceeds Clement) He was absolutely free from human passions: no movement either of pleasure or pain affected Him. Thus at times Clement speaks of the body of Christ as simply a vesture. Though He was the fruit of the Virgin, He needed not to be sustained by her in His infancy. At other times he represents the Saviour as having obtained mastery over the body—the body itself being capable of suffering, and having suffered—and as thus having enabled His followers to obtain mastery over theirs. (Compare *Paed.* i. 2, p. 99, i. 6, p. 123, iii. 1, p. 251; *Strom.* iii. 17, p. 559, vi. 9, p. 775.)

From Clement we may pass to Origen. And here we have a distinct expression of the faith of the church. In the *De Principiis* (if we may trust the translation of Rufinus) Origen taught that all believed that God sent our Lord Jesus Christ to call first Israel, and, when they refused, the nations. This Jesus who came was born of the Father before all creation. He who in the creation ministered to the Father (for through Him all things were made) in these last days, "emptying Himself," was made man, incarnate whilst He was God, and, made man, continued God, as He was. He assumed a body similar to ours, differing in this alone, that it was born of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit. And this Jesus Christ was born and suffered in truth.

So far all seems clear. But in full agreement with the general tone of the work which we have quoted, Origen knew there were questions below this surface, questions as to the *quomodo*, to which the Christian must seek an answer. How did the Word dwell in the man Jesus? the Deity in the humanity? Very beautiful and very striking are the antitheses which Origen heaps together, as *In Levit. Homil.* iii. 1, and *In Jerem. Hom.* viii. 8, 9. And he was one of the first who drew attention to the great truth embodied in Luke ii. 52, "Jesus increased in wisdom" (*In Jer. Hom.* i. 7). And so Dorner was led to say that Origen was the first to appreciate the profound bearing which right conceptions as to the human soul of Christ must have on the clearing away of the clouds which overhang the mystery of His incarnation.

Thus, after he had described (in the preface to the *De Principiis*) the church's belief in the true humanity of Christ, the great teacher proceeds (book ii. ch. 6) to the investigation—How or Why our Lord and Saviour became man. He opens the discussion with a few exquisite sentences which Hooker might have incorporated in his fifth book, and then proceeds to give his view of the medium through which the union between God and man was effected in Christ Jesus. He finds this medium in the soul of Christ, the *rationabilis anima* (§ 5). This soul Origen deemed to have been pre-existent (as he held the souls of all men to be), and to have been always inseparably inherent in Him, as the Wisdom and Word of God, the Truth, the Light. This soul loved righteousness, and therefore God anointed it with the oil of gladness—with the Word of God, and with wisdom—above its fellows, *i.e.* above the holy prophets and apostles. Thus this soul was made with the Word, in an eminent degree, one Spirit, because it was so joined to the Lord; and so it became capable of mediating between God and flesh—for it was impossible for the nature of God to be mingled with flesh without a mediator—and so the "Deus homo"—the God-man—is born.

"These are thoughts which have occurred to me whilst meditating on subjects so difficult as are the Incarnation and Deity of Christ. If any one can find out anything better, and can confirm what he says by more evident proofs taken from holy Scripture, let his opinions be received in preference to mine." A clear proof this, if proof is wanting, that the church was feeling her way into the depths of the truth, and not simply resting on the surface of truths received.

All questioning in the church on the incarnation of our Lord seems to have subsided during the remainder of the 3rd century. SABELLIANISM occupied the attention of the theologians of the East. True that the nature of the God-man was involved in this heresy, but the side of this nature to which attention was drawn was the divine character of our Lord. And so it remained until after the council of Nicaea. The well-known creed of Eusebius expressed the belief of the church in the one Lord Jesus Christ, "who for our salvation was incarnate and lived amongst men [τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον], and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory"; and it insisted that the Father is truly Father, and the Son truly Son. The Nicene fathers altered this as follows: "who for us men and for our salvation *came down*, and was incarnate, and was made man [ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, entered on man], suffered, and rose again the third day," thus bringing out two points on which the creed of Caesarea had been silent. The exposition, found amongst the writings of Athanasius, and, rightly or wrongly, attributed to him, is, as we might expect, very clear and distinct on the point of the deity of our Lord, but it uses language deemed (we must suppose) at the time consistent with the conception of ἐνανθρώπησις, but which was afterwards rejected. In the consummation of the ages, He—the Word, the Wisdom, the Son—"coming down from the bosom of the Father, assumed from the undefiled Virgin Mary τὸν ἡμέτερον ἄνθρωπον Christ Jesus, whom He delivered up to suffer on our behalf, of His own free will: in which man He being crucified and dying for us rose from the dead and was taken up to heaven . . . . and [thus shewed] the way to heaven, whither the Divine Man, ὁ κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος,

went up as forerunner for us, in which man He is to judge quick and dead." The term ὁ κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος, which we are obliged to translate "the divine man," is found twice again in the latter part of the Exposition, both times in connexion with an explanation of Jerem. xxxviii. 21, where Aquila is quoted as reading ἔκτισε Κύριος καινὸν ἐν τῇ θηλείᾳ, and "the new thing" is said to signify the divine body, τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα. Thus the divine man was *created* as "the beginning of ways" (Proverbs viii. 22); and "a way is a bodily thing, visible to the eye, and such is the divine man." The passage is difficult; the explanation of the Benedictines and Dr. Routh, that ἡμέτερος ἄνθρωπος means "our human nature," and the "Dominicus homo" means "the human nature of Christ," will not satisfy all the requirements of the passages before us. Whether Athanasius was the writer of these words may be doubted; but whoever was their author, it seems clear that, when they were written, the writer was uncertain as to the nature of the union between the Son of God, the only begotten Word, Wisdom, Son, and the Man Christ Jesus, whom He assumed. We see here that a serious danger lurked in the church as to the meaning of a figure used by Clement of Alexandria. He spoke (*Cohort.* c. x. p. 86) of the Word as "having taken the mask [τὸ προσωπεῖον] of a man, as having moulded Himself in flesh, and acted the saving drama of humanity." Certainly further discussion was needed; further guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead the church into the truth on this momentous subject. In his second book on the Sermon on the Mount (§ vi.), written about the year 393, St. Augustine used the expression, "The only begotten Son of God shall come from heaven visibly *in dominico homine* to judge the quick and dead"; but in his Retractations, which date about thirty years later, he expressed his regret for his language, and withdrew the phrase. "I question whether the Man Christ Jesus, who is Mediator between God and man, is rightly called *homo dominicus*, seeing He is Lord Himself: indeed, what man in His holy family may not be called *homo dominicus?* . . . . The language may be defended, but I regret that I have used it."

This effect of the attention of the church being at the end of the 3rd century called paramountly to the divine nature of our Lord is further exhibited in the Latin writer ARNOBIUS. Meeting the challenge that, if Christ is God, He died like a man, Arnobius asks, "Who was it that was seen hanging on the cross? who was seen dying? The man in whom He had clothed Himself, and whom He carried with Him." [*Homo quem induerat et secum ipse portabat.*] (i. 62.) "The death was the death of the man assumed, not of Himself: of that which was carried, not of Him that carried." LACTANTIUS's view is different and better. He regarded the humanity of our Lord as perfect: he held that He truly suffered in the body, truly died; but suffered in order to shew how a man should suffer, died to shew how a man should triumph over death. (*Inst.* iv. 24.) But we should be inclined to say that by Lactantius the perfect deity of our Lord during His sojourn on earth was lost sight of in the conception of His perfect humanity.

Most refreshing is it to turn from these imperfect and misleading conceptions to the

works of the great Athanasius. The two treatises, the Oration against the Heathen and the Oration on the ἐνανθρώπησις of the Word, are considered to have been composed before the council of Nicaea, and if they have a controversial aspect, that aspect must be regarded as directed rather against the world outside the church than against any heresy or false teaching claiming to be within it. The object of the latter work is to exhibit the *reasons* for the incarnation: it is only by the way that we learn Athanasius's teaching as to the *mode* of the incarnation. Still the teaching comes out clear and distinct, and, after our previous labours, we are the better able to appreciate the immense stride which Christology took under the guidance of this remarkable man.

Athanasius used the word ἐνανθρώπησις, but there is no doubt of the meaning he attributes to it. He says distinctly (§ 44) that our Lord γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος. We never read here that He assumed τὸν κυριακὸν ἄνθρωπον, though we meet three or four times with the words τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα, and read of its formation, its death (§ 26), its resurrection (§ 31). This body the Word formed for Himself in the womb of the Virgin, to be a temple for Himself: He appropriated it as His organ (§ 8). It is a body not different nor alien from ours: indeed Athanasius calls it ours (§ 8). Thus as a man He lived amongst men (§ 15). Thus (he proceeds, § 18) when you read of theologians saying that He did eat and drink and was born, know that His body, as body, was born, and was fed with corresponding food, whilst He, God, the Word, being united with this body, ordained all things, and by the things which He did in the body indicated that He was not [merely] a man but God, the Word. And from time to time Athanasius exhibits the human and the divine characteristics in our Lord, in antitheses with which we are now familiar; and from time to time he exhibits that which, as we have seen, was the great intention of the oration; the *object* of this incarnation, how He gave up His body as a sacrifice to destroy death, how He fulfilled the death of mankind, how He became man in order that we might be made divine. αὐτὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν. The difference between the language of this treatise and the language of the Exposition of the Faith to which we have referred before is surely sufficient to shew that, although that Exposition is found among the works of Athanasius, it cannot be of his composition. For Athanasius himself says, "He was born, He appeared a man, He died and rose again" (§ 15 and § 21); he speaks of the Lord as carrying about His body; very different, as we saw, was the language of the Exposition.[a]

We must refer briefly to the peculiar views of MARCELLUS of Ancyra on the incarnation before we pass on to the later controversies of the 4th century. In his zeal against the Arians, Marcellus rendered himself obnoxious to the

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[a] Athanasius seems to have become himself aware of the ambiguity which lurked under the words ἐνηνθρώπησεν, ἐνανθρώπησις. In the *Oration* iii. *against the Arians*, written after 356, we have, § 30: ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἦλθε. So iv. 35, after quoting Luke xxiv. 39, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα, he says, καὶ οὐκ εἶπε Τόνδε ἢ Τὸν ἄνθρωπόν μου ὃν ἀνείληφα, ἀλλ' Ἐμέ.

charge of Sabellianism, and Eusebius of Caesarea was induced to write against him. In his works *Against Marcellus* and *On Ecclesiastical Theology*, Eusebius quotes largely from the writings of Marcellus; and amongst the quotations is one in which he is represented as speaking of "the man united to the Logos." "This man was made (or became) man," and thus the Word, uniting itself with the flesh from the Holy Virgin, became "the first begotten of every creature" (Euseb. *con. Marcell. Ancy.* ii. 3). To this epoch Marcellus assigned the fulfilment of the oft-disputed words of Proverbs viii. 22. To this epoch again he assigned the realisation of the conception that "He is the image of the invisible God." In this connexion (*l. c.* p. 49) Marcellus uses the words ἀνείληφε τὸν ἄνθρωπον; it is possible that because of this use Athanasius (as we saw in our last note) repudiated the phrase. But this human being, or humanity, Marcellus regarded so absolutely as a mark and part of Christ's humiliation that he insisted as part of his teaching that it must cease to be when the day of final redemption comes: he must have denied the glorification of the body. Indeed he went further and held that after the day of Judgment the flesh which He had assumed must be deserted by the Word, so that neither should the Son of God subsist longer, nor the Son of man whom He had assumed. (See Pearson on the Creed.)

It is refreshing to turn to St. Cyril of Jerusalem. His teaching is clear and simple. "The only begotten Son of God came down from heaven upon earth, assuming manhood of like passions with us, born of a holy Virgin and the Holy Spirit: the manhood being not in appearance but in truth; nor yet passing through the Virgin as through a conduit, but incarnate from her, and nurtured by her." And he insisted that our Lord did some things as God, some things as man; but He it was that did all these things.

Before Athanasius was called to his rest, it became his duty to struggle against another form of error, which was encouraged, it is said, by his great enemies the Arians, but was apparently provoked in them by their desire to oppose the teaching of their foe Marcellus. He, as we have seen, held that the human nature of our Lord was such a characteristic of His humiliation that, in order to His final absorption in the Deity, it must be annihilated. The Arians, or at least some branch or offset of their party, announced before Athanasius died that the body of our Lord was consubstantial, *homoousion*, with His divinity. They taught that it came down from heaven. In a letter to Epictetus bishop of Corinth (written, it is supposed, about the year 371), Athanasius indignantly combated this and other errors of which we have already spoken, but of the prevalence of which this letter furnishes painful evidence. The occasion was thus given to the great bishop to insist once more on that on which he had pressed again and again in his earlier life, that the Word became perfect man, as He was perfect God. He distinguished, as he had done before, most forcibly between the divine and the human in the life of our Lord. At the same time, he taught that by the union and communion of the Word with the human body a great accession had been made to it (cf. Hooker, *E. P.* bk. v. ch. liv. §§ 6, 7, 8). From being mortal it had become immortal: from animal it had become spiritual; though made from earth it had passed the gates of heaven (§ 9). That which happened to the body of our Lord, He Himself is said to have suffered. And thus while it is true that the Word has come *to* others to enable them to prophesy, *from* the Virgin the Word came forth as Man, having assumed flesh.

Besides this letter to Epictetus, Athanasius wrote about the year 372 two books, entitled *On the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ against Apollinarius*, in the first of which the same subject is treated perhaps in a more formal manner; but on this portion of their contents it will be unnecessary again to touch. More momentous is it to note that from this discussion Athanasius passes to another, to meet the error of those who held that in Christ was a heavenly intelligence replacing the inner man in us. Athanasius had maintained, some years at least before (see *Incarnation of the Word against the Arians*, § 44), that the Word had become perfect man. Opponents now maintained that this was impossible, first, because where there is perfect man there is sin; and, secondly, because two perfect things cannot become one. Christ could not (they said), by becoming man, have exhibited in Himself that which in us savours of and bears the flesh. Thus He took τὸ ἀνόητον in order that He might Himself be the νοῦς in Himself. We cannot here enter into the arguments by which Athanasius insists on the perfect humanity of our Lord; suffice it to say that, whilst with reference to the first point he exposes the cunning of the Arians—who, under the pretence of exalting the humanity of our Lord, were endeavouring to depreciate His deity—and shews that the conception that Christ's body came down from Heaven deprives the life of Christ of its universal, ethical, and efficient potency, he is led on (§ 7) to speak briefly of the nature of sin, and to maintain that sin is not of the essence of the human nature.[b] And then, with wonderful foresight, he anticipates the controversies of the next eighty years: he maintains that the union of the Logos with the flesh is without confusion (§ 10), that the Being was the same who suffered and could not suffer (11). Christ is God, and Christ is man: Christ is God and man; and Christ is one (εἷς) (13). And then he passes to consider the effect of the teaching of those who denied that Christ had the inner man (this inner man, he says, is the ψυχή), and who held that the νοῦς ἐπουράνιος took the place of the inner man in Christ (15). "If such were the case, Christ could not be perfect God and perfect man" (16). And such Christ is, even though those whom Athanasius addresses may stigmatise him as a man-worshipper. In the treatise on the *Incarnation against Arians* (§ 21) Athanasius had distinguished most forcibly between the human will and the divine will in Christ. This distinction, too, seems to have been objected against by the friends of Apollinaris. "If," said the latter, "we are to believe that there was the human νοῦς in Jesus, there must have been two νόες, the one divine and never mutable, the other human and mutable. Thus there must really have been two persons

[b] This is carried on, too, in § 15.

in the Christ." The only way to evade this result seemed to them to be this, to deny the human νοῦς; to deny, in other words, the perfect humanity. And this the Apollinarians did.

We have now come to a period in the history of the doctrine of the incarnation when it becomes the history of the church. The controversies regarding the teaching of NESTORIUS and EUTYCHES, the councils of EPHESUS and CHALCEDON, are given elsewhere. And so we pass on by the disruption of the church of the East to the period of the Monothelitic age, when the minds of men were turned from the consideration of Christ Jesus in essence to the thought of Him in action, and to the motives which influenced His action. These will be discussed in the article MONOTHELITES. The next century was interrupted by the Spanish bishops Elipandus and Felix, who were named ADOPTIONISTS. But generally in the West the grand definition of the council of Chalcedon has been accepted as giving the final results to which the church has attained in her investigations on this momentous subject.

It is simply impossible to give any short summary of the works which have been written upon the subject of the incarnation. It is so distinctly the centre of Christianity proper that every theologian of eminence has touched upon it. The writer must, however, express his obligations to the great work of Dorner. [C. A. S.]

INCORRUPTICOLAE. [APHTHARTODOCETAE.]

INDALETIUS, bishop of Urgi, one of the legendary seven bishops ordained by St. Peter and St. Paul for Spain. He is commemorated on April 30. [CAECILIUS (4).] (Boll. *AA. SS.* Ap. iii. 723; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* ii. 848; Usuard. *Mart.* in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 55.) [F. D.]

INDARAZAR (INDAZAR), a bishop of the Persian Manicheans at the time they were intriguing for the establishment of their sect by the dethronement of Cabades I. Indarazar perished in the general slaughter of the Manicheans which followed by the king's order. (Jo. Malalas, *Chronog.* pt. 2, pp. 178, Oxon; Theophan. *Chronog.* s. a. 516.) [T. W. D.]

INDEARCAIGH, bishop, died A.D. 662 (*Four Mast.*). O'Conor (in *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 663, and *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 662) translates the name "Eleemosinarius." [J. G.]

INDES, martyr, Dec. 28 (Bas. *Men.*), Dec. 26 (Sym. Metaph.). A eunuch of the imperial household at Nicomedia in the second year of the emperor Maximianus, converted together with Domna, a priestess attached to the household, and Agape and Theophila her friends. Domna fell in with the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles, and by their study was converted and, with Indes and her two friends, was baptized by Cyril bishop of Nicomedia. They were beheaded. (Sym. Metaph. in *Pat. Gr.* cxvi. 1037; Surius, *Prob. SS. Hist.* vi. 331; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* vii. 6; *Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron. Dec. 28.) [G. T. S.]

INDFERTAIGSE (*Ann. Ult.*; INFERTAGSEUS, *Ann. Tig.*), abbat of Tigh-Telle, now Tehelly, near Durrow, King's County, died A.D. 745. (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 246, iv. 91; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 282, n. [u], 319, n. [h].) [J. G.]

INDICIA, virgin of Verona, the subject of two epistles of St. Ambrose to Syagrius bishop of Verona (epp. 5, 6, in Patr. Lat. xvi. 891), written cir. A.D. 380. With the full consent of Zeno the bishop, apparently of Verona, she was duly received into the order of Christian virgins, and both at Rome with St. Marcellina, and afterwards at Verona living with her sister, who was married to one Maximus, she was without reproach, visiting and being visited by clergy and laity. Many years had passed since her first reception when an evil report was carried to a neighbouring monastery, and soon brought to the town, against the character of Indicia. Her brother-in-law Maximus, taking up the matter with great apparent heartiness, carried the question before Syagrius that justice might be done. But seemingly without formal accusers, or witnesses, or assessors, and without hearing exculpatory evidence, Syagrius ordered her to be clinically examined by certain women. Strong in her sense of innocence, Indicia would not submit to this indignity, but appealed to St. Ambrose of Milan for protection and a fair trial. Syagrius also wrote stating his view of the case and insisting upon his judgment being carried out. Maximus, who was the real promoter of the charge, attended in person, speaking of a great crime but refusing to be the formal accuser. Two witnesses, Renatus and Leontius, attended, but without agreement in their testimony. Ambrose took the case up de novo, and, with the assistance of some other bishop, made a thorough investigation into all the circumstances, received the witness of both her friends and her enemies, and came to the conclusion that she was entirely guiltless of what she was accused of. He then embodied his decision in the two letters to Syagrius, especially in the first, saying that Syagrius had decided her case irregularly, contrary to all civil and ecclesiastical law, and contrary, at the outset, to good manners, modesty, and honour. [J. G.]

INDIMUS, bishop of Irenopolis in Cilicia, near the river Calycadnus. He was present at the Ephesine *Latrocinium*, A.D. 449, but apparently without adopting its conclusions, as his name appears in 451 at the council of Chalcedon. In 459, he signed the synodical decree of Gennadius against the Simoniacs. (Mansi, vii. 402; Gennadii *Epist. Encycl.* in Patrol. Gr. lxxxv. 1621; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 899.) [J. de S.]

INDRACTUS, ST. William of Malmesbury wrote a "Passio S. Indracti, Dominicae et sociorum Glastoniae," which was abridged by Capgrave (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 5, i. 689, 690, Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 338, ii. 156). William says he has inserted nothing but what he found in an English account of the martyrdom. In the days of the West Saxon king Ine, Indract, the son of an Irish king, went with nine followers on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return was murdered at Hywise near Pedred (the Parret), when on his way to visit St. Patrick's tomb at Glastonbury. Ine had the martyrs buried on either side of the altar at

Glastonbury (see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. 436). William of Worcester (*Itin.* 150), says: "Sanctus Indractus martir et confessor die 8 Maii, jacet apud Shepton per 5 miliaris de Glastynbery cum sociis suis centum martiribus." But the day usually assigned to Indractus is Feb. 5. There was a chapel of St. Indract in the parish of St. Dominick in Cornwall. But the parish feast is now on August 4—*i. e.* the day of the founder of the Dominican order, who has here usurped the place of a Celtic saint (Lake's *Cornwall*, i. 299) Dominica. [C. W. B.]

INDRACTUS, INDRECT (INNREACHTACH), was a very common Irish name, and often appears in the early Annals (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 254, n. [a]). An Indract is given by Ware as the first bishop at Kilmacduagh after St. Colman (Feb. 3), whom he followed after a lapse of two centuries, having died A.D. 814. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 20, § 15; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 427.) [J. G.]

INDUSTRIUS, addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris, in a letter occupied with the praises of one Vectius a layman. (*Epist.* iv. 9, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 513.) [S. A. B.]

INE, INI, INA, king of the West Saxons, A.D. 688–726; a famous warrior, legislator, and ecclesiastical benefactor.

He was, as is stated in the preamble of his laws, the son of Cênred (*Ancient Laws*, ed. Thorpe, p. 45). Cênred, according to the pedigree given in the Chronicle and by Asser, was the son of Ceolwald, son of Cutha, grandson of Ceaulin (*M. H. B.* 348, 468). Cênred was an under-king or "subregulus" in part of Wessex, possibly in Somersetshire, where a good deal of the interest of his son's reign is centred (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 641). The genealogies give Ine a brother named Ingild, and two sisters, Cuenburh and Cuthburh, the joint founders of Wimburn. [CUTHBURGA; INGILD.] It has been conjectured that Ine was also half-brother, by his mother, of Mul and Ceadwalla. [CEADWALLA.] This is quite possible; Cênred may have married the widow of Cenbyrht, their father, who died in 661. A further hypothesis regards the mother of Mul as a foreigner, possibly a British lady, a theory which would account for the partial appropriation by the Welsh writers of the exploits of Ine, and the confusion between Ceadwalla and Cadwalader (see Lappenberg, ed. Thorpe, i. 262; Freeman, *King Ine; Somersetshire Archaeological Society's Transactions*, vol. xviii. pp. 28 sq.). Later writers, especially the chroniclers of Abingdon, and William of Malmesbury in his account of that monastery, make Cissa, the founder of Abingdon, father of Ine; a statement which, unless we identify Cissa with Cênred, is inconsistent with the best authorities (W. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 191, 354). The statement made on similar authority, that Ine was brother of Kenten, father of St. Aldhelm, has no historical foundation (*ib.* p. 332). Cênred survived his son's accession to the throne, on the departure of Ceadwalla for Rome; and it may accordingly be inferred that Ine succeeded by election, according to the ancient theory of succession, as the ablest and most promising member of the royal house. Ethelburga, the wife of Ine, was also a lady of the royal house, and is said, on the very doubtful evidence of a charter, to have been sister of Ethelheard, Ine's successor. [ETHELBURGA.]

As Ine's achievements in the several fields of war, legislation, and ecclesiastical history, are almost entirely unconnected with one another, it may suffice here to class them under these three heads.

1. Ine's wars are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and thence transferred with little amplification or embellishment to the pages of the later systematic historians, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. After having drawn up his laws and secured a measure of internal peace, Ine, in 694, proceeded to renew the struggle, in which Mul and Ceadwalla had preceded him, with the king of Kent. He demanded satisfaction for the murder of Mul. Wihtred, the king of Kent, offered a wergild (probably of 30,000 mancuses, *M. H. B.* 323, 539). This Ine accepted, and peace was made, which continued during the lifetime of the two kings (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 25, &c.).

William of Malmesbury mentions in connexion with this business a war of Ine with the East Angles, in which the nobles of that kingdom were expelled from the land (*G. R.* lib. i. ed. Hardy, p. 48). There is, however, nothing in what we know of East Anglian history at this period to confirm the story.

In the year 710 Ine was at war with Gerent, king of the Welsh of Cornwall. In this he was assisted by his kinsman Nun, who possibly ruled the South Saxons under Ine's overlordship (*M. H. B.* 323). Another king or under-king of Wessex in the early half of Ine's reign was Baldred, whose name occurs among the benefactors of Malmesbury, and who may be identified with the Baldrich of the later Welsh writers, who mention him as a ruler in Devonshire and Cornwall (Lappenberg, ed. Thorpe, i. 263).

In 715 Ine is again found at war with a king of English race, Ceolred of Mercia. Ceolred seems to have invaded Wessex, and at Wodensbeorge the two kings fought. The Chronicle (*M. H. B.* 323) does not state what was the issue of the struggle, but Henry of Huntingdon adds (*ib.* 724) that the slaughter was so great that it was regarded as a drawn battle; anyhow it stopped any further incursion from Mercia for the time. Wodnesbeorge is identified with Wanborough, between Swindon and Ramsbury, a field marked by more than one bloody encounter between Mercia and Wessex.

In 721 Ine had to begin a long struggle with domestic rebellion, the origin of which is not at all cleared up by contemporary evidence, but which must be supposed to have sprung from questions concerning dynastic rights and the succession to the crown, which, owing to Ine's advancing years and childlessness, might easily come into dispute. In that year Cynewulf the etheling was slain by Ine (Chr. S. *M. H. B.* 327). In 722 another etheling, Ealdberht, took up arms, and, probably with the assistance of the Britons, seized Taunton, which Ine had built as a frontier fortress against the Welsh. He was dislodged from Taunton, which was forthwith demolished by queen Ethelburga, and fled into Sussex, where Ine either was already at war or quickly followed him. The war with Sussex seems to have ended with the death of Ealdberht.

whom Ine slew there in 725. Soon after this event Ine determined to resign his throne; he left it to the junior princes (Bede, *H. E.* v. 7). Ethelheard, the queen's brother, was his successor, but he did not obtain full possession until he had defeated Oswald, another etheling and his rival, who died in 730. Oswald, if we may so interpret the genealogies, which give no account of the pedigree of Ethelheard, was probably the nearest heir, and it may have been his claims to the succession which led to the final determination of Ine to resign.

2. The laws of Ine, preserved by the care of Alfred and contained in the *Textus Roffensis*, were published early in his reign, about the year 690. In the preamble the king states that he establishes his royal dooms, with the advice of his father Cênred, his bishop Hedda, and his bishop Eorcenwold. Eorcenwold was bishop of the East Saxons, but had great influence in Surrey, which lay within Ine's kingdom; it is not therefore necessary to suppose that Ine was master of London, but it does seem natural to conclude that Surrey was now freed from the claims of the kings of Kent and Mercia.

The code, or collection of customs, contains seventy-six clauses, some of which are subdivided into minor articles; they are printed in Thorpe's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, pp. 45–65; in Lambard's *Archaionomia*, p. 1; Wilkins's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, pp. 14–27; Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 20–57; and the ecclesiastical enactments are given separately in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 214–219. The ecclesiastical clauses prescribe the baptism of children within a month of birth (cl. 2), fines for working on Sundays (cl. 3), the payment of church scot at Martinmas (cl. 4 and 61), the law of sanctuary (cl. 5), and contain some minor enactments touching oaths and wergilds. Next in interest to these are the clauses which relate to the British population; clauses 23 and 32 fix the wergild of the wealh; several of the others shew that the social distinction between the two races was diminishing, or else that the population for which the king was legislating was by no means disproportionately divided. Most of the other articles relate to the ordinary subject-matter of the early laws, the punishments for house-breaking, fighting, murder, and other crimes, with tariff of wergilds and money fines. To the student of early jurisprudence, these laws are particularly important, as being, with the exception of the Kentish laws, the earliest results of Anglo-Saxon legislation.

3. Far the greatest part of Ine's posthumous reputation is due to his activity as a founder of monasteries and patron of learned and holy men. Of these, the best known is St. Aldhelm, but it must be remembered that St. Boniface spent his early years in Wessex under Ine's rule, and had acted as messenger between him and archbishop Berhtwald, while the glimpses which during Boniface's career are obtained of the domestic church history of Wessex are very important. It is clear from them that the work of education, as well as practices of devotion and the fostering of missions, occupied no small part of the thought of the West Saxon ruler. One sign of this may be found in the subdivision of the West Saxon diocese, which archbishop Theodore had been unable to secure, but which was effected by Berhtwald, with the concurrence of Ine, after the death of bishop Hedda. [HEADDA.] In 705 the see of Sherborne was founded for the district west of Selwood and placed under Aldhelm; and in 711 or thereabouts the old kingdom of Sussex was made a new diocese under bishop Eadberht. [See ALDHELM and EADBERHT.]

The monastic establishments specially favoured by Ine were:—(1) Glastonbury, of which he was regarded as the English founder. Legend of later date made this ancient seat of religion a relic of the original Christianity of Britain; unfortunately the hands of forgers or fabricators have been at work so industriously on this topic that absolutely nothing can be confidently affirmed touching either the older foundation or Ine's share in the revival. The evidence, however, of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which was certainly drawn up long before the second restoration of Glastonbury under Dunstan and the period of forgery, shews that Ine was, in Alfred's time, known as the builder of the monastery at Glastonbury (*M. H. B.* 323). That it was done with special reference to the soul of the murdered Mul, as stated by William of Malmesbury (*de Antiq. Glaston.* ap. Gale, p. 310), is a statement redolent of later ideas. The mention, among the letters of Boniface, of Glastonbury as a flourishing monastery must, however, preclude us from regarding the charters of the monastery as altogether baseless fabrications. Some of them are even regarded by a critic so severe as Kemble as genuine. They may all be found in the first volume of the *Codex Diplomaticus* and elsewhere. (2) Malmesbury, one of the special foundations of Aldhelm [ALDHELM], the fabulous part of whose history is largely due to the same authorities. The Malmesbury charters, very few of which have any pretension to genuineness, will also be found in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, and in the fifth book of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*. (3) Abingdon, the founder of which was said to be Cissa (see above), but the endowment of which was carried on under Ine's patronage (Kemble, *C. D.* Nos. 31, 45, 46; *Hist. Abend.* i. 9, 11, 12). (4) At Sherborne, Bradford, possibly at Wells, and other places of less importance under Aldhelm's rule. Into any critical examination of the evidences of these houses it is, of course, quite impossible to enter; but the conclusion may be briefly stated: there is good evidence of the existence of flourishing monasteries, during Ine's reign, at Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Wimburne, Nursling, Tisbury, Waltham, and Sherborne; less distinct evidence for Frome, Bradford, and the other places under the sway of Aldhelm; and little more than a ray of obscure light touching Abingdon; that being simply the fact that an old monastery existed there before Ethelwold founded the historic abbey in the 10th century.

There was a good deal of synodical activity under Ine, and some part of it may, no doubt, be attributed to his personal action, and not merely, as the hagiographers were inclined to represent, to the direct influence of men like Aldhelm. That he came under the direct influence of archbishop Theodore, there is little or rather nothing to shew; had that been the case, the West Saxon diocese could scarcely have remained so long undivided. The council in which his laws were propounded was composed not only of bishops, ealdormen, and witan, but of a large company of God's servants, by which we are probably to

understand monks and clergy (*Ancient Laws*, p. 45). In 704 there was a council of the church held at some place unnamed, in which it was determined that, unless the measure for the division of the diocese, proposed by archbishop Berhtwald, should be carried into effect, the West Saxon clergy should be refused communion (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 267). In 705, in a West Saxon synod, Aldhelm, still abbat, was appointed to write his letter to Gerent king of Damnonia, on the paschal controversy; a measure which may possibly have had some connexion with the war which has been already mentioned in 710 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 268). To the same year belongs a privilege issued by Ine at Wimburne, freeing the monasteries of Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford from secular interference, and securing the election of the abbats. This act, which is of very questionable authenticity, if not altogether spurious, purports to be confirmed by a West Saxon council held at Adderbourne on the Nodder (Will. Malmes. *G. P.* lib. v. § 226; Kemble, *C. D.* 54; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 276). On better authority may be accepted the fact that a great conference of kings and bishops was held at Brentford, the same year, to determine on the disposition to be made of the West Saxon exiles who had found a home in Essex (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 274); and, finally, to 705 belongs the council which established the see of Aldhelm at Sherborne (*ib.* 275). Between 710 and 716 was held the synod in which, by the advice of Ine, Boniface, still bearing the name of Winfrith, was sent to consult archbishop Berhtwald; possibly the subject of the negotiation was the foundation of the new see at Selsey (*ibid.* 296). Most of the other documents in which the name of Ine occurs labour under almost insuperable suspicions.

The length of Ine's reign is stated by Bede as thirty-seven years; this computation, starting from the year 688, which seems to be certainly the year of Ceadwalla's resignation, fixes the year of Ine's resignation as A.D. 725 (Bede, *H. E.* v. 7). The king's purpose in going to Rome was, as Bede tells us, that he might, by sojourning for a time on earth in the neighbourhood of the saints, fit himself for a more friendly reception by them in heaven. The legendary story of the circumstances which led to the immediate decision is told by William of Malmesbury, or some Glastonbury writer who annotated the *Gesta Regum* (ed. Hardy, p. 48). [See ETHELBURGA.] The queen, having determined that Ine should be weaned from the delights of the world, took occasion one day, after they had quitted a royal village in which a great feast had been held, to take her husband back to the scene of the festivity. He found it filled with filth and rubbish, and a sow which had just littered placed in his royal bed. The queen improved the lesson, and Ine determined to follow the example of Ceadwalla, and the other Saxon kings who had sought for rest under the shadow of the apostolic see. At Rome, according to William of Malmesbury (p. 54), he lived a modest, unpretending life; it is uncertain, owing to the difficulty of the punctuation of the passage, whether or no he parted with the long hair which would be a sign of royalty; "ne pompam suae conversionis faceret, non publicis vultibus expositus crinem deposuit, sed ut solius Domini oculis placeret, amictu plebeio tectus clam consenuit." His wife Ethelburga remained in faithful attendance on him until his death.

If there is any basis for the tradition that Ine founded the Schola Anglorum at Rome, a tradition which has only late historical authority, it must have been at this period. The authority is Matthew Paris, who (ed. Luard. i. 330) states that the institution was founded with the approbation of pope Gregory II., who reigned from 715 to 731. In making the statement, Matthew Paris probably used some legendary material, which was also worked up in the Lives of the Offas; but the tradition could not have been a very old one, or William of Malmesbury would not have omitted the opportunity of adding some mention of it to the other merits of Ine. He ascribes the foundation of the Schola Anglorum to Offa (*G. R.* lib. i. § 109, ed. Hardy, p. 153). The existence of the school early in the next century is made certain by the mention of it in the Chronicle, A.D. 816. A statement connected by Matthew Paris with this story, namely, that Ine imposed a tax named "Romescot," a penny a year annually, on all the houses in Wessex, for the support of the English school, is founded on a somewhat earlier authority; which is likewise found, but without any mention of the school, in the anonymous *Liber de Adventu Saxonum* (Sym. Dun. ed. Hinde, p. 207), printed among the works of Symeon of Durham. Whether there is any truth in the story, or whether it is merely a throwing back of some of the charitable acts of Offa and Ethelwulf, it is now impossible to decide. The first mention of the Rom-feoh which occurs in the Anglo-Saxon laws is in the laws of Edward and Guthrum; but Alfred's liberality towards the English school and Offa's benefaction of an annual payment to the popes rest upon historical statements which cannot be overthrown.

A late insertion in the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor represents Ine's legendary character in a new light. According to this story, Ine was elected king by an angel, and was the first English king of all Britain; he took for his wife Guala, from whom the country formerly called Cambria took the name of Wales, and, by marrying English and Britons to wives of the other nation, produced a new race. The wisdom, justice, and warlike skill of Ine are further extolled. The passage is, however, so entirely fabulous that it is needless to inquire to what documentary antecedents it may be referred (*Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Schmid, p. 512). No part of it can be earlier than the reign of Edward I.

Still, in the curious misrepresentations of true history contained in the Welsh traditionary history, there are certain glimpses of the fact that Ine has some pretension to be a sort of international hero. Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. xii. c. 18), who had confounded Cadwalader with Ceadwalla, makes king Alan of Armorica send his son Ivor and his nephew Ini or Ynyt to rule the relics of the Britons, and represents the two princes as harassing the English for forty-nine years. This story, or the germ of truth which it contained, was amplified by later Welsh annalists, who ascribe to Ivor, as victories over the English, the victories won by Ine over the Welsh, and even make Ivor end his days at Rome as the historic Ine did. It is not indeed to be con-

tended that all Ine's struggles with the Welsh ended in victories; that seems most unlikely from the history of the next reign [ETHELHEARD]; but it is clear that a good deal of confusion and possible misrepresentation is found in the later Welsh annals and in the later Brut (see Lappenberg, ed. Thorpe, i. 256; Freeman, *King Ine*, pp. 34–40). [IVOR.]

Besides the accounts of Ine to be found in the ordinary English histories and authorities above quoted, reference may be made to the *Elogium Inae*, by Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pl. i. pp. 490–494; and the Bollandist acts, Feb. 6, tom. i. pp. 905–924.

Mabillon assigns to Ine a letter of consolation addressed to a sick brother, "regi In," and supposes it to have been written to Ine, ex-king, after he had become a monk at Rome. In the MS., however, edited by Jaffé, the superscription is "militi S'i"; and there seems no reason to ascribe it to Boniface as the writer; it contains, however, nothing of importance (Mon. Mogunt. p. 308). The arguments adduced to prove that Ine became a monk are of no value, resting upon the assumption that he introduced the Benedictine rule into the West Saxon monasteries.

The exact date of Ine's death is unknown. The Chronicle places both his visit to Rome and his death under the year 728; but the former event cannot well be placed later than 725, and it is by no means certain that Bede had heard of his death. The day of the "depositio" of Ine is given as Feb. 6 (Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, p. 154); under which date Ine is commemorated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, on the authority of Menard, and Mayhew, who, in his notices of the English Benedictine saints, cites the "Tabulae" of the Basilica of St. Peter for the fact that Ine died a monk and was buried, about 727, at the entrance of that church (*AA. SS.* Feb. i. 913). [S.]

INEGUUALD (Kemble, *C. D.* 82), bishop. [INGWALD.]

INELLA is mentioned, in the *Life of St. Farannan*, among those who came to welcome St. Columba on one occasion when he came back to Ireland, but Colgan (*Acta SS.* 337, c. 7, 339, n. [25]) supposes Inella to be another form of Derinella of Oct. 16 (26). [DARBELIN.] [J. G.]

INFANTIUS, count of the East under the emperor Arcadius. Like his father Modestus, a distinguished prefect of the East, he was a man of exceptionally high character (Libanius, ep. 906, p. 422, ed. Wolf). The emperor addressed him a constitution (Dec. 30, 393) forbidding the recognition of the Jewish law on the subject of marriage, and also forbidding bigamy. (*Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. ix. num. 7.) [T. W. D.]

INFERTAGSEUS. [INDFERTAIGSE.]

INFRIDIUS (Alcuin. i. 268). [NEFRIDIUS.]

INGALDUS, bishop. [INGWALD.]

INGELD, a West Saxon abbat, mentioned among the letters of Boniface. In one of these, written to the monks of Glastonbury by a priest named Wiehtbert, who had gone to join Boniface (after the year 732), the monks are directed to salute the brethren "in giro, primo Ingeldum abbatem et congregationem nostram." (*Ep.* 98, *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 247.) From this it appears that Ingeld's monastery was not far from Glastonbury. In another letter (*Ep.* 46; *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 126), the congregation of an abbat named Aldhun with the two abbesses, Cneuburga (Cuenburga) and Coenburga, addresses Coengils, abbat, Ingeld abbat, and Wiehtberht priest. Coengils was abbat of Glastonbury, Cuenburga was sister of Ine and Ingeld, and abbess of Wimborne. In the letter Cuenburga mentions her sister Quengith and other friends departed, for whom intercessory prayers are to be offered. The date of this letter is marked by Jaffé 729–744, relying on William of Malmesbury's dates for abbat Coengils; but it may be earlier. These facts point to an identity or relationship of Ingild and Ingeld. [S.]

INGELTRUDIS (INGITRUDIS), first abbess of the nunnery of Bellus Mons (Beaumont), as it was called in later times, when its site had been changed.

In the latter half of the 6th century a widow Ingeltrudis, a relative of king Guntram, and by some believed to be a daughter of Clotaire, but more probably a sister of Ingundis and Aregundis, two of his wives, assembled a congregation of women within the precincts of St. Martin's Church at Tours (in atrio Sancti Martini). She then persuaded her married daughter Berthegundis to leave her husband and assist her in governing it. But the fear of excommunication with which Gregory bishop of Tours, moved by her husband's complaints, menaced her, soon forced the latter to depart. She returned, however, in three or four years, but again had to leave, taking refuge this time with her brother Bertchramnus bishop of Bordeaux, until king Guntram ordered her departure. Upon her brother's death, to the quarrel with her husband she added a bitter contention with her mother the abbess as to her father's property, the king Childebert and the bishops Gregory and Maroveus seeking in vain to compose it. In 590 Ingeltrudis, then about 80 years of age, feeling the approach of death, installed a niece as her successor, and died, leaving her curse upon her daughter. The latter, armed with an authority obtained from Childebert, entered the monastery and stripped it of its contents, overwhelming the new abbess with reproaches. The story, which is told by Gregory with considerable detail, is interesting as a picture of Merovingian times. Ingeltrudis was apparently a partisan of the pretender Gundobald. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 22, vii. 36, ix. 33, x. 12; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 311–313.) [S. A. B.]

INGENIOSUS, a cleric condemned with eight others for Jovinianism by Siricius bishop of Rome, and by the synod of Milan, in 390. The epistle of Siricius and the reply of Ambrose in the name of his synod occur in *Pat. Lat.* (xiii. 1168, xvi. 1121, 1123), Mansi (iii. 663, 664), Labbe (ii. 1024, 1026). [T. W. D.]

INGENIUS, see also INGENUUS.

INGENIUS, one of the presbyters of Mareotis, who condemned Arius in 321 (Mansi, ii. 779; Alexand. ep. 2 in *Pat. Gr.* xviii. 580), and pro

bably the same presbyter of Mareotis who subscribed a letter to the council of Tyre in 335 in support of Athanasius (Athanas. *Ap. c. Ar.* § 74; Mansi, ii. 1154, where the name is Ingenius in the Greek and Ingenuus in the Latin).

[T. W. D.]

INGENOCUS was one of St. Winoc's companions and disciples, perhaps a brother, in the 7th century. He was first in the monastery of St. Sithiu, under St. Bertin, and then became abbat. His feast is Feb. 10. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 192; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 321.)

[J. G.]

INGENTIUS, decurio of Ziqua, a town in proconsular Africa, once secretary to Augentius, and notorious for the fraud which he endeavoured to perpetrate in the case of Felix bishop of Aptunga, mentioned by Augustine (epp. 88 al. 68, § 4, 141 al. 152, §§ 10, 11, and elsewhere). [FELIX (26).] [H. W. P.]

INGENUINUS (INGUINUS, GENUINUS), ST., third bishop of Säben, whence the see was later transferred to Brixen in the Tyrol, succeeding St. Lucanus after an interval, and followed by Constantius (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 265; Sinnacher, *Beyträge zur Geschichte der bischöflichen Kirche Säben und Brixen*, i. 1, 2), though a couplet of an anonymous poet of the 9th century, possessing considerable authority on the succession of the Bavarian bishops, asserts that he was the first of this diocese, succeeded by Mastulo (Mabill. *Vet. Analecta*, p. 347; Reschius, *Ann. Eccl. Sabiniani*, i. 77). A few facts are known of his life. In 595, when the Franks were returning from their expedition into Lombardy with numerous captives, Inguinus of Savio, and Aquellus of Trient interceded, and ransomed the inhabitants of Ferruge Castrum, said to be Verruca (Paulus Diac. *de Gest. Langob.* iii. 30, Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 533–4; Aimoin. *de Gest. Franc.* iii. 82, Bouquet, *Recueil*, iii. 108). His other appearances in history are in connexion with the schism of the Italian bishops on the point of the *Tria Capitula*, of which he was a defender. His name is found among the bishops present at the council of schismatics at Marannum in 591. See Paulus Diaconus (*ib.* iii. 26), who, however, treats the Roman party as the schismatics, and the council as the representatives of orthodoxy (cf. Bar. ann. 579; Pagi, xi.; Mansi, n.). His subscription, too, is found to the *libellus*, or letter, addressed by the bishops of Istria on the same occasion to the emperor Maurice, complaining of their treatment by the Romans, and begging for his intervention (Reschius, *ib.* saec. vi. xxxii. tom. ii. 406, 414; Bar. ann. 590, xxxviii.–xlii.; Mansi, x. 463–6). On both of these occasions the description is "Episcopus sanctae ecclesiae secundae Rhaetiae." To the *Acta* of the fictitious council of Grado, supposed to have been held in 579, his name is represented as signed by one Marcianus, a presbyter (Reschius, *ib.* saec. vi. 23, tom. ii. p. 373; see Bar. ann. 579; Pagi, xiii. xiv.; Mansi, n., and Labbe, *ib.* ix. 927–8, for the evidence proving this council to be an invention). He died cir. 605 and was commemorated Feb. 5. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 669 seqq.; Sinnacher, *ib.* i. 143 seqq.; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 218, ii. 280.) [S. A. B.]

INGENUUS (1), Sept. 11. A reputed martyr at the Portus Romanus with Hippolytus (*Mart. Hieron.*), whom the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 777) regard as a different person from the Hippolytus of Aug. 22. [G. T. S.]

INGENUUS (2) (Ἰγγένης), Dec. 20, soldier and confessor at Alexandria, under the emperor Decius. He was one of a party of soldiers, and was standing with three companions, Ammon, Zeno, and Ptolemaeus, near the tribunal of the judges, when a Christian was brought up who seemed to be about to deny his faith. Upon this the soldiers made earnest gesticulations, which attracted general attention, but before they could be seized, rushing towards the bench (βάθρον) which the accused occupied at his trial, they professed themselves Christians, and the judge, becoming alarmed, let them go. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 41–2; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [J. W. S.]

INGENUUS, presbyter. [INGENIUS.]

INGENUUS (3), fifth bishop of Embrun, succeeding Armentarius. He began his episcopate about A.D. 440, and was therefore probably consecrated by Hilary of Arles. He sat in the council of Orange, A.D. 441 (Mansi, vi. 441), and in 450 was one of the nineteen bishops who wrote to St. Leo, recognising Arles as their metropolitan see (Leo Mag. ep. 66, in *Pat. Lat.* liv.). In 451 he took part in the council of Arles, in which the epistle of St. Leo to Flavianus was read and accepted (ep. 99). He carried to Rome the synodical letter to the pope, and brought back from Rome Leo's notification of the council of Chalcedon (ep. 102, capp. 1, 5). He was reproved by St. Leo for surrendering his metropolitan rights. He sat in the third council of Arles, 455 (Mansi, vii. 907), held upon the question between Theodore of Frejus, and Faustus abbat of Lérins. The Ingenuus of the passages cited above, in which the bishops are named without sees, is assumed to be the Ingenuus bishop of Embrun whom, in the time of pope Hilary, we find complaining to Rome of encroachments on his rights by Auxanius, who had obtained by surprise the sanction of Rome. He was hereupon confirmed in his claim to metropolitan authority in the Maritime Alps (Hilar. Pap. ep. 4 in *Pat. Lat.* lviii. 20; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 465, xxviii.). He was present at Rome in 465 in a council held under Hilary (Mansi, vii. 965, the see named). The year of his death has been variously supposed to have been 465, 475, 487, and after him the Arians obtained possession of the see until early in the next century, when it was temporarily recovered for the Catholics by Catulinus [CATULINUS (3)]. (*Gall. Ch.* iii. 1058.) [R. T. S.]

INGENUUS (4), bishop of Ubaba in Mauritania Caesariensis, was banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vitens. *Notit.* 59; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 348.) [R. S. G.]

INGENUUS (5), a presbyter at the council of Agde in 506, representing his diocesan Aper bishop of Bigorritana civitas (Tarbe). (Mansi, viii. 337.) [T. W. D.]

INGENUUS (6), a hermit near Autun, stated to have boiled his broth for many years

in a wooden saucepan which the flames never injured. Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Conf.* 98) relates this on the information of an abbat who frequently visited the hermit and shared the meal which he saw so cooked. [T. W. D.]

INGENUUS (7), a shepherd of Brivas (Brioude), who seized on some adjoining land belonging to the church of St. Julian, and kept forcible possession of it against the clergy. On the following festival of the saint, as Ingenuus was feasting with others at Brivas, a flash of lightning struck him alone of all the guests, and he perished. (Greg. Tur. *Mirac. S. Jul.* ii. 15.) [T. W. D.]

INGETRUDIS, abbess. [INGELTRUDIS.]

INGILBERTUS, nineteenth or twentieth bishop of St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, succeeding Gemmardus and followed by Richardus, perhaps about the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 708.) [S. A. B.]

INGILDUS (1), brother of Ine king of Wessex, son of Cenred and father of Eoppa, the great-grandfather of Egbert. His death is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 718; but it is not improbable that he lived longer, and was identical with the abbat Ingeld. [S.]

INGILDUS (2), 10th bishop of Valence, succeeding Agilulfus and followed by Bobo, was present at the council of Châlons held about A.D. 650. The signature of a bishop Ingildus appears to the charter of Landericus, archbishop of Paris, given in 652, in favour of the monastery of St. Denys, and though no see is appended, it may well belong, as far as the date is concerned, to this bishop of Valence. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 302; Mansi, x. 1194; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 295.) [S. A. B.]

INGITRUDIS, abbess. [INGELTRUDIS.]

INGLEIS, brother of Ine. [INGILD.]

INGOBERGA, wife of the Frank king Charibert of Paris, and mother of Bertha queen of Kent. Charibert, who died in 567, shortly before his death repudiated her and took in her room Marcovefa and Merosidis, who had been her attendants (Aimoin. *Gest. Franc.* iii. 2. *Chron. of S. Denys*, ii. 24; Hermann. Contract. *Chron.* s. a. 563, all in Bouquet, t. iii.). For what we know of Ingoberga, we are indebted to Gregory of Tours, who was acquainted with her. He describes her as very sedulous in vigils, prayers, and alms. He places her death in the fourteenth year of Childebert II., *i.e.* in or about 588, and he thinks she must have been in her seventieth year. A few months before she died she sent for Gregory, with whom she arranged to bequeath a benefaction to the church at Tours and the basilica of St. Martin. She also left land to the church at Le Mans, and charters of manumission for several of her bond-servants. Bertha was her only daughter (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ix. 26). Ingoberga and her bequest to Le Mans are mentioned in the testament of Bertramnus bishop of Le Mans, at whose instance the bequest was made. (Mabillon, *Analect. Vet.* ed. 1723, p. 255.) [C. H.]

INGOLDUS, bishop. [INGWALD.]

INGOMARUS (CHUNINGUS), a Frisian noble. In 719 when Radbod duke of Frisia was on his death-bed and still a pagan, he saw in a vision an angel of light, who promised him a palatial abode in the next life should he die in the religion of his fathers, offering to conduct any one whom Radbod might send to view it. Ingomar was sent, but bishop Wulfran obtained leave for his deacon to accompany him. Soon after the two set out the promised conductor appeared, and in due time they arrived in view of a resplendent mansion. The deacon exclaimed, If all this was created by God may it remain; if by Satan may it disappear! Instantly the whole scene vanished, the guide included. Ingomar and the deacon found themselves entangled in a filthy marsh, and on their return Radbod had died without baptism. Ingomar was baptized, and accompanied Wulfran to the monastery of Fontenelle on the Seine. The story is told in an account of Radbod's death by Jonas of Fontenelle, printed by Surius (*Prob. SS. Hist.* 20 Mart.), by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 20 Mart. iii. 147), and by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 719, vi.–xi.). [C. H.]

INGOMERIS (IGNOMERUS), son of Clovis and Clotilda. His baptism, quickly followed by his death, "in ipsis albis," is related by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Fr.* ii. 29). [CLOTILDA.] [T. W. D.]

INGRATIUS, son of Dulcissimus, said to have been miraculously healed by Aridius abbat of Limoges. (Greg. Tur. *Vita Aridii*, § 10.) [T. W. D.]

INGUALD, bishop. [INGWALD.]

INGUINUS, bishop of Säben. [INGENUINUS.]

INGULFUS, the name of a priest whose attestation is attached to the forged charter of Crowland. (Kemble, *C. D.* 66; *Mon. Angl.* ii. 107.) [S.]

INGUNDIS, third wife of Clotaire I. king of the Franks, and mother by him of Charibert of Paris, Guntram of Orleans, Sigebert of Rheims, Clodosinda queen of the Lombards, and two sons who died in their father's lifetime, viz. Guntharius and Childeric. She asked her husband to procure a suitable marriage for her sister Aregundis, and Clotaire complied by marrying her himself, Ingundis consenting, it is said, to the bigamy. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* iv. 3; Id. *Epitom.* 47.) [T. W. D.]

INGUNTHIS (INGUNDIS, SEDEGUNDIS), daughter of Sigebert king of Austrasia and Brunichildis, and at the age of twelve wife of Hermenigild the Catholic prince of Spain. At the time of her marriage (A.D. 579) her grandmother, Goisvintha, was the second wife of Hermenigild's father Leovigild, and like him an Arian, while Ingunthis was a Catholic (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* iv. 38). Goisvintha at first received Ingunthis with great kindness, but finding that she had been the means of converting Hermenigild to the Catholic faith, became greatly incensed, and instigated a bitter persecution against the Catholics. A civil war ensued, cir. 582, and in 585 Hermenigild was put to death.

(Greg. Tur. *H. F.* v. 39). Before his death he committed Ingunthis and their infant son to the care of the Greeks, who took them to Constantinople. On the way, however, Ingunthis died, Gregory of Tours says in Africa, but according to Paulus Diaconus in Sicily. (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* viii. 28; Id. *Epitom.* 82; Paul. Diac. *Gest. Langob.* iii. 21; Joan. Biclar. in Pagi, *Crit.* a. a. 583 ix. 584 ii. iii.; Joannes Mariana, *De Rebus Hispanicis*, lib. v. cap. 12.) [HERMENIGILD, GOISVINTHA.] [T. W. D.]

INGWALD, the sixth bishop of London (*M. H. B.* 617). He succeeded Waldhere, who was alive in 705 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 274) between that year and 716.

His name appears as Hinwald in an Evesham charter dated 706 (Kemble, *C. D.* 57), but this is very questionable; and the same may be said of another Evesham charter dated 709, and attested by "Ingualdus episcopus." (K. *C. D.* 60.) Ingwald was, however, at the council of Clovesho in 716, when the privilege of Wihtred was confirmed. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 301.) He joined in the consecration of archbishop Tatwin, June 10, 731, Bede (*H. E.* v. 23), and attested a Withington charter (K. *C. D.* 82) as late as the year 736. His death under the year 745 is noted by Simeon of Durham from the continuator of Bede or other northern authorities. (*M. H. B.* 288, 662.) [S.]

INJURIOSUS (1), 15th archbishop of Tours, succeeding Francilio, and followed by St. Baldus (or by Agrestius if he belonged to this see), was a citizen of Tours, of humble but free birth. He completed the church of St. Mary at Tours, and built that of St. Germain-sur-Loire. He was present at the second council of Orleans in 533, was represented by Camadnus, a priest, at the third in 538, and was present in person at the fourth in 541. He successfully resisted the attempt of Clotaire to levy a tax on the revenues of the churches of his kingdom. He died about A.D. 545. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 2, x. 31; Mansi, viii. 838, ix. 20, 120; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 19.) [S. A. B.]

INJURIOSUS (2), an ex-vicarius, who treacherously murdered Armentarius a Jew, another Jew, and two Christians, in the reign of Childebert, cir. 575. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* vii. 23.) [T. W. D.]

INJURIOSUS (3), a senator of Clermont in Auvergne, married to a wealthy lady of that city, and buried with her in one of the churches there. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* i. 42; Id. *Glor. Conf.* cap. 32; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 38.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENS (INNOCENTIUS), eighth bishop of Le Mans, succeeding St. Principius, and followed by Scienfredus, was adopted and educated by the sixth bishop of that see, Victurius II. He was present at the second council of Orleans in 533, and the fourth in 541. The mother church of the city was restored by him, and that of the apostles beyond the Sarthe enlarged by the addition of an apse. The monasteries of his diocese found a munificent patron in him. Many of the old ones were enriched, and new ones founded. It was probably owing to this liberality that his subscription was forged to many pretended grants and charters, some of which were published by Mabillon in the *Vetera Analecta* (infra). His episcopate lasted forty-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days. (*Gesta Pontificum Cenoman.* c. viii., Mabill. *Vetera Analecta*, 245, Paris, 1723; Mansi, viii. 839, ix. 120; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 344.) [S. A. B.]

INNOCENTIA (1), Sept. 16, virgin, alleged martyr at Ariminum in the Diocletian persecution, mentioned in later martyrologies. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 310.) [C. H.]

INNOCENTIA (2), a lady belonging to one of the principal families of Carthage. She was afflicted with cancer in the breast, and on being informed by her physician that the disease was incurable, betook herself to prayer, when she was admonished in a dream to watch at the baptistery at the approaching Easter festival, and request the baptized woman that should first meet her to mark the cancer with the sign of Christ. She did so, and was immediately cured. Augustine, who relates this story, says that he conversed with the lady upon the subject. (August. *Civ. Dei.* xxii. 8, § 3.) [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (1), a bishop of Verona, of extremely uncertain date, like almost all the early bishops of that city. The Bollandists place him in the 4th or 5th century. (*Acta SS.* 14 Mart. ii. 348; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 575; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 746; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. ii. 2.) [R. S. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (2), said to have been bishop of Justiniana in Africa, in the fourth century, just after the persecution of Diocletian. His apocryphal life is related in a "legendary" of the church of Gaeta printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 7 Mai. ii. 138) with conjectures by Papebroch, who thinks that Justiniana (not otherwise known in Africa) may have been Adrumetum. When he had been seven years a bishop in Africa he crossed over to Italy and settled at Capratia near Terracina, where he died on May 7. His body was afterwards removed to the church of St. Mary at Cajeta. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 68.) [R. S. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (3), bishop of Dertona (Tortona), between Meliodorus and John, A.D. 318–342 (Cappelletti), or 326–353 (Ughelli). He was the son of Quintius, a Roman noble, and his wife Innocentia; was born at Dertona, fled to Rome at the time of Diocletian's persecution, and was there ordained by Sylvester, and subsequently appointed by him bishop of Dertona. (*Acta SS.* 17 April. ii. 482; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 853; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 669.) [R. S. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (4), a bishop addressed by Basil in two epistles. The first (50 al. 409), written at the commencement of Basil's episcopate, A.D. 370, shews Innocent as a man advanced in years, of great worth, well known for the firmness with which he advocated right views on the subject of the Holy Spirit. The second (81 al. 49), A.D. 372, shews Innocent in view of death, anxiously seeking a faithful successor to guide his church in those tempestuous times. He solemnly appeals to Basil either to be himself

that successor, or else to send to him for consecration a certain presbyter of Caesarea. Basil is unable to comply with the first request, and as to the second, names a presbyter far superior to the one Innocent had asked for, a disciple of Hermogenes [HERMOGENES (4)], and likely to prove an admirable bishop. The see of Innocent, wherever situated, was evidently an important one, and his administration of it had been conspicuously successful. [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (5), Donatist bishop of Tabalta, or Thebalta, in Byzacene (Ant. *Itin.* 48, 6, Tarfouah), of the Maximianist party, a member of the council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 394. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* xxxvi. 20; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 292.) [H. W. P.]

INNOCENTIUS (6), bishop of Germania, or perhaps Germaniciana, a place mentioned by Antoninus as between Aquae Regiae and Thysdrus, *i.e.* in Proconsular Africa (Ant. *Itin.* 55, 3). But a place of this name is mentioned by St. Augustine as being under his episcopal care, and if so, it was probably in Numidia, near to Hippo Regius (Aug. *Ep.* 251). Innocentius was present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 120.) [H. W. P.]

INNOCENTIUS (7), bishop of Lamiggiga, in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 133; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 411, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

INNOCENTIUS (8), Donatist bishop of Guzabeta, a place of unknown site, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 198). (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 448, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

INNOCENTIUS (9), probably an African bishop who joined with St. Augustine and others in a letter of remonstrance to the Donatists, from a council held at Zerta, in Numidia, A.D. 412. (Aug. *Ep.* 141.) [H. W. P.]

INNOCENTIUS (10), a bishop present at the second council of Milevis, A.D. 416. (Innoc. Pap. ep. 27 in *Pat. Lat.* xx. 569, and Mansi, iv. 335 marg.) [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (11), ninth bishop of Rouen between Victricius and Evodius, early in the 5th century. (*Gall. Chr.* xi. 9.) [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (12) I., bishop of Rome, after Anastasius, from May, A.D. 402, to March 12, A.D. 417, during nearly fifteen years. He is described in the *Liber Pontificalis* as a native of Albano, and son of another Innocent. St. Jerome (*Ep.* 8) calls him the son as well as successor of Anastasius (Apostolicae cathedrae et supradicti viri successor et filius), using, we may suppose, the word son metaphorically.

The circumstances of the beginning of the 5th century, as well as the character and talents of Innocent, render his pontificate important. Christianity had now for nearly a century been the religion of the emperors; paganism was fast becoming a system of the past; the capture of Rome by Alaric during the pontificate of Innocent, regarded as the divine judgment on the old heathen city, and causing the dispersion and ruin of the remains of the old heathen nobility, completed the downfall of the ancient order of things. With the ascendency of the church had grown also that of the hierarchy, and especially of the head of that hierarchy in the West, the Roman bishop. Various causes had contributed, and were now contributing, to this result. The need felt of centres of unity and seats of authority to keep the church together amid the doctrinal conflicts of the age; the power and importance hence accruing to the patriarchal sees, and especially to Rome as the one great patriarchate of the West, the see of the old seat of empire, and the only Western one that claimed apostolic origin; the view now generally received of the bishop of Rome being the successor of the prince of the apostles; then the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople by Constantine, leaving the pope, when there was but one emperor, the sole Western potentate; and when there were two, as was the case in Innocent's time, the eventual fixing of the imperial residence at Ravenna instead of Rome—such were among the causes of the aggrandisement of the Roman see in the time of Innocent. Further, it is to be remarked that the controversies which had distracted the church during the preceding century had tended to the increased estimation and importance of the Roman see. For the West had been comparatively free from the heat of these controversies, which were of Oriental origin, nor had the popes taken much personal part in them; but they had notwithstanding almost invariably supported the orthodox cause; they had received and protected the orthodox under persecution; and, after watching with quiet dignity the Eastern struggle, had accepted and confirmed the decisions of orthodox councils. Hence the see of Rome stood out before the eyes of men as the bulwark of the cause of truth; and its claim to be the unerring guardian of the apostolic faith and discipline was gaining extensive credence. And if the circumstances of the time made Innocent's pontificate an important one, no less did his own character and talents. He was eminently the man to enter into, and make the most of, the position he was called to occupy. Unstained in life, able and resolute, with a full appreciation of the dignity and prerogatives of his see, he lost no opportunity of asserting its claims, and under him the idea of universal papal supremacy, though as yet somewhat shadowy, appears already to be taking form.

At the time of his accession, the empire had been for seven years divided between the two sons of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius; the latter, now eighteen years of age, under the control of the great general Stilicho, being the ruler of the West. It was not till two years after Innocent's accession (A.D. 404) that he fixed his residence at Ravenna.

I. WEST. (1) *Illyria.*—Immediately after his election (A.D. 402) Innocent wrote to Anysius bishop of Thessalonica, informing him of the event, and giving him the oversight of the churches of eastern Illyria. The prefecture of Illyria had been dismembered since the year 388, the Eastern part of it, including Dacia and Macedonia, being assigned to the Eastern empire. The popes Damasus and Siricius had, however, continued to claim ecclesiastical jurisdiction over

the separated portion, delegating their authority to the bishops of Thessalonica. This letter, then, of Innocent's involved no new claim, nor any assertion of authority over the East generally; only a continuance of the position of his predecessors, who had protested against any curtailment through political changes of the jurisdiction of the Roman see. (Innocent. *Ep.* 1. Galland. *Bibl. Patr.*)

When Rufus, some years after, succeeded Anysius as bishop of Thessalonica, a letter was at once sent also to him, reversing the vicariate commission, defining its extent, and reminding the bishop that it was from the favour of the apostolic see only that his jurisdiction was derived. Several years later (A.D. 414) we find Innocent exercising authority of a summary kind, and without the intervention of the bishop of Thessalonica, in the province of east Illyria. The bishops of Macedonia had sent him a synodal letter, desiring directions on the following questions: (1) Whether persons who had been ordained by one Bonosus, a deceased heretical bishop, might be admitted to the priesthood. The Macedonian bishops thought that such persons might be so admitted on their receiving the blessing of an orthodox bishop, for that Anysius had permitted this, and the Nicene canons had allowed it in the case of the Novatians. (2) Whether persons who had married widows might not be ordained, and be made bishops, for which allowance they had pleaded on the ground of the custom of their church; and whether those who had married one wife before, and another after baptism, might not also be ordained. (3) They had asked leave to raise to the episcopate one Photinus, who had been condemned by Innocent's predecessors, and to depose a deacon called Eustatius. It appears that some at least of these questions had already been before Innocent, and decided by him, for in his reply he expresses surprise and displeasure at their being again mooted.[a] He then authoritatively decides the questions. Those who had married widows he debars from ordination, citing the prohibition of such marriages to the high priest under the Mosaic law. Those ordained by Bonosus are debarred from the priesthood on the ground of the law of the Roman church (*lex nostrae ecclesiae*), according to which persons baptized by heretics, though admissible to lay communion by imposition of hands only, received no recognition of their supposed orders.[b] (1) The Nicene canon about the Novatians, he says, applied to them only, and the condonation by Anysius had only been a temporary expedient. The question whether those who had married one wife before, and another after baptism, were to be accounted deuterogamists, and so incapable of ordination, is one which he discussed also at length in other epistles.[c] (2) He decides that they are to be so accounted, for that baptism is not the commencement of a new life in such sort as to relax the obligations of a previous marriage. As to Photinus, though with hesitation and much anxiety, he allows his promotion, notwithstanding the condemnation of him by previous popes, on the ground that they had been imposed on by false reports; and he disallows the deposition of Eustatius. (*Ep.* xvii. Galland.) Another epistle, addressed to the bishops of Macedonia, confirms the deposition of Babalius and Taurianus, who had appealed to Rome from the sentence of the bishops of their province, and whose appeal the bishops seem to have taken amiss. For Innocent presses upon them the advantage, rather than the contrary, of having their judgment revised (*Ep.* xviii. Galland.).

(2) *Gaul.*—Victricius bishop of Rouen, who had been in Rome towards the end of the year 403 (*Ep. ad Victric.* § 14, and Paul. Nolan. *Ep. ad Victric.* xxxvii. 1), applied to the pope soon afterwards for information as to the practice and discipline of the Roman church. In reply Innocent sent him a letter containing 14 rules, of which he says that they are no new ones, but derived by tradition from the apostles and fathers, though too generally unknown or disregarded. He directs Victricius to communicate them to the bishops and others, with a view to their future observance. They are to the following effect: (1) No bishop may ordain without the knowledge of his metropolitan, nor without the assistance of other bishops. (2) No one, who has served as a soldier after baptism, may be ordained. (3) Ordinary causes against bishops are to be determined by the other bishops of the province, saving always the authority of Rome. (4) Greater causes, after the judgment of the bishops, are to be referred to the apostolic see, "as the synod (referring, we may suppose, to the canons of Sardica) has decreed." (5) No cleric may marry a widow, since his doing so would be a bar to the priesthood. (6, 7) No layman who has so married, or who has himself been twice married, whether before or after his baptism, may be ordained. Under these heads Innocent enforces at some length his view, above referred to, of baptism not affecting obligations incurred by previous marriage. (8) No bishop may ordain any one from another diocese without the leave of its bishop. (9) Converts from Novatianism and Montanism are to be received by imposition of hands only, without iteration of baptism; but such as, having left the church, had been rebaptized by heretics, are only to be received after long penance. (10) Priests and Levites who have wives are not to cohabit with them. This rule is supported by argument, resting mainly on the prohibition of intercourse with their wives to priests under the old law before officiating. Christian priests and Levites, it is argued, ought always to be prepared to officiate. (11) Monks, taking minor orders, may not marry. (12) Courtiers and public functionaries are not to be admitted to any clerical order; the reasons given being that they might have to

[a] . . . "quae stuporem mentibus nostris inducerent, facerentque nos non modicum dubitare utrum aliter putaremus, an ita illa essent posita quemadmodum personabant."

[b] For the practice of the Roman church, and the controversy with the Africans, on the recognition of heretical baptism, see Articles on STEPHANUS and CYPRIANUS.

[c] Cf. *Epp.* ii. iii. *Bibl. Patr.* Galland. St. Jerome, in one of his letters, strongly maintains the view contrary to that of Innocent; and his own view would appear, from what he says, to have been the prevalent one at the time, for he speaks of the number of persons who had been ordained, and even advanced to the episcopate, after marrying a second wife after baptism, being large enough to compose a council.

exhibit or preside over entertainments undoubtedly invented by the devil, and that they were liable to be recalled to his service by the emperor, so as to cause much "sadness and anxiety." Victricius is reminded of painful cases, to which he had been witness when in Rome, in which the pope had with difficulty obtained from the emperor in person the exemption even of priests from being recalled to his service. (13) Veiled virgins, if they marry, are not to be admitted even to penance till the husband's death; but (14) such as have promised virginity, but have not been "veiled by the priest," may be reconciled after penance.

In the following year (A.D. 405) Innocent was similarly consulted by another bishop of Gaul, Exsuperius of Toulouse, whom he commends in reply for referring doubtful questions to the apostolic see, and gives him the following directions: (1) Priests or deacons who cohabit with their wives are to be deprived, as pope Siricius had directed. The prohibition of conjugal intercourse to the priests in the Old Testament before officiating is adduced as before; also St. Paul's injunction to the Corinthian laity to abstain for a time, that they might give themselves unto prayer; whence it follows that the clergy ought always to abstain; to whom prayer and sacrifice is a continual duty. When St. Paul said that a bishop was to be the husband of one wife, he did not mean that he was to live with her; else he would not have said, "they that are in the flesh cannot please God;" and he said, "having children," not "begetting" them. . . . At the same time, the incontinence of clergy whom the injunction of pope Siricius had not reached may be condoned; but they are not to be promoted to any higher order. (2) To the question whether such as had led continually loose lives after baptism might be admitted to penance and communion at the approach of death, Innocent replies that, though in former times penance only and not communion was accorded in such cases, the strict rule may now be relaxed, and both given. (3) Baptized Christians are not precluded from inflicting torture or condemning to death as judges, nor from suing as advocates for judgment in a capital case. Innocent, however, elsewhere precludes Christians who had been so engaged from ordination (*Ep.* xxvii. *ad Felicem*). (4) To the question how it was that adultery in a wife was more severely visited than in a husband, it is replied that the cause was the unwillingness of wives to accuse their husbands, and the difficulty of convicting the latter of transgression, not that adultery was more criminal in one case than in the other. (5) Divorced persons, who marry again during the life of their first consort, and those who marry them, are adulterers, and to be excommunicated; but not their parents or relations, unless accessory. Lastly, a list is given of the canonical books of Scripture, the same as are now received by the church of Rome; while certain books, bearing the names of Matthias, James the Less, Peter, John, and Thomas, are repudiated and condemned.

(3) *Spain.*—In the year 400 had been held the first council of Toledo, its main purpose being to deal with Priscillianists returning to the church. Two bishops so returning, Symphorius and Dichtynius, with others, had been received by the council; but certain bishops of Baetica had still refused to communicate with them. A Spanish bishop, Hilary, who had subscribed the decree of the council of Toledo, went with a priest, Elpidius, to Rome, to represent this to the pope; complaining also of two bishops, Rufinus and Minicius, who had ordained other bishops out of their own province without the knowledge of the metropolitan; and of other prevalent irregularities with respect to ordinations. It does not appear that the complainants had been commissioned by any synod, or other authority of the Spanish church, to lay these matters before the pope, or request his interference. Innocent, however, did not omit the opportunity of addressing a letter, after a synod held at Rome, to the bishops who had constituted the Toledo council, advising or directing them; though without any assertion, such as he makes in addressing other churches, of the authority of the Roman see. In this letter he condemns those who refused to communicate with reconciled Priscillianists, and directs the bishops to inquire into the cases of Rufinus and Minicius, and to enforce the canons. As to other prevalent irregularities, such as the ordination of persons who had, after baptism, pleaded as advocates, served in the army, or as courtiers (*curiales*) been concerned in objectionable ceremonies or entertainments,—he directs that such irregularities of this kind as had already occurred should be condoned for fear of scandal and disturbance, but that they should be avoided for the future. Lastly, he insists on what appears so often in his letters, the incapacity for ordination of such as had married widows or had married twice, and again protests against the view that baptism annulled the obligation of a previous marriage. He supports these prohibitions by arguments from the Old Testament, and from St. Paul, "Husband of one wife" (*Ep.* iii. *Bibl. Patr.* Galland.). There is no evidence to shew how this admonitory letter was received in Spain.

(4) *Africa.*—In the year 412 or 413, Innocent wrote to Aurelius bishop of Carthage, requesting him to announce in synod the day on which Easter should be kept in 414, with the view of its being announced, as was then customary, to the church by the bishop of Rome (*Ep.* xiv. Galland.). Towards the end of the year 416 he received synodal letters from councils held at Carthage and Milevis in Numidia, and from St. Augustine (who had taken part in the latter council), with four other bishops, on the subject of the Pelagian controversy; to all of which letters he replied in January 417. This correspondence is interesting, as illustrating the relations then subsisting between the West African church and the see of Rome. For such relations at an early period see STEPHANUS, CYPRIANUS, SIXTUS II. The synodal letters inform Innocent that the synods in question had renewed the condemnation of Pelagius and Caelestius that had been pronounced five years previously at Carthage, and very respectfully request him to add the authority of the apostolical see to the decrees of their mediocrity (ut statutis nostrae mediocritatis etiam apostolicae sedis auctoritas adhibeatur); setting forth the heresies condemned, and arguments against them. The African bishops evidently attach great importance to obtaining the pope's condemnation

of Pelagius, on the ground of the weight it would carry, though not all implying that the validity of their own condemnation depended on his approval. The five bishops imply some doubt as to his probable action in the matter, having heard that there were some in Rome who favoured the heretic; and they await the result with suspense, fear, and trembling. ("Familia Christi . . . suspenso corde, cum timore et tremore adjutorium Domini etiam per caritatem tuae venerationis exspectat.") They also send a work believed to be by Pelagius, and another written in answer to it by Augustine, with the passages marked to which the pope's attention is particularly directed; as well as a letter addressed by Augustine to Pelagius, which they request the pope to forward, since it would come with more weight from him than from the writer. They suggest that he should either summon Pelagius to Rome or address him by letter, desiring his conversion rather than his condemnation. They apologize, in conclusion, for sending his holiness a more prolix letter than he would perhaps care to receive, which they do, not as pouring in their rivulet to increase his large fountain, but wishing that he should shew by his reply whether their little stream and his abundant one flow from the same source. Innocent, in replying to these letters, assumes much greater dependence on the see of Rome on the part of the Africans than their language had implied, and takes the opportunity of asserting very large claims to general authority. He commends the bishops of the Carthaginian synod for referring the matter to his judgment, knowing as they did what was due to the apostolic see, the see of the apostle from whom all episcopal authority was derived; for having observed the decrees of the fathers, resting on divine authority, according to which nothing done, even in remote and separated provinces, was to be considered settled till it had come to the knowledge of the Roman see, and been confirmed by its authority; that is, all waters proceeding from the fountain of their birth, the pure streams of the uncorrupted head might flow through the different regions of the whole world. Here the metaphor of waters, used by the five bishops, has a new and very different turn given to it. The abundant stream of Rome, flowing, it is hoped, from the same fountain-head as the smaller stream of Africa, becomes itself the fountain-head from which all streams must flow. He addresses the bishop of the Milevetan synod in the same strain. He then proceeds to condemn the Pelagian heresy in strong terms, and to anathematize all its abettors and supporters. His utterances on the subject are marked rather by strength of language than by any valuable addition to the arguments adduced by his correspondent: but to adduce proofs he says is unnecessary, since they had said all that was wanted. He declines to accede to the suggestion of the five bishops that he should make overtures to Pelagius, or send for him to Rome. It is for the heretical, he says, to come to me of his own accord, if he is ready to retract his errors; if he is not ready, he will not obey my summons, if sent for; if he should come, repudiate his heresy, and ask for pardon, he will be received (*Epp.* Augustine, xc.–xcv.; *Epp.* Innoc. clxxxi.–clxxxiii. Galland.).

In a letter to Decentius bishop of Eugubium in Umbria (dated A.D. 416), the claims of the Roman see are no less strongly asserted than in the letters to the African bishops. Decentius had been in Rome, and there learnt the usages of the Roman church, which he desired to follow; and with this view he had afterwards requested directions on certain points from Innocent; who, in reply, tells him that no one can be ignorant of the obligation of all to observe the traditions, and those alone, which the Roman church had received from St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and which that church ever preserved;—especially as it was manifest that no churches had been founded in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, or the interjacent islands, except by St. Peter himself, or his successors. The letter proceeds to require observance of the following Roman usages. (1) The pax in the Eucharist must be given after communion, not before. (2) The names of such as offer oblations at the Eucharist are not to be recited by the priest before the sacrifice, or the canon. (3) Infants after baptism may not be confirmed by unction except by the bishop; but priests may anoint other parts of the body than the forehead, using oil that has been blessed by the bishop. (4) Saturday as well as Friday in each week is to be observed as a fast, in commemoration of the whole time during which Christ was in the grave. (5) Demoniacs may receive imposition of hands from priests or other clergy commissioned by the bishop. (6) St. James's direction that the sick are to call for the *elders* of the church does not preclude the bishop himself from administering the unction in person; but not only priests, but also any Christian may anoint, using chrism prepared by the bishop. Penitents, however, to whom the other sacraments are denied, may not receive unction, "quia genus sacramenti est." It appears plain from the way the unction of the sick is spoken of that it was then used with a view to recovery, not as a last rite. (7) One Roman custom:—that of sending, on the Lord's day, the Eucharist that has been consecrated by the bishop to the presbyters throughout the city, that all on that day at least may partake of one communion;—is not to be observed elsewhere, when it would involve carrying the sacrament to great distances. Even in Rome, it is added, it is not taken to the priests in the various cemeteries[d] (*Epp.* xxv. Galland.).

[d] The word used for what was sent at Rome to the priests throughout the city is *fermentum;* used also with the same reference by Anastasius on St. Melchiades: "Hic fecit ut oblationes consecratae per ecclesias ex consecratu Episcopi dirigerentur, quod declaratur Fermentum;" and on Siricius: "Hic constituit . . . . quod nominatur Fermentum." The meaning of the word thus used has been variously taken. In the conference, A.D. 1146, at Constantinople, under the emperor John Comnenus, between Anselm bishop of Havelberg and Nicetas bishop of Nicomedia, on the part of the Latin and Greek churches, it was taken to mean leavened bread, and adduced by Nicetas in proof of the ancient use of such bread in the Eucharist. Anselm met the argument by saying that it was not the Eucharist itself but the *eulogiae* that were denoted by the word (Anselm, *Dialog.* l. 3, c. 13, 15.) Baronius (*ad ann.* 313) upholds the same view. Mabillon and Bona agree with Nicetas in taking the word to mean leavened bread, and

II. THE EAST.—In the year 404 began the intervention of Innocent in the affairs of the East, in the matter of St. Chrysostom. The latter having been deposed and driven from Constantinople after the synod of the Oak in 403, and having been brought back and reinstated for a time, was finally expelled on June 20, A.D. 404, and banished to Cucusus in Armenia. Innocent was informed of these events from several sources. First came a letter from Theophilus, bishop (commonly called *pope*) of Alexandria (who had presided at the synod of the Oak, having been the instigator and agent of the whole persecution), stating simply that he had deposed Chrysostom. This letter was from Theophilus singly, not a synodical one, and seems to have given no details. Then one Eusebius, a deacon of Constantinople, who happened to be then at Rome, went to the pope to prepare him for the startling news. Three days later, three more letters were brought by four brothers, written before Chrysostom's final banishment, giving details of what had so far occurred. One was from Chrysostom himself, another from the 40 bishops who remained in his communion; the third from his clergy. That from Chrysostom is preserved, being given by Palladius in his *Dialogus de Vita S. Johan. Chrysost.* It was addressed, not to Innocent alone, but to the bishops of Rome, Aquileia, and Milan, as the three great bishops of the West, and, after giving a full account of the iniquitous proceedings of Theophilus and of their consequences, it requests the three Western bishops to protest by letter against the illegality of what had been done, and to continue in communion with the writer, who declares himself ready to defend himself before a lawfully constituted council. To all these letters Innocent is said to have replied that, while he still remained in communion with both parties, he reprobated the past proceedings as irregular, and proposed a council of Easterns and Westerns, from which both the avowed friends and enemies of the accused should be excluded, as the only mode of settlement. A few days later a priest and deacon brought a second letter from Theophilus, with the acts of the synod of the Oak, from which it appeared that Chrysostom had been condemned by 36 bishops, of whom 29 were Egyptians. Innocent's short letter in reply is extant, in which he repeats, and says he can but repeat as often as he is written to, that he cannot renounce communion with Chrysostom on the strength of the past futile proceedings, and demands that Theophilus should proffer his charges against him before a proper council, according to the Nicene canons. Communications from Constantinople continued to reach Innocent. One brought by a priest, Theotecnus, from about 25 bishops of Chrysostom's party, informed him of his banishment to Cucusus, and the burning of his cathedral church. To them, as well as to the banished prelate, the pope sent letters of communion in reply, being unable to render help. To a letter from Acacius of Beroea and a few other hostile bishops (brought, Palladius tells us, by a hideous, deformed, hardly intelligible, dwarf called Paternus, who described himself as a presbyter of Constantinople), in which Chrysostom himself was accused of having set fire to the church, no answer was vouchsafed. In the meantime Arsacius, a weak old man, had been intruded into the see of Constantinople. Cruel persecution of the friends of Chrysostom was set afoot by the Eastern emperor Arcadius, instigated doubtless by the empress Eudoxia, on the plea of discovering the incendiaries of the church; edicts were issued, ordering, among other things, the spoliation and banishment of bishops who refused to communicate with Theophilus, Arsacius, and Porphyrius (the last of whom had intruded himself into the see of Antioch), who formed the triumvirate that had managed the ecclesiastical affairs of the East. The consequence was a number of letters to Rome from oppressed bishops and clergy, and the resort thither of many in person, including Anysius of Thessalonica, Palladius of Helenopolis (the author of the *Dialogus de Vit. S. Johan. Chrysost.*), and Cassianus, famous afterwards as a monk and a writer. Innocent represented the state of things to the emperor Honorius, who wrote thrice to his brother on the subject. His second and third letters are preserved, the latter of which he sent under the advice of a synod, assembled by the pope at his request to consider what had best be done. The synod had recommended him to write to Arcadius, urging the assembling of a council of Easterns and Westerns combined at Thessalonica, as a convenient intermediate place. Thus advised, he had desired Innocent to appoint five bishops, two priests, and one deacon, as a deputation from the Western church; and these he charged with this third letter, in which he requested his brother to summon the Oriental bishops to Thessalonica, there to meet the Western deputation. He also sent letters that had been addressed to himself by the bishops of Rome and Aquileia, as specimens of many so addressed, and as representing the opinion of the Western bishops on the question at issue (Innoc. *Ep.* ix. Galland.; Pallad. *Dialog.* c. iii.).

The deputation was accompanied by four Eastern bishops, who had fled to Rome. It failed entirely. Its members were seized at Athens, thence conveyed to Constantinople, and confined in a castle called Athyra, on the coast of Thrace, the Eastern bishops being placed in separate cells. On the legates refusing to give up their letters, except to the emperor in person, or to communicate with Atticus, who had now succeeded Arsacius as interloper into the see of

to denote the Eucharist, having otherwise proved the late introduction of unleavened bread for the Sacrament in the Western church. Sirmondus (*in lib. de Azymis*) holds also that *fermentum* denotes the Eucharist, and that leavened bread was consecrated formerly in the West as well as in the East; but he takes the word itself to have no reference to the kind of bread used, but to be applied to the Sacrament in this particular case, because, like leaven, it permeated and united the churches of Rome, and he quotes Augustine (*Tractat. in Joann.* xxvii.) in illustration of the idea expressed by the word: "O Sacramentum pietatis, O signum unitatis, O vinculum caritatis!" This view seems more probable than that the bread, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, was itself called leaven because it was leavened. But, whatever the reason of the word being used, it is plain from the language of Innocent's letter that the Eucharist itself was intended. In the oldest extant *Ordo Romanus*, supposed to represent the ritual of Rome in the time of Gregory I., the same word *fermentum* is applied to a portion of the reserved host, which it was then the custom to put into the chalice after each new consecration.

Constantinople, they were eventually sent away, and reached Italy in safety. Persecution was continued in the East; Honorius contemplated a war against his brother, but was deterred by a threatened invasion of the Goths; and Innocent failing in his attempt to bring about an impartial council, separated himself from the communion of Atticus, Theophilus, and Porphyrius. Baronius, going on certain supposed letters between him and the Eastern emperor, supposes him to have excommunicated Arcadius and Eudoxia. But nothing is said of this by the writers of the time. Chrysostom continued in exile at Cucusus, carrying on a correspondence with his friends, including Innocent, and died near Comana, on his way to a new and worse place of banishment, Sept. 14, A.D. 407, in the 60th year of his age.

The appeal of St. Chrysostom and his friends to Innocent during their troubles involved no acknowledgment of any authority of the Roman bishop over the Eastern church. They apply to him, not as a superior or a judge, but as a powerful friend, whose support they solicit. Chrysostom's own letter, though in Roman editions it appears as addressed to the pope alone, was really written to the three principal bishops of the West. Its contents leave no doubt of this. Honorius, in his letters to his brother, speaks of the Western bishops generally having been applied to, and quotes their views as being of equal moment with that of the bishops of Rome. And Innocent in his replies makes no claim to adjudicate himself, nor does he mention in this case an assertion of the universal supremacy of his see, such as appears in his letters to the Africans and to Decentius, but all along recommends a council of Easterns and Westerns as the proper authoritative tribunal. For a view of papal claims over the East less than a century later see articles on FELIX III. and ACACIUS.

After the death of Chrysostom the pope and all the Westerns remained for some time out of communion with Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. The church of Antioch was the first to be reconciled. Alexander, having succeeded Porphyrius, A.D. 413, replaced the name of Chrysostom in the diptychs of his church, restored to their sees two bishops, Pappus and Elpidius, who had been confined during three years for their adherence to his cause, and sent a legation to Rome to sue for restoration of communion. This was cordially granted in a synodal letter, signed by 20 Italian bishops. Innocent wrote also privately to Alexander congratulating him warmly, and desiring for the future a frequent interchange of letters. At the same time Acacius of Beroea, who had been among Chrysostom's bitterest opponents, was received into communion by Innocent through Alexander, to whom the letter of communion was sent for transmission, so as to secure compliance with all required conditions before its delivery. Atticus of Constantinople was reconciled a few years later. Hitherto he had refused to place the name of Chrysostom on the diptychs; and the majority of the faithful in his own city, as well as the Western bishops, had consequently refused communion with him. After the peace of Antioch, a bishop Maximianus went to Constantinople to persuade him, and thence wrote to Innocent, requesting him to take the initiative; but the latter declined to move in the matter till Atticus himself should sue for reconciliation, as Alexander had done, after fulfilling the required conditions (*Ep.* xxii. Galland.). Alexander also went to Atticus, but failed to bring him round (Nicephor. l. 14, c. 26). At length, moved partly by the threatening attitude of the populace, and partly by the advice of the emperor, he consented, with a bad grace, to place Chrysostom's name on the diptychs, and was received into communion. The church of Alexander was the last to come to terms. It was not likely that Theophilus would yield. His nephew Cyril, succeeding him Oct. 18, A.D. 412, was at first equally inflexible. Atticus, after his own reconciliation, having urged him to do as he had done, he replied, in a bitter ironical letter, that he would as soon put the name of Judas on his rolls as that of "John." But he yielded at last, though not till A.D. 417, ten years after the death of Chrysostom. Throughout the proceedings with respect to Chrysostom, both before and after his death, Innocent appears to have acted with dignity, fairness, firmness, and moderation. Of the correspondence with Alexander of Antioch, desired by Innocent in his letter above cited, one specimen remains. Alexander having consulted the pope as to the jurisdiction of his patriarchal see of Antioch, the latter replies that in accordance with the canons of Nice (*Can.* vi.) the authority of the bishop of Antioch extends over the whole diocese, not only over one province. The word *diocese* is here used, in its original sense, to denote the civil division of the empire that comprised many provinces. The Oriental diocese, which is here referred to, included 15 provinces, over the metropolitans of which the patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch is alleged to extend. This jurisdiction is stated to imply the right of the bishop of Antioch not only to ordain the several metropolitans, but also to require that they should not ordain other bishops without his leave, and in cases where it is practicable, to ordain, if he thinks fit, such other bishops himself. In particular, the bishops of the island of Cyprus, who had been accustomed to ordain new bishops independently of any higher authority, are to be warned to follow the example of other provinces, and accept episcopal ordination from Antioch. It is to be observed that the claim of the Antiocene patriarch over Cyprus, thus supported by Innocent, was afterwards negatived by the oecumenical council of Ephesus (431), which declared it to be an innovation introduced contrary to the laws of the church and the canons of the holy fathers, affecting the liberty of all; and those who presided over the churches in Cyprus were empowered to preserve, without gainsaying or opposition, their right of performing by themselves the ordinations of bishops, according to ancient custom (Can. viii.). In cases where an ancient province had been subdivided by imperial authority, the order of the church is not to be changed in deference to such mundane changes, but the bishop of the original metropolis is to retain his jurisdiction over the whole original province. Further, the orders of clerical converts from Arianism are not to be recognised as valid, it being out of the question that heretics

whose very baptism has to be supplemented by the imposition of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, should be supposed capable of conferring the grace of ordination. This letter to Alexander is remarkable for the view expressed in its preamble of Antioch sharing, in some degree, with Rome the dignity of St. Peter's chair, on the ground of its having been his first see before he went to Rome. Gregory the Great, in a letter to Eulogius of Alexandria, repeats this view, and brings in Alexandria also, as having been founded by St. Mark, who was St. Peter's disciple. He speaks of the three sees in question as a kind of Trinity, representing the authority of the Prince of the Apostles.

Two more letters, written by Innocent in the last year of his life, are further illustrative of his attitude towards the churches of the East. St. Jerome had been attacked in his cell at Bethlehem by a band of ruffians, and had narrowly escaped: the two noble virgins, Eustochium and her niece Paula, who lived in retirement under his spiritual direction, had also been driven from their house, which had been burnt, and some of their attendants killed. The leaders and instigators of this assault were unknown, but the party of Pelagius was suspected. Innocent, on hearing of it, wrote to Jerome, offering to exert "the whole authority of the apostolic see" against the offenders, if they could be discovered, and to appoint judges to try them if accused. He wrote also to John bishop of Jerusalem, who was no friend to Jerome, in an authoritative tone, reproving him severely for allowing such atrocities within the limits of his jurisdiction. (*Epp.* xxxiv. xxxv. Galland.)

III. ALARIC.—It remains to give some account of Innocent's connexion with the siege and capture of Rome by Alaric the Goth. There were three Gothic invasions of Italy. The first under Alaric, and the second under Radagaisus, had been defeated by Stilicho; the third was after the disgrace and execution of this great general, being led by Alaric himself, who now came again and laid siege to Rome, A.D. 408. Innocent was within the city, the emperor at Ravenna. Famine and plague having ensued during the siege, Zosimus, the heathen historian, alleges that Pompeianus, the prefect of the city, having been persuaded by certain Etruscan diviners that by means of spells and sacrifices, to be performed on the Capitol, they could draw down lightnings and direct them against the enemy, Innocent was consulted, and gave his consent; but that the majority of the senators refused theirs (l. v. c. 40). Sozomen also mentions the circumstance, but he does not implicate Innocent (l. ix. c. 6). It seems highly improbable that a pope such as Innocent was would lend his sanction to any rites of heathenism. In 409 Alaric was induced to raise the siege by the offer of a ransom, and two deputations were sent to the emperor at Ravenna to induce him to sanction the terms agreed on. The first having failed, Innocent himself accompanied the second, and was thus saved from being in the city when it was finally taken. On the failure of all negotiations with Honorius, and after the temporary setting up of Attalus as a rival emperor, Rome was captured on August 24, A.D. 410. Accounts of the horrors that ensued are given by Sozomen, by Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei*, by Orosius, copying from Augustine, and by Jerome in some of his letters. The last gives a very terrible picture; but Augustine, and after him Orosius, are careful to dwell on the mitigation of general barbarity through the religious feeling of Alaric and his Goths, who, though Arians, were still Christians. They speak of his proclamation ordering respect to human life and to the churches of the Apostles, of church treasures being spared, and of the deferential treatment of Christian virgins. This is made much of by Augustine in his *De Civitate*, as the evidence of the triumph of the gospel; and, indeed, the whole issue of Alaric's invasion is regarded as a judgment on heathen, rather than Christian, Rome, and as a vindication of the church; the pope's providential absence being further compared by Orosius to the saving of Lot from Sodom. And undoubtedly the event was a marked one in the progress of the supersession of heathenism by Christianity.

The destruction of the old temples, never afterwards restored, the dispersion and ruin of old families which had clung longest to the old order, as well as the view just spoken of, that judgment had fallen on old heathen Rome, which its old deities had been powerless to protect; such causes conspired to complete the triumph of the church, and to add eventful importance to the reign of Innocent. It was soon after this great event that Augustine (A.D. 413) began his famous work, *De Civitate Dei*, though he took thirteen years to complete it, in which work he seems to see before him a vision of the kingdom of God rising on the ruins of the kingdom of the world:—a vision which gradually took more distinct shape in the idea, already more or less grasped by Innocent, of a Catholic Christendom united under the Roman see.

Innocent appears as a saint and confessor in the Roman *Martyrology* on July 28. But in some early martyrologies March 12 is given as the day of his *depositio*. His *Epistolae et Decreta* are printed in Galland's *Bibl. Pat.* t. viii. and in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* t. xx. [J. B-y.]

INNOCENTIUS (13), a bishop, not otherwise known, who acted as messenger, with two others, Legitimus and Segetius, from pope Leo I. to the bishops of Campania and the provinces nearest Rome, A.D. 443. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 4, cap. 2, p. 615.) [C. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (14), bishop of Eudocias in the second Pamphylia, who signed the letter of his provincial synod to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 576; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1021.) [L. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (15), bishop of Muzuca in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 238.) [R. S. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (16), the name of four bishops at Roman synods under Symmachus in 499–504 (Mansi, viii. 234, 235, 252, 269, 299, 314–316), viz.:—

Third bishop of Ferentinum (Ferentino), between Bassus and Bonus, at the third and sixth (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 672; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* vi. 397, 430); apparently the "Forosensis" of the first (Mansi, viii. 234);

Second bishop of Forum Sempronii (Fossom-

throne); succeeding Felix, at the first, third, fourth and sixth (Ug. ii. 827; Capp. iii. 266, 282).

Third bishop of Mevania (Bevagna); succeeding Justinus, at the first, third, and sixth (Ug. i. 1889; Capp. iv. 389, 392); also at the synod of Felix in 487 (Mansi, vii. 1171);

Third bishop of Tifernum Tiberinum (Città di Castello), succeeding Marius, at the fifth and sixth (Ug. i. 1318; Capp. iv. 585, 746).

[A. H. D. A.]

INNOCENTIUS (17), circ. A.D. 532, bishop of Maronea, present at the conference held by Justinian at Constantinople between the Catholics and the Severians. At the request of his friend the presbyter Thomas, he wrote a long narrative of the conference, which is the only detailed account of it extant. The conference is variously dated 531, 532, and 533. (Mansi, viii. 817, ix. 304; Baluze, p. 1011; Baronius, *Ann.* ad ann. 532, xxx.; Ceillier, xi. 847; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1197.) [W. M. S.]

INNOCENTIUS, bishop of Le Mans, 533. [INNOCENS.]

INNOCENTIUS (18), fifth bishop of Rodez, succeeding Theodosius and followed by St. Deusdedit I., was originally count of Mende or Gévaudan. In this capacity he accused Lupintius abbat of St. Privatus, in that city, of speaking treasonable words against queen Brunechilde, and though he failed to make good his charge in court, he nevertheless got the abbat into his power, beheaded him with circumstances of great barbarity, and threw his body into the river Aisne. As a reward for his loyalty he obtained from the queen the bishopric of Rodez upon the death of Theodosius, though not until the strife for the office had run so high that the church was almost stripped of its sacred vessels, and all its richest effects (circ. 583). As soon as he was consecrated he began to harass Ursicinus bishop of Cahors, claiming from him property which he asserted had been taken from the church of Rodez. The strife continued incessantly between them for some years, until it was composed by the sentence of the metropolitan sitting in conclave at Clermont. The circumstances of his death are unknown. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 37, 38; *Gall. Christ.* i. 200.)

[S. A. B.]

INNOCENTIUS (19), fifth in the list of the bishops of Tarentum, at some period before Andreas, who was living in 590. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ix. 125.) [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (20), a bishop in Sardinia, of what see is uncertain. He was addressed, with other bishops, by Gregory the Great, and on one occasion ordered to give judgment in a dispute between the abbess Desideria and the abbat John, A.D. 598. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. 8, lib. xiii. indict. vi. 4.) [A. H. D. A.]

INNOCENTIUS (21), bishop of Arezzo, 599. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xviii. 71; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 410.) [A. H. D. A.]

INNOCENTIUS (22), bishop of Merida in A.D. 605, succeeding Massona, being a deacon at the time of his consecration. It is related that he was a man of such sanctity, that whenever rain was wanted he used to form a procession of the inhabitants of Merida, and visit the churches with them, and that before they had completed the procession abundance of rain would be granted in reply to his prayers. After a short episcopate he was succeeded by Renovatus. Innocent subscribed the decree of Gundomar which established the primacy of Toledo in A.D. 610. He is commemorated on June 21. (Boll. *AA. SS.* Jun. iv. 99; Paulus Diaconus in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 162; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* ii. 432; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. part ii. 76.) [F. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (23), fifteenth bishop of Carpentras, succeeding Anastasius, and followed by Oloradus, or Odoardus, is said to have been sitting in A.D. 702. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 898.)

[S. A. B.]

INNOCENTIUS (24), subdeacon, last named of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, brother of his two companions Gaudens and Quiriacus, sons of Amnarus, according to the version of the story in the Epistle to Sulpicius of Bourges. (Greg. Turon. *Opp.* in *Pat. Lat.* lxxi. 1107 B, 1113 D, 1115 D.) [EPHESUS, SEVEN SLEEPERS OF.]

[T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (25), June 11, a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian, but unknown to the martyrologies. His monument was discovered recently in Algiers, by Mgr. Robert bishop of Constantina (Cirta), and is described by De Rossi in his *Bullettino Archeol. Crist.* (1875 p. 162). On the monument he is said to have suffered at Milevis "in diebus turificationis." [G. T. S.]

INNOCENTIUS (26)—Sept. 22. A member of the Thebaean legion. [LEGIO THEBAEA.]

[G. T. S.]

INNOCENTIUS (27), deacon "ex portu Nicaensi" (Nice) at the council of Arles in 314. (Mansi, ii. 476.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (28), presbyter of Sirmium, who subscribed the letter addressed by his diocesan Germinius to Rufianus and other bishops in 366 or 367. (Hilar. *Fragm.* xv. given in *Pat. Lat.* x. 724; Mansi, iii. 402; Baron. s. ann. 366, xxix.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (29), a friend of St. Jerome, to whom he addressed the first letter which has come down to us, about the year 371 or 372. Innocentius was one of the band of friends then living together at Aquileia devoted to study and to asceticism. He does not appear to have been ordained. He was specially attached to Jerome, and admired his talents. Jerome had then recently returned from a journey in Gaul, where his studious bent had shewn itself, but his power of writing had, as he expresses it, grown rusty. Innocentius urged him to write, and especially to give an account of a wonderful occurrence which Jerome had heard of in passing through Vercellae, probably from his friend Evagrius, who had returned with Eusebius, the bishop of that place, from his exile in the East. This was the story of a woman who was sentenced unjustly by the consular of the province to be put to death, but who, being struck seven times with the axe, was still unharmed, and for

whose life Evagrius had interceded. Jerome complied with his request, and Innocentius thus became the cause of a composition which in its style forms a worthy beginning of a most remarkable literary career. Evagrius soon afterwards came to Aquileia, and the friends lived happily together for a time. But a sudden tempest which arose against Jerome, and which some attribute to the violent words used against the consular of the province in the letter to Innocentius, dispersed them. Innocentius resolved to accompany Jerome to the East, and shared his journey through Asia Minor to Antioch, whence they had proposed either to go on to Jerusalem or to retire (as Jerome afterwards did) into solitude. But Innocentius was taken suddenly ill. as was Hylas, another of the companions, and died in the early summer of 374. Jerome mentions his death in his letter to Rufinus (*Ep.* iii. 3, ed. Vall.) as the tearing out of one of his eyes, the loss of a part of his very soul. [W. H. F.]

INNOCENTIUS (30), a student of Italian birth, at one time attached to the court of Constantius. With his companion Palladius, he embraced an ascetic life in a cell on the Mount of Olives, of which he was afterwards ordained presbyter. Basil commends the two solitaries in a letter to Epiphanius (*Ep.* 258 [325]), as well as in one to themselves A.D. 377 (*ibid.* 259 [184]). He laments the distracted state of the Church, and despairs of peace, which seems to have taken leave of the earth. He can add nothing to the Nicene creed as a formulary of the faith, except as regards the glory of the Holy Spirit, which was omitted because, at the time of the composition of the creed, it had not been called in question. He would very much like to see them, but he would not ask them to visit him, for he knows how hard it is for those who have embraced a life of poverty and support themselves by manual labour to take a long journey. Still, they could pray for him. After Innocent's death, which seems to have occurred c. A.D. 420, Palladius (who is distinguished by Tillemont from the author of the *Historia Lausiaca*) wrote commemorating his virtues and miracles, of which he had been eyewitness during the three years he had spent in his company. (*Hist. Laus.* c. 103, p. 1022.) [E. V.]

INNOCENTIUS (31), an haruspex of Milan, who is said to have confessed under torture that he had used magical arts for the purpose of compassing the death of St. Ambrose. (Paulin. *Vit. Ambrose*, 20; Migne, xiv. 33.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (32), father of Innocent I. mentioned in the life of this pope by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. (*Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 145.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (33), an ex-advocate of the vicariate of Africa, residing at Carthage, and with all his household eminently religious. When Augustine and his friend Alypius returned to Africa as Christian believers but not yet in holy orders (*i.e.* cir. 389), they were received by Innocentius with the greatest kindness, and resided with him for some time. Innocentius was then suffering acutely from fistulæ, for which he had undergone one operation, and with the greatest dread was looking forward to another. Friends came daily to pray with and encourage him, such as Saturninus bishop of Uzalis, the presbyter Gelosus, the deacons of the church of Carthage, and Aurelius bishop of Carthage. All these, Augustine included, were with him on the evening previous to the intended operation, but none of them supplicated so fervently as the sufferer himself, whose agony of prayer was indescribable. On the day following, at his own request, they returned to witness what he believed would prove his death, Augustine being again present; but when the surgeons proceeded to the operation, it was discovered that the place had healed up. A scene of congratulation and thanksgiving ensued. It was about 426 when Augustine penned the full narrative of this event towards the end of his *De Civitate Dei* (xxii. 8). Bishop Aurelius was then still living, and Augustine had frequently from time to time conversed with him on this remarkable instance of answer to prayer. [C. H.]

INNOCENTIUS (34), a Catholic presbyter of Hippo, put to death by the Donatists, as stated by Augustine in a letter to the tribune Marcellinus early in 412. (Aug. ep. 133 al. 159, § 1.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (35), a presbyter, probably of Africa, in the early part of the 5th century, a friend of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. He was engaged, on the orthodox side, in the Pelagian controversy, and is spoken of by Jerome (*ad Apronium*, *Ep.* 139, ed. Vall. A.D. 417) as endeavouring to rescue from heresy and discord the noble family of Apronius. From expressions about the state of the family in Jerome's letter to Ctesiphon (*Ep.* cxxxiii. 13), written two years earlier, it is inferred that Apronius was of Ctesiphon's family. Some Pelagian teachers had been introduced among them; and they, believing them to be sincere and good men, had supplied them with funds, but without any intention of separating themselves from the orthodox. The endeavour of Innocent failed. He was not able to avert the perversion of many of the family and the destruction of its unity. But Apronius stood fast, and Jerome writes to him to invite him to come to Palestine. Innocent was a person of some position, as we find him the bearer of a rescript from the sixth council of Carthage, A.D. 419, to St. Cyril of Alexandria, asking for an authentic copy of the Nicene canons. He carried back the copy and a letter from St. Cyril, and was again, along with Marcellus subdeacon of Carthage, deputed by the council, on Nov. 26 of the same year, to bear a copy of the same Nicene canons to pope Boniface at Rome (Mansi, *Conc.* iv. 434, 513; S. Bonifacius, *Epp. et Decret.* append. vii. ap. Migne, Pat. Lat. xx. 787; Dionysius Exig. *Cod. Canon.* ap. Migne, Pat. Lat. lxvii. 226, and Mansi, iii. 835). But when sent to Alexandria he appears also to have gone on to Jerusalem and delivered letters from St. Augustine and Alypius to St. Jerome. This is the inference, as Baronius points out, from the contents of the letter which Innocent bore to Augustine and Alypius from Jerome. We may suppose it probable that Innocent was accompanied to Palestine by Apronius in compliance with Jerome's invitation. (Hieron. ep. 143, ed. Vallarsi; August. ep. 202; Baronius, *Ann.* 419, xcviii.) [W. H. F. & J. G.]

INNOCENTIUS (36), the name of two presbyters at the Roman council under Boniface II. in 531. (Mansi, viii. 742, 747.) [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (37), prefect of Africa, under the emperor Maurice, and a friend of Gregory the Great, among whose letters are two addressed to Innocentius in 600. Gregory congratulates him on his appointment, sends him by request a copy of his Exposition of Job, and recommends him to study Augustine. In another letter Gregory complains of certain injuries done by the officials of Innocentius to Victor bishop of Fasiana in Sardinia, this island being then in the African prefecture (*Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geog.* i. 72 A). In another letter Innocentius appears as giving Gregory information of the irregularities of Januarius bishop of Cagliari (lib. x. ind. iii. epp. 37, 38; lib. xi. ind. iv. ep. 5; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 138, 140). [T. W. D.]

INNOCENTIUS (38), interpreter for pope Martin when under examination at Constantinople (Mansi, x. 856 D; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 651, ix.). He is said to have been of Africa, and is described as "Consul filius Thomae," but Baronius in the margin reads consularius for consul. The Sacellarius who conducted the examination was enraged at the defence, and would not hear out the interpreter. [T. W. D.]

INNREACHTACH, INNRACHTHACH, INRECHTACH, INNRACTHECH.

(1) Anchoret. [IMRAITEACH.]

(2) Bishop of Kilmacduagh. [INDRACTUS (1).]

INO, wife of the emperor Tiberius II. (John of Ephesus, *H. E.* p. 179, tr. R. Payne Smith). When publicly recognised as Augusta her name was changed to Anastasia. [TIBERIUS II.] [G. T. S.]

INSTANTIUS, a Spanish bishop in the latter half of the 4th century. He and Salvianus, another Spanish bishop, were the first followers of Priscillian. At the synod of the bishops of Spain and Aquitaine, held at Saragossa (Caesaraugusta), sentence of condemnation in their absence was passed against Instantius and the other leaders of the Priscillianist party. In 381, after the rescript of the emperor Gratian banishing heretics, Instantius accompanied Priscillian and Salvianus from Spain to Italy. On their way through Gaul they spread the Priscillianist doctrines into Aquitaine. At Rome they were refused audience by pope Damasus at the papal court. At Milan they were similarly repulsed by Ambrose. On their return to Gaul they won over Macedonius, an imperial officer. Through his powerful influence, the decree of Gratian was reversed in their favour. Having returned to Spain, they found Volventius the proconsul ready to side with them. Their sees and churches were restored without opposition. After the death of Gratian, and the assumption of the empire by Maximus, Priscillian and Instantius attended the synod of Bordeaux, 385, to defend their cause there. Instantius was declared to be unworthy of his bishopric. Priscillian then appealed to the emperor. The cause was transferred to the imperial consistory. Both sides proceeded about it to the new emperor at Treves. After several hearings, severe measures were resorted to. Capital sentence was pronounced against Priscillian and others, some of his associates. Instantius was condemned to banishment to the Scilly Islands. Thither he was soon after followed by Tiberianus, another Priscillianist. (Sulp. Sev. ii. 46–51; Mansi, iii. 633; Hefele, *Concils*, ii. 292.) [M. B. C.]

INVENTIUS (1) (INVENITUS, JUVENTIUS), the name of two bishops at the council of Carthage in 416. (August. *epp.* 176 al. 90, 181 al. 91; Innoc. Pap. *epp.* 26, 29; Mansi, iv. 321.) [C. H.]

INVENTIUS (2)—Sept. 12. He is said to have been sent by Hermagoras, the first bishop of Aquileia in the time of Nero, to Ticinum, together with Syrus, to preach the gospel, where, after much success, they died. [HERMAGORAS.] (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Till., *Mém.* ii. 561.) [G. T. S.]

INVENTUS, said to have been one of 360 martyrs who suffered at Gerona during the persecution of Diocletian, at the hands of the praeses Dacianus and his legate Ruffinus. St. Inventus is locally known as St. Trobat, the vernacular equivalent. (Boll. *AA. SS.* 22 Jan. ii. 414; J. T. Salazar, *Martyrolog. Hisp.* i. 242.) [F. D.]

INVIOLATUS, bishop of Tortosa, was the last prelate of this see under the Gothic kings. He subscribed the acts of the sixteenth council of Toledo (May 2, 693). (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 71.) [M. A. W.]

INVOLATUS, an abbat at the council of Toledo in 688. (Mansi, xii. 22.) [T. W. D.]

INZUS, bishop of Corna in Lycaonia, present at the council of Constantinople, 381 (Mansi, iii. 570). Le Quien believes the reading of the name corrupt, and proposes Euzoïus. (*Or. Chr.* i. 1085.) [C. H.]

IOANBERHTUS (Kemble, *C. D.* 137, 133, 140), archbishop. [JAENBERT.] [C. H.]

IOAVA, IOAVAN (IAOUA, IOHOEVIUS, IOUINUS, IOVINUS, JOAVA, JOEVINUS), of Leon, bishop and confessor, commemorated March 2. His life, written by Albert Le Grand from Armoric materials, is given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 441–443) and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 2 Mar. i. 139, with introductory notes and a *Vita, ex Lectionibus Brev. Leon.*). He was an Irishman, nephew of St. Paul bishop of Leon, and sent into Britain for education under his uncle, possibly at St. Illtyd's. Having been recalled to Ireland, where his father wished him to be married, he forsook all and followed his uncle, who had removed from Wales into Armorica, and become bishop of Leon. There he was for a time under St. Judulus in his monastery at Landtevenecanum (Landevenech), in the diocese of Quimper, where he spent his novitiate, and he may for some time afterwards have led an anchoretical life in the country of Ack (Butler, *Saints*). He then went to Leon, where he became a priest and abbat. He was afterwards consecrated to be bishop-coadjutor at Leon, but seems to have

lived in his monastery on the island of Bas or Braspartz, to which he had in his priesthood been appointed by Judulus. He died there, March 2, about A.D. 554, but neither the time nor the details are certain. At Plougneu, in Finisterre (Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* &c. ii. pt. i. 98 sq.), there is an inscription, but of a date much later than the bishop himself: "D. Ioeuva Epus Leonī fuit hic sepultus." (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 9, § 12; Colgan, *Acta SS.* Ind. Chron. A.D. 550, 552; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 81.) [J. G.]

IODOCUS. [JUDOCUS.]

IOLAN (JOLAN, TOLAN), bishop of Ceanngaradh, now Kingarth, in Bute, Scotland, died A.D. 688 (*Four Mast.*), but at A.D. 689 in the *Ann. Tig.* he is "Johannes Eps Cingalarathensis," and in the *Chron. Scot.* "Tolan Eps. Gasad." (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 295; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 215, iv. 64.) [J. G.]

IOLLADHAN, Irish bishop. [ILLADHAN.]

IOSACIS. [ISAACOSIS.]

IOTANEUS, included by Leslaeus among the companions of St. Columba when he came to Scotland, is the Totaneus of Boece, and the Tochannu Mocufir-cetea of the Irish list. (Leslaeus, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. IV. 145, ed. 1675; Reeves, *Adamnan.* 245.) [J. G.]

IOTHARNAISC. [ITHARNAISC.]

IPERECHIA. [YPERECHIA.]

IPPIS, reputed sister of St. Patrick. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 138, n. [k], 139.) [J. G.]

IRCHARDUS (ERCHADE, ERTHAD, YARCHARDUS), a Pictish saint, commemorated Aug. 24. The chronology of St. Irchard is most difficult and confused, so that by some he is placed in the 5th century, and by others in the 10th. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 24 Aug., iv. 773-4) give an article based on Dempster and the *Brev. Aberd.*, but arrive at no assured result. The chief authority is *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS., p. aestiv. f. lxxxix.). He was a disciple of St. Ternan, and born in the braes of Tolmaad, Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeenshire. St. Ternan ordained him priest, and Gregory, the bishop of Rome, consecrated him to the episcopate; on his return he lived a solitary life among the northern Picts, and died at Kincardine O'Neil. Adam King says he lived as "bishop and confessor in Scotland, under King Malcolme I. 933," and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 245), attributing to him *Lecturae in Biblia, De Divina Essentia, Allegoricae sacrae*, also says he flourished A.D. 933. He probably flourished in the 5th or 6th century, and his feast is Aug. 24, though Dempster has also July 24. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 133, 160, 206, 209, 240, 466, and *Lives St. Nin. and St. Kent.* 355; Camerarius, *De Scot. Fort.* 168; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 302 n.; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.*, &c. ii. 139.) [J. G.]

IRENAEUS (1), bishop of Lyons, June 28.

I. *His Life.*—Very little is known of Irenaeus's outward and personal history. We know indeed little more than the following particulars: that he was a native of Asia Minor, and in early youth had seen and heard bishop Polycarp of Smyrna, that he afterwards came into Gaul, and during the persecution of A.D. 177 carried, as presbyter of Lyons, a letter from the Gallican confessors to the Roman bishop Eleutherus (A.D. 174 or 175–189); that after the death of bishop Pothinus of Lyons (A.D. 177) he became his successor, and was still exercising the episcopal office in the time of bishop Victor, who succeeded Eleutherus in the see of Rome (A.D. 189–198 or 9); and that he took a leading part in all the ecclesiastical transactions and controversies of that time. St. Jerome therefore speaks of him (*De Vir. Illustr.* 35) as having flourished in the reign of the emperor Commodus (A.D. 180–192). The birth-year of Irenaeus is assigned to widely distant epochs. The earliest and the latest dates proposed are some 50 years apart from one another. Dodwell (*Dissert.* iii. *in Iren.* 6 sqq.) fixes it for the years A.D. 97 or 98; Grabe (*Prolegomena*, sect. i. 1) decides for A.D. 108; Tillemont (*Mémoires*, iii. p. 79) for A.D. 120, and so Lightfoot (*The Churches of Gaul*, in *Cont. Rev.* Aug. 1876, p. 415); Dupin and Massuet (*Dissert.* ii. *in Irenaeum*, 1) for A.D. 140. Massuet's date is that adopted by Kling (Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* s. v.), Böhringer (*Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*, i. 1), and many others. Ziegler (*Irenaeus der Bischof von Lyon*, p. 15 sq.) would bring it down as low as A.D. 147. Harvey, the latest editor of Irenaeus, regards A.D. 130 as the most probable date (*Proleg.*, vol. i. clv.); Ropes (*Biblioth. Sacra*, 1877, April, p. 288 sqq.) prefers A.D. 126 as the most probable date, and so Leimbach (*Zeitsch. für luth. Theologie*, 1873, p. 614 sqq.); with him is agreed Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1879, p. 319), and Dr. Oscar von Gebhardt (*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1875, p. 369 sqq.) allows any time between 126 and 130. In deciding this question one point to be steadily kept in view is that Irenaeus developed his chief literary activity in the times of the Roman bishops Eleutherus and Victor, *i.e.* in the two last decenniums of the 2nd century. From this it is clear that he could not, at all events, have been born so early as the closing years of the 1st century or the first ten years of the 2nd. He was on the other hand already a presbyter in A.D. 177, and in the same or following year was elected bishop after the martyrdom of his predecessor, the venerable nonagenarian St. Pothinus. That he should at that time have only just attained his thirtieth year (the earliest age at which a man could receive episcopal ordination) is a very unlikely supposition. We cannot therefore, on this account alone, assign his birth to a much later period than cir. A.D. 140. To fix the date more closely still we may appeal to a passage in the work *Contra Haereses*, v. 30, 3, where Irenaeus, speaking of the Apocalypse of St. John, says: *οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.* From these words Dodwell drew *his* conclusion that Irenaeus must have been born a short time after Domitian's death, and either under the emperor Nerva, or in the first year of the reign of Trajan. But all that Irenaeus really says and what it comes to is this, that the Apocalyptic Vision was seen towards the end of Domitian's reign († 18 Sept. A.D. 96), and that this brought the composition of the book very

near to the time of *his* (Irenaeus's) own generation. The length of the period designated in antiquity by the term "generation" varied from 30 to 33 and even 40 years. This consideration might lead us to fix the date of Irenaeus's birth at cir. A.D. 126 or, possibly (some ten years afterwards) cir. A.D. 136. This last we may assume is the latest admissible date. Another passage of importance for the determination of this question is found in the fragment of a letter to Florinus preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20); with which should be compared another passage, *c. Haer.* iii. 3, 4, preserved in the original Greek by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 14). Irenaeus tells us here that being still a boy or in early years (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ*) he had seen Polycarp and listened to his discourses and his teaching. Now the martyrdom of Polycarp took place not, as was formerly assumed, in A.D. 166 or 167, but some ten years earlier, in A.D. 155 or 156. The letter to Florinus was (as will be more fully shewn hereafter) most probably written during the episcopate of Victor, and at the earliest about A.D. 190. Irenaeus was at that time already an elderly man. Dodwell thinks it possible to make out the exact time when Irenaeus and Florinus were both living at Smyrna from the circumstance that Florinus was then holding a distinguished position in the imperial palace (*εἶδόν σε λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*). This he thinks could only have been the case during Hadrian's *second* residence in Asia Minor, which Dodwell assigns to the year 122, but Grabe more correctly to the years 127–129. But even the later date will (after what has been said above) appear much too early. Lightfoot (*Supernatural Religion*, iv. in *Cont. Review* for May 1875, p. 833 sq.) is disposed to fix on the year 136, about which time T. Aurelius Fulvus, who afterwards became the emperor Antoninus Pius, was proconsul of Asia (Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, p. 724). But the mere mention of the *αὐλὴ βασιλικὴ* by no means implies of necessity the actual presence of the existing or future emperor in Smyrna at that time. A surer result might be arrived at could we determine with any certainty how old Irenaeus himself was when he sat (as he tells us) at the feet of Polycarp. Dodwell assumes that the age of a *παῖς* ranged from the 20th to the 30th year, and that the *πρώτη ἡλικία* of such *παῖς* would probably reach to his 25th year. Irenaeus himself (*Haer.* ii. 24, 4) reckons 5 ages, through which the human race passes—those of *infans, puer, parvulus, juvenis, senior*. Elsewhere (*Haer.* ii. 22, 4) he enumerates these five ages in a different order and more correctly as *infans, parvulus, puer, juvenis, senior*: and remarks that Jesus, when about 30 years of age (*qui inciperet esse tanquam triginta annorum*), came to baptism, being still a *juvenis*, and not having yet attained the *aetas provectior*. The age of a *juvenis* he reckons from the 30th to the 40th year (*quia autem triginta annorum aetas prima indolis est juvenis et extenditur usque ad quadragesimum annum omnis quilibet confitebitur; a quadragesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in aetatem seniorem, quam habens Dominus noster docebat*). If, according to this, the *indoles juvenis* begin about the 30th year, the age of *παῖς* will commence with that of youthful maturity, say about the 18th year, and just that time of life will be the one denoted by the expression *πρώτη ἡλικία*—so that not the age of childhood, but that of early young-manhood will have been the period of Irenaeus's connexion with St. Polycarp. That the latter was then already a *πάνυ γηραλέος* is not expressly stated, but follows indirectly from the words to Florinus. In order to shew that it had been possible for him in early youth to see and hear St. Polycarp, Irenaeus adds: *ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος . . . . . . ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου*. That Polycarp must have been at that time far advanced in life is evident from his own words, as Irenaeus reports them: *ὦ καλὲ Θεέ, εἰς οἵους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας*. For as Dodwell rightly observes, *qui queritur sese ad ea usque tempora reservatum, is una innuebat jam se ordinarios etiam senectutis limites esse praetergressum.* Now as Polycarp died in his 86th year, we must fix the date of Irenaeus's discipleship some 10 or 15 years previously. This would bring it to cir. A.D. 140–146, and make the year 122 the earliest possible date for his birth. The supposition is however possible, that Irenaeus's connexion with Polycarp belonged to the latest years of Polycarp's life, and thus would make A.D. 136 or A.D. 137 the latest date for Irenaeus's birth. Means for deciding the question may perhaps be found in a statement in the Moscow MS. of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, according to which Irenaeus was teaching at Rome at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom: *οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν*. Leaving on one side for the present the particular detail that Irenaeus had already appeared in the character of a public teacher at Rome, the statement seems to be worthy of credit. The martyrologist appeals on its behalf to the writings of Irenaeus himself: *καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἤκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης· Πολύκαρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν* (comp. Gebhardt, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1875, p. 362 sq.). Although this narrative is not to be found elsewhere, it may very well have been contained in one of the now lost writings of Irenaeus. And we know further from Irenaeus's own testimony (*Haer.* iii. 3, 4, and *Epist. ad Victorem*, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24), that Polycarp undertook a journey to Rome for the purpose of conferring with the then bishop Anicetus on various questions which were then in controversy. This journey must have been made soon after Anicetus's accession and shortly before Polycarp's own martyrdom, *i.e.* in the year 154, or at latest in 155 (if Polycarp's martyrdom did not take place before 156). The time therefore in which Irenaeus could have received instruction from Polycarp must have preceded A.D. 154. But whether he removed to Rome before that year, or whether he did so in Polycarp's company, remaining as a resident in the city after the aged bishop's departure,—in either case he must have already reached an age of between 20 and 30 years. From all this A.D. 130 would seem to be the most probable date for the birth-year of Irenaeus. It can hardly be placed much later than this, though it might have been a few

years earlier: and Irenaeus would accordingly be some fifty years of age at the time of his episcopal election.

Concerning his birth-place, all we know is that Irenaeus was a native of Asia Minor: but that he was born in Smyrna, where in early youth he heard the discourses of Polycarp, is not left on record. Harvey conjectures that his mother tongue was Syriac, but the grounds alleged for this hypothesis are quite inadequate to prove it or to establish his supposed familiarity with the Syriac version of the New Testament (Harvey, *Prolegomena*, I. cliii. sq. *Index of Words*, ii. 551, but comp. Ropes, *Bibl. Sacra*, 1877, April, p. 293 sqq.). The alleged translations of Aramaic formulas of prayer and invocation in the section against the Valentinians of his work *Contra Haereses* (i. 21, 3) are rather arguments against than for an acquaintance with Syriac. The way moreover in which Irenaeus handles the Greek language is no proof whatsoever of a want of complete familiarity with it. If he excuses himself for want of literary training or for deficiencies in the art of rhetorical exposition, that proves as little his non-Hellenic origin as his further designation of himself as one who habitually conversed in a barbarous language: the reference evidently being in the latter case to such a use of a Celtic dialect in daily intercourse, and probably in public ministrations also, as a residence in Gaul made matter of necessity: *οὐκ ἐπιζητήσεις δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Κέλτοις διατριβόντων, καὶ περὶ βάρβαρον διάλεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσχολουμένων, λόγων τέχνην ἣν οὐκ ἐμάθομεν, οὔτε δύναμιν συγγραφέως ἣν οὐκ ἠσκήσαμεν οὔτε καλλωπισμὸν λέξεων, οὔτε πιθανότητα ἣν οὐκ οἴδαμεν* (*Haer.* i. *Praefat.*). Of his youthful literary training and culture we can only judge by what appears in his writings. From these it appears that he had some acquaintance with the Greek poets and philosophers, among whom he cites Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Plato. Of his Christian training we know from his own testimony that, besides the instructions received from Polycarp, he had availed himself of those of other teachers also, "Presbyters" (of Asia Minor), whom he designates as mediate or immediate disciples of the apostles themselves (c. *Haer.* ii. 22, 5; iv. 27, 1; 32, 1; v. 5, 1; 30, 1; 33, 3; 36, 1). Whether he was personally acquainted with Papias, whom he mentions so frequently, must remain uncertain. If he was in Rome A.D. 156, we may conjecture that he continued his studies there. The time of his removal into Gaul is unknown. An occasion for it may have been found in the close ties of relationship which connected the missionary church of Gaul with the mother-churches of Asia Minor. At the time of the persecution, to which the aged bishop Pothinus fell a sacrifice in the 17th year of Marcus Aurelius A.D. 177 (comp. my *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe*, p. 185). Irenaeus was a presbyter at Lugdunum, and became (as we have seen) after the death of Pothinus his immediate successor in the episcopal office. That he also wrote the epistle of the Gallican confessors to the churches of Asia Minor and Phrygia, in which they give so vivid a description of the persecution (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) is an uncertain conjecture. There is indeed a fragment preserved by Oecumenius and assigned to Irenaeus (*Fragm. Graec.* xiii. ap. Harvey, ii. 482 sq.), which really stands in very close connexion with that epistle, mentioning in a similar way the calumny about "Thyestean banquets," which rested on depositions wrung from tortured slaves, the endeavours of the persecutors to force the martyrs Sanctus and Blandina to make a like confession, and Blandina's answer, which, though not identical with that contained in the epistle, is nearly related to it. In the fragment the martyr's words are reported thus: *πῶς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιντο οἱ μηδὲ τῶν ἐφειμένων κρεῶν δι' ἄσκησιν ἀπολαύοντες;* in the epistle thus: *πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;* It is evident that the latter text, as preserved in the epistle, is the more original of the two, and the conjecture naturally offers itself, that the alleged fragment of Irenaeus may be only an extract from the epistle in somewhat altered form. Irenaeus's mission to Rome and to the then bishop of Rome, Eleutherus, was undertaken *τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκεν*, *i.e.* (as we are further informed) to intercede with Eleutherus for the Montanists of Asia Minor in the name and on behalf of the Gallican confessors (Eus. *H. E.* v. 3, 4). That another object of the journey was that Irenaeus himself might at the same time obtain episcopal consecration at Rome is an unproved assertion of some Roman Catholic authors. He at any rate became Pothinus's successor in the see of Lyons (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5), and probably entered on his office immediately after his return. The assertion that he was consecrated at Rome as bishop by Eleutherus is commonly supported by the assumption that there was at that time no other episcopal see but Lyons in all Gaul. Such an inference is however hardly warranted by the fact that in the narrative of the persecution at Vienne a deacon only and no bishop is mentioned, which might be accounted for on the supposition that Vienne at that time belonged to the diocese of Lyons. A better argument might be derived from another passage in Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 23), in which he appears to speak of Irenaeus as having been bishop of all the churches of Gaul (*τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικιῶν ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει*). But neither can this be regarded as a sure proof.

As bishop of Lyons Irenaeus was distinguished not only by his zeal for the conversion of the heathen (compare the Acts of St. Ferreolus and his companions, Boll. *Acta SS.* 16 Jun. iii.) [FERREOLUS (1)], but more especially by his conflicts with heretics and his strenuous endeavours to maintain the peace of the church, in true accord with his name Εἰρηναῖος (Peace-man). His great work *Against all Heresies* was probably written during his episcopate. As the preface informs us, he then came forward for the first time as an ecclesiastical writer. We subsequently find him exerting himself once more to protect the churches of his native country (Asia Minor) from Roman pretensions and aggression. The Roman bishop Victor was endeavouring to compel the churches of Asia Minor, which had hitherto kept Easter, with the Jews, on the 14th of Nisan, to conform their practice to that of Rome. On their refusing so to do, and resolving to adhere to the custom of their forefathers, for which they carefully detailed their reasons in a letter addressed to Victor by

Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, he had cut them off from his church-communion. The harshness of this treatment was highly disapproved by many even of those who concurred with the Roman bishop on the point in question, and kept with him the Easter festival on the Sunday following the equinoctial full-moon. Among these was Irenaeus himself. In the name of all the Gallican churches he addressed a remonstrance to bishop Victor, contained in a writing of which a considerable fragment has been preserved. In this he reminds his Roman colleague of the example set by his own predecessors, who had found no occasion or necessity in these differences of paschal observance for excommunicating their brethren of Asia Minor. On the same occasion Irenaeus (as Eusebius further informs us, *H. E.* v. 23) made appeal to other foreign bishops besides Victor, but without any effect on the harsh determination of the Roman. Another writing of Irenaeus is also mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20), and seems to have referred to the same subject. It was entitled περὶ σχίσματος, and was addressed to Blastus, head of the Roman Quartodecimans.

How long Irenaeus exercised the episcopal office is uncertain. His death is commonly assigned to the year A.D. 202 or 203. This calculation rests on the assumption that he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Septimius Severus. But the fact of such martyrdom is by no means established. Tertullian, Hippolytus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Ephrem, Augustine, Theodoret are silent on the subject. In the Syriac fragments Irenaeus is frequently spoken of as having been "a disciple of Polycarp, bishop and martyr," but is not himself honoured with the martyr's title. Neither do we find him anywhere so designated in the quotations from his writings made by Maximus, Leontius, Johannes Damascenus, Anastasius Sinaita, Oecumenius, or the Catenae (comp. the Greek fragments). Of existing MSS., in only one, and that the most recent, the Codex Vossianus, belonging to the 14th century, is he styled "*Episcopus et martir.*" The first witness for his martyrdom is found in Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, written cir. A.D. 410, where (c. 64) Irenaeus is spoken of as *vir apostolicus episcopus et martyr*; but the same Jerome, when elsewhere treating *ex professo* of his life and writings (in the Tract *De Viris illustr.* c. 35), is on this point of martyrdom altogether silent. One is tempted to adopt the conjecture of Dodwell, that the words *et martyr* may be an interpolation. If not, Jerome must have become acquainted with the alleged fact of Irenaeus's martyrdom subsequently to the year A.D. 392, in which the *De Viris illustribus* was written. There is at any rate no witness producible for it before the beginning of the 5th century. On the other hand, in the *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* of Pseudo-Justin (p. 468 D, Morell.), Irenaeus is plainly referred to as ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδούνου. Further, a fragment (preserved elsewhere also) is found in a Syriac MS. and introduced with the remark, that it is taken from "*Irenaeus, whom the heretics slew*" (Fragm. xxv. Harvey, ii. 454). This perfectly isolated statement appears either to rest on some confusion of names and histories, or at any rate to have been derived from some very obscure source. Harvey suspects that our Irenaeus may have been confounded with a namesake, who was bishop of Sirmium [IRENAEUS (3)], and is said to have died a martyr's death under Diocletian on the 25th of March (A.D. 304 ?). St. Jerome may also himself have confounded this *Sanctus Irenaeus, episcopus et martyr*, with the great bishop of Lyons. Besides these the Martyrologies commemorate four other martyrs of the same name, on 10 Feb., 26 March, 5 May, and 26 Aug. respectively. The first writer who gives any more detailed account of the martyrdom of our Irenaeus is Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum*, i. 29. He there relates that in the persecution under Severus streams of Christian blood flowed through the streets of the city, so that neither the names nor even the number of the martyrs could be ascertained. But among these innumerable sufferers was the bishop Irenaeus. The whole narrative has a very apocryphal appearance. It may indeed be true that "this in itself somewhat feeble testimony of the credulous Frankish historian" represents "a special tradition of the Gallican church of the latter half of the 6th century" (Görres, *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1878, p. 321); but this by no means invalidates the counter-testimony borne by the silence of older witnesses in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Further, the smaller *Martyrologium Romanum* assigns no place in its catalogue to the martyrdom of Irenaeus, whereas, on the other hand, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, Bede, Ado, Notker, Usuard, &c., fix its commemoration for June 28 in accordance with a brief Gallican martyrology found by Massuet at St. Germains in a MS. which he assigns to the 8th century. The *Acta Martyrii* as we now possess them are a very late and untrustworthy compilation (comp. Ruinart, *Acta Martyr. sincera*, p. 708).

II. *His Writings.*—The chief of these was the great work in five books against Gnosticism entitled: Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, *Detectio et eversio falso cognominatae agnitionis.* (The full Greek title is found in Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 7; Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 120 and elsewhere; compare also the frequent references to it made by Irenaeus himself in the *praefationes* to books ii., iv., v. and the conclusion of book iv.) The work is commonly cited under the briefer title πρὸς αἱρέσεις (*Contra Haereses*). We possess it entire in the Latin version only, which, however, must have been made from the Greek original very soon after its composition, since the Latin text was used by Tertullian some ten years afterwards in his tractate *adv. Valentinianos.* Its author was a Celt (so we conclude from the barbarous Latinity), and probably one of the clergy of Lyons. The greatest part of the original work being now lost, the slavish literality with which the translator represents the Greek words before him imparts to his version a very high value. Many obscurities of expression, which arise in part from a misunderstanding of the Greek idiom, admit of an easy solution by translating back the Latin into Greek. Beside this Latin version, which appears to have superseded from an early date throughout the Western church the use of the Greek original, there was also a Syriac translation, of which numerous fragments have been preserved. These have been put together for the first time by Harvey

in his edition of Irenaeus (ii. 431 sqq.). They are derived from the collection of Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum, some of which are as old as the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries (comp. Harvey, ii. 431, note). To these are added (Nos. xxi. xxxi. and xxxii.) fragments of an Armenian interpolated version first published by Pitra in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*, tom. i. (Paris, 1852). Of these No. xxi. only is taken from the work *Against Heresies*. The almost entire agreement between these Syriac fragments and the Old Latin version is a further testimony to its genuineness and fidelity. The Greek original, which is said to have been still in existence in the 16th century, was made great use of by Hippolytus (or whoever was the author of the *Philosophumena*), Epiphanius and Theodoret. To the numerous extracts made by these writers, and especially the first two, we owe the preservation of the greater part of the original Greek of the first book—the preface and cc. 1–21 entire, and numerous fragments of the remainder. Of the other books, the Greek has come down to us in isolated passages, and for the most part through citations made by Eusebius. The only existing witnesses for the original text of the Latin version are three MSS., the *editio princeps*, and the various readings given by earlier editors from MSS. which in part have since disappeared. The oldest of the three MSS. was formerly a codex Claromontanus (of the 10th or 11th century), and is now at Cheltenham in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps. It contains 246 (not 232) leaves, and from fol. 189 a second hand is observable (Harvey, pref.). It is on this MS. that the text of Massuet is based. It has been of late years collated afresh by Mr. Harvey. At v. 26, 1 it breaks off abruptly with the words *Et decem cornua quae vidisti*—while shortly before this there is a considerable *lacuna* between the words *potest vita manifestari* (v. 13, 4) and *vocalis est* (v. 14, 1). To the same family with this Clermont MS. belongs the *Codex Leydensis Vossianus*, 63 (33), fol. (cxi.) iii. and is a copy made A.D. 1494 from a much more ancient MS. in large letters. It was used by both Massuet and Grabe, but by the latter only from a very unreliable collation for which he was indebted to Dodwell. A fresh collation has been made by Stieren. This MS. has many lacunae, occasioned for the most part by ὁμοιοτέλευτον. The chief of these (v. 13, 4–14, 1) it has in common with the Codex Claromont., whereas on the other hand it contains the text of book v. to the end. (Comp. Stieren, *de Codice Vossiano*, Lipsiae, 1847.) The third MS., *Cod. Arundelianus*, 87 (14th cent.), is now in the British Museum. This MS. was collated by Grabe, and has been again collated by Harvey. It breaks off at *c. Haer.* v. 31, 2, with the words *dignos habuerit*, and belongs to a different family from the two former MSS. The three codices from which the text of the *editio princeps* by Erasmus was formed are now lost. No information concerning their age and origin has come down to us; but a comparison of the printed text of Erasmus leads to the conclusion that the text of these MSS. must have been very corrupt and full of lacunae. Nearly related to them appear to have been the Leyden MSS. of Joshua Mercerus, whose various readings are recorded on the margin of a copy of Erasmus's edition preserved at Leyden. Of these readings, communicated to him by Dodwell, Isaac Vossius made use, referring to them by the titles Merc. I. and Merc. II., by which numbers however he did not denote a first and second MS., but only that in one case the reading was found in only one MS., in the other in both. Another MS. (the *Codex Ottobonianus* of the 13th cent.), which was used by Massuet in preparing his edition, has now likewise disappeared; it seems to have belonged to the same family. Yet another ancient MS. appears to have been collated by Feuardentius and used by him for his edition; but little more can now be known of it than its previous existence. It must however have been nearly related to the *Codex Vossianus*, in common with which it contained the five last chapters of book v., and was in fact the sole authority whereon Feuardent published those chapters for the first time. In his editions it is cited as *Codex Vetus*. It differs moreover from another MS. made use of by Feuardent, but rarely cited by him, the Codex Vaticanus (comp. Stieren, *Prolegom.* p. xxx.). Finally, Passeratius appears to have made use of a MS. not otherwise known, from which he gleaned a considerable number of various readings in the first book and the first eight chapters of the second, and noted them in the margin of a copy of Erasmus's edition. Many of the corrections thus obtained are, however, as Harvey has observed, evidently mere conjectures.

The *editio princeps* of Desiderius Erasmus appeared in 1526 at Basle in the workshop of Frobenius. It was followed in 1528 and 1534 by two other editions prepared under the superintendence of Erasmus himself, and afterwards by numerous reprints issued in the period from 1545 to 1567. In 1570 appeared at Geneva the edition of Nicolaus Gallasius, who was the first to add the fragments of the Greek text preserved in the Excerpta of Epiphanius. After the worthless edition of Johann Jakob Grynaeus in 1571, a real and considerable step in advance was made by the first edition of the Minorite of Paris, Francis Feuardent, in 1575 and 1576, and again by his second edition of 1596. On the basis of the ancient MS. which he made use of Feuardent published for the first time the *complete* text, adding numerous Greek and Latin fragments. From this edition of 1596 were taken the reprints of 1625, 1639, and 1675, and that also in the second volume of the *Bibl. Patrum Lugdun.* of 1677. Based on fresh manuscript materials were the more critical editions of Joh. Ernst Grabe (Oxford, 1702), and the Benedictine of St. Maur, Renatus Massuet (Paris, 1712, ed. 2, Venice, 1734), of whom the former (Grabe) made use of the Codices Arundel. and Vossian., while the latter (Massuet), beside availing himself of the labours of his predecessors, reconstructed his text from the Codices Claromont., Ottobon., and Passerat. Both these editors augmented the collection of fragments already in existence. Grabe added copious Prolegomena, Massuet three Dissertations, *De Gnosticorum rebus*, *De Irenaei Vita et Scriptis*, and *De Irenaei Doctrina*. The division into chapters in Massuet's edition differs from that in Grabe's. A reproduction of Massuet's text enriched by a fresh collation of the Cod. Vossian., and a reprint of the prefaces of Erasmus, Gallasius, Feuardent,

Grabe and others, is the edition of Ad. Stieren (2 vols. Leipsic, 1853). The latest edition is that of Wigan Harvey (2 vols. Cambridge, 1857), based on a new and careful collation of the Codices Claromont. and Arundel. In addition to the fragments already published by Massuet and Stieren, Harvey has put together all those preserved in the original Greek by the author of the *Philosophúmena*, as well as the newly discovered Syriac and Armenian fragments. His Prolegomena contain new and minute investigations into the origin, characteristics, and main phenomena of Gnosticism, as well as concerning the life and writings of Irenaeus.

The work *Against Heresies* was written in Gaul. (Irenaeus says so expressly, lib. i. praef. 3, cf. i. 13, 7. We follow here and elsewhere Massuet's division of chapters.) The date of composition is determined by the passage (iii. 3, 3) in which he speaks of Eleutherus as at that time twelfth in succession to the apostles on the episcopal chair of Rome (*νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον* Ἐλεύθερος). According to this, the third book was written at the earliest A.D. 174 or 175, at the latest A.D. 189 (comp. my *Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe*, p. 184 sqq.). The commencement and completion of the whole work were possibly some years apart, but in any case we have no right to go down so low as the episcopate of Victor (A.D. 189–198 or 199) for the date of books iv. and v. If in the absence of more exact information we fix on the mid-period of Eleutherus's episcopate we may tentatively assume the year A.D. 182, or (considering that the two first books alone appear to have been written immediately the one after the other—comp. the prefaces to books ii. and iii.–v.), we may propose the period from A.D. 180 to 185 as the date of composition for the whole work. Attempts to assign a more exact date are fruitless. The conclusion that Irenaeus wrote the work as bishop and not at an earlier date than A.D. 178 as presbyter, is by far the most probable, though it cannot be drawn with absolute certainty from the words of the preface to the fifth book to which Massuet appeals: *quoniam in administratione sermonis positi sumus:* any more than from like expressions elsewhere (comp. ii. 17, 1, *Necessarie et hoc facientes*—he is referring to his conflict with heresy—*quoniam hujus rei credita est nobis procuratio*; and the preface to book iv.). Neither can a perfectly satisfactory conclusion be drawn from the fact that Irenaeus was acquainted with the translation of the Old Testament by Theodotion. In the passage (iii. 21, 1) when he discusses the well-known prophecy Isai. vii. 14 he remarks: Ἀλλ' *οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοί φασι τῶν νῦν μεθερμηνεύειν τολμώντων τὴν γραφήν· ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, ὡς* Θεοδοτίων *ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ* Ἐφέσιος, *καὶ* Ἀκύλας *ὁ* Ποντικός, *ἀμφότεροι* Ἰουδαῖοι *προσήλυτοι· οἷς κατακολουθήσαντες οἱ* Ἐβιωναῖοι *ἐξ* Ἰωσὴφ *αὐτὸν γεγεννῆσθαι φάσκουσιν*. To these two translators here mentioned the name of Symmachus ought to be added, who rendered the Hebrew word in the same way. But Symmachus appears not to have been known to Irenaeus at the time of his writing the above-cited passage. The time of Aquila, disciple as he was of the celebrated Rabbi Akiba, coincides undoubtedly with that of the emperor Hadrian. (Comp. in addition to Epiphanius *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, c. 13, the proofs adduced from the Talmud by Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 437 sqq. ed. 2.) Theodotion on the other hand, whom Epiphanius regards as junior to Symmachus, lived and wrote according to him (*De M. et P.* c. 17) *περὶ τὴν τοῦ δευτέρου* Κομόδου *βασιλείαν*, *i. e.* between A.D. 180 and A.D. 192. The *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 491, ed. Bonn) fixed still more definitely the date of his version as having been made *Marcello* (l. *Marullo*) *et Aeliano cons.* i. e. in A.D. 184. The expression "Reign of the second Commodus" is erroneously turned by Harvey (I. clviii. and II. 110 note) into "the second year of Commodus," and alleged as proof that the work *c. Haereses* could not have been written before the year 181. The accounts in Epiphanius are on this point unfortunately very confused. As successor to Antoninus Pius he designates (c. 16) 'Caracalla or Geta' 'or M. Aurelius Verus' with a reign of seven years. Contemporary with this last Lucius Aurelius Commodus has also reigned seven years, followed by Pertinax with six months, and Severus with eighteen years. In the time of Severus he places the Bible-translator Symmachus, whom he speaks of as a Samaritan and Jewish proselyte (he was in fact a Jewish Christian). Symmachus is closely followed by Theodotion (*μετὰ τοῦτον κατὰ πόδας ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς χρόνῳ*) during the reign of "the second Commodus," who is said to have reigned for a period of thirteen years after the time of the forenamed Lucius Aurelius Commodus. This Theodotion is designated not as an Ephesian but erroneously as Ποντικὸς *ἀπὸ τῆς διαδοχῆς* Μαρκίωνος *τοῦ αἱρεσιάρχου τοῦ* Σινωπίτου, and as having afterwards passed over to Judaism. A like confusion of statement with regard to the succession of Roman emperors is found in the following paragraphs. In c. 18 we read of the fifth version that it was discovered after the persecution of Severus in the time *τοῦ υἱοῦ* Σευήρου *τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος* Καρακάλλου *τε καὶ* Γέτα, whereupon Epiphanius gives the following succession of emperors after Antoninus Pius: Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who is also called Verus, nineteen years; *μετὰ τοῦτον* Κόμοδος *ἄλλος βασιλεύει ἔτη ιγʹ, περὶ οὗ χρόνου γνωρισθῆναι* Θεοδοτίωνα *εἴπομεν*. After this Commodus follows Περτίναξ *ἄλλος* for six months, and then Σευῆρος *ἄλλος* with his son Antoninus, together eighteen years. After Severus follows Ἀντωνῖνος *ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ καὶ* Γέτας *ἄλλος, ὁ καὶ* Καράκαλλος *ἐπικληθεὶς, καὶ ποιεῖ ἔτη ζʹ*. In the seventh year of this prince the *Editio Quinta* (that namely which followed Theodotion's version, which was reckoned as the fourth) was discovered at Jericho concealed in wine-jars (*ἐν πίθοις*). Caracalla is followed by another Antoninus, who reigns four years, and he by Alexander, son of Mammaea, who reigns thirteen years, and so forth. That Epiphanius here identifies Caracalla with his brother Geta is the least of his blunders. He makes a worse mistake when, misled by the frequent recurrence of the name Antoninus, he confuses Marcus Aurelius with Caracalla, and gives to the former the seven years of the latter emperor. The confusion is rendered greater still by Marcus Aurelius being designated as *Severus* instead of Verus, in consequence of which this emperor is further confounded with Septimius Severus. And so the blundering goes

on: Lucius Verus, the adopted brother of Marcus Aurelius, is confounded with his own son Lucius Aurelius Commodus, who in the first instance (c. 16) is immediately followed by Pertinax and then by Severus, but afterwards (c. 17) by the "second" Commodus. Further on (c. 18), while the series of names is otherwise correctly given, he proceeds to speak of a Κόμοδος ἄλλος, and Περτίναξ ἄλλος and a Σευῆρος ἄλλος. One thing however seems clear from his statement, that he would place the date of composition of Theodotion's version in the reign of Commodus, son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, and that by "the first Severus," in whose time he supposes Symmachus to have written, he must mean *Verus*, i. e. Marcus Aurelius himself. This account of the old Greek versions can hardly have been derived from Irenaeus as Credner supposes (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, ii. 255), but probably from the same source as that from which Eusebius drew his account of Origen's Hexapla (*H. E.* vi. 16), and perhaps from the now lost statement of Origen himself. The date assigned to Theodotion seems at any rate to have been derived from an old and trustworthy tradition, although the further notices concerning him may be purely fabulous, being in part results of some confusion between Theodotion and Aquila, and in part products of Epiphanius's own exuberant fancy. The notice in the *Chronicon Paschale* was probably derived from Epiphanius (comp. also Lightfoot in *Contemp. Review*, 1876, August, p. 412). The precise date there given (A.D. 184) is not more trustworthy than numerous others of a like kind, and no competent inquirer will be imposed on by this pretence at chronological exactness. The *Chronicon* in any case cannot be regarded as an independent authority in addition to that of Epiphanius. And while his statement may fairly be assumed to rest on that of some older witness we cannot so far depend upon its accuracy as to use it in endeavouring to determine the precise date of the great work of Irenaeus. One thing is certain. Theodotion's version was not generally known and used at that time. Besides Irenaeus himself his disciple Hippolytus knew and used it, but Tertullian was not yet acquainted with it (Overbeck, *Quaestionum Hippolytearum specimen*, p. 101 sqq.). It is then quite possible that, Theodotion being an inhabitant of Ephesus, and Irenaeus keeping up through life close relations with Asia Minor, Theodotion's work may have come into his hands and been made use of by him long before it became generally known. There is therefore no apparent reason against fixing on circa A.D. 180 for the date of Theodotion's version, and a few years later for the work of Irenaeus. We can hardly say that we have any other grounds for determining its date more accurately. Neither the mention of Montanistic prophecy, nor that of Tatian in the list of heretics, can be regarded as such. The former is noted by Eusebius in the *Chronicon* under the year 171, the latter under 172. Leaving the correctness of these dates as an open question, it is enough to remark here, that Montanism on the one hand, and Tatian's Encratism on the other, were contemporaneous phenomena. They do not help us to assign a more definite chronological position to the work *c. Haereses*.

As *the first external motive* for undertaking its composition, Irenaeus himself mentions (lib. i. praef.; ii. 17, 1; iii. praef.) the request of an unnamed friend that he would give him some instruction as to the heretical opinions of the Valentinians, and how to refute them. The recent spread of the Valentinian sect through the Rhone district had already given Irenaeus occasion to make himself more particularly acquainted with their writings and tenets. The dangerous character of their teaching had been fully recognized by others before him, whom he modestly designates as *multo nobis meliores*; but these had been in his opinion (iv. praef.) incapacitated through ignorance of the Valentinian "Rule" or system of doctrine for adequately undertaking the task of refutation. That so it was then his first object to refute Valentinianism, and only in a secondary and occasional way to attack other forms of heresy, is evident from the whole construction and arrangement of the first book, which is almost exclusively occupied with the Valentinians, and the same may be said in great measure of the second book also. Irenaeus himself repeatedly observes that he who refutes the Valentinians does at the same time refute all other heresies (cf. ii. 31, 1) "*destructis itaque his qui a Valentino sunt, omnis haereticorum eversa est multitudo*," an assertion of which he proceeds (31, 1–35, 5) to give detailed proof, in reference to the various heretical parties. So also in the preface to the fourth book he speaks of the "*doctrina eorum qui sunt a Valentino*" as a "*recapitulatio omnium haereticorum*," and in the second book of having taken them as an example of the way in which all heretics are to be refuted (*tanquam speculum habuimus eos totius eversionis*). In the three following books the circle of vision is unquestionably enlarged. Irenaeus, now taking the Scriptures for his guide, goes through in order the fundamental doctrines of Gnosticism, and along with those of Valentinus reviews the cognate dogmas of other heretical schools and specially those of the Marcionites. But we nowhere find such a connected view and refutation of other Gnostic systems as is given of the Valentinian in the second book.

The sources from whence Irenaeus derived his information were in the first instance the writings of the heretics themselves. In the preface to his first book he speaks of the ὑπομνήματα of disciples of Valentinus; and observes in passing that he has been in personal communication with some of their number. And more particularly it is the school of Ptolemaeus, an ἀπάνθισμα τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς, whose dogmatic system he sets himself to describe. The detailed account (*c. Haer.* i. 1–7) gives a description of its particular development in the Western or Italian form, and this derived not from one but from several writings, one of which Clemens Alexandrinus also made use of in the *excerpta ex scriptis Theodoti*, cc. 44–65. From another source were further derived the additional details given cc. 11 and 12, with regard to various opinions within the Valentinian system and in reference to Valentinus himself, Secundus, Ptolemaeus, and others; c. 13, 1–5, cc. 14 and 15 are concerned with Marcus, his magic arts, and his theories about the symbolism of letters and numbers. These accounts of Marcus conclude with the

citation of some Iambic Senarii, written against him by a *Divinae aspirationis Senior et Praeco veritatis* (ὁ θεόπνευστος πρεσβύτης καὶ κῆρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας). The same venerable authority is further designated, after the quotation, as "*amator Dei senior*," which Epiphanius expresses by ὁ θεοφιλὴς πρεσβύτης. Hilgenfeld conjectures that it may be Polycarp who is thus referred to; while Harnack supposes this πρεσβύτης to be identical with the *Melior nobis* (ὁ κρείσσων ἡμῶν), of whom Irenaeus speaks i. 13, 3, and elsewhere. The designation "Amator Dei," *i. e.* probably θεόφιλος (not θεοφιλής), might, it has been thought, point to Theophilus of Antioch, of whom Eusebius speaks (*H. E.* v. 24) as having been the author of various haeresiological works. But if so he could not be the same as the *Auctor ad Autolycum*, who was a contemporary of Irenaeus. The accounts given of the disciples of Marcus (c. 13, 6–7 and cc. 16–18), and further notices (cc. 19–21) which do not specifically refer to the Marcosians, seem not to have been derived from a written document (comp. i. 13, 7). Of special interest would it be if we could obtain any certain information as to the sources of the accounts given in cc. 11 and 12, which announce themselves as a sort of appendix to the more detailed account given in cc. 1–7. These later notices are certainly not derived from the writings proper of the Valentinian school. Cap. 11, 1 contains a condensed account of the personal teaching of Valentinus himself in contradistinction to the later developments of his system; c. 11, 2 and 3, give various detached notices of the teaching of his oldest disciple Secundus, and of another unnamed Valentinian—ἄλλος ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος—out of which earlier critics, following the mistaken lead of Epiphanius, constructed a proper name Epiphanes [EPIPHANES]. Harnack on the other hand supposes Heracleon to be referred to. (Comp. Lipsius's two essays, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*, pp. 161–168 sq. and *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, p. 170). After interposing (11, 4) some polemical observations, Irenaeus proceeds to describe, with a slight use of parody, the doctrines of other Valentinian teachers who are also unnamed (11, 4 and 5); and then (c. 12, 1) proceeds to speak of "*hi qui sunt circa Ptolemaeum scientiores*" (οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον γνωστικώτεροι) with polemical remarks (12, 2), and then (12, 3) of a further modification of Valentinian doctrine by others "qui prudentiores putantur illorum esse." The whole concludes (12, 4) with an enumeration of the various opinions of the school concerning the Sôtêr. The statements made (12, 1) with regard to the school of Ptolemaeus do not agree with those of the main account, although in the preface to book i. he promises that special attention shall be paid to the doctrine of those περὶ Πτολεμαῖον. Of these later notices we may certainly conclude that such at least as referred to the personal teaching of Valentinus (c. 11, 1) were derived from some written source, and probably an older haeresiological work, on which may also have been based the statements in cc. 11 and 12, and some even of those that follow respecting Marcus and the Marcosians. Traces of such a work are plainly to be seen in one section of the first book (cc. 22–27) which is introduced (22, 2) with the words: "Quum sit igitur adversus omnes haereticos detectio atque convictio varia et multifaria, et nobis propositum est omnibus iis secundum ipsorum characterа contradicere, necessarium arbitrati sumus, prius referre fontem et radicem eorum, uti sublimissimum ipsorum Bythum cognoscens intelligas arborem de qua defluxerunt tales fructus." After this introduction follow descriptions, more or less detailed, of the doctrines of Simon (23, 1–3), Menander (23, 4), Saturninus (24, 1 and 2), Basilides (24, 3–7), Carpocrates (25, 1–6), with a Roman local story of a certain Marcellina, who appeared in Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus, then further of Cerinthus (26, 1), the Ebionites (26, 2), the Nicolaitans (26, 3), Cerdon (27, 1) and Marcion (27, 2–4). He concludes with a promise to undertake the refutation of Marcion in a separate work ("sed huic quidem . . . . seorsim contradicemus, ex ejus scriptis contradicentes ei"). A longish Appendix follows (cc. 28–31) introduced with the words: "ab his autem qui praedicti sunt, jam multae propagines multarum haeresum factae sunt." The first examples given of these *propagines* are the *Encratites*, whom Irenaeus regards as descendants of Saturninus and Marcion. Their founder is Tatian, a contemporary of Irenaeus, and formerly a disciple of Justin Martyr (28, 1). These are followed by antinomistic Gnostics whom Irenaeus derives from Basilides and Carpocrates (28, 2). The Appendix concludes (cc. 29–31) with a very detailed account (directly drawn from original sources) of the doctrine of the so-called Barbeliotae and various other Ophite sects, γνωστικοί in the narrower sense, whom Irenaeus regards as forerunners of the Valentinians (31, 3, comp. 11, 1), their Gnosis being of the popular type early prevalent in Syria. The whole section (cc. 28–31) is evidently an addition made by Irenaeus himself, whereas that which precedes it (cc. 23–27) is as evidently based on some older heresiology, a view more and more generally entertained since the appearance of my essay, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*. At the same time it can hardly have been a mere literal transcript from the original work. In what is said for instance of the Carpocratians, Irenaeus refers to the συγγράμματα of the sect as if he had himself made use of them. In the section about Simon the original account (21, 1) appears to have been enlarged from a second authority (21, 2–3). Whether, further, what is said of the Ebionites (who appear to be hardly entitled to a place in a catalogue of Gnostic sects) was derived from an older haeresiology, seems to be very doubtful, and the same may be said of the account of the Nicolaitans, which attributes no special doctrines to that sect, but is simply based on a combination of Acts vi. 5 with Rev. ii. 6 and 13. Valentinus, on the other hand, could hardly have been omitted in the older haeresiology, and is only left out here because Irenaeus has already treated at length of him and of his school. In the Essay referred to I offered the hypothesis that the authority followed by Irenaeus may have been none other than the lost σύνταγμα of Justin Martyr κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων (Justin. Apol. i. 26). Irenaeus himself on one occasion (iv. 6, 2) cites as Justin's a σύνταγμα πρὸς Μαρκίωνα. It

is not improbable that these two συντάγματα may be one and the same work. As Irenaeus's own work, while specially directed against the Valentinians, took notice by the way of other Gnostic sects and parties, so may Justin likewise, while chiefly combating the errors of Marcion as being the most formidable heretic of his time, have given also a brief account of various other contemporaneous sectarian opinions. A solution of this difficult question might be attainable if Justin's σύνταγμα had served as the original authority for any other haeresiological work besides that of Irenaeus. And such in all probability was the case. The σύνταγμα of Hippolytus against all Heresies which we are enabled for the most part to reconstruct from the haeresiological works of Epiphanius and Philaster, and from the *Libellus adversus Omnes Haereses* appended to Tertullian's *de Praescriptione*, appears to go back in many instances to an original authority quite independent of Irenaeus. In his preface, fragments of which have been preserved by Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 121), Hippolytus refers to the oral teaching of his great master Irenaeus and not to his written work. A close comparison will prove however that he must have known and made use of this also. But for a whole series of sections the relation between the two haeresiological treatises is such that Irenaeus cannot have been the original authority followed by Hippolytus; nay, passages occur in which the relation between the two works can only be explained on the assumption of their having used the same older written document. (Comp. my *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, p. 162 sqq.) This older work appears to have been specially made use of in the section about Valentinus: for it is just here that Hippolytus exhibits a remarkable series of *contacts* with the statements of Irenaeus (i. 11, 1) concerning the doctrine of that heresiarch. But if it already contained similar accounts to those given by Irenaeus (i. 11, 2 sqq. and i. 12) of the disciples of Valentinus, and the notice concerning Marcellina (i. 25, 6), this older document cannot have been identical with Justin's σύνταγμα, but must have been a later work of unknown authorship written in the time of Soter or in the first years of Eleutherus. Such an inference however is not necessary. Hippolytus may have been exclusively indebted to Irenaeus for his knowledge of Marcellina, and of the disciples of Valentinus, as he enumerates them,—Ptolemaeus and Secundus, Heracleon, Marcus and Colarbasus; the last of these names is derived from a misunderstanding of a passage in Irenaeus (*Haer.* i. 14, 1); the teaching attributed to Heracleon appears to be based on *Haer.* i. 11, 3, and that assigned to Ptolemaeus on *Haer.* i. 11, 5; though Heracleon is not named in the former passage, but evidently referred to as the *Alius quidam qui et clarus est Magister* (ἄλλος ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος, while the *alii* (ἄλλοι) of the latter passage must be distinguished from the disciples of Ptolemaeus. Since then Hippolytus undoubtedly made some, though a slight, use of Irenaeus, especially in the section respecting the Valentinians (*Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, p. 166 sqq.; Lüdemann in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1876, n. 11), the possibility remains that the notices in question were not to be found in the older heresiology. If such be the case my former hypothesis that this work was no other than the σύνταγμα of Justin Martyr retains a preponderating likelihood. (Comp. Lüdemann, *l. c.*) The series of heretics thus given would seem, from the statements of Irenaeus and Hippolytus, to have been as follows: Simon Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Valentinus, Cerdon, Marcion. The assumption is however not absolutely certain. Harnack (*Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1873; comp. *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1874, p. 143 sqq.), after comparing the list of Hegesippus (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22) with various passages in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 26, 58; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 35), proposes another series: Simon, Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, Saturninus, which has in its favour the remarkable circumstance that the last three names, by an arrangement setting all chronology at defiance, appear ranked in the same order in Hegesippus as in the Dialogue with Trypho. This is not however by any means an irrefragable proof (comp. the arguments in my *Quellen*, &c., and those urged by Lüdemann). For whatever arrangement Justin may have made and followed of the names of the heresies which he was combating, the probability remains the same, that Irenaeus knew and made use of his *Syntagma* (comp. also the passage v. 26, 2).

As to the other sources from which Irenaeus may have derived his acquaintance with Gnostic opinions, two such have been conjectured for the information displayed in bks. iii.–v. concerning the details of Marcion's system, which along with that of the Valentinian is the heretical system most frequently referred to in that portion of his work. These two sources, as conjectured by Harnack (*l. c.* p. 56), were, first, Marcion's own writings; and secondly, a refutation of Marcion, composed by a presbyter of Asia Minor. But while it is true that Irenaeus does repeatedly announce his intention to write a special refutation of Marcion's heresy (i. 27, 4; iii. 12, 12), this cannot be taken as a proof of his having already devoted particular attention to the canon and writings of Marcion. The numerous scattered notices concerning Marcion, contained in the later books of his great work, go seldom much beyond what had been already said in i. 27, 2 and 3. And though in that part of his fourth book to which Harnack refers Irenaeus does actually give us a word-for-word report of what a venerable Asiatic presbyter had urged against Gnostic heresies, this may have been derived from oral communication, and is at any rate no proof that the presbyter in question had written a special treatise against Marcion. (Comp. *Quellen der ält. Ketzergeschichte*, p. 57.)

Of great interest would it be to obtain more exact impressions concerning those other presbyters to whose words and writings Irenaeus makes frequent reference. Besides the "God-loving elder," from whom he borrows the Iambic Senarii against Marcus, Irenaeus cites on various occasions from "presbyters and disciples of the apostles;" under which title, besides Polycarp, bishop Papias of Hierapolis must certainly have been included. It is from the fourth book of Papias's λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις that Irenaeus cites the saying traditionally attributed to our Lord on the alleged testimony of the apostle

St. John concerning the glories of His millennial kingdom (v. 33, 3 sqq.). The citation is introduced with the words "Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderunt," and is followed by Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα. From this mode of expression we might possibly infer that Irenaeus was not quoting directly from Papias. But such an inference is contradicted by the words which immediately follow: "Et adjecit dicens: Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus." The *dicens* here must be Papias himself. From the same work of Papias may have also been derived the citations at v. 5, 1, and v. 36, 1, in which Irenaeus appeals in like manner to the πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί (Lightfoot, *Contemporary Review*, 1875, Oct. p. 840 sqq.). Beside these venerable presbyters Irenaeus makes repeated reference to an authority whom he designates as ὁ κρείττων ἡμῶν (i. praef.; i. 13, 3, comp. iii. 17, 4, "superior nobis"). Since reference is here obviously made to a personality well known to his readers, the conjecture is a natural one that Irenaeus is alluding to his predecessor in the episcopate of Lyons, the martyred bishop Pothinus. The utterances quoted from this authority, with their vivid descriptions and exposures of Gnostic corruptions of Christian morals and doctrine, may have been solely derived from oral communications and personal intercourse. Pothinus may also be alluded to in lib. iv. praef. 2, "Quapropter hi qui ante nos fuerunt et quidem multo nobis meliores non tamen satis potuerunt contradicere his qui sunt a Valentino, quia ignorabant regulam ipsorum." But here again it is by no means certain that these words refer to a written work against the Valentinians. They may with equal propriety be understood of an oral polemic, in sermons or otherwise. Less likely would it seem that Pothinus can be meant by the "presbyter" from whom the long account is taken, lib. iv. 27–32 (Lightfoot, *Cont. Rev.* 1876, Aug. p. 416). Harnack concludes also that he must be different from the one mentioned previously, who, as he observes, is spoken of in terms of much higher commendation and esteem (*Patres Apostolici*, ii. 2, ed. ii. p. 106). In most of the other not infrequent appeals to the authority of "elders and disciples of apostles," there is nothing that compels us to assume a reference to any *written* works. Take, for example, *Haer.* ii. 22, 5, where we read that it was the unanimous testimony of the elders in Asia who had conversed with St. John, that he had always delivered to them that our Lord had reached an age of over forty years. (Compare further the collection of the fragments of these elders in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patres Apostolici*, i. 2 ed. ii. p. 105 sqq., especially fragm. v. viii. ix. x. xii. xv.)

Of any use made by Irenaeus of the writings of Polycarp there is no certain trace. This is the more remarkable considering the deep veneration in which Irenaeus held his ancient teacher and the faithful remembrance in which he stored his oral utterances (*Haer.* iii. 3, 4, cf. Ep. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. v. 20). He knows indeed several writings of the bishop of Smyrna (Ep. ad Florin. ap. Euseb.) and makes also special mention of Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians (*Haer.* iii. 3, 4). Of the works of Justin Martyr Irenaeus knew and used—besides the Syntagma against all Heresies of which we have been speaking, and the possibly identical Syntagma against Marcion—the former of the two Apologies, without, however, making any citation from it (*Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, p. 63). From which of Justin's works the Citation, v. 26, 2, is derived cannot be made out with certainty. Harnack's assumption that the line of argument adopted in bks. ii.–v. against Marcion, which in several points coincides with that of Tertullian's work, *adv. Marcionem*, i.–iii., was itself derived from Justin's Syntagma against Marcion, must be here left to itself.

With far greater confidence may we assume Irenaeus to have used the *Memoirs of Hegesippus* (iii. 3, 3; 4, 3, comp. *Quellen der ält. Ketzergesch.* p. 73). Besides these he makes one occasional citation from the epistle of Ignatius to the Romans (v. 28, 4), but here again without mentioning his name.

Irenaeus's great work is divided into five books. The first book contains a detailed account of the Valentinian system, together with a general view of the opinions of the other sects. The second book undertakes to exhibit the unreasonableness and self-contradiction of the doctrines of Valentinianism. The chief object of Irenaeus here is to combat the doctrine of the Demiurge or Creator as a subordinate existence placed outside the Pleroma, of limited power and insight, and separated from the "Father" by an infinite chasm. At the same time he also controverts the Valentinian doctrine concerning the Pleroma and its antithesis the Kenoma, the theory of Emanations, of the Fall of Achamoth, and the formation of the lower world through the sufferings of the *Sophia*; and finally, at great length, of the Gnostic teaching concerning souls, and the distinction made between Psychici and Pneumatici. The third, fourth, and fifth books contain the refutation of Gnostic doctrines from Holy Scripture. This is preceded by a short dissertation on the sources of Christian truth. The one foundation of the faith is the gospel transmitted first by oral tradition and then subsequently committed to writing. The Gnostics, however, will allow neither the refutation of their doctrines out of Scripture, nor disproof from tradition. Against the one they appeal to a secret doctrine handed down among themselves, against the other to their own higher knowledge (gnosis). Irenaeus meets them in the first place by stating the characteristics of genuine apostolic tradition, which at the same time ensures the right interpretation of Holy Scripture. The chief *Media* and transmitters of this tradition are the apostolic churches and their episcopal successions derived from the apostles themselves (*Haer.* iii. 1–4). He proceeds to give the proof from Scripture—first, as against the doctrine of the Demiurge and then against the Gnostic Christology. There is but one God, Creator of the world and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Son, the Eternal God-Logos, and has truly been made Flesh in order to redeem mankind from its fall in Adam. Under this head he combats the errors of both

Docetae and Ebionites; and then returning to his main purpose he attacks once more the chief Gnostic doctrine in a refutation of Marcion's attempt to distinguish between the *Good* God on the one hand and the *Just* or Judicial God on the other. This occupies him at the close of the third book.

The fourth book is directed against the same doctrine. Irenaeus now attacks the distinction made between the lawgiver and the Father, shewing the identity of the divine revelation in the Old and New Testaments, the close connexion between law and gospel, and the typical pre-announcement of the New Testament in the Old. In conclusion he shews that eternal happiness or endless misery will befall men from the same God, as reward or as punishment for their own free choice of good or evil. Finally, the fifth book gives a detailed argument in proof of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and of the millennial kingdom.

Of the other writings of Irenaeus, fragments only, or bare names, have been preserved. Whether he ever carried out the intention, announced i. 27, 4 and iii. 12, 12, of writing a special treatise against Marcion, cannot be now determined with certainty. Eusebius in one place (*H. E.* v. 8) mentions this intention, and in another (*H. E.* iv. 25) simply reckons Irenaeus, along with Philip of Gortyna and Modestus, among authors who had written against Marcion. Of his *Epistle to Florinus*, Eusebius has preserved a considerable fragment. FLORINUS was an older contemporary of Irenaeus, and like him had once been a disciple of Polycarp. He was afterwards a presbyter at Rome, and was deposed, as it would seem, for heresy (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 15). The epistle of Irenaeus, addressed to him, bore also, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20), the title, περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. This implies that Florinus had adopted Gnostic opinions. The "God" whom he appears to have regarded as the author of evil was the Gnostic Demiurge. He afterwards, according to Eusebius, inclined to Valentinianism; whereupon Irenaeus addressed him in another treatise, περὶ ὀγδοάδος, from which Eusebius quotes the concluding words, conjuring the copyists to make an accurate and faithful transcript of his words. The epistle, περὶ μοναρχίας, is regarded by Leimbach (*Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1873, p. 626 sq.) and Lightfoot (*Contemp. Review*, 1875, May, p. 834) as one of Irenaeus's earliest writings. Leimbach would date it between A.D. 168 and A.D. 177. But his arguments are trivial; first, he thinks that the reminiscences of Polycarp's teaching make an impression of having been written at a time when his martyrdom had recently taken place; secondly, that the expression οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες naturally suggests that Irenaeus was himself no more than a presbyter when he made use of it. But, Leimbach's "impression" notwithstanding, the epistle was certainly written some considerable time after Polycarp's death; for, as we have seen, Polycarp was already an aged man when Irenaeus became his youthful disciple; and in this epistle, Irenaeus looks back on his time of youth as one that has long since passed away, and is now far behind him. The date, moreover, of Polycarp's martyrdom is not as Leimbach still assumes, the year A.D. 167, but either 155 or 156. The second argument is a still more trivial one. Leimbach can have made but small acquaintance with the writings of Irenaeus, if he imagines that the term πρεσβύτερος constituted for him an antithesis to ἐπίσκοπος. It is just a characteristic feature of his style and mode of expression that this antithesis was for him as yet unknown. Of far greater importance is Lightfoot's argument that the treatise περὶ ὀγδοάδος was probably written before the great work *Against Heresies*, inasmuch as its detailed treatment of the Valentinian system would have made a special tractate on the Ogdoad superfluous. And had we no other information on the subject we might have been content to draw such an inference. But Lightfoot seems to have overlooked the fragmentary portion of an epistle to Victor of Rome, preserved among the Syriac fragments of Irenaeus (fragm. xxviii. ap. Harvey, ii. p. 457), which is introduced with the words: "And Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, to Victor, bishop of Rome, concerning Florinus, a presbyter who was a partisan of the error of Valentinus, and published an abominable book, thus wrote:" whereupon follows the fragment itself, thus rendered in the Latin version: "Nunc autem quia forte vos lateant libri eorum, qui etiam ad nos usque pervenerunt, notum facio vobis, ut pro vestra dignitate ejiciatis e medio scripta illa opprobrium quidem afferentia in vos, quia scriptor jactaverit se unum esse e vobis. Offendiculo enim sunt multis, simpliciter et nulla facta quaestione recipientibus tanquam a presbytero blasphemiam qua Deum afficiunt. Considerate enim horum scriptorem ut per ea non tantum asseclis noceat, mentem paratis in blasphemias adversus Deum, sed et nostros laedat, quia per libros ejus falsa dogmata de Deo in mentes eorum injicit." From the words with which this fragment is introduced it appears that the epistle from which it is taken could not have been written till after the first three books of the work *Against Heresies*, probably not till after the completion of the whole work, and, at the earliest, about A.D. 190. Now it is indeed probable that the tract περὶ ὀγδοάδος was written some time before this epistle was addressed to Victor, for we may surely assume the likelihood of Irenaeus having addressed himself personally in the way of remonstrance to a former friend and associate, before calling on the bishop of Rome to take measures against him. But on the other hand it is not likely that any considerable period intervened between the two writings, and we may assume it therefore as most probable that the περὶ ὀγδοάδος was also written in Victor's time, and therefore *after* the work *Against Heresies*. And herewith resolves itself the proof likewise of an early date for Irenaeus's former writing addressed to Florinus, the περὶ μοναρχίας. From the Syriac fragment of the letter to Victor it appears that Florinus was still a member of the Roman presbytery when that letter was written. For even though the antithesis of "asseclae Florini" and "nostri" might seem to favour a contrary assumption, it is quite evident from the words preceding that Florinus was still in reality a presbyter of the church of Rome. And this confirms the statement of Eusebius that Florinus was deposed at the same time with Blastus from the Roman presbytery: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἤκμαζον,

ὧν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρῖνος, πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεσών, Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχημένος (*H. E.* v. 15). If Eusebius meant by this to reckon Florinus among the Montanists of Rome, he would be guilty of an error which his own words further on (v. 20) would make manifest. But, as it is, he goes on to say: *οἳ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ σφῶν ὑπῆγον βούλημα, θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος.* So then he clearly makes a distinction between the error peculiar to Florinus and that of Blastus. And the error of Florinus was, according to *H. E.* v. 20, nothing more nor less than his Gnosticism. Neither have we in any case the right to throw doubt upon the contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous deposition of the two men; and certain it is that the schism of Blastus, of which we shall have to speak presently, and which also gave occasion for Irenaeus to raise a protesting voice, took place during the episcopate of Victor. The Syriac fragment quoted above mentions only writings of Florinus as containing "blasphemies against God," wherewith agrees the purpose of Irenaeus's first work, addressed to Florinus, as designated by its title, to maintain the divine monarchia, and to prove that God, *i.e.* the Creator, was not the author of evil. It remains therefore quite possible that the epistle to Victor may have been written soon after the tractate *περὶ μοναρχίας.* The designation of Florinus in the introductory words to the fragment as "a partisan of the error of Valentinus," is not inconsistent with this assumption, nor again is the statement of Eusebius, that he afterwards attached himself to the false doctrines of the Valentinians, a convincing proof to the contrary, inasmuch as this appears to have been merely an inference drawn by Eusebius from the titles of the two treatises written by Irenaeus against him (*Ταύτης γάρ τοι τῆς γνώμης*—that the Creator was the author of evil —*οὗτος ἐδόκει προασπίζειν· δι' ὃν αὖθις ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον πλάνῃ καὶ τὸ περὶ ὀγδοάδος συντάττεται τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ σπούδασμα*). It is not likely that the controversy with Florinus should have dragged on through a period of twenty years, and quite as incredible that Florinus should have remained a member of the Roman presbytery after openly embracing the Gnostic distinction between the highest God and the Demiurge, and advocating the doctrine rarely found among heretics themselves, that the Demiurge was the author of evil. I am therefore of opinion that both writings against Florinus appeared in Victor's time, and not long one after the other. The motive for their publication was, as we learn from the Syriac fragment, the appearance of heretical books, of which Florinus was the author. One of these probably set forth his doctrine of the Demiurge, and another that of the Ogdoad. How it came to pass that Victor's first intelligence as to the heretical writings of one of his own presbyters should be derived from Irenaeus we are not informed. The books may have been written in Asia Minor before Florinus removed to Rome, and obtained admission to the Roman presbytery. But this would make it doubly probable that Irenaeus would lose no time in calling Victor's attention to his heretical opinions, and would therefore be in favour of a later not an earlier date for the writings against Florinus. The tractate *περὶ ὀγδοάδος* is also mentioned in the introductory words of a Syriac fragment of the passage *Haer.* i. 9, 3 (*Fragm.* iii. ap. Harvey vol. ii. p. 434. It is possible also that *Fragm. Graec.* viii. (ap. Harvey, ii. 479, comp. *Fragm. Syr.* xxv. ap. Harvey, ii. 454), and *Fragm. Graec.* xliii. (ap. Harvey, ii. 509), were taken from it. The first of these (*Fragm. Graec.* viii.), which is cited by Leontius under the title *Εἰρηναίου ἐπισκόπου Λουγδούνων*, is found also in a Paris manuscript (*Bibl. Nat. Codex* 2951) with this inscription—*Εἰρηναίου ἐπισκόπου Λουγδούνων τῆς Γαλλίας κατὰ Βαλεντίνου*—from which it appears that the original work must have been directed against the Valentinian doctrines. The Syriac text is in part more comprehensive.

If Eusebius is right in making the deposition of the Roman presbyter Blastus contemporaneous with that of Florinus, the epistle addressed to the former by Irenaeus and entitled *περὶ σχίσματος* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20) must also belong to the same period. Blastus was, according to Eusebius, the head of the Roman Montanists (*H. E.* v. 15)—comp. also Pacianus *Epist. ad Sympronian.* c. 1—and, according to Pseudo-Tertullian (Libell. *adv. Omn. Haereses*, 22), a Quartodeciman. Both accounts are probably correct. With regard to the Montanists of Asia Minor we know that (in accordance with the custom prevalent among the Christians of that country) they kept Easter on the 14th day of Nisan (comp. Schwegler, *Montanismus*, p. 251); it is therefore quite credible that Blastus, as a Montanist, may have conformed to the Quartodeciman practice, and, as a member of the Roman presbytery, may have sought to introduce it into the imperial city. But if Blastus be the one referred to in another Syriac Fragment (*Fragm.* xxvii. ap. Harvey, ii. 456), he certainly was not an Asiatic but an Alexandrian; and on this supposition his Quarto-decimanism must have grown out of his close connexion with the Montanists of Asia Minor, since the paschal calendar of the Alexandrine church was the same as that of Rome. One can moreover quite understand bishop Victor's responding to any attempt on Blastus's part to create a schism in the Roman church by introducing the Asiatic custom, with deposition from the presbyteral office. Such a breach of discipline in his own diocese (the actual spectacle of some Roman Christians keeping Easter with the Asiatics on the 14th Nisan, and in opposition to the ancestral custom of the bishops of Rome) will have naturally excited him to uncompromising harshness towards the brethren of Asia Minor generally; so that on these refusing to conform at his demand to the Roman custom, he at once cut off the churches of the Asiatic province and the neighbouring dioceses from his church-communion (see an article of mine on this subject in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1866, p. 192 sq. and *Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe*, p. 174). These ecclesiastical troubles moved the man of peace, Irenaeus, to address letters of remonstrance on the one hand to Blastus, and on the other to bishop Victor. To the former of these, which according to Eusebius bore the title of *περὶ σχίσματος*, may possibly be assigned a Syriac fragment (xxvii. ap. Harvey, ii. 456), which is introduced with the following words:—"Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, who was

a contemporary of Polycarp, disciple of the apostle, bishop of Smyrna and martyr, and for this reason is held in just estimation, wrote to an Alexandrian to the effect that it is right, with respect to the Feast of the Resurrection, that we should celebrate it upon the first day of the week." But inasmuch as we know from Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 24) that Irenaeus wrote on the same subject to several persons, it is also quite possible that this Alexandrian may have been a different man from Blastus. The actual wording of the fragment gives no special support to either hypothesis. Of the letter to Victor Eusebius has preserved a considerable extract (*H. E.* v. 24). From this it appears that the controversies of that time regarded not merely the time of the Easter Festival, but also the mode and duration of the antecedent Paschal fast. Some kept one day, others two days, others several days; and some again reckoned their fast-day at forty hours of day and night (*οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν*). The interpretation which supplies *ἡμέρας* and places a colon after *τεσσαράκοντα* is against the construction of the sentence, and yields no intelligible sense. But these differences of practice notwithstanding, resting as they do on ancient custom — so Irenaeus proceeds to say — the church's peace and unity of faith have never yet been disturbed thereby. For although former bishops of Rome, from Xystus to Soter, had never kept the 14th of Nisan, yet had they always maintained full church communion with any who might come from other dioceses where the 14th of Nisan was observed. When Polycarp, for instance, visited Rome in the time of Anicetus, they retained each his own traditional custom without breach of ecclesiastical unity, Anicetus permitting Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist in his own church, and both separating afterwards in peace. No title is given by Eusebius to this epistle, but according to the *Quaestiones et Responsa ad Orthodoxos* of Pseudo-Justin (c. 115) it was at one time entitled *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* (comp. *Fragm. Graec.* vii. ap. Harvey, ii. 478). From the same work Pseudo-Justin gives us the further information that the old Christian custom to refrain from kneeling on Easter Day, as a sign of Christ's resurrection, whereby we were delivered from sin and death, is carried back by Irenaeus to apostolic times, and that he also noted the continued observance of the custom through the season of Pentecost, inasmuch as the whole period (of fifty days after Easter) was regarded as equal to Easter Day itself. To this epistle we may also assign the words quoted by Maximus (*Sermo* vii. *De Eleemos.*) as an extract *ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Βίκτωρα ἐπιστολῆς*, the sentiment of which seems better suited to the peace-making purpose of the *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* than to the controversial character of the other writing, the *περὶ τοῦ σχίσματος*, to which Harvey would assign it (*Fragm. Graec.* v. ap. Harvey, ii. 477; and *Fragm. Syr.* xxviii. p. 456, note). From another writing of Irenaeus, belonging to the same controversial cycle (but whether from the epistle to Blastus or from this to Victor we cannot say), the third fragment, published by Pfaff, appears to have been taken (*Fragm. Graec.* xxxvii. ap. Harvey, ii. 505).

Of the other writings of Irenaeus Eusebius mentions (*H. E.* v. 26) a short tractate, *πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, which bore also the title *περὶ ἐπιστήμης*, an *ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος*, addressed to a certain Marcian, and a *βιβλίον διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, in which he is said to have cited the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon. Jerome, who seems to be here simply copying Eusebius, makes, however, a distinction (*de Vir. Illustr.* 35) between the *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας* and the *περὶ ἐπιστήμης* (scripsit . . . contra Gentes volumen breve et de Disciplina aliud). Harvey consequently assumes that in our text of Eusebius an *ἄλλος τε* must have fallen out before *περὶ ἐπιστήμης* (vol. i. p. clxvi.). Besides this he alludes to a Syriac fragment which mentions the *περὶ ἐπιστήμης*, and from which it would appear that that work was a refutation not of Pagan, but of Gnostic, and especially of Valentinian heresy. As I cannot find the fragment alluded to in Harvey's collection, I am unable to judge of the correctness of his theory. To this same treatise, *περὶ ἐπιστήμης*, Harvey would also assign a Greek fragment published by Combefis (ap. Harv. *Fr. Graec.* xxiv. ii. 491) and the first of the Pfaffian Fragments (ap. Harv. *Fragm. Graec.* xxxv. ii. 498). The tractate of Apostolical Preaching addressed to Marcian appears to have been a catechetical work on the Rule of Faith. Harvey conjectures that two fragments given in Latin by Feuardentius (*Fr. Graec.* v. and vi. ap. Harvey, ii. 477, 478), and the second and fourth of the Pfaffian fragments (*Fr. Graec.* xxxvi. and xxxviii. ap. Harvey, ii. 500 sqq. and 506) may have been taken from this work. But the first of these fragments of Feuardentius has been preserved in the original Greek by Maximus, who assigns it apparently to another work, *λόγος περὶ πίστεως*, addressed to Demetrius, a deacon of Vienne. This treatise began, according to Maximus, with the words *ζητῶν τὸν Θεὸν ἄκουε τοῦ Δαβὶδ λέγοντος*. The tractate *περὶ πίστεως* is not mentioned elsewhere. The last work of Irenaeus, named both by Eusebius and Jerome the *βιβλίον διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, appears, in accordance with the usage of those early times as to the word *διαλέξεις* (comp. Harvey, i. p. clxvii. sqq.), to have been a collection of homilies on various texts of Scripture. Rufinus incorrectly renders *διαλέξεις* by *Dialogus* and Jerome by *Tractatus*. In a MS. of the *Parallela* of Joannes Damascenus is found, with the inscription *τοῦ ἁγίου Εἰρηναίου ἐκ τῶν Δλέξεων* (l. *διαλέξεων*), the noble saying first published by Halloix (*Vita Irenaei*, p. 504): *τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ μελετᾶν ἀποθνήσκειν* (Harvey, ii. 480). From these homilies were probably taken the numerous Greek fragments found in various catenae, and containing expositions of various passages of the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament and also of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke (*Fr. Graec.* xv.–xxiii., xxv.–xxix., xxxi., xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxix., xl., xlii.–xlvii.); as well as the Syriac fragment of an exposition of the Song of Solomon (*Fr. Syr.* xxvi. ap. Harvey, ii. 455), and the Armenian homily on the Sons of Zebedee (*Fr. Syr.* xxxii. ap. Harvey, ii. 464 sqq.). To the same collection will have also belonged a tractate on the

History of Elkanah and Samuel, which is mentioned in a Syriac manuscript (Harvey, ii. 507 note). Some other titles of lost works of Irenaeus are found mentioned in the fragments. Beside the above-mentioned λόγος περὶ πίστεως addressed to Demetrius, is found in an Armenian MS. the fragment of a work *De Resurrectione Domini*, attributed to Irenaeus, which is also preserved in the Syriac, though in a briefer form (*Fr. Syr.* xxx. and xxxi. ap. Harvey, ii. 460 sqq.). This *De Resurrectione* may, as Harvey conjectures, be the same work as the περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα. To it he would likewise assign the Greek fragments IX. and X. first extracted by Halloix from the *Parallela* of Joh. Damascenus (Harvey, ii. 480) as well as the fourth Pfaffian fragment (*Fr. Graec.* xxxviii.). But fragment X. may have been taken from the περὶ μοναρχίας, and fragment xxxviii., as Pfaff conjectured, either from the διαλέξεις διάφοροι or the work addressed to Marcian. Another Greek fragment, first edited by Grabe, bears the epigraph: ἐξ ἑτέρου βιβλίου Εἰρηναίου συγγράφεως περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀγέννητον τὴν ὕλην. This, Harvey is disposed to assign to a tractate περὶ τοῦ παντός, of which some (according to Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 48) regarded Irenaeus as the author (*vid.* Harvey, i. p. clxx.), but which may with greater probability be assigned to Hippolytus. Another fragment, first printed by Massuet, which treats of the History of the Fall (*Fr. Graec.* xiv. ap. Harvey, ii. 483 sqq.), is found in the *Contemplationes Anagogicae*, upon the Hexaëmeron attributed to Anastasius Sinaita. The writer introduces his quotation with the words: φάσκει γὰρ (viz. Irenaeus), κατὰ τῆς τῶν μιαρῶν Ὀφιτῶν αἱρεσιαρχίας ὁπλιζόμενος. But the fragment itself has nothing at all to do with the Ophites, and must, if genuine, have formed a portion of the διαλέξεις διάφοροι. Yet another fragment, first edited by Münter (*Fr. Graec.* xli. ap. Harvey, ii. p. 508), bears the superscription τοῦ ἁγίου Εἰρηναίου ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων. It consists of the saying: εὖ μὲν λέγοντες ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀξίους, κακῶς δὲ οὐδέποτε τοὺς ἀναξίους τευξόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας. Collections of such διδαχαί or διατάξεις are met with under the names of various early ecclesiastical writers. But perhaps we should here read διαλέξεων instead of διατάξεων. Finally, in the introductory words of *Fr. Graec.* xiii. (ap. Harvey, ii. 482 n.) preserved by Oecumenius, on 1 Pet. iii. (p. 198), we find what may be regarded as the title of another work of Irenaeus, περὶ Σάγκτου καὶ Βλανδίνης τῶν μαρτύρων. The words which follow, though apparently announcing themselves as an extract from such a work, may really have been derived from the statements contained in the well-known epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne. The fourth of the fragments extracted by Halloix from Johannes Damascenus (*Fr. Graec.* xii. ap. Harvey, ii. 481) is of anti-Gnostic purpose, and treats of the Resurrection of the Body; while the Syriac fragment (xxix. ap. Harvey, ii. 458), first published by Pitra (*Spicileg. Solesm.* i. p. 6), appears to be directed against Docetic doctrines. The genuineness of most of these pieces is not impugned from any quarter, though in some cases it might be difficult to establish. An exception to this remark must be made in reference to the four fragments (*Fr. Graec.* ap. Harvey, xxxv.–xxxviii.) published by Ch. M. Pfaff from manuscript Catenae in the Library of Turin, which soon afterwards disappeared. The genuineness of these Pfaffian fragments had been doubted by Scipio Maffei and others. These doubts were raised chiefly, it would seem, on dogmatic grounds, but the genuineness of the second fragment, which treats of the doctrine of the Holy Communion, appears subject to question for purely critical reasons also. The only undoubtedly genuine of these Pfaffian fragments is the third (*Fr. Graec.* xxxvii.).

III. *The Theology of Irenaeus, and his Influence on the Ecclesiastical Developments of his Time.*—Irenaeus, along with Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian, on the one side, and Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen on the other, was one of the main founders of the ancient Catholic church, as it rose, amid conflicts with Gnosticism and Montanism, out of the church of the post-apostolic era. It would be a mistake to follow Baur and the Tübingen school in explaining the development of primitive Catholic Christianity as the fruit of a compromise effected by the Pauline and Petrine parties soon after the middle of the 2nd century as a means of overcoming the new opposition. The earliest post-apostolic form of Christianity was itself no mere product of the conflicting antitheses of the apostolic time, or of their reconciliation. The Jewish-Christian communities of Palestine and Syria formed, even towards the end of the 1st century, but a small and vanishing minority in relation to the swelling dimensions of the Gentile church. That to some extent Jewish-Christian influences did operate upon Gentile Christianity during the former half of the 2nd century is not wholly to be denied; and yet the one feature in which we are most tempted to trace them—the conception of the gospel as a new law—is quite as much the outcome of an internal development within the Gentile church itself. The ultimate triumph of Christian universalism, and the recognised equality between Jewish and Gentile members of the church of the Messiah, was a fruit of the life-long labours of St. Paul. The new Christian community, including as it did a large majority of Gentile members, regarded itself as the true people of God, as the spiritual Israel, and as the genuine heir of the church of the Old Testament, while the great mass of Jewish unbelievers were, as a penalty for their rejection of the true Messiah, excluded from the blessings of the kingdom of God. To this new spiritual Israel were speedily, in part at least, transferred the forms of the Old Testament theocracy, and all the Jewish Scriptures were received as divinely inspired documents by the new church. But, whereas St. Paul had emphasized the antithesis between law and gospel, the Gentile churches after his time attached themselves more closely to the doctrinal norm of the older apostles, and laid stress on the continued validity of the law for Christians; though, seeing it was impossible to bind Gentiles to observe the ceremonial law, it was sought to give its precepts after the example of the Jewish religious philosophy of Alexandria a spiritual interpretation. Already, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, do we find the relations between Old and New Testament viewed under the aspect of Type and Anti-type, Prophecy and Fulfilment. The later Gentile Christianity

learned to see everywhere in the Old Testament types of the gospel revelation, and secured thereby the means of combining freedom from the Mosaic ceremonial law with the maintenance of the entire continuity in all respects of the Old and New Testament revelation. The Moral Law, as the centre and substance of the Mosaic revelation, remained the obligatory norm of conduct for Gentile Christians; Christ had not abrogated the law of Moses, but fulfilled and completed it. The Gentile Christianity of the post-apostolic era is, in comparison with the far deeper theology of St. Paul, deficient in specially Christian thoughts, retaining and expressing them in a poor and outward way. Even writers like Clemens Romanus, who carefully and professedly attached themselves to the person and teaching of St. Paul, shew an imperfect understanding of his characteristic doctrines. Instead of genuine Pauline thought, we have in the whole literature of the post-apostolic period the same simple type of doctrine. The theological learning of the time confines itself almost exclusively to a typological interpretation of the Old Testament. So much the greater, on the other hand, is the influence exercised upon these writers by the heathen philosophic culture of the time. On the Apologists, for instance, of the middle portion of the 2nd century—a Justin, a Tatian, a Theophilus, an Athenagoras—this influence appears to have operated with special force. Without attaching himself to any particular school of philosophy, Justin Martyr is nevertheless making constant endeavours to comprehend Christianity under the then generally accepted forms of philosophical speculation, and to commend it as a manifestation of the highest reason to the cultured minds of his time. In this way he became the first founder of a Catholic system of theology. The doctrine of the Divine Logos as the "Second God," the Mediator through Whom all divine revelation is transmitted, is already made use of by Justin as an apologetic weapon, and remains from his time onwards a standing basis for the philosophical defence of Christianity. And this very doctrine of the Logos approved itself in after times as the strongest weapon in the church's armoury in the conflict with Gnostic opinions.

The widespread appearance of the manifold forms of Gnosticism in the 2nd century is a most significant proof of the far-reaching influence exercised by pagan thought and speculation on the Gentile church of that age. The danger which now threatened Christianity from the influx on all sides of foreign thought was all the greater because the Gentile churches of the time had yet but a feeble comprehension of the ideas specially belonging to Christianity. It was in fact the conflict with Gnosticism which gradually reawakened and gave fresh vigour to such ideas in Christian minds, inaugurating that revival of fundamental Christian and Pauline thought which distinguishes the theology of Irenaeus and of the other early "Catholic" doctors at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century from the simpler and poorer view of Christian truth presented in the works of the early Apologists.

The perils with which the Gnostic speculation menaced the Christian system were, on the one hand, concerned with that which formed a common groundwork for Christianity and Judaism; *i.e.* first and specially the Monotheistic principle itself, and then the doctrines of Divine Justice, of the Freedom of the Will, and of Future Retribution; on the other hand, they had regard to the traditions peculiar to Christianity concerning the historical person and work of Jesus Christ, the genuine human realism of His life and sufferings, the universal application of His redeeming work to all believers, and, lastly, the external and historical character of that final restitution to which Christians looked forward. The Monotheistic idea, the divine *μοναρχία*, was assailed by the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurge, the Pleroma, and the series of Aeons; and the universally accepted doctrine of our Lord's Incarnation and Messiahship by the various forms of Gnostic docetism. Further, the whole ethical basis of Christian religion was destroyed by the distinctions which the Gnostic teachers made between two or three separate races of mankind, and by their view of redemption as a purely theoretical process, or as the impartation of true knowledge (gnosis) to *those only*, who by their own originally pneumatic nature had from the beginning of the world been predestined to reception into the heavenly realm of light. In the place of the Christian doctrine of Freewill, and consequent responsibility, came that of an iron heathenish metaphysical Necessity, by which the fortunes of men are arbitrarily determined; in the place of a future divine recompense according to the measure of faith and works, came a one-sided over-estimation of mere knowledge as the one condition of ultimate salvation; in the place of the original Christian notion of the final consummation as consisting in a series of great outward visible occurrences, the resurrection of the flesh, a day of final judgment, and the setting up on earth of a millennial kingdom, came the spiritualistic conception of a saving deliverance of pneumatic souls and their translation into the upper world; whereas for the *Psychici* was reserved only a limited share in such knowledge and salvation, and for the material ("hylic" or "choic") man, and, so likewise for the earthly bodies of men, in general nothing but an ultimate and complete annihilation.

It cannot be denied that both the Gentile Christianity of that era, and the Catholic theology of following times, took up and appropriated various elements nearly related to these Gnostic speculations. Alongside of that heretical gnosis appeared a Catholic gnosis also, which differed essentially from the former in its endeavour and determination to maintain unimpaired the received foundations of Christian faith. Yet, in truth, the idealistic speculations of the Alexandrine school were separated from those of the heretical gnosis by very uncertain lines of demarcation, as they were afterwards, in some essential points, rejected by the church. But Irenaeus, in contradistinction to the Alexandrine doctors, appears to have been much less desirous of setting up a Catholic in opposition to the heretical Gnosis, than to secure the foundations of the common Christian faith by *strengthening the bands of existing church unity*. He does indeed recognise the existence of certain subjects which, as lying outside the rule of faith delivered

to all, might be safely entrusted to the deeper and more searching meditations and inquiries of the more enlightened. But these related only to such questions as concern a clearer understanding of the details of the history of divine revelation, the right interpretation of parables, insight into the divine plan of human salvation (why God should bear with such long-suffering the apostasy of angels and the disobedience of man at the Fall), the differences and unity of the two Testaments, the necessity for the Incarnation of the Logos, the second coming of Christ at the end of time, the conversion of the heathen, the resurrection of the body, &c. (*Haer.* i. 10, 3). These are indeed for the most part such questions as would arise in the course of the Gnostic controversy; but the form in which Irenaeus presents them assumes everywhere a clear antithesis to Gnostic speculation, and a firm retention of the Catholic rule of faith. Only in quite an isolated form is once named the question why one and the same God should have created the temporal and the eternal, the earthly and the heavenly; while Irenaeus insists all the more strongly on the narrow bounds within which human knowledge and insight are confined, and on the impossibility for mortal man to know the reasons for everything (ii. 25, 3; 28, 1), and is never weary of chastising the arrogant presumption of the would-be *Pneumatici* who dare to exalt themselves above the *Creator*, while notwithstanding their own impotence in the presence of His works is manifest to all (ii. 30, 1 sqq.). In opposition to these Gnostic pretences he says:—*Ἄμεινον καὶ συμφορώτερον, ἰδιώτας καὶ ὀλιγομαθεῖς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης πλησίον γενέσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ πολυμαθεῖς καὶ ἐμπείρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι, βλασφήμους εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὑρίσκεσθαι δεσπότην* (ii. 26, 1).

The theoretical refutation of Gnostic opinions, as contained for instance in the second book, is full of acute remarks. His main purpose is to repel the Gnostic assault on the divine monarchia. He shews that by the separation of the Creator from the highest God, the absolute being of God Himself is denied. Neither above nor beside the Creator Himself can there be any other principle, for so God Himself would cease to be the all-embracing Pleroma, and being limited from without would cease to be infinite. And so again, if the Pleroma be separated from all beneath it by an immeasurable discrepancy, a third principle is introduced, which limits the other two, and is greater than both, and the questions concerning the limiting and the limited become boundlessly insoluble. Similar arguments are urged by Irenaeus against the doctrine of creative Angels. If their creative energies are thought of as independent of the Godhead, God Himself ceases to be God; if as dependent upon Him then is He represented as standing in need of inferior assistants. Against the assumption of a vacuum (*κένωμα, σκιὰ κενώματος*) outside the divine Pleroma, he remarks that, if the world be thought of as produced out of this void and formless substratum without the knowledge of the *προπατώρ*, then the attribute of omniscience is denied Him. Nor can it be explained why for such endless times He should have left that space thus empty. Again, if God did actually beforehand form this lower world for Himself in thought, then was He its real creator. And in that case its mutability and transient duration must have been fore-willed by the Father Himself, and not be due to any defect or ignorance on the part of an inferior maker. The origin of the *κένωμα* also is incomprehensible. If it be an emanation from the divine Pleroma, that Pleroma itself must be burdened with emptiness and imperfection. If, on the other hand, it be self-originated, it is really as absolute as the Father of all Himself. Such a defect, again, in the Pleroma, like a spot on a garment, would have been at once removed, in the very beginning, had the divine Father been able to remove it; if otherwise, the blame of letting it remain so long must fall upon Him, and He will have to be accounted, like the heathen Jupiter, repentant over His own ways. Nay, if He was unable to remove this defect in the beginning, He cannot be able to remove it now. The imperfection of this lower world leads back then to the conclusion that there must have been something void or formless, dark or disorderly, an element of error or infirmity in the Father Himself or in His Pleroma. The like thought recurs in the further argument that the temporal and transient could not have been made after the image of the unchangeable and eternal without introducing into it an alien element of mutability. The image must be like its prototype, and not opposed to it, and therefore the earthly material composite cannot be the image of that which is spiritual without drawing down the spiritual into its own sphere of materialism. The same objection is made to the notion that the corporeal may be an image or shadow of the spiritual world. It is only something corporeal that can cast a shadow. Again if it be maintained that the Creator could not make the world out of Himself, but only after a foreign archetype, the same must be true of the divine Father. He also must have derived, from some other source, the archetype of that higher world of which He was the maker, and so on. The question about type and archetype would thus be drawn out into infinity (ii. 1–8). But inasmuch as we must stop at some original at last, it is far more reasonable to believe that the Creator and the One only God are one and the same (ii. 16, 1 sqq.).

It is in the interest of the same great principle, the assertion of the absolute divine Perfection and Unity, that Irenaeus controverts the Valentinian doctrine of the Aeons. Besides noting the arbitrary way in which the Pleroma is made to consist of thirty Aeons neither more nor less (ii. 12, 1; 15, 1; 16, 1) he finds fault with the anthropomorphic conceptions which underlie the whole theory of emanations. The single circumstance that the Propator Himself is reckoned as an Aeon, the un-emanate, unborn, illimitable, formless One placed in the same class with emanations and births and limitations and forms, is to destroy the absolute perfection of the divine Nature (ii. 12, 1). And then again the separation from the Godhead of its own indivisible elements, the conception of the divine Ἔννοια, the divine Νοῦς, the divine Λόγος, &c., as so many hypostases, which in various stages have issued from its bosom, is an unwarrantable transfer of human passions and affections to the divine, which on the contrary is all Ἔννοια, all

Νοῦς, all Λόγος, and knows of no such division from itself (ii. 13). And if these hypostases are thought of as each entirely outside and apart from the Godhead, then must they each and all share in the divine perfection, without any diminution or inequality (ii. 13, 6). He subjects also to acute criticism the way and manner in which each of these Aeons is supposed to have been produced: was it without substantial separation, as the ray proceeding from the sun, or was it hypostatical, as one human being is personally distinct from all others, or was it in the way of organic growth, as the branch springs out of the tree? Then again he asks with regard to these emanations whether they are all of the same substance with those from which they proceed, and contemporaneous with them, or whether they have come forth in different stages? and finally, whether they are all simple and alike, as spirits and lights, or composite and corporeal and of various forms? (ii. 17, 1 sqq.). Irenaeus insists, in fact, on carrying out to their literal consequences the mythological conceptions, according to which the Valentinian Aeons were regarded as so many distinct personalities, produced according to human analogy among themselves, and he offers the alternative, that they must either be like their original Parent the Father, and therefore impassible as He is (in which case there could be no suffering Aeon like the Valentinian Sophia), or different from Him in substance and capable of suffering, upon which the question arises, how such differences of substance could come to exist in the unchangeable Pleroma. Moreover all these personal differences and limitations, variations of form and characteristics, imply corporeal properties in the Aeons, which are quite inconsistent with the pure spirituality attributed to the Pleroma. And if again they proceed one from another as light from light, or the flame of one torch kindled from that of another torch, then must they be of like or the same substance, and the only difference between them would be the various points of time at which they have been kindled (ii. 17, 3 sqq.). But the main thought to which Irenaeus is continually returning, is that to affirm any imperfection within the Pleroma, such as the ignorance of the Father attributed to the Aeons which emanate from Bythus, or the sufferings of the Aeon Sophia (due again to ignorance), is simply to drag down the whole Pleroma and the Propator Himself into a common fellowship of suffering (ii. 17, 5 sqq.).

It is evident that so acute and striking a polemic as Irenaeus is here conducting against the polytheistic elements of Gnosticism must have equally subserved the interests of philosophy by its maintenance of the absolute character of the divine idea, and those of religion by its assertion of the divine monarchia. That the philosophic culture requisite for the conduct of such a mode of controversy, must have been drawn directly or indirectly from the schools of Gentile philosophy is a fact that by no means proves that Irenaeus and the Christian teachers of Alexandria, who were in full agreement with him, were under the influences of merely pagan thought. For indeed no system of theology which should refuse to develope the Christian idea of God from that of the absolute could escape the necessity of conceiving the divine Being as Himself subject to human limitations, that is, after a manner essentially pagan. Irenaeus indeed, like the other opponents of Gnosticism on the church's behalf, was clearly convinced that the whole system betrayed influences of heathen thought. He refers (ii. 14, 1 sqq.) to the Theogony of the comic poet Antiphanes, which taught the production first of chaos out of night and silence, then of Erôs from chaos and night, then of light from Erôs, then in succession that of the first and second races of the Gods, and finally that of the world and of man. That which the Valentinians impudently give out as their own peculiar inscrutable secret, is represented under other names at every theatre. In a similar way they had also pieced together in a variegated cento of doctrines the rags borrowed from the heathen philosophers. From Thales the Milesian declaring water to be the first principle of things they had taken their Bythus (the Deep), which is water under another name; from Homer deriving the origin of the Gods from Oceanus and mother Thetis (Tethys) comes the Gnostic Syzygy of Bythos and Sige. What Anaximander had said of the Infinite containing in itself the seed of all things, the Gnostics have transferred to their Bythos and its emanating Aeons, and so also what the so-called Atheist Anaxagoras had dogmatized of the formation of animals from seeds which had dropped down from heaven to earth, they apply to the "seed" of their own "mother," that is, themselves. Their doctrine of the κένωμα and the σκιά is derived from Democritus and Epicurus; that of things visible being types of unseen realities from Democritus and Plato; and that of the formation of the world out of a ready prepared matter from Anaxagoras, Plato, and Empedocles. The theory that everything must return to the originals of its component parts, and that God Himself is bound by this Necessity, so that even He cannot impart to the mortal immortality, to the corruptible incorruption, was derived by the Gnostics from the Stoics. Finally, the Valentinian doctrine of the Sotêr as made up from all the Aeons, each contributing thereto the flower of his own essence, is nothing more than the Hesiodic fable about Pandora. If in these examples of his theory some things are associated which do not properly belong to one another, the general point of view from which Irenaeus contemplates the opinions of the Gnostics is undoubtedly the right one. And if, as was certainly the case, the Valentinian system did really, under the mythologic veil which it borrowed from heathenism, contain some deeper, nobler truths, the fact was naturally overlooked by the zealous controversialist. Still less could he discern the possibility with regard to his own dogmatic system that some spiritual and eternal verities might be clothed in a vesture borrowed from the things of sense and time.

But however much the Gnostics may have been indebted to heathen thought, they still wished and meant to be Christians, and indeed set up a claim to possess a deeper knowledge of Christian truth than the Psychici of the Church. Like their opponents they also appealed to Scripture in proof of their peculiar doctrines. Nay, it would even seem that the Gnostics were the first to make for that purpose a profitable

appeal to the Scriptures of the New Testament. And besides this, they also boasted to be in possession of genuine apostolical traditions, deriving their doctrines, some from St. Paul, others from St. Peter, and others again from Judas, Thomas, Philip, and Matthew. In addition moreover to the secret doctrine which they professed to have received by oral tradition, they appealed also to alleged writings of the apostles themselves or their disciples. In conducting his controversy on these lines with the Valentinians, Irenaeus remarks first on their arbitrary method of dealing with Scripture; and, making use of a proverbial expression, he describes their mode of drawing arguments from it as a "twisting ropes of sand" (i. 8, 1; ii. 10, 1). While they endeavour to establish from Scripture opinions at variance with the teaching of apostles and prophets, they indulge themselves in every kind of perverse interpretation, and violently wresting texts out of their natural connexion put them arbitrarily together again after the manner of the centos made from Homer (i. 9, 4). He compares this proceeding of theirs to that of a bungler who has broken up a beautiful mosaic portrait made of a king by some skilful artists out of costly gems, and now puts the stones together again to form an ill-executed image of a dog or fox, maintaining that it is the same beautiful king's portrait as before (i. 8, 1). In the commencement of his chief account of the Valentinian system he gives various examples of their allegorical method of interpreting Scripture (i. 3); at the close of it he enters into further details, and after several other instances gives an extract from a commentary on the prologue of St. John's Gospel by one of the school of Ptolemaeus (i. 8, 5). Inasmuch as it was specially our Lord's parables on which the Gnostics delighted to exercise their arts of interpretation, Irenaeus repeatedly lays down the principles on which such interpretation should be made (ii. 10, 2; 20, 1 sqq.; 27, 1 sqq.). Passages dark and ambiguous already are not to be cleared up by still darker interpretations, nor enigmas to be solved by still greater enigmas; but that which is dark and ambiguous must be illustrated by that which is consistent and clear (ii. 10, 1). It must be allowed that Irenaeus himself in interpreting Scripture, especially when, like the Gnostics, he indulges in allegory, is not free from forced and arbitrary methods of exposition (comp. for example the interpretations of Judges vi. 37, in *Haer.* iii. 17, 3; Jon. ii. 1 sqq. *Haer.* iii. 20, 1; Dan. ii. 34, *Haer.* iii. 21, 7). But in opposition to the fantastic interpretations which characterize the Valentinian school, he represents for the most part the historical sense of the written Word. His main purpose in the three last books is to refute the Gnostics out of Scripture itself.

In contradistinction to the writers of the former half and the middle of the 2nd century, Irenaeus quotes as frequently from the New Testament as he does from the Old. Whereas formerly men had been content with the authority of the Old Testament as the documentary memorial of divine revelation, or with the Lord's own words in addition to the utterances of law and prophets, they now felt more and more impelled, and that by the very example of the Gnostics themselves, to seek to have a fixed collection of New Testament Scriptures and to extend to these also the idea of Divine inspiration. The Gnostics in their opposition to the Old Testament, which they supposed to have proceeded from the Demiurge or some subordinate angelic agency, had appealed to writings real or supposed of the apostles, as to documents of a more perfect form of Divine revelations, and the first point now was to establish as against them the essential unity of *both* revelations—Old and New. Almost the whole of the fourth book is devoted by Irenaeus to the proof of this point against Marcion. It is one and the same Divine Spirit that spake both in prophets and apostles (iii. 21, 4), one and the same Divine Authority from which both the law and its fulfilment in Christ proceeds. The Old Testament contains presages and fore-types of Christian Revelation (iv. 15; 15, i.; 19, i. &c.); the literal fulfilment of its prophecies proves that it came from the same God as the New Testament Scripture, and is therefore of the same nature with it (iv. 9, 1). The prophets and the gospels together make up the totality of Scripture (Universae Scripturae, ii. 27, 2). The notion of the Bible as of one divinely inspired whole, consisting of both Old and New Testaments, is now, in this way, clearly enunciated. Even a Justin Martyr seems to regard the Gospels rather as memoirs [(ἀπομνημονεύματα) drawn up by apostles of the Lord's words and actions, than as canonical Scriptures. Irenaeus, on the other hand, cites passages from the Gospels as inspired words of the Holy Spirit, using the ordinary formulae of citation employed in reference to the Old Testament (iii. 10, 4; 16, 2; comp. ii. 35, 4 and 5). The same is the case with the allusions to the apostolical epistles and the Apocalypse (iii. 16, 9; v. 30, 4). The two main divisions of the New Testament canon are for him the Gospels and the apostolic writings (τὰ εὐαγγελικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικά, i. 3, 6). These two already constitute for Irenaeus a complete whole, like the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and he therefore blames the Ebionites for using only the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Docetae only that of St. Mark, Marcion St. Luke's Gospel only and the Pauline Epistles, and even these not unmutilated (iii. 11, 7 and 12, 12). With regard to those who reject the Gospel of St. John, he remarks that these "unhappy ones" do with the Gospel cast away also the divine prophetic spirit of which it contains the promise (iii. 11, 9). But he is no less determined in his condemnation of the use of apocryphal writings. The teachers of Alexandria, with their laxer notions about inspiration, made use of such without scrupulosity. Irenaeus finds himself impelled by his opposition to the Gnostics to insist on drawing a clear line of demarcation between canonical Scriptures and apocryphal writings. He blames the Valentinians for boasting to possess "more gospels than actually exist" (iii. 11, 9), and the Gnostic Marcus for having used besides our Gospels "an infinite number of apocryphal and spurious works" (i. 20, 1). On the other hand he is able himself to prove that there *must* be just four Gospels, neither more nor less. The proof indeed is a somewhat singular one. From the four regions of the earth, the four principal winds, the fourfold form of the cherubim, the four covenants made by God with man, he deduces

the necessity of one fourfold gospel (iii. 11, 8). This gospel first orally delivered, and then fixed in writing, Irenaeus designates the *fundamentum et columna fidei nostrae* (iii. 1, 1). The New Testament canon of Irenaeus embraces nearly all the books that later times have received; namely, the Four Gospels, twelve Epistles of St. Paul (the omission of the short Epistle to Philemon appears to have been accidental), the first Epistle of St. Peter, two Epistles of St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation. The omission of the third Epistle of St. John is most probably accidental also. From the Epistle of St. James there is probably a quotation at iv. 16, 2 (comp. James ii. 23), and the frequently recurring expression "lex libertatis" appears to have been borrowed from the same source (James i. 25). The possible references to the Epistle to the Hebrews are uncertain. Resemblances, perhaps echoes, are found in several places (comp. Harvey's Index), and Eusebius testifies (*H. E.* v. 26) that both the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon are mentioned by Irenaeus in his διαλέξεις διάφοροι. The epistle is cited as a Pauline work in one Fragment only, the second Pfaffian (*Fr. Graec.* xxxvi. ap. Harvey).

But in the controversy with the Gnostics refutation out of Scripture was not sufficient. Both parties appealed to Scripture in support of their opinions; the victory was doubtful, at least it was disputed. Tertullian's advice was therefore in such cases to forego the Scripture argument (*De Praescript. Haer.* 19, *Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, nec in his constituendum certamen, in quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est*). Irenaeus assumes the possibility of its being the case that we might have had to be without New Testament Scriptures altogether. In this case we should have to inquire of the tradition left by the apostles of the churches (iii. 4, 1: *quid autem si neque apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias?*) But the Gnostics also appealed to an apostolical tradition. Irenaeus complains that when one would refute them from the Bible they accused it of error, or declared the interpretation to be doubtful. The truth can only be ascertained they said by those who know what the true tradition is (iii. 2, 1). But this teaching is identical with that of Irenaeus himself, who maintains that then only can we understand the Scriptures when possessed of, and guided by, the true tradition. And this true tradition he insists on finding in the rule of faith (κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, *Regula Fidei*), as contained in the baptismal confession of the whole church (i. 9, 4; comp. 22. 1).

In this way Irenaeus obtains at last a sure note or token by which to distinguish the genuine apostolical tradition (ἡ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένη ἀλήθεια, i. 9, 5; *praeconium ecclesiae*, v. 20, 2; *apostolica ecclesiae traditio*, iii. 3, 3; or simply παράδοσις, *traditio*, i. 10, 2; iii. 2, 2 and frequently) from the so-called apostolical secret doctrine to which the Gnostics made their appeal. The Baptismal Confession (or *Credo*) acquired its complete form only through the conflicts of the Gnostic controversy. In the writings of Irenaeus, as in those of others his contemporaries, it is cited in various, now longer now shorter, forms. This circumstance, however, is no proof that one or other of these was the actual form then used in baptism. The probability is far greater that the shorter form of the old Roman credo which is still preserved to us was that already used in the time of Irenaeus. (Caspari *Ungedruckte* &c. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, tom. iii. 1875, p. 3 sqq.) The variations from the Roman formulary as we find them in the creeds of the Eastern churches, and in great measure also witnessed to by Irenaeus, the Asiatic, appear to have been introduced in order to express, with greater distinctness, the antithesis of Christian belief to Gnostic heresy. So here a special emphasis is laid on the belief in "*One* God the Father Almighty who made heaven and earth," and in "one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became flesh for our salvation." Of this rule of faith Irenaeus testifies that the church, though scattered over the whole οἰκουμένη, even to the ends of the earth, proclaims and teaches and delivers as with one mind and mouth, even as she has herself received it from the apostles and their disciples (i. 10, 1 and 2). In this way a clear determinate note is given by which one may distinguish the genuine Christian tradition from that of heresy. To the pretended secret doctrine of the latter is opposed the public preaching of the faith of the apostolic churches; to the mutability and endless varieties of Gnostic doctrines the unity of the church's teaching; to their novelty her antiquity, and to their endless subdivisions into schools and parties the uniformity and universality of her traditional witness. That only which, from the times of the apostles, has been handed down in unbroken tradition by the elders of the church, and publicly and uniformly taught in the churches, that doctrine which at all times and in every place may be learned by inquiry from the successors of the apostles in their teaching office, that alone is the Christian apostolic truth (i. 10, 2; iii. 2, 2; 3, 1, 3, 4; 4, 1 sq.; 24, 1; iv. 33, 7 sq.; v. 20, 1).

The like observation had been made already by the learned church antiquarian Hegesippus, who, cir. A.D. 170, undertook long journeys in order to assure himself of the general agreement of Christian communities in their doctrinal traditions: in each apostolic church he set himself to inquire for the unbroken succession of its pastors and their teaching, and records with satisfaction the following as the result of his investigations: "In every succession in every city it is still maintained as the law announces and as the prophets and the Lord." And again, "So long as the sacred choir of the apostles still lived, the church was like a virgin undefiled and pure, and not till afterwards in the times of Trajan did error, which so long had crept in darkness, venture forth into the light of day" (Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22; iii. 32).

Irenaeus and Tertullian did then but follow those who had gone before them in laying stress upon this note of genuine tradition, while giving to the principle of Catholic agreement a more precise expression, and using it with great effect in their conflicts with heresy. Irenaeus is specially emphatic in everywhere contrasting the vacillation and variety of heretical opinions with the uniform proclamation of one and the same

apostolic witness in all the churches of the world (i. 8, 1; 10, 1). Truth, he remarks, can be but one; while each heretical teacher proclaims a different doctrine of his own invention. How impossible is it that truth can have remained so long hidden from the church, and been handed down as secret doctrine in possession of the few! Whereas she is free and accessible to all, both learned and ignorant, and all who earnestly seek her find. With almost a shout of triumph he opposes to the unstable, ever-changing, many-headed doctrinal systems and sects of Gnosticism, with their vain appeals to the obscure names of pretended disciples of the apostles, or to supposititious writings, the one universal norm of truth which all the churches recognise. "The church, though dispersed through the whole world, is carefully guarding the same faith as dwelling in one and the same house; these things she believes, in like manner, as having one soul and the self-same heart; these, too, she accordantly proclaims, and teaches, and delivers, as though possessing but one mouth. The speeches of the world are many and divergent, but the force of our tradition is one and the same." And again, "The churches in Germany have no other faith, no other tradition, than that which is found in Spain, or among the Celts, in the regions of the East, in Egypt and in Libya, or in these mid parts of the earth." He compares the church's proclamation of the truth to the light of the sun, which is one and the same throughout the universe, and visible to all who have eyes to see. "The mightiest in word among the presidents of the churches teaches only the same things as others (for no one here is above the Master), and the weak in the Word takes nothing away from what has been delivered him. The faith being always one and the same, he that can say much about it doth not exceed, he that can say but little doth not diminish" (i. 10, 2). "The tradition of the apostles made manifest, as it is, through all the world can be recognized in every church by all who wish to know the truth" (iii. 3, 1). But this light from God shines not for heretics because they have dishonoured and despised Him (iii. 24, 2). Compare also the first of Pfaffian fragments (*Fr. Graec.* xxxv.).

The argument from antiquity, from which later on Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria forged such formidable weapons with which to batter down the novelties of heresy, is also employed by Irenaeus on behalf of church tradition. Does anywhere a controversy arise about matters of faith, let recourse be had to the most ancient churches in which the apostles themselves once resided, and a decisive answer will then be found. This oral tradition, derived from the apostles exists even in the churches among barbarous nations, in whose hearts the Spirit, without ink or parchment, has written the old and saving truth (iii. 4, 1 and 2). But while thus the genuine tradition may, in the apostolic churches, be traced back through the successions of the elders to the apostles themselves, the sects and their doctrines are all of later origin. There were no Valentinians before Valentinus, and no Marcionites before Marcion. Valentinus himself and Kerdon (Marcion's teacher) did not appear in Rome till the time of Hyginus the ninth bishop after the apostles, Valentinus flourished under Pius, Marcion under Anicetus (iii. 4, 3). All these founders of sects were much later than the apostles (iii. 21, 3), and the first bishops to whom they committed the care of the churches (v. 20, 1). In contradistinction to their ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις the true gnosis consists in the doctrine of the apostles and the maintenance of the pure and ancient constitution of the church (τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα) throughout the world (iv. 33, 7).

The main point then, on which all at last turns, is the clear proof of a pure transmission of apostolic teaching through immediate disciples of the apostles themselves, and through *their* disciples after them. What is the tradition of the elders (πρεσβῦται, πρεσβύτεροι), *i.e.* the heads of apostolic churches who stood in direct communication with the apostles themselves or with their disciples?—is the question, therefore, which Irenaeus is everywhere asking. These elders are the guardians and transmitters of the apostles' teaching. As in the preceding generation Papias had collected the traditions of "disciples of the Lord," so now in this Irenaeus is collecting reminiscences of *their* disciples, mediate or immediate, a Polycarp, a Papias, &c. And as Hegesippus had been careful to inform himself as to the succession of pastors from apostolic times, so Irenaeus, in opposition to the doctrines of the Gnostics, appeals not only to the ancestral teaching maintained in churches of apostolic foundation, such as Rome, Smyrna, Ephesus, but also to the lists of those men who, since the apostles, had presided over them (iii. 3).

The main representatives therefore of genuine apostolical tradition are for Irenaeus the bishops of the churches as successors of the apostles and guardians of their doctrines. In the episcopate itself, as a continuation of the apostolic office, he finds the one sure pledge of the church's unity and the maintenance of her doctrine. Although the expression ἐκκλησία καθολική, which came into vogue towards the end of the 2nd century, does not occur in the writings of Irenaeus, the thing itself is constantly before him, *i.e.* the conception of one true church spread over the earth, and bound together by the one true Faith, in contrast to the manifold and variegated and apostate forms of "heresy." The external bond of unity in this universal church is the episcopal office. The development indeed of monarchical episcopacy was a primary consequence of the conflict with Gnosticism, and its origination out of simpler constitutional forms betrays itself in a mode of expression derived indeed from earlier times, but still common to Irenaeus, with Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, and others, the use, namely, of the official titles, πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι, to designate alternately the same persons. Πρεσβύτεροι in this context are, in the first place, "Elders," *i.e.* "ancients" or fathers, who represent the immediate connexion of the early church with the apostolic time. This name or title is then transferred to the later heads of churches, inasmuch as they in succession to the apostles have been faithful transmitters of what was handed down to them. The true unbroken apostolical succession and *praeconium ecclesiae* is therefore attributed to the same persons, now as πρεσβύτεροι now as ἐπίσκοποι (iii. 3, 2, comp. iii. 2, 2; iv. 26, 2, 4, 5; Ep. ad

Victorem ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. 24); nay, in so many words, the "successio episcopalis" was assigned to the *πρεσβύτεροι* (iv. 26, 2). By these "presbyters" however we are certainly not to understand any ordinary clergymen but heads of churches (especially those of apostolic foundation), who alone were capable of acting as the guardians and maintainers of church unity. The episcopate is for Irenaeus no mere congregational office, but one belonging to the whole church; the great importance attached by his contemporaries to the proofs of a genuine apostolical succession rests on the assumption that the episcopate was the guardian of the church's unity of teaching, a continuation in fact of the apostolic teaching-office, ordained for that purpose by the apostles themselves. The bishop, in reference to any particular congregation, is a representative of the whole Catholic church, the very idea of catholicity being indebted for its completion to this more sharply defined conception of the episcopal office. It is in the episcopate thus completely formed that the Catholic church first manifested herself in organic unity as "the body of Christ." As formerly the apostles, so now the bishops, their successors, are the "ecclesia repraesentativa." Only through the episcopate as the faithful guardian and transmitter of the apostolical tradition do such congregations retain their hold on visible church unity and their possession of the truth (comp. iv. 33, 7).

The significance of the episcopal office rests therefore on the fact of an apostolical succession. And on this historical connexion of the bishops with the apostolic era depends the certainty of their being possessed of the true tradition. And further, that this assurance is not illusory is proved by the actual uniformity of church teaching throughout the world, the agreement of all the apostolic churches in the confession of the same truth (iii. 3, 3). Beyond this historical proof of the church's being possessed of the true teaching through her episcopate, the argument is not carried further by Irenaeus. The later dogma of a *continua successio Spiritus Sancti, i.e.* of an abiding special gift of the Holy Spirit attached to the episcopate of apostolical succession, has nevertheless some precursive traces in his writings. Though the Holy Spirit is a *scala ascensionis ad Deum*, of which all the faithful are partakers, yet the guidance of the church by the Spirit is mediated by apostles, prophets, and teachers, and they who would have the guidance of the Spirit must come to the church. "For, where the church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church and all grace—the Spirit, moreover, is the truth" (iii. 24, 1). And if the unity of the church and the transmission of the true apostolic tradition depends on the apostolical succession of the bishops, the consequence is inevitable that through them the "operatio spiritus sancti" must chiefly manifest itself. Expressly therefore is the "*charisma veritatis*" attached to the episcopal succession (iv. 26, 2). But this is not to be understood of a gift of inspiration enabling the bishops to discover fresh truths, but rather in such guidance as enables them to preserve the original truth. And therefore it is more particularly the churches of apostolical foundation, and in the West specially the church of Rome, which can give the surest warrant for the true and incorrupt tradition. In this sense the much-disputed passage is to be understood, in which so many would gladly find a witness for the primacy of the Roman church over all others: "For with this church must, on account of her more excellent origin (propter potiorem principalitatem, *i.e.* *διὰ τὴν διαφορωτέραν ἀρχὴν*), every church, that is, all the faithful coming from all quarters, put themselves in agreement, as being the church in which at all times by those who come from all quarters the tradition derived from the apostles has been preserved" (iii. 3, 2). The *potentior principalitas* denotes here not only the superior antiquity of the Roman church as the greatest, oldest, and most widely known (*i.e.* in the West where Irenaeus was writing), but also her nobler origin as founded by those "two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul." The mention of the "faithful coming from all quarters" points again to the position of the great world's metropolis and centre of intercourse for nations of the most distant regions of the earth. The place where Christians from all lands were continually coming and going, was that in which they could most easily convince themselves of the oneness of apostolical tradition in the whole church. Obscurations and corruptions of that tradition, which were quite possible in remoter churches, would at Rome be soonest discovered and most easily removed. It is not of any Roman lordship over other churches or a primatial teaching-office committed to the Roman bishop that Irenaeus is here speaking, but only of the surer warrant offered by the position of that church for the uncorrupt maintenance of the apostolical traditions. So, after reckoning the succession of Roman bishops down to Eleutherus, his own contemporary, Irenaeus proceeds: *τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διαδοχῇ, ἥ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς* (iii. 3, 3). But just the same he says of the church of Ephesus founded by St. Paul, and till the times of Trajan under the guidance of St. John: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθής ἐστι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς. παραδόσεως* (iii. 3, 4).

The unity of the Catholic church, thus secured by the continuance in the church of the apostolic office, is regarded by Irenaeus as mainly consisting in a *doctrinal unity*. The church being the one rich treasure-house, in which the apostles have deposited the whole truth, all those who promise any other way to life are thieves and robbers (iii. 4, 1). Of the other side of the idea of the church, her *guardianship of sacramental grace*, Irenaeus gives hints only. Yet he is certainly on the way to that conception when he singles out the continuance of spiritual gifts as a special note of the true church, meaning thereby not merely the *charisma veritatis*, but also the gifts of prophecy and miracle (ii. 32, 4, comp. iii. 11, 9). He is not less decided in opposing schismatics, who destroy the church's unity (iv. 26, 2; 33, 7), than heretics who corrupt her doctrine. In regard to internal divisions among the faithful he is never wearied in urging the interests of peace. Neither in the

Montanistic movement, nor in the Paschal controversy, does he see any grounds for the severance of church communion. With Montanists he has in common the belief in the continuance of the prophetic charisma and the hope of the future Millennial kingdom: but to their rigoristic principles with regard to penance he is (at least practically) unfavourable. A proof may be found in the epistle of the Gallican confessors to the brethren of Asia Minor, which is written entirely in his spirit, and emphasizes the indulgence shewn to the lapsed by their most honoured martyrs, who "themselves, departing with peace to God, caused no grief to their virgin-mother (the church), nor discord to the brethren, but promoted peace and unanimity among all" (Eus. *H. E.* v. 2). At the same time Irenaeus sets himself in most determined opposition to that separatist temper, which, denying the presence of the Spirit in the church, would claim His gifts exclusively for its own sect or party. And even if we are not warranted in identifying with the Montanists those "false prophets" of whom he speaks (iv. 33, 6) as with lying lips pretending to prophesy, any more than those who in the well-known passage (iii. 11, 9) deny the Gospel of St. John—all the more applicable to them is the following description: "Men who bring about schisms, devoid of true love to God, seeking their own advantage rather than the unity of the church; wounding and dividing for petty reasons the great and glorious body of Christ, and so far as in them lies destroying it; speaking peace, but acting war, and in sober truth straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. For no reformation which they could bring about would outweigh the evils produced by their schism" (iv. 33, 7).

The great importance attached by Irenaeus to the maintenance of church unity rests for him on the assumption that the church being sole depositary of divine truth is the only trustworthy guarantee of human salvation. While himself sharing, with the Montanists, not only the hope of the millennial kingdom but also the expectation of its outward visible glory (v. 32–36), and delighting in reminiscences of what the "elders" (Papias) have handed down concerning it as from the lips of the apostle St. John (v. 33, 3), Irenaeus does, on the other hand, with his conception of the church as an outward visible institution of prime necessity for human salvation, pave the way for that catholic ideal, which, in contrast to the dreams and aspirations of Montanism, would substitute for a glorious vision of the future the existing church on earth as God's visible kingdom. And no sooner does the visible church as an outward institution come to be regarded as the essential medium of saving grace than all its forms and ordinances at once acquire a quasi-legal or sacramental character. The church is for Irenaeus an earthly paradise, of the trees of which every one may eat, while heresy has only the forbidden tree of knowledge, whose fruits are death-bringing (v. 20, 2). As the church's faith is the only faith which is true and saving (iii. praef.), so is he alone a Christian man who conforms to the church's institutions and laws. (Comp. iii. 15, 2; v. 20, 1.) The church's sacrifices, the church's prayers, the church's works alone are holy (iv. 18, 1 sqq.; ii. 32, 5).

This essentially *legal* conception of Christianity is common to the early Catholic church with that of the generation which followed the apostles. St. Paul's thought that Christianity is first of all a new religion, a new relation to God through Christ, and then, derivatively, a new moral life, has for the post-apostolic age already become grievously obscured. The great Catholic doctors gave to this legal conception of the church a further development. For Tertullian, Clemens, and Origen the work of Christ was primarily the promulgation of a new divine law. Irenaeus calls indeed Christianity the New Testament of freedom (iii. 12, 14; iv. 16, 5; 34, 3; comp. iii. 10, 5), but by this freedom he simply understands the exemption of Gentile Christians from obedience to the Mosaic ceremonial law: with which conception that of Christianity as itself a new law is perfectly compatible. In antithesis to Marcion, who derived the Mosaic law from the Demiurge, the gospel from the good God, Irenaeus maintained the substantial identity of both covenants (*unius et ejusdem substantiae sunt*, iv. 9, 1; comp. 9, 2; 13, 3, &c.). Even when he appropriates the Pauline antithesis of bondage and liberty (comp. also iv. 9, 1 sq.; 13, 2; 16, 5; 18, 2; 34, 1 sq., &c., &c.) the religious premises which led up in St. Paul's mind to that antithesis seem wanting to Irenaeus. Even the New Testament consists for him in a body of divine prescripts. The bondsman and undisciplined has indeed one law, the free, the justified by faith another (iv. 9, 1); but inasmuch as the nucleus of both Testaments is one and the same, namely, those natural precepts (*naturalia praecepta*) (iv. 13, 4; comp. 15, 1), which have from the beginning impressed themselves on the mind of man, it follows that the evangelical law of liberty (iv. 34, 4) differs only quantitatively, not qualitatively, from that of Moses. This difference consists on the one hand in the abolition of the precepts of the ceremonial law, which for the Israelites themselves had but a temporary purpose and validity, to restrain from idol worship, to uphold external discipline, or to serve as precursors and symbols of spiritual precepts (iv. 13, 2; 14, 1 sqq.; 15, 1; 16, 3 sqq.; 19, 1; 23, 1 sq.; 24, 1 sq.), and on the other in the reinforcement of those natural precepts which have come down to us from the beginning (iv. 9, 2; 13, 1; 16, 5). The laws of liberty (*decreta libertatis*) do not annul the duty of obedience; the difference between sons and servants from this point of view consists in the sons having a larger faith (iv. 32, 2), and exhibiting a more ready obedience (iv. 11, 4). Accordingly, the antithesis between the two Testaments is not an antithesis of fear and love. Love is the greatest commandment under the Old Testament (iv. 12, 3). Fear continues as a precept under the New. The difference is a quantitative one. Christ has even enlarged the precept of fear—the children must fear as well as love more than the servants (iv. 16, 5). On the one side the children indeed are free, on the other they are still servants (iv. 14, 1). The two lawgivings differ only in the number and greatness (*multitudine et magnitudine*) of their commandments. The law of liberty being the greater of the two is given not for Jews only, but for all nations (iv. 9, 2), but the precepts of a perfect life (*consummatae*

vitae praecepta) are for both Testaments the same (iv. 12, 3).

The new precepts which characterise Christianity are, in the first place, the ordinances and institutions of the church. Among other distinguishing notes of the new law Irenaeus further emphasizes that Christians believe not in the Father only but also in the Son, that they do as well as say, and that they abstain from evil desires as well as from evil works (iv. 13, 1). And even while largely using Pauline language when he speaks of Justification by Faith (iv. 5, 5; 9, 1; 16, 2; 21, 1), his legal conception of Christianity still betrays itself in a non-comprehension of St. Paul's fundamental thought, Faith is opposed by Irenaeus to the ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις of the heretics, and essentially consists in the reception of the *Regula Fidei*, the Rule of Faith; it is therefore simply defined as obedience to the will of God (iv. 16, 5), *i.e.* a moral duty, and not, as for St. Paul, the subjective form in which a new religious life and relation is first constituted.

This *legal* conception leads Irenaeus further to insist on the freedom of the will, and on salvation as conditioned by a man's own ethical self-determination. It is characteristic of all Catholic practical theology that it tends to limit the free forgiveness of sins to the moment of baptism, and after that to make salvation dependent on a godly life and the performance of good works. In the same spirit Irenaeus quite innocently puts in juxtaposition justification by obedience to the natural precepts and justification by faith: "naturalia legis per quae homo justificatur quae etiam ante legislationem custodiebant qui fide justificabantur et placebant Deo" (iv. 13, 1). He is led of course thus strongly to insist on the moral law by his opposition to the Gnostic teaching that the spiritual man is exempted from it and obtains salvation through his higher gnosis. His energetic assertion of the freedom of the will has also a polemical object—to refute the Valentinian dualistic doctrine, which made the salvation of the spiritual man the result of his original *pneumatic* nature (comp. especially iv. 37). But this perfectly justifiable opposition leads Irenaeus to put too much in the background the doctrine of Divine grace as the only source of human salvation. He even puts it as a Divine requirement that in order to the Spirit's resting upon them, Christians must, beside their baptismal vocation, be also adorned with works of righteousness (iv. 36, 6). This seems inconsistent with the Pauline teaching, that it is only by the gift of the Spirit that Christians are enabled to do good works at all. But again, on the other hand, he says of the Spirit that He dwells in men as God's creation, working in them the will of the Father, and renovating into the newness of Christ (iii. 17, 1). As dry ground, without dew from heaven, can bear no fruit, so neither can the soul perform good works without the irrigation of the water of life (iii. 17, 2). This latter doctrine stands, however, side by side, quite unreconciled with the legal conception of Christianity. If in one place the Spirit is spoken of as *confirmatio fidei nostrae* (iii. 24, 1), Irenaeus nowhere points out that, as the antithesis of human work, the grace of God and the operation of the Spirit are the only ground of man's salvation. If faith itself be simply the acceptance of the rule of faith, and consists in obedience to church ordinances, the consequence is inevitable that good works must be, along with faith, a meritorious cause of justification.

If in this way Irenaeus may be said to anticipate the mode of thought which characterises the Catholicism of a later time, the same cannot be said of his teaching on the sacraments. Indeed the sacramental side of Catholic theology did not take shape till through and after the Montanistic and Novatian controversies. Whereas both these parties insisted on finding the church's sanctity in the spiritual endowments and personal holiness of individual members, "Catholics" sought for the note of holiness mainly in the church's sacramental ordinances, or in marvellous operations of the Holy Spirit in certain functions of her public life. The chief organ of these operations would be the episcopate, which thus came to be viewed as not merely the guardian of doctrinal purity, but also the bearer of supernatural grace and powers, and following the type of the Old Testament priesthood as a kind of mediator between God and men. This side of the Catholic ideal of the church is not yet developed in the writings of Irenaeus. On the contrary, he still holds fast by the original Christian conception of the universal priesthood and outpouring of the Spirit on all believers (iv. 20, 6 sqq.; v. 6, 1; comp. iv. 13, 2 sqq.; 33, 1 sqq.). On this he insists, first, as against the Gnostics, and their claims to an exclusive possession of the divine πνεῦμα, and, secondly, against the false prophets, and their denial of the presence of the Spirit in the church (iii. 11, 9; iv. 33, 6). The sacramental idea of grace imparted through the church is for Irenaeus restricted to baptism as a divine institution for the salvation of man, the type of which is the ark of Noah (iv. 36, 4). Of priestly absolution and its sacramental significance he nowhere speaks; on the contrary, he adopts the saying of an elder which has a somewhat Montanistic ring about it—that after baptism there is no further forgiveness of sins (iv. 27, 2). This, as is clear from the epistle of the Gallican confessors, is not meant to exclude the possibility of indulgence being extended to the fallen under any circumstances. But it remains a characteristic of Irenaeus's position that, while claiming the "charisma veritatis" as a privilegium of the episcopal office, he does not claim for it also the sacramental power of the keys. In his doctrine of the Eucharist also he nowhere specially insists upon its being an episcopal privilege to administer that sacrament. The familiar thought of the Ignatian Epistles, that separation from the episcopal altar is at the same time a separation from the church herself, finds no distinct utterance in the writings of Irenaeus. And yet in his time the ministration of the Eucharist by bishops and presbyters was undoubtedly a long-established custom. In regard to the dogma of the Holy Communion Irenaeus, like Justin Martyr, expresses the thought that through the invocation of Christ's name over the earthly elements the Divine Logos does actually enter into such mysterious connexion with the bread and wine as to constitute a union of an earthly and a heavenly πρᾶγμα similar to that which took place at the Incarna-

tion itself. In virtue of this union of the Logos with the bread and wine those earthly substances are made the flesh and blood of Christ; and it appears to have been with Irenaeus a favourite thought, that through the partaking of Christ's flesh and blood in the Holy Communion our earthly bodies are made partakers of immortality (iv. 18, 4 sq.; 33, 2; v. 2, 2 sq.; comp. also the second Pfaffian fragment, *Fr. Graec.* xxxvi. ap. Harvey). On the other hand, no traces whatsoever of the sacrifice of the Mass are to be found in his writings. What Irenaeus designates as the Church's sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist, and calls in contradistinction to the sacrifices of the Old Testament a *Nova Oblatio*, are only the thank-offerings of bread and wine presented to the Creator as the first-fruits of His creatures, and not the body and blood of Christ, the sacrifice of which is renewed by the consecrating priest in a bloodless manner (iv. 17, 5 sq.; 18, 1 sqq.).

The chief significance of Irenaeus as a theologian consists in his doctrine concerning the *Person and Work of Christ*. It is characteristic of the Gentile Christianity of the post-apostolic age, that while falling back in many respects to the legal standing-ground of the Old Testament, it sought in some measure to make up for the losses thus incurred, and regain its hold on what was new and peculiar in the Christian religion by giving shape and utterance to the highest views of the person of its Founder. The doctrine of Christ's Godhead was the theological expression of the absolute significance of that divine revelation which was enshrined in His person and work. While the Gnostics regarded Christ as only one among numerous eradiations of the divine essence, thereby imperilling on the one hand the truth of the divine monarchia, and on the other the absolute and final character of the gospel revelation, the opposing doctrine of the Godhead of the Logos, and of His Incarnation in Jesus Christ, provided the exact theological truth and formula of which the Christian conscience felt the need, in order to gather into one the scattered elements which the multitude of Gnostic Aeons were dividing. Following the guidance of the Gospel of St. John the more philosophically cultured teachers of the church—a Justin, a Theophilus, a Tatian, an Athenagoras, the Alexandrine Clemens and Origen, Tertullian and Hippolytus—found in the doctrine of the Divine Logos the classical expression which they needed for the unique and absolute character of the gospel revelations. It was in antithesis both to the Gnostic doctrine of Aeons, and the psilanthropism of the Ebionites, that the Divine Logos or Eternal Thought of God Himself was conceived of as the personal organ of all divine revelation Which had issued from the inner life of the Divine Paternity. His manifestation in the flesh is therefore the climax of all the revelations of God in the world. To this Logos-doctrine Irenaeus has likewise attached himself. The invisible Father has become visible in the Logos (iv. 20, 7). The divine "Pleroma" (Irenaeus borrows the Gnostic term to express the fulness of divine perfection, ii. 1, 3 sq.) is revealed in the Logos. God Himself is all Intelligence, all Thought, all Logos; what He thinks He utters, what He utters He thinks; the all-embracing divine intelligence is the Father Himself, who has made Himself visible in the Son (ii. 28, 5). The infinite, immeasurable Father is, in the words of some old teacher of the church, become measurable and comprehensible in the Son (immensus Pater in Filio mensuratus), for the Son is the "measure of the Father," the manifestation of the Infinite in finite form (iv. 4, 2). In contrast with Tertullian, Irenaeus's first great purpose and object is to emphasize the absoluteness and spirituality of God, and therefore to reject anything like a physical emanation (prolatio) of the Logos, lest God should be made into something composite, and something other than His own infinite thought (principalis mens), or His own Logos (ii. 28, 5). The older teachers of the Logos doctrine conceived the generation of the Logos after the analogy of the temporal process from thinking to speaking, and assumed that His issuing from the Father as a distinct person, *i.e.* the out-speaking of the inward divine thought, first took place at the creation. Tertullian represented the same conception in a more sensuous form. The Father is for him the whole Godhead, the Son "portio totius;" and on this point he expressly recognises the resemblance between his view and that of the Gnostics (*c. Prax.* 8).

Irenaeus, on the other hand, is driven by his own opposition to the Gnostic doctrine of Aeons to reject anything like a προβολή or *prolatio* from the Godhead as a limitation of His infinity or an anthropomorphism. He is therefore the first doctor of the church who maintained with the utmost distinctness the eternal coexistence of the Son with the Father (semper coexistens Filius Patri, ii. 30, 9; iii. 18, 1). His frequent designation of the Son and Holy Spirit as the "Hands of God" is a figurative expression to denote their being not so much emanations of the Godhead as organs of its creative energy. To presumptuous endeavours to comprehend the way in which the Son comes from the Father he opposes our human ignorance, and mocks at the vain attempts of those who would transfer human relations to the Infinite and Unchangeable One (*quasi ipsi obstetricaverint prolationem enunciant*, ii. 28, 6). These polemics, if directed in the first instance against the Gnostics, are not less applicable to the emanistic theories of other teachers. On the other hand, the clearly marked division between the Logos-doctrine of an Hippolytus and Tertullian, and the Patripassian conception of it can hardly be said to exist for Irenaeus, who often speaks as if the eternal Logos were but the self-revealing side of the otherwise invisible and hidden Godhead, without one's being always able to see how the personal distinction between the two can be thus maintained. His doctrine of the Logos was at any rate developed (unlike that of Tertullian and Hippolytus) without any direct reference to Patripassianism (of which no mention is made in his writings), while the true human personality of the Son is maintained against the Gnostics with as much decision as His true Godhead against the Ebionites.

This conception of the Logos as the one great and absolute organ of all divine revelations, leads Irenaeus, as it did Justin Martyr and the other Apologists, to refer back to His agency all the *pre-Christian manifestations of God* (iv. 20,

7 sq.). But Irenaeus is the first Christian doctor who expressly applies this thought, in his conflict with the Gnostics, to the origination of the Mosaic law (iv. 9). "Both Testaments proceeded from one and the same head of the family (paterfamilias), our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who spake (of old) to Abraham and to Moses" (comp. iv. 12, 4). This view might, it is clear, very easily lead to an effacement of nearly all distinction between the abiding and the transient validity of portions of the Old Testament. And so we find in after times not a few precepts of the old ceremonial law once more regarded as obligatory upon Christians—a view which by Irenaeus, however, is nowhere maintained.

The fulfilment of all previous revelations is attained in the personal manifestation of the Logos in the flesh. By the Incarnation of the Son the divine purpose in creation, the union (adunatio, communio, commixtio) of God and man has been accomplished, and the end is brought back to the beginning (iv. 20, 2, 4; 33, 4; v. 2, 1, et passim). From the beginning has the Son been aiding His own formation (iv. 6, 7). But only through the Incarnation itself, by which the Father became visible in the Son, has the "gloria Dei," which is "vivens homo," been fully manifested (iv. 20, 7). The vision of God is the life of man, and this life-giving vision we have through the Word incarnate.

Together with the Logos *the Spirit of God* is often spoken of as organ of divine revelation. The two together are the creative "hands of God." It is not, however, easy to determine their right relation one to the other. The designation of the Holy Spirit as Wisdom (Sapientia) reminds us of the Alexandrine phraseology, in which λόγος and σοφία are also distinguished without the distinction being fully worked out or consistently adhered to. Irenaeus uses the term "sapientia" of the Divine Spirit always. But the comprehension of his meaning is made somewhat difficult by his sometimes speaking of our communion with the Son as mediated by the Spirit (v. 36, 2), and sometimes of the historical manifestation of the Logos as the mean whereby men become partakers of the Spirit of the Father (iv. 38, 2). The solution of the difficulty will probably be found in the observation that Irenaeus uses the term "Spirit of God" in now a narrower, now a wider sense. In the narrower sense of the term the Spirit appears to be the organ of Divine Revelation in the heart and consciousness of man, and so distinguished from the Logos as the universal organ of Divine Revelation to all creatures and all worlds (v. 1, 1; comp. iii. 21, 4; iv. 33, 1, 7, &c.). In the other and wider sense the Spirit is the inner Being of God Himself in contradistinction to the material universe and the σάρξ (*caro*) or human corporeity. The former sense is always there to be assumed where the Spirit is distinguished from the Logos as another divine hypostasis, *progenies et figuratio Dei* (iv. 7, 4; 20, 1 sq.); the latter, where the Spirit is spoken of as "the bread of immortality" (iv. 38, 1), and the life-giving principle from which endless life wells forth (v. 12, 2). It is with reference to this latter meaning of the term that Irenaeus, speaking of the humanity of Jesus Christ, gives expression to a thought, which is often recurred to by later theologians, that the Spirit is the anointing (*unctio*, χρίσμα) and bond of unity between the Father and the Son. The Holy Spirit is in fact, for him, the uniting principle between God and man in general. God through the Spirit imparts Himself to man, while man, on the other hand, through the Incarnation enters into God (v. 1, 1). This last thought leads us on to the grand conception which Irenaeus entertains of the developement of the whole human race from Adam up to Christ. Man was not from the first, according to Irenaeus, made perfect and immortal, but designed, in God's purpose concerning him, to become so. But this can only be through the Spirit of God. And in order that man may be made partaker of the Spirit and thereby united to God, it was necessary that the Logos should become incarnate (iv. 38, 1 sqq.). The image of God (εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ) for which man was created, could not become visible before the Incarnation, and so man lost this image, the likeness of God, the possession of the Spirit (v. 16, 2), falling into sin by his own fault, and thereby coming not only under the power of natural death, but rendered incapable of exhibiting the image of God (v. 12, 2; 23, 1 sq.). Though thus Irenaeus regards sin, not like the Gnostics as a necessity of nature, but as man's own free act; he not the less on the other hand works out the thought that God has permitted the existence of evil, because only by the contrast could the worth of goodness be appreciated, as that of health after sickness, that of light after darkness, and life after death (iv. 37, 7; 39, 1). Without sin there would have been no consciousness of need, no desire for union with God, no thankfulness for His mercy (iii. 20, 1 sqq.). The chief motive which Irenaeus has for entering into such disquisitions as these, is again his conflict with Gnostic error, especially that of Marcion, who explained the origin of evil in the universe by the theory of two Gods—the highest and an inferior one. In this sense he appropriates the language of the prophet (Isai. xlv. 6, 7) *I am the Lord: I make peace and create evil*, and works out the thought that for the very sake of destroying evil a final *recapitulatio totius iniquitatis* may be necessary (v. 29, 2). We are now in a position to comprehend in its fulness the doctrine of Irenaeus concerning the Incarnation of the Logos and the divine purpose in the Incarnation. Two equally significant thoughts may be here distinguished: the idea of humanity being raised to perfection in Christ through union with the divine nature, and that of the victory gained by humanity over sin and the devil in the God-man its head.

The Incarnation is for Irenaeus not merely an historical fact, but has for its basis the eternal divine predestination of man. It was only by God becoming man that man could attain the predestined end of his original creation. The perfecting of humanity in Christ is at the same time a realisation of the true idea of humanity—the Logos first assimilating Himself to man, and then man to Himself—(semet ipsum homini et hominem sibimet ipsi assimilans). "In past times it was said indeed that man had been made after God's image, but it was not shewn. For the Logos was still invisible after whose image man had been made. And on this very account did man also easily forfeit the likeness. But when

the Logos of God became flesh He established both points: He truly exhibited the (divine) image, by Himself becoming that which was the image of Himself, and firmly restored the likeness by making man to be like the unseen Father" (v. 16, 2). Man's destination is to be like God, and by the attainment of this likeness God's great purpose is accomplished of indwelling in man, and so of uniting man to Himself (iii. 20, 2). And hence follows the necessity that He by whom the perfecting of man was accomplished should be Himself both God and man. Irenaeus is therefore as strongly opposed to the Ebionitic as to the Docetic error. To the Ebionites he objects that they do not receive the doctrine of the commixture of the heavenly wine with the earthly water, the union of God and man, but retaining the leaven of the old birth (after the flesh) abide in mortal flesh and in that death which disobedience has incurred (v. 1, 3; iii. 19, 1). It was necessary that the Logos should become man in order that man, receiving the Logos and obtaining the sonship, might become son of God. In no other way could we obtain incorruption and immortality than by being united to that which is incorruptible and immortal. Only through the absorption of the one by the other can we become partakers of the divine Sonship (iii. 19, 1; comp. iii. 18, 7). On the other hand, in opposition to Gnostic docetism, Irenaeus insists no less strongly on the truth and reality of the Incarnation of the Logos. If this were but putative, salvation would be putative also (iv. 33, 5). The mediator between God and man must belong to both in order to unite both (iv. 18, 7). If we are truly to know God and enter into fellowship with the divine Logos, our teacher must Himself have become man. We need a teacher whom we can see with human eyes and whose voice we can hear, in order to be followers of His deeds and doers of His words (v. 1, 1). The fundamental thought in this argument—that the divine nature of which we are to be made partakers can be brought nigh to us only in the form of a genuine human existence—is expressed elsewhere still more emphatically, when Irenaeus insists that Christ, in order to conduct the human race to its divine destination, must Himself belong to it, and take upon Him human flesh and all the characteristics of humanity; that if man is to be raised to God, God must come down to man (iv. 33, 4, *πῶς ἄνθρωπος χωρήσει εἰς Θεόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐχωρήθη εἰς ἄνθρωπον*). The second Adam, the head of our spiritual humanity, must Himself come of the race of Adam in order to unite the end with the beginning (iii. 22, 3 sq.; 23, 1; iv. 34, 4; v. 1, 3; 16, 1 sq.). The profound conception of a *recapitulatio* (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*) of humanity in Christ is one to which Irenaeus is perpetually recurring. It was necessary that the Incarnate Logos manifesting Himself at the end of time should gather into Himself all that originally belonged to the essence and to the final destiny of man in order to unite humanity with the indwelling Godhead, and in this way to conduct God's original creation to its divinely appointed end (iii. 18, 1; 22, 1, 3; 23, 1; iv. 38, 1 v. 1, 2 sq.; 14, 1; 23, 2; 36, 3; comp. iv. 40, 3; v. 16, 2). For this reason it was also needful that Christ should recapitulate and pass through all the stages of an ordinary human life in order to consecrate each of them in us, by a likeness to Himself in each (ii. 22, 4; iii. 18, 7). And it was moreover needful that He should come at the end of time in order to conduct all who from the beginning had hoped in Him, to eternal life in fellowship with God (iv. 22, 1 sq.; comp. 27, 1). As Christ then was typically pre-formed in Adam (iii. 22, 3), so on the other hand was Adam's destiny accomplished in Christ (v. 1, 3; 16, 2 sq.). The Spirit of God descended on the Son of God made man that in Him He might accustom Himself to an indwelling in the human race (iii. 17, 1). Man was to grow used to receive God, and God to indwell in man (ii. 20, 2).

With this thought of the *recapitulatio* of the human race in Christ is combined another of equal depth and significance—that of *the victory over sin* and *deliverance of sin's captives* from the power of Satan by the *obedience* of Christ. This deliverance or redemption was necessary before the divine purpose of the union of God and man could be accomplished. For if man, created by God for life, but corrupted by the serpent, had not returned to life, but been wholly subjected to death's power, God would then have been defeated, and the devil's iniquity proved itself stronger than His holy will. But God, triumphant and magnanimous, has by the second Adam (Christ) bound the strong man and spoiled his goods, and deprived death of its prey, and brought back man once slain to life. He who by false promises of life and the likeness of God had bound man in the chains of sin has now been justly made captive in his turn, and his prisoner, man, set free (iii. 23, 1 sq.; comp. 18, 7; iv. 21, 3). The power of the devil over man consisted in man's sin, and the apostasy into which the devil had seduced him (v. 21, 3), but now the disobedience of one man has been repaired by one man's obedience (iii. 18, 7; 21, 10). The first Adam was *initium morientium*, the second Adam *initium viventium*, who needed to be both God and man, no less in order to become the saviour, than to be the perfecter of mankind (iii. 22, 4; v. 1, 3). Only one who was Himself man could overcome man's enemy, and bind in his turn him by whom man had been bound; in this way alone could the victory over the enemy be altogether just. And so, on the other hand, only one who was also God could accomplish a redemption which should be stable and sure (iii. 18, 7; v. 21, 3). Christ must be truly man, in order as man to be truly tempted, must be born of a woman, in order to deliver those who by a woman had been brought under the devil's power, and must truly live and suffer as a man in order as man to fight and triumph. Again—He must also be the Logos in order to be glorified, in order as the strong one to overcome the enemy in whose power the whole human race found itself (iii. 18, 6, 7; 19, 3; iv. 33, 4; v. 17, 3; 21, 1; 22, 1); and finally that man might learn that it is not through himself, but only through God's mercy that he obtains incorruption (v. 21, 3). The recapitulation of mankind in Christ consists therefore not only in man's original destiny being accomplished by the beginner of a new humanity, but also in His taking up and conducting to a triumphant issue, at the end of time, the conflict wherein, at the beginning, man had been over-

come. The victory of God made man is man's victory, inasmuch as all humanity is summed up (recapitulated) in Christ. Man must himself overcome the evil one, and leave him bound with the same chains wherewith he himself had once been bound—the chains of transgression (v. 21, 3): but the first man could not thus have triumphed, having been by him seduced and bound, but only the second man, the Son of God after whose image Adam was created, and who has become man in order to take back His old creation ("antiquam plasmationem") into Himself (iv. 33, 4). The devil had obtained *his* dominion over the first man by deceit and violence, whereas the redemption of the new race had taken place not with violence but, as became God, in the way of free persuasion: (secundum suadelam, quemadmodum decebat Deum suadentem, non vim inferentem, accipere quae vellet: v. 1, 1). The dominion of the devil is an unjust dominion, inasmuch as he, like a robber, has seized and taken to himself what did not belong to him, estranged us from our original godlike nature, and made us into his own disciples. Again divine justice demands also that what the devil has obtained by conflict should in a lawful conflict be wrung back from him. The Son of God deals, according to His own sense of right, with the apostasy itself, redeeming from it, at a price, that which was His own (non deficiens in sua justitia juste etiam adversus ipsam conversus est apostasiam, ea quae sunt sua redimens ab ea, v. 1, 1, comp. 24, 4). Christ came not snatching with deceit that which was another's, but justly and graciously resuming that which was His own; justly in regard to the apostasy (the evil one) from whose power He redeemed us with His own blood, and graciously in reference to us whom He so redeemed (v. 2, 1). The persuasion (suadela) of which the Son of God made use, consisted, so far as the devil was concerned, in his free consent to accept the redemption price of the Lord's death for his prisoners: and so the Lord redeemed us, giving His soul for our souls and His flesh for our flesh (v. 1, 1). Two thoughts are here to be distinguished. The first is that of Christ's *victorious* conflict with the evil one, maintaining, spite of all his temptations, full and entire obedience to the Father, unmasking Satan as rebel and deceiver, and thereby proving Himself the strong one (v. 21, 2 sq.). The second thought is that of redemption through Christ's blood, which is expressly represented as a price paid to the devil and by him voluntarily received. The first thought is developed mainly with reference to the history of the temptation in the wilderness. In the third temptation the evil one is completely exposed and called by his true name, the Son of God appears as victor, and, by His obedience to the divine command, absolves the sin of Adam (v. 21, 2). With this chain of thought, complete in itself, the other theory of a redemption-price paid down in the blood of Christ, is placed in no connexion. It is *not* said that the devil, acting up to his rights, caused the Saviour's death, which indeed is represented from another point of view as a price legitimately offered and paid down to him (v. 1, 1). The thought, moreover, subsequently worked out by Origen, that the devil deceived himself with the hope of bringing under his power one whom he was too weak to hold, is not yet to be found in Irenaeus. But along with this conception of the redemption-price offered to the devil appears another thought, that man has been reconciled to God by the sacrifice of the body of Christ and the shedding of His blood (v. 14, 3).

It must be allowed that Irenaeus has no complete dogmatic theory with regard to the nature of Christ's work of redemption. One reason is that his theological speculations nowhere appear in the form of an independent system, but are simply developed in polemical contrast to those of the heretical gnosis. It was indeed by the very conflict with Gnosticism that the currents of Christian religious thought were once more put in rapid movement, and that problems which had exercised St. Paul were again presented to the mind of the church. Little as Irenaeus might be able to comprehend in all its depth the Pauline theology, he was not the less energetically occupied with the same world of thought. Perhaps in no other respect does the intellectual difference between his time and the post-apostolic era of the church appear more manifest.

Literature.—Beside the Prolegomena of Erasmus, Gallasius, Grynaeus, the following treatises and works may be specially consulted: The *Vita Irenaei* of Feuardent, and the *Vita Irenaei* of Peter Halloix, the *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* of Dodwell, and those of Massuet, the Prolegomena of Grabe, and especially the Prolegomena of Harvey (*Preliminary Matter*, I. *Sources and Phenomena of Gnosticism*; II. *Life and Writings of St. Irenaeus*). Further, Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iii. 77 sqq. and 619 sqq.; Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 192 sqq.; Kling, Article *Irenaeus* in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*; Böhringer, *die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*, Bd. I. Abtheil. i. Zürich, 1842 (2nd ed. 1861); Baur, *die christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1835, p. 460 sqq. Duncker, *des h. Irenaeus Christologie*, Göttingen, 1843; Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2nd ed., Bonn, 1857, pp. 312 sqq., 399 sqq.; Graul, *die christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des Irenäischen Zeitalters*, Leipzig, 1860; Ziegler, *Irenaeus der Bischof von Lyon*, Berlin, 1871; Lipsius, *die Zeit des Irenaeus von Lyon und die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, xxviii. p. 241 sqq.; Lightfoot, *The Churches of Gaul*, in *Contemp. Review*, Aug. 1876, p. 405 sqq. To which should be added the posthumous work of the late Dean Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*, London, 1875.

[R. A. L.]

IRENAEUS (2), bishop of Ululae (Ullitani), in Numidia, fifty-fourth suffrage in Conc. Carth. sub Cyp. vii.; called in later MSS. confessor.

[E. W. B.]

IRENAEUS (3), (HIRENEUS, Usuard.)—March 25, bishop of Sirmium and martyr at Sirmium under the governor Probus in the Diocletian persecution (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard; Till. *Mém.* v. 250). The Basilian Menology gives this Irenaeus and Irenaeus bishop of Lyons on the same day, Aug. 23. Some suppose that the story of the martyrdom of the latter arose from his having been confused with the bishop of Sirmium (Iren. *Frag.* xxv. ed. Harvey, ii. 454). The *Acta* of this martyr, printed from an ancient manuscript by the

Bollandists (25 Mart. iii. 556), and Ruinart (*Acta Sinc.* 403), give Ap. 6, 304, as the date of his death (cf. Fleury, *H. E.* viii. 51). [G. T. S.]

IRENAEUS (4), bishop of the island of Scyros, at the council of Sardica, A.D. 343. Secoro in the subscription should be altered to Scyro. (Mansi, iii. 39; Le Quien, ii. 232.) [L. D.]

IRENAEUS, bp. of Jerusalem. [ERENNIUS.]

IRENAEUS (5), bishop of Tripolis in Phoenicia. He took part in the Arian synod of Seleucia, A.D. 359. (Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii. § 26; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 823.) [J. de S.]

IRENAEUS (6) (IRENIO), bishop of Gaza, present at the council of Antioch, A.D. 363 (Mansi, iii. 374). He is the next known bishop after Asclepas, and died in 392 or 393 (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 609; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 398, xcvii.). He is mentioned by Marcus Diaconus in his life of St. Porphyrius bishop of Gaza (Boll. *Acta SS.* 26 Feb. iii. 647 C, 648 B), and his successor is there said to have been Aeneas. The Roman Martyrology commemorates him on Dec. 16. [J. de S.]

IRENAEUS (7), count of the empire and subsequently bishop of Tyre in the fifth century. He affords an example of that remarkable change of vocation of which we have other instances in Ambrose, Nectarius, and Ephraemius of Antioch, by which a civil career, in which considerable distinction had been gained, was exchanged in middle life for the episcopate. Irenaeus is first known to us as a count of the empire, of high character, much esteemed for his statesmanlike qualities, and still more for his virtues. Though a layman, he took a zealous interest in theological controversies, and was ardently attached to the cause of Nestorius, of whom he was a personal friend. At the summoning of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, Irenaeus accompanied Nestorius; but, as is distinctly stated in the emperor's missive to the council, not in any official capacity, or with any authority to interfere in the affairs of the council, but out of pure friendship, to afford the accused archbishop the support of his presence and counsel (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 443). On the assembling of the synod Irenaeus employed his power and influence in behalf of his friend, to the great irritation of Cyril and his party, who accused him, on the one hand, of entrapping the more simple-minded of the bishops by his seductive wiles (Labbe, *ibid.* 749, 762; Baluze, 524), and on the other, of intimidating the synod, by which, it was asserted, he threw the whole assembly into confusion and endangered the lives of its members (Labbe, *ibid.*; Baluze, 496). The haste with which Cyril secured the condemnation of Nestorius must have aroused his vehement indignation, and when, five days afterwards, the approach of John of Antioch and the Eastern bishops was announced, Irenaeus, accompanied by a guard of soldiers, hurried out to apprise them of the high-handed proceedings of the council. He was followed at an interval by deputies from the council, who, as Memnon relates, were at the count's instigation maltreated by the soldiers, and prevented from having an audience with John (Labbe, *ibid.* 764; Mercator, ii. praef. xxvii.). To counteract the influence of Dalmatius and the monastic party at Constantinople, put in commotion by the intelligence from Ephesus and the arrival of the three Cyrillian deputies, the Eastern bishops deputed Irenaeus to proceed thither himself with letters to the emperor and the leading officers of state, narrating their side of the story (Labbe, *ibid.* 717–720). Further letters were despatched to be laid by him before Theodosius, when Cyril's party, declaring itself the synod, had passed a decree annulling the whole of the proceedings of the rival synod. The emperor was requested to transfer the council to Constantinople, or at least to Chalcedon, where they might be under his more immediate protection, and be delivered from the fear of violence which threatened them at Ephesus (Labbe, *ibid.* 716; Baluze, 706; Mercator, *ibid.* p. xxxii.). Irenaeus arrived only three days after the Cyrillian deputies, but they had employed their time so well, and gained such general credence, that he found the minds of all in power prejudiced against him, and even ran some risk in getting into the city. At last he obtained an audience of Theodosius, when he used his utmost endeavours to counteract the influence of the former deputies, and prevailed on him to give a hearing to both parties. His statement of the proceedings of the rival councils was so convincing that Theodosius was on the point of pronouncing the condemnation of Nestorius illegal, and confirming the verdict of the Oriental synod held under the presidency of John of Antioch, with the threat of additional punishments to the deposed bishops if they continued contumacious, when the arrival of John, the Syncellus and physician of Cyril, entirely frustrated his efforts and gave a new turn to the proceedings. Perplexed by the counter-statements, with the professed desire of complete impartiality, the feeble Theodosius took the course of confirming the depositions made by both parties—that of Nestorius by the Cyrillians, and those of Cyril and Memnon by the Orientals—and annulled all the remainder of the proceedings, and despatched the count John, his high treasurer, to Ephesus, with discretionary powers to act as he saw best for the peace of the church (Labbe, *ibid.* 721). Irenaeus communicated these extraordinary proceedings by letter to the Oriental bishops (Labbe, *ibid.* 717–721; Liberat. c. 26, p. 26; Mercator, *ibid.* p. xxxii.). On the final confirmation of the sentence against Nestorius, in A.D. 435, Irenaeus shared his friend's fate.

The decree of Theodosius which banished Nestorius, Aug. A.D. 435, pronounced the same sentence against Irenaeus and a presbyter named Photius, as participators in and propagators of his impiety. Irenaeus was condemned to be stripped of all his honours, to have his property confiscated, and to be deported to Petra, in order that he might there "suffer the torment of perpetual poverty and solitude" (Baluz. p. 884, c. clxxxviii. clxxxix.). According to the *Actes du Brigandage* (Martin, p. 138; *Le Pseudo-Synode d'Éphèse*, p. 86), Irenaeus passed twelve years in his Arabian banishment without once participating in Christian ordinances. His time was spent in the preparation of a history of the troubled scenes in which he had taken part, enriched with a large number of historical documents known as the *Tragoedia*

Irenaei. The violence of the invectives contained in this work against Theodoret, Ibas, and all who had questioned Nestorius's perfect orthodoxy, renders it probable that it was written during the early part of his banishment, and that the lapse of time brought with it calmer thoughts and more friendly feelings towards those who, agreeing with him in the main, had been unable to follow him in his uncompromising advocacy of Nestorius and his teachings. His doctrinal views seem also during this period to have received some modification, for Theodoret, in his letter to Domnus after his elevation to the episcopate (*Epist.* 110), as well as in that to Irenaeus himself (*ibid.* 16), speaks of his using the test-word *θεοτόκος* without scruple, and testifies to his perfect orthodoxy. At the close of this period it is somewhat startling to find the banished heretic suddenly reappearing as the unanimous choice of the bishops of the province of Phoenicia for the metropolitical see of Tyre, vacant by the death of Beronicianus, and their choice ratified by the leading members of the episcopate of Pontus and Palestine, and accepted with warm commendation by Proclus of Constantinople. The date of his ordination as bishop of Tyre is uncertain. The twelve years mentioned above, spent by him in exile, would bring it to either A.D. 443 or 447, according as they are dated from the first deposition in 431 or its final ratification in 435. As Proclus, whose approbation of his election is named by Theodoret, died at the close of 446, it must have been before the end of that year. The later date is, on the whole, the more probable; that given by Gams, A.D. 449, is certainly wrong. (Theod. *Epist.* 110.) In the complete silence of history it is vain to speculate on the causes which led to his recall from exile, and the selection of one who had hitherto been known only in a civil capacity, for one of the leading Eastern sees, and that with such wide-spread and unanimous approbation that even the canonical objection of his having been twice married was not suffered to be a bar to his ordination. It is impossible that this unusual step could have been taken without the cognisance of the emperor, whose authority must have been put in exercise to annul the sentence of perpetual banishment, and without whose sanction the electing prelates would not have ventured on choosing such a person as bishop. But the feeble mind of Theodosius was swayed in the most opposite directions by those who for the time happened to have influence over him, and who made him their instrument in carrying out their designs. If the party which regarded Theodoret, the warm friend of Irenaeus, as their representative had gained sufficient ascendency to secure the acquittal of Irenaeus and his restoration to court favour, their power was of brief duration. The emperor soon fell under the sway of the eunuch Chrysaphius, the godson of Eutyches, whose favour had been gained by Cyril's still more violent and tyrannical successor Dioscorus, and he became the facile tool of the Monophysite party. The ordination of Irenaeus was a blow as unwelcome as it was unexpected to this party, already irritated by the patronage given by successive bishops of Constantinople to their opponents. If tamely submitted to, other like ordinations would follow. The opposite party would gain possession of the leading sees, and they would sink to a subordinate place. Since the reconciliation of John of Antioch and Cyril, a kind of hollow peace had existed between the two parties—the Egyptians and Orientals. It was rather a truce than a peace, which this elevation of a leading Nestorian sympathiser to the episcopate rendered no longer possible. Irenaeus had been consecrated by Domnus, the patriarch of Antioch. He, therefore, was the first object of attack. He was plied with missives from the dominant clerical party at Constantinople, asserting that the election of a convicted heretic and a *digamus* was *ipso facto* null and void, and charging him under severe threats to proceed to a fresh election. The emperor's name was adroitly kept in the background; but it was implied that the malcontents were acting with his sanction. In this difficulty Domnus turned for counsel to Theodoret, who replied that "it was better to fall under the ill-will of man than to offend God and wound one's own conscience." He supplied him with the form of a letter[a] to be sent to the meddlesome ecclesiastics at Constantinople, asserting the perfect orthodoxy of Irenaeus, and excusing himself for disregarding the canonical objection of his double marriage by the examples of Alexander of Antioch, Acacius of Beroea, and Praylus of Jerusalem, and professing his readiness to submit to any punishments the emperor pleased, rather than do a wilful wrong. "The see being filled by a canonically elected bishop, he could not lawfully proceed to another election." But all such remonstrances, however just, were futile. The ruin of Irenaeus had been resolved on by the faction of Chrysaphius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, and Theodosius was compelled to seal with his imperial authority the act of deposition. If we may accept Gibbon's statement, that "he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature," the emperor is not to be regarded as directly responsible for the act of injustice perpetrated in his name. An edict was issued (Feb. 17, A.D. 448), renewing those formerly published against the Nestorians, which, after commanding that all their writings should be burnt, and making the possession of any of them a capital offence, proceeded, in order to prove his detestation of these doctrines, to order that Irenaeus, who, though he had previously incurred his displeasure on that account, and was moreover a *digamus*, had, he knew not how, got ordained bishop of Tyre, should be deposed from his see and deprived of the dress and title of priest, and be compelled to live as a layman in his own country, and never

[a] The phraseology of this letter, which stands as the 110th epistle of Theodoret, has given rise to much misapprehension. The use of the first person—*ἐχειροτόνησα τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον Εἰρηναῖον*—has led some to suppose that Theodoret, who belonged to another province, was the consecrator of Irenaeus, or that he took part in his consecration, or even, with the Abbé Martin (*Le Pseudo-Synode d'Éphèse*, pp. 84, 85), that it is erroneously ascribed to Theodoret, and was really written by Domnus. It is clear from the tenor of the epistle that it was written by Theodoret, and that the first person is employed by him as writing in Domnus's name. (Tillemont, tom. xv. pp. 871, 872, Theodoret, note 5.)

set foot again in Tyre. The wide publication of this edict is shewn by a note appended to the copy printed by Labbe (*Concil.* iii. 1215), that it was read in the church of a monastic community in the Egyptian desert two months after it had been issued, April 18, A.D. 448. Domnus still sought to temporise, in the hope that the emperor's mind would again change, and that he might be saved from being compelled to do what his conscience told him was a flagrant wrong. But he was soon undeceived. Two presbyters, Isaiah and Cyrus, arrived from Alexandria, with a letter from Dioscorus reproaching Domnus for delaying to give a bishop to Tyre. As long as the see was kept vacant, the faithful feared Irenaeus might return to it. If he did not wish to contravene the commands of the emperor, he must proceed immediately to ordain a new bishop. Still Domnus hesitated, until fear of ulterior consequences prevailed over his conscientious scruples, and Photius was made bishop of Tyre, Sept. 9, 448 (*Actes du Brigand.* pp. 134, 143). After this Irenaeus disappears entirely from the scene. One of the acts of the *Latrocinium* in 449 was to confirm his deposition, after that of Ibas and Daniel of Charrae, and to pass an anathema on him (Martin, *Actes du Brigandage*, pp. 82-86; Evagr. *H. E.* i. 10). As Irenaeus is not mentioned in the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon, it is probable that he was no longer alive.

During the latter part of his chequered career Irenaeus enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Theodoret, who speaks in high terms of his orthodoxy, magnanimity, liberality towards those in adversity, especially those who had known better times, and his other virtues (Theod. *Epist.* 35, 110), and wrote him frequent letters. At one time he commends to his charity Theophanes, one of the banished bishops (Baluz. 947); at another, Celestiacus, formerly a wealthy and honourable senator of Carthage, driven out in destitution by the Vandals, with his wife and children and whole family (Theod. *Epist.* 35); at another, he consoles him on the death of his son-in-law (*ibid.* 12), and again resolves a case of conscience (*ibid.* 3). From another letter we find that Irenaeus was in the habit of transmitting his discourses for his friend's perusal, and that in these the Virgin Mary was repeatedly designated as the "mother of God," without asserting directly—which was however implied—that she was also the "mother of the man," an omission which had been charged against Theodoret as a crime (*ibid.* 16).

Irenaeus's great historical work, the *Tragoedia*, has unfortunately perished, and is only known to us from an ill-executed Latin translation of large portions of it, made subsequently to the time of Justinian (c. 193) by a partisan of "the Three Chapters." The barbarous style and other indications lead to the belief that the translator was an African. We know from Irenaeus's own words (c. 79, Baluz. 781) that the work was in three books, the last of which related to the transactions at Alexandria in 433 A.D.: and the reconciliation of Cyril and John of Antioch, on which and its authors he bestows some strongly vituperative epithets. The anonymous translator, who has given very little more than the letters and other documents, invaluable for the light thrown on the transactions of the period, together with the summaries of Irenaeus and some interpolations and explanations of his own, sometimes barely intelligible, entitled his work *Synodicon*. It was first given to the world in 225 chapters by Chr. Lupus (Christian Wolf, an Augustinian professor of theology at Louvain), in *Epistolae Diversae, as Ad Ephesinum Concilium variorum Patrum Epistolae* (Louvain, 1682), from a MS. at Monte Cassino, and was reprinted the next year by Baluze in his *Nova Collectio Conciliorum*, coll. 663–959 (Paris, 1683). Baluze complains that Lupus made his transcript carelessly, and with serious omissions, and that all his own attempts to secure a more accurate collation of the MS. were frustrated by the obstinacy of its monastic guardians. Mabillon was equally unsuccessful. We do not know whether any subsequent attempts have been made to get a sight of the codex. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. xiv. p. 605.)

The letter of Irenaeus to the Oriental bishops at Ephesus, detailing the result of his deputation to the emperor at Constantinople, is given in the original Greek (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 717), and in a Latin translation in the *Synodicon*, c. 21.

(Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xiv. 606–608, 613, 614, et passim; xv. 264–266, 578, 579, et passim; Cave, *Hist. Lib.* i. 437; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 807; Labbe, *Concil.* tom. iii. passim; Baluze, *Nov. Coll. Concil.* passim; Abbé Martin, *Le Brigandage d'Éphèse*, pp. 82–95, 183.)

[E. V.]

IRENAEUS (8), bishop of Naupactus at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 161; Le Quien, ii. 19.) [L. D.]

IRENAEUS (9), bishop and metropolitan of Caesarea, present at a synod of Palestine in 453. (Mansi, vii. 521; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 567.)

[J. de S.]

IRENAEUS (10), bishop of Egara. This see was originally part of the diocese of Barcelona, but was made a separate one by Nundinarius bishop of Barcelona, with the consent of the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, about the middle of the 5th century, and Irenaeus was appointed first bishop. Nundinarius made him his heir, and expressed as his last wish that he should be his successor. This appointment was universally desired, and was approved of by the other bishops of the province, who wrote to pope Hilarus, asking him to confirm it. The pope, on Dec. 30, 465, replied to the letter of the bishops, rebuking them severely for transgressing the Nicene decree, which prohibited the translation of bishops. He ordered that Irenaeus should be removed from the see of Barcelona, and sent back to his own see. (Gams, *Kirchengesch.* ii. 430; Hilarus in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 14, 19; *Esp. Sag.* xxix. 114–119; xlii. 182.)

[F. D.]

IRENAEUS (11), bishop of Harpasa in Caria, an opponent of the faith of Chalcedon. Le Quien mentions an excerpt of his work against the council among the MSS. of the Jesuits' library at Paris. He probably flourished during the reign of the emperor Anastasius, A.D. 491–518. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 909.) [L. D.]

IRENAEUS (12), 26th bishop of Pavia, c. 787, between Hieronymus and Ubaldus. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xii. 406, 516.)

[A. H. D. A.]

IRENAEUS (13), grammarian of Alexandria. [IRENAEUS (3) in the *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*] Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 7) quotes his work on the Attic dialect, as saying that the word ὑπόστασις is barbarous. [T. W. D.]

IRENAEUS (14), Aug. 26, martyr at Rome with Abundius during the Decian persecution. Having rescued the body of St. Concordia [HIPPOLYTUS (5)], they were flung into a sewer, whence their bodies were recovered and buried near the tomb of St. Laurence on the Via Tiburtina. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon. Usuard.; Till. *Mém.* iii. 236.) [G. T. S.]

IRENAEUS (15), Dec. 15, said to have suffered martyrdom with Antonius, Theodorus, and others, under the emperor Valerian at Rome. (*Mart. Rom.*) [T. W. D.]

IRENAEUS (16), July 3, deacon and martyr at Clusium in Etruria, with Mustiola and many others, under Aurelian, A.D. 274. (*Mart.* Usuard.; *AA. SS.* Boll. Jul. i. 638–41; Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 354.) [G. T. S.]

IRENAEUS (17), a magistrate addressed by St. Ambrose (ep. 26) cir. 386. All the MSS., the Benedictine editor observes, have this letter inscribed to Irenaeus, while all the printed editions have Studius, to whom also the previous letter is addressed, the two letters, as shewn by their contents, being written to the same person. The Benedictine and Ceillier (v. 492) suggest that the magistrate was named Studius Irenaeus. [J. G.]

IRENAEUS (18), priest, to whom St. Ambrose, in 387, addressed twelve letters, *Epp.* 27–33, 64, 69, 73, 74, 76, cf. Bened. note, and Ceillier, v. 493. [J. G.]

IRENAEUS (19), a taxgatherer of Hippo, whose dead son is reported by St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 19) to have been restored to life after having been anointed with the oil of the martyr Stephen. [T. W. D.]

IRENAEUS (20), an envoy who conjointly with Faustus [FAUSTUS (37)] brought back from the emperor Anastasius, probably in 493, a letter to pope Gelasius (Gelas. ep. 8 in *Pat. Lat.* lix. 41, Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 54). Baronius (*Annal.* 493, vi.) thinks it probable that he was one of those unnamed envoys referred to by Cassiodorus (*Var.* i. 1) as sent by Theodoric the Great to Anastasius. [T. W. D.]

IRENAEUS (21), surnamed ὁ Πενταδιάστης by John Malalas, and by the *Chronicon Paschale*, described as ὁ Πενταδίας, which the Latin version of Du Cange doubtingly renders filius Pentadiae), an officer of great reputation and a native of Antioch (Joann. Malal. *Hist. Chron.* libb. xvi. xviii. t. ii. 113, 182, ed. Oxon.). In 507 he was sent by the emperor Anastasius I. to quell a riot at Antioch, and by measures of great severity succeeded (*ibid.* 110–113). In 519, as count of the East, he was entrusted by the emperor Justin I. with the duty of expelling from Antioch the heretic bishop Severus. Count Irenaeus resided at Antioch. (Evagrius Scholasticus, *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. 4 and note by Valesius; Baron. *Ann.* ad ann. 519, cxliii.) In 528, he being then magister militum, was sent with two others, Belisarius and Cerycus, by Justinian, to aid Tzathius, king of the Lazi, a people who had embraced Christianity some years previously, and were now being attacked by the Persians; but here the three commanders failed, and were replaced by Peter (*Chron. Pasch.* s. a.). About 530 he was sent by Justinian as magister militum to supersede Theodorus as dux of Palestine and extinguish the insurrection of the Samaritans. This duty he accomplished, but not without acts of much cruelty, to avoid which some of the Samaritans submitted to baptism, and made hollow professions of Christianity (*Chron. Pasch.* ann. 530; Joan. Mal. *u. s.* 182; Clinton, *F. R.* ann. 529). This occurrence would appear to have been the occasion of the undated novel 114 of Justin II. *De Samaritis.* (*Corp. Jur. Civ.* ed. Kriegel, t. iii. p. 636; see also Novell. 129 *De Samaritis*, Jun. 15, 551, Krieg. iii. 129; *Cod. Justinian*, lib. i. tit. v. num. 12, 17, 18.) [T. W. D.]

IRENAEUS (22) (HIRENEUS, Us.; IRENE, Ado)—Feb. 10. Martyr at Rome with Zoticus, Jacinctus and Amantius. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

IRENAEUS (23) (HIRENEUS)—May 5, martyr by fire at Thessalonica with Peregrinus and Irene. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

IRENAEUS (24) (HIRENEUS)—Mar. 26, deacon, martyr, commemorated at Pentapolis in Libya, with bishop Theodorus and the readers Serapion and Ammonius. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon.) [G. T. S.]

IRENARCHUS (1)—Nov. 28. Martyr at Sebaste in the Diocletian persecution. His office was that of a lictor, to whose lot it fell to apply torture to the martyrs. Converted by their patience, he was in turn tortured and beheaded. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

IRENARCHUS (2), deacon representing Cometas, bishop of Amastus, in Paphlagonia at the council of Constantinople in 680. (Mansi, xi. 650, 678.) [T. W. D.]

IRENE (1)—May 5, a mythical martyr, celebrated specially at Constantinople, when there were three churches dedicated under her name, the earliest of which was built by Constantine the Great (Codinus, *De Aedif. C. P.* p. 38, p. 73, ed. Bekker). The legend is that she was taught the truth by an angel, and baptized by Timothy the disciple of St. Paul. Her father Licinius bound her to a wild horse, but she escaped unhurt, while he was killed by the animal. She restored him to life by her prayers, when he, with three thousand others, embraced Christianity. They suffered under a president Ampelianus. (Bas. *Men.*; *AA. SS.* Boll. Mai. ii. 4.) [G. T. S.]

IRENE (2) Cyp. *Ep.* 42 (cf. AUGENDUS), "Rutilorum," *i.e.* like *Floridi* (and *russati*, Fell., but ?), a confessor who had shed blood, a leading member of Felicissimus's party, excommunicated with him. [E. W. B.]

IRENE (3) (AERENA, HERENA, HIRENE, SERENA, SYRENA), widow of the Roman martyr Castulus, c. A.D. 300. In the *Acta S. Sebastiani*, written by St. Ambrose (*Opp.* Migne, Pat. Lat. xvii. 1056, c. 23), she is represented as having

gone to take away and bury the body of St. Sebastian, but finding life in it, she carried him home, nursed, and restored him to health. [J. G.]

IRENE (4) (HIRENIS, Usuard.)—April 5. Virgin and martyr at Thessalonica under a count Sisinnius, with her sisters Agape and Chionia. [CHIONIA.] The Basilian menology (Ap. 5) places the event under Maximian, and relates that Irene was found in possession of the sacred writings which they had all been accustomed to read. These were taken from her and burnt, and herself then condemned to public outrage, from which however she was divinely preserved. Finally she was burned alive. But under Dec. 22, this menology states that she was slain by the sword of a soldier, while Usuard makes her die by an arrow of Sisinnius. (*Mart.* Bed., *Vet. Rom.*, Usuard., Adon., all under Ap. 5; Fleury, lib. viii. capp. 55, 56, who puts her martyrdom on Mar. 25; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* p. 42.) [G. T. S.]

IRENE (5) (ERENA, HEIRA, HIRENA), sister of pope Damasus (A.D. 366–384), and virgin, commemorated on Feb. 21. She was of Spanish extraction, but was probably born in Rome. After the death of her father Antonius and her mother she lived with her brother Damasus. She must have early taken the vow of virginity, as she is said to have been only in her twentieth year when she died of fever in the twelfth year of her brother's elevation to the papacy, that is, in A.D. 378. She spent much of her time with her brother in the catacombs. He wrote to her memory an epitaph in fifteen hexameter lines, which have often been printed. (Gruter, *Inscrip. Ant.* ii. 1172, no. 10, Ed. Amst. 1707; Baronius, *Ann.* ann. 384, xxi.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Feb. iii. 245.) [J. G.]

IRENE (6), supposed by some to have been a concubine of Dioscorus patriarch of Alexandria, on the following grounds. At the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Actio III., Ischyrion, a deacon of Alexandria, publicly charged the patriarch with having a concubine Pansophia, "surnamed Ὀρειινή" (Mansi, vi. 1016). But from an epigram in the Greek Anthology, where the word εἰρήνη is introduced in such a manner as seems to insinuate the name of a bishop's concubine, it has been conjectured that the Ὀρειινή of the council is a corrupt reading of what was originally Εἰρήνη. (*Anthologia Palatina*, cap. xvi. num. 19, ed. Dübner, Paris, 1872, vol. ii. p. 530, and note p. 610; Gibbon, *D. and F.* vol. vi. p. 28 note, ed. Smith.) [C. H.]

IRENE (7), wife of Domitius Patricius, rendered fruitful through the prayers of Theodorus Siceotes, as stated in Eleusius's life of this father, given by the Bollandist (*Acta SS.* 22 Apr. iii. 33), and quoted by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 608, viii.). [C. H.]

IRENE (8), virgin martyr, born near the city of Thomar, in the eastern part of Leyria, near the river Naba, a tributary of the Zezere, which flows into the Tagus from the north, a little below the town of Abrantes. Some authors call her birthplace Nabancia, from the name of the river. Her parents were named Hermigius and Eugenia, and were of gentle birth. Eugenia's brother Selius was abbat of a famous monastery there. Her legend, which has all the elements of a modern romance, describes how Britaldus the son of the governor of Lusitania became enamoured of her; how she repelled the criminal advances of her preceptor Remigius, who revenged himself by blasting her character; and how she was finally murdered by Britaldus, who had been deceived by the slander. Her martyrdom is placed in A.D. 653, in the reign of Recisvinth. Her feast is celebrated on Oct. 20. (J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* v. 592; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 201; Boll. *AA. SS.* Oct. viii. 911.) The stories of this Irene and some of the preceding ones are reviewed in Guazzugli Marini's *Notizie riguardanti il culto di Santa Irene martyr*, Osimo, 1783. [F. D.]

IRENE (9) I., first wife of the emperor Constantine V. (Copronymus), to whom she was married A.D. 733. She was the daughter of the chaganus or king of the Khazars or Turks, and the emperor Leo Isaurus, on giving her to his son, first had her baptized and called her name Irene (Theoph. *Chron.* A. C. 724; Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* anno xvi. Leonis, in Pat. Gr. cxxi. 878). She was probably the niece of the emperor Justinian II. (Rhinotmetus), as his second wife was Theodora, daughter of Busirus, king of the same nation. Indeed, from the time of Heraclius, who in 626 offered his daughter in marriage to the king of the Khazars, it seems to have been the policy of the emperors to form matrimonial alliances with their ruling family, using them as a set-off to the power of Persia and the Saracens. (Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, t. xi. p. 119.) Theophanes and Cedrenus (*u. s.*) describe her as deeply read in theology (τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα), eminent for piety, refuting the impiety of her husband and father-in-law and the enemies of God (τῶν ἀθέων). Irene seems in secret to have favoured image-worship. On Jan. 25, 750, she became the mother of a son, who afterwards reigned as Leo IV., the Khazar (Theoph. A. C. 741). She must have died very soon afterwards, as her successor, the empress Maria, also died that year. (Du Cange, *Hist. Byzant.* p. i. *de Familiis Imper. Constantinop.* p. 105, ed. 1729.) [G. T. S.]

IRENE (10) II. (in the Latin writers HIRENE, HYRENA, HERENA, and in the *Chron. of St. Denys*, HELAINE), wife of Leo IV. Chazar, empress in title from A.D. 769, and a ruling empress in her son's name or her own from 780 to 802. She was contemporary with Charles the Great in the West and with Haroun al Rashid in the East. Her importance in ecclesiastical history arises from the prominent part she bore in the establishment of images in the Eastern Church. The only separate work on her is Vincent Mignot's *Histoire de l'Impératrice Irène*, Amst. 1762, 12mo. The principal ancient authority for her is Theophanes (Patr. Gr. cviii.), a contemporary historian, a supporter of her ecclesiastical policy, and one of those present in the seventh synod.

Irene was a native of Athens, and when selected as a wife for his son by the emperor Constantine Copronymus, was an orphan (Theoph. p. 404 init.). When she was thus elevated, the Greek race was low in estimation, mere provincials, while the ruling class were Asiatics. On her arrival from the south in the summer of

769 she was at first lodged in the palace of Hieria, on the Propontic promontory of Heraeum (Ducange, *Cpolis. Chr.* lib. iv. p. 122, col. 2, ed. 1729). There were two places named Heraeum in the Propontis: this one was on the Asiatic side, south of Chalcedon, and not far from Prince's Island. The palace of Hieria became again her residence later in life, and on Prince's Island she was buried. On Sept. 1, 769, she was convoyed across the water by a flotilla of swift vessels gay with silken decorations, and was received at Constantinople by a concourse of the principal citizens, male and female, who conducted her to the palace (Th. 374). On Sept. 3, at the church of Pharos within the palace (Ducange, *Cpolis. Chr.* lib. iv. p. 64) the ceremony of betrothal to Leo was performed (ἐγένετο σπόνζα), the patriarch Nicetas officiating. On Dec. 17 Irene was crowned empress in the great state-chamber of the palace (the triclinium Augustaei, Duc. lib. ii. p. 95, col. 1, D), and passing from thence to the Daphne in another part of the palace (*ibid.* p. 98, num. 24, and lib. iv. p. 94, num. 89), she received with Leo, in the chapel of St. Stephen, the nuptial garlands (τὰ τοῦ γάμου στέφανα, nuptiales corollas), the bestowal of which, with the benediction, completed the union (Ducange, *Gloss. Gr.* art. στέφανοι, and cf. Goar's notes on Cedrenus, p. 817, Patr. Gr. cxxi.). It may be noticed that Nicephorus the patriarch concludes his history with a mention of Irene's marriage and coronation (*De Rebus post Maur.* p. 86, in Pat. Gr. t. c. p. 990). As Leo was now in his twentieth year, Irene would naturally be about seventeen, which is the age given her by modern writers, and for which there seems no textual authority.

On Jan. 14, 771 (Th. 375), she gave birth to her only child, who received the name of Constantine, in honour of his grandfather. The death of this emperor on Sept. 14, 775 (Th. 378), advanced her husband Leo to the throne.

Leo probably foresaw the ambitious designs of his five half-brothers, and anticipated his own early death. At any rate, the coronation of his son on Easter-day (Th. 379), Ap. 14, 776, was celebrated with what appears an unusual anxiety to make the succession secure. After the ceremony, which was performed in the Hippodrome, Irene's procession followed that of the two emperors into the great church, where she occupied the empress's state seat apart in the catechumens' galleries (cf. Duc. lib. iii. pp. 22, 23). Her share in the programme, which is carefully stated by Theophanes, seems to shew an intention that she should be honoured with all proper dignity, but one unequivocally subordinate to her son's. In after years neither the army nor the people would suffer her name to precede his, as she desired.

Irene's family shared in her exaltation. In 777 her cousin (unnamed) was bestowed in marriage by the emperor on the Bulgarian prince Telerus, a refugee at court for the previous two years, a patrician and a Christian (Th. 380).

On Feb. 6, 780, died the patriarch Nicetas, and on Feb. 20 Paul was elected in his room, both of course belonging to the iconoclastic party. In the middle week of Lent (*i.e.* cir. Mar. 5) burst forth the emperor Leo's strong feelings, hitherto unnoticed, on the religious question of the day, by the arrest of six officers of the household for image-worship—Jacobus, Papias, Strategius, Theophanes, Leo, Thomas, with some others, who were all flogged, tonsured, ignominiously dragged through the streets and flung into prison, where Theophanes sank under his sufferings. The historian who narrates this (Th. 382) does not name Irene, but Cedrenus (p. 819) in his version of the story makes her the chief offender. Leo, he says, discovered two images in her pillow, and ascertained that she procured them through the principal officer of the household (ὁ παπίας) and other great functionaries (all unnamed). In the bitterest terms he charged her with having broken the oath she had sworn to his father upon the sacred mysteries; in vain she protested her innocence, asserting that the images had never been even seen by her; Leo thrust her off as a perjured woman and would have nothing further to do with her. Whichever version of the story is the more correct, it is plain that in the very palace there was an influential party devoted to the proscribed images. That they would seek to draw the empress to their side may be regarded as certain. If Irene was not already biassed in that direction as an Athenian and a woman, as is sometimes too sarcastically remarked, it is still likely, as Dr. Finlay suggests, that policy would prompt her to look for a counterpoise against her natural enemies, the Isaurian princes and the army, in the church, which was then at heart devoted to images and in full influence with the people.

On Sept. 8, 780, Irene was a widow, at eight-and-twenty, and began to rule as guardian of her son. Forty days afterwards (Th. 383), *i.e.* cir. Oct. 18, 780, a plot was discovered, to give the succession to the caesar Nicephorus. Of Leo Chazar's five brothers, Christopher and Nicephorus were caesars; Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudocimus, nobilissimi; and now, to incapacitate them all for the throne, Irene commanded them to be tonsured and forced into the clerical order. On the following Christmas-day the five imperial clergymen were obliged to exhibit their new profession before all the people by distributing the eucharistic elements at the great church.

At the same festival Irene went in a state procession to St. Sophia's to restore a crown of jewels which her husband had removed from thence (Th. 383). She had taken then already the position of a friend and patroness of religion. Another mark of her devotion about the same time is more significant. Cedrenus (p. 821) places it here, though Theophanes (370) and Glycas (pars iv. p. 530, ed. Bekker) put it in the reign generally. The relics of St. Euphemia, reported to have been recovered at Lemnos (Glycas says Lesbos), were ceremoniously brought to Constantinople and deposited in the church which Irene had restored for their reception near the Hippodrome. The act would be applauded as indicating a pious disposition on the side of images [EUPHEMIA (1)]. Another circumstance of the same period shews the party of reaction starting the idea that Irene's advent is in the special order of divine providence (θεόθεν παραδόξως, Cedren. 820), and had even been prophesied. It was given out that in the long walls of Thrace a tomb had been discovered containing the bones of a man lying beside an urn which bore this inscription: "Christ shall be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in Him. Under

Constantine and Irene, O sun, thou shalt behold me again" (Th. 384).

In 781 she obtained the consent of Charles, king of the Franks, to a union between his daughter Erythro (a child of eight, known as Rotrude in the West) and her son Constantine (Th. 384). This engagement is known to Eginhard (*Vit. Car.* c. 19) and the Western annalists generally, who make it to have been negotiated at Rome in 781, though some put it under 787 (Duchesne, *Script.* ii. 22, 177; Bouquet, t. v. index under "Rotrudis").

In 782 the Saracen horsemen, appearing across the water on the heights of Chrysopolis (Scutari), compelled Irene to purchase a three years' truce by a heavy annual tribute to the calif (Th. 384). During this truce she sent an army in 783 to make imperial authority respected among the Sclavonians of Thessalonica, Greece, and Peloponnesus (Th. 385). In 784 she and her son made a tour of Thrace, visiting Anchialus, Berrhoea (which now took her name Irenopolis), and farther west, Philippopolis. Besides a strong military escort, she took with her "organs and other musical instruments," which may have charmed the barbarian colonists of those regions. (On these expeditions and the Sclavonic movements at this period see Finlay's *Hist. Greece*, ii. 86.)

On Aug. 31, 784, the patriarch Paul abdicated. His dying words, uttered later in the year, bemoaning his past opposition to images (Th. 385, 386), prove that public opinion on that subject had become earnest and expectant. The selection of a new patriarch was Irene's opportunity. Every ecclesiastic then eligible must have been appointed in the iconoclastic supremacy. She therefore thought of advancing a layman, her own secretary Tarasius. In the palace of Magnaura, up the Golden Horn in the north angle of the city (regio xiv. Duc. lib. ii. p. 102, col. 1), she assembled the people and took counsel with them. Tarasius was called for, and coming forward, dilated on the miserable distractions of the church, all owing to the arbitrary high-handedness of Leo Isaurus, who put down the images by his sole edict (sc. A.D. 726), instead of constitutionally acting through a council. Tarasius would accept the patriarchal chair only on a promise that a council might meet and close the controversy properly. No opposition was offered, and on Christmas-day 784, Tarasius was consecrated (Th. 386). No time was lost, and in the course of 785 invitations were sent out. Pope Hadrian was communicated with, and as the Saracen truce was yet open, so were the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch (Th. 388, 389).

We learn from a Western writer only that in 786, before Easter, Charles at Capua conferred with the emperor Constantine's ambassadors, who came to him "ad petendam filiam." Having conversed with them, "he dismissed them" (Eginhard. *Annal.* 786 in Bouquet, v. 208, and *Pat. Lat.* civ. 425). This is somewhat vague. Perhaps the marriage was the ostensible business, the real intention being to see that things were all smooth in the West before the council met.

That there were difficulties to be overcome was soon apparent. On Aug. 17, 786 (Th. 389, another reading being Aug. 7, while in Mansi, xii. 1090 D it is Aug. 1), the council attempted to meet in the church of the Apostles, the second greatest in Constantinople. Irene and Constantine occupied the catechumens' galleries to witness the proceedings. What they witnessed was a fierce iconoclastic soldiery, trained under Constantine Copronymus, in forcible possession of the church, drowning the voice of the ecclesiastics, who were obliged to desist. Irene had sufficient address to remedy that difficulty. In the month of September she had the malcontent troops sent out on distant service, and more docile recruits placed in garrison (Th. 389, 390). Constantinople, however, must have been found of doubtful temper, for in May 787 new invitations were issued and the place of assembly changed.

There are a few minor discrepancies of date, owing to various readings of texts, as to some of the sessions of the seventh synod. On Sept. 24, 787 (Mansi, xii. 992; Th. 390 says Oct. 11), it opened in the church of St. Sophia at Nicaea, under the imperial sanction of Constantine and Irene. Tarasius was its guiding spirit. Its members were almost if not entirely drawn from the limited territories which then acknowledged the imperial authority. Of all the Georges and Gregories, for instance, there was not one who belonged to the dominions of the califs [GEORGIUS (37), GREGORIUS (48)]. Two obscure monks, John and Thomas, were present, and signed for all the three Oriental patriarchs, of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but they could not have been there had they not come during the previous truce for the earlier meeting and been detained since (Th. 389, 390). A passage in a letter of Theodorus Studita (ep. 38, lib. i.) has brought into question if even the two priests named Peter, who signed for the pope, were strictly accredited to the synod and were not merely bearers of a letter to Tarasius (*vid.* Mansi. xii. 1084. See also on these doubts Baron. ann. 787 lviii., and Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 164, note, ed. Smith). In the third session, Sep. 29 (Mansi, xii. 1113, 1153) the emperor and empress were complimented by the synod as a new Constantine the Great and another Helena. The seventh session, Oct. 13 (*ib.* xiii. 365), closed the sittings at Nicaea, when the ruling of the synod was subscribed and synodal letters were issued to the emperor and empress, and to the clergy of the capital, giving an official account of the proceedings. But Irene was anxious for some personal share in them, and the members before dispersing were requested to come to Constantinople. There in the palace of Magnaura, on Oct. 23, Constantine and Irene presided, with the holy gospels before them, and in addition to the bishops, citizens and sympathising soldiers crowded into the chamber. This popular gathering was an eighth session according to some, as *e.g.* in the arrangement of Mansi (xiii. 414), while Pagi (ann. 787. vi.) and others treat the proceedings as extra-synodal. The *Acta* were the solemn subscription, first by the empress and afterwards by her son, of the synod's definition in the midst of addresses and hearty acclamations. (Mansi, xiii. 414, gives details; Theoph. 390, only a brief statement.) Thus what may be called the religious party of the day triumphed over the irreligion and lax belief in high places, but greatly through alliance with superstition in the lower orders. A religious policy based on an imperial view of things, persisted in by three

Isaurian statesmen for half a century, is revolutionised in a moment by the genius of this Greek princess in concert with the ecclesiastics and the populace.

Now came a series of public troubles. In 788 the understanding between Irene and Charles suffered a rupture. This is reported both by Eastern (Th. 391) and Western (Bouquet, t. v. index "Graeci") writers, but with discrepancy and obscurity. Theophanes states that Irene this year broke off the engagement with Rotrude, and in November married Constantine to the Armenian Maria. Then, after touching on something else, he proceeds to relate, without any connexion, how Irene sent an army into Lombardy (meaning the Lombardy of South Italy), and how it was defeated and the commander slain. Two Western authorities, and no more, assign reasons for the Byzantine attack, Eginhard and the metrical annals (Bouq. v. 152, 209), and both of these say that the object of the invasion was to be revenged on Charles for refusing his daughter Rotrude to Constantine. This Western account is the most intelligible, and, if correct, it shews Charles taking the earliest opportunity of breaking with the image-party. In 789 the Byzantine fleet suffered a reverse in conflict with the Saracens off Cyprus.

Perhaps it was the public disasters that encouraged the young emperor, now a married man, to cast off the yoke of his mother's tutelage. The design he formed among his intimate friends was to seize Irene and exile her to Sicily (Th. 391, 392). He succeeded in obtaining the reins of power, but not in the manner he expected. The violent earthquake of Feb. 9, 790, helps to fix the date. The court had retired for safety to the country palace of St. Mamas, up the Golden Horn (Duc. lib. i. 45, col. 1. iv. 121, col. 2), and the citizens were all under tents in their gardens, when, perhaps owing to the confusion of the hour throwing the conspirators off their guard, Irene's minister Stauracius discovered the plot. Constantine was flogged and confined to the palace. Irene then sought to reverse the imperial style and place her own name first, which seemed her chief ambition. But this the army would not brook. In Sept. 790 they murmured, in October they mutinied, and then Irene in alarm released Constantine, who fled out to the troops at Atros (ἐν τῷ Ἀτρώῳ), and was by them saluted sole emperor. In December Irene had to retire to Eleutherium, a palace erected by herself on the Propontic shore of the city at its south-west angle (regio xii. Duc. lib. ii. p. 104; cf. p. 54 col. 1 c). In a year, however, Constantine's filial heart relented, and his mother was released from her seclusion.

On Jan. 15, 792, Irene reappeared in public, and had as hearty a reception as ever, but heard her name greeted only after that of her son (Th. 394). A disastrous defeat of Constantine in person, on July 20, 792, made the army mutinous and menacing. This brought the five uncles upon the scene for the second time as his opponents; but they all fell into his hands, and in the pleasant palace of St. Mamas, by his orders, Nicephorus lost his eyes and his brothers their tongues (Th. 395). Constantine, having provoked the army, next quarrelled with the church, by putting away Maria in Jan. 795, and in September taking Theodote. Theophanes states that Irene artfully encouraged her son in both these steps for her own ends (Th. 396, 397). The alienation of the monastic party from the emperor was complete. The most influential among them, Theodorus (afterwards called Studita), though he was a relative of Theodote, excommunicated him and was banished, as were the great body of the monks, who had followed his example (*Vit. Theod. Stud.* num. xxv. in *Pat. Gr.* xcix. 142). In Sept. 796 Irene accompanied Constantine with all the court and a large military escort to the baths of Prusa, beyond Nicaea, for his health. Here in October news arrived that Theodote had borne a son; Constantine immediately hurried home alone, and in his absence Irene successfully employed all her arts to corrupt both court and military, which she completely gained over to her schemes. On June 17, 797, an attempt to seize Constantine failed, and her confederates losing heart brought her into the greatest peril, they were goaded forward, however, under threats of exposure. Constantine fell into her power, and on Aug. 19, 797, by her orders, in the very room of the palace where he was born, he was deprived of his eyes. Theophanes, who was then living, relates that for seventeen days afterwards the very sun, in horror of the deed, refused to shine, and ships wandered about without guidance (Th. 398, 399). The text of Theophanes has given rise to some dispute as to whether Constantine survived his blinding. The words are ἐκτυφλοῦσιν αὐτὸν δεινῶς καὶ ἀνιάτως πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. Baronius (Ann. 797 i.) relates that he died under the blow. For this statement Gibbon (vol. vi. p. 87, Smith) takes him to task, and Schlosser (p. 327 *n*) by various texts supports Gibbon. Cedrenus (831) and Zonaras (lib. xv. c. 14) distinctly record that Constantine survived his mother. Now again, for the third time, the five uncles return to view. Rushing from their confinement, they made a piteous appeal, blind and inarticulate, at St. Sophia's; but no one would rise against Irene. They were led away and taken to Athens. The empress's steady supporters, the monks, were at once summoned back from exile and returned in great triumph, Irene herself as well as the patriarch going out to welcome Theodorus home (*Vit. Theod. Stud.* num. xxv.). A daring raid of the Saracens in 798, pushed to the verge of the Bosporus, with the loss of some of the empress's own state equipage from Mangana (Th. 400; cf. Le Beau, xii. 375), seems to have tempted the party of the five uncles for the fourth time. But the stroke failed, and those of them who had lost their tongues were now deprived of eyes (Th. 400), after which they disappear from history. Their reiterated appearances shew that the Isaurian party were undaunted and unflagging. It was the business, therefore, of Irene's supporters to keep her popular; and this was not difficult. Palace deeds can be shrouded and misrepresented at the moment by a sufficient number of interested men. Public disgraces could little affect those who had lost the imperial instinct and the old Roman spirit. Irene could still therefore trust herself amongst the people, and the pageant scene by which her name is so well remembered, and which belongs to this period, need not occasion surprise. On Easter-Monday, Ap. 1, 799, Irene and her court celebrated the customary processional return from the church of the Apostles,

after the service of the day, with more than usual pomp. From this church in the extreme west to her palace in the east, through the entire length of Constantinople, in the evening of the day, she rode in her golden chariot, scattering largess among the crowds, while her four white steeds were led by as many patricians (Th. 400; Cedr. 828).

But patricians were now scheming in an heirless palace for themselves. In May 799, as she was rising from a nearly mortal illness, one of her two trusted ministers betrayed to her the secrets of the other, and in vexation and anger she withdrew to the palace at Hieria. On June 3, 800, died the minister Stauracius, leaving Aetius to plot alone (Th. 400).

It was Irene's lot to be reigning over the empire when the great western coronation of Dec. 25, 800, so humbled Byzantine pride. The female sceptre in the East may perhaps have caused Charles to be the more loudly applauded at Rome. But Irene's popularity, probably a partisan one, never seems to have failed, and the last thing we hear of her rule is a remission of taxes and commercial dues in March 801 (Theoph. 401; Cedren. 828; *Hist. Miscell.* in *Pat. Lat.* xcv. 1125 D). The release must have been on a great scale; for Theodorus Studita addressed her in a long panegyric (lib. i. ep. 7) for her beneficence, declaring that the people had been delivered from a truly Egyptian bondage and graphically describing the relief afforded to all the various trades.

In the autumn of 802 arrived at Constantinople an embassy from the new emperor of the West, proposing a union of the two empires by the marriage of Charles and Irene. The minister Aetius, who was hoping to gain the sceptre into his own family, seeing Irene favourably entertaining the project, plotted her overthrow. Such is the statement of Theophanes (402). The embassy is a fact, being reported also by Western annalists, who name as the envoys Jesse bishop of Amiens and the count Helmgaudus (Bouquet, t. v. index, "Irene"). They are silent, however, as to any project of marriage, merely stating that the embassy was for the confirming of peace, and was sent in return for one that came first from Irene herself. Charles's age was sixty, and Irene's about fifty; the marriage proposal may therefore have been, as Gibbon suggests (vi. 180), a report propagated by Irene's enemies, to charge her with the guilt of betraying the church and state to the strangers of the West.

But whatever the occasion, a successful plot overthrew Irene at last, and Charles's ambassadors were at Constantinople to witness the revolution, which was abrupt and brief. On the night of Oct. 30, 802, Nicephorus the treasurer drew soldiers around the palace of Eleutherium, wherein Irene was lying ill (Zon. xv. 3). In the morning he conducted her his prisoner to the great palace, where she was detained while he went on to St. Sophia's and had himself crowned her successor (Th. 402 fin.; Cedren. 830 init.). In vain she besought the favour of continuing in occupation of her own palace Eleutherium. Nicephorus must have been too well aware of the risk to concede that; and when he had extracted from her where the treasure was concealed, he obliged her to remove to Prince's Island, where she had founded a monastery. In the inclement season of November she was taken to Lesbos, where, on Aug. 9, 803, she expired. The following ancient writers who mention her Lesbos exile are silent as to her maintaining herself there by spinning (Le Beau, xii. 400):—Theophanes, Cedrenus, Anastasius, Zonaras, the continuator of the *Historia Miscella*. The day of her commemoration, Aug. 15, given by Le Beau (*ibid.*), seems also unconfirmed. Aug. 7 is the day assigned to her in the Basilian Menology, where she is also mentioned at Ap. 17.

A bronze statue in her honour, erected by her son Constantine at the phiala or fountain of the Hippodrome, is mentioned by Codinus (*De Orig. Cp.* p. 124, ed. Bekker; cf. Duc. lib. ii. p. 86, col. 2). Her name seems also to have become associated with one of the city palaces, according to a passage in Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who, in his life of Hadrian II. (num. 628), in the *Liber Pontificalis*, when relating the reception of that pope's envoys by the emperor Basil in 869, writes: "descendentes ad Irenes palatium in domum quae dicitur magna Aurea....laudabiliter suscipiuntur" (*Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 1390; Duc. lib. ii. p. 102, col. 1 D). Ducange suggests, with much probability, that our Irene is the person intended in this passage; but he does not identify the palace. Taken by itself, "Irenes palatium" would seem best to indicate Eleutherium; but in its connexion it might better suit the Magnaura itself, as distinct from the particular chamber in it (the splendid Magna Aurea, on which see Duc. lib. ii. 102, col. 2) which gave it the more usual name. If this was the Irene's palatium, the name might have preserved the memory of her public connexion with it, and the more particular event of her subscribing the seventh synod there.

Dr. Finlay states (*Hist. Gr.* ii. 76 note, 86), that several small Byzantine churches at Athens, a few of them surviving to present times, are traditionally said to have been erected by the empress Irene; but the cathedral of Athens is dedicated not to the empress Irene but to the martyr Irene.

One female relation of Irene has been already mentioned in this article. There was another at Athens named Theophano, who, though betrothed to another, was compelled by Irene's successor Nicephorus to marry his son Stauracius (Zonaras, *Annal.* xv. 14).

The details of Byzantine history during Irene's period may be read in Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas-Empire*, 1824, t. xii. 280–400); Schlosser (*Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, 1812, pp. 250–339); and Finlay (*Hist. Gr.* t. ii. pp. 69 sqq.). [C. H.]

IRENE (11), monialis, addressed perhaps cir. A.D. 800, conjointly with another named Euphrosyne by Theodorus Studita (lib. ii. ep. 104 in *Patr. Gr.* xcix. 1359), who exhorts them to persevere in the monastic life. [R. S. G.]

IRENE (12), praeposita (ἡγουμένη) of some female monastery, addressed by Theodorus Studita, perhaps about A.D. 800, respecting the behaviour to be observed towards a presbyter who had been detected in communion with heretics. (*Theod. Stud.* lib. ii. ep. 203.) [R. S. G.]

IRENE (13), a patrician lady, wife of a

military officer of high rank, apparently at Constantinople. Four letters of Theodorus Studita are addressed to her. He consoles her in the illness of her daughter (lib. i. ep. 55). He bids her (ii. 175) use her influence with her husband that he may exercise his command in the fear of God, care for the widow and the orphan, love the monks and the poor, and above all be true to the orthodox faith (sc. in opposition to the Iconoclasts). She has consulted him respecting the monastery named *The Lions*, of which her deceased daughter was the director for many years, and where she lies buried. Irene desires now to convert the institution into a male monastery, and Theodore strongly dissuades her from such a step (ii. 192). In another letter (noticed by Baronius under the year 818) she appears to have lapsed in her fidelity to the image cause, but she has confessed her fault, done penance for it, and is now in banishment from Constantinople and all her earthly comforts. Theodore is lavish of his admiration, and assures her that her praise is on all lips (ii. 68). [C. H.]

IRENE (14) (HIRENE), May 5. Martyr at Thessalonica with Irenaeus and Peregrinus. (*Mart. Usuard., Adon.*) [G. T. S.]

IRENICUS (Latinised PACIFICUS), presbyter and hegumen of the monastery of the Pictores (τῶν γραφητῶν), in the jurisdiction of Photinus bishop of Chalcedon. He subscribed the libellus monachorum addressed to the patriarch Mennas in 536. (Mansi, viii. 1015.) [T. W. D.]

IRENIO, bishop of Gaza. [IRENAEUS (6).]

IRMINA, ST. (HIRMINA, ERMINA), daughter of Dagobert king of Austrasia, abbess of Horreum (Oeren, Horrea), near Trèves. On the death of count Herman, to whom she was betrothed, she desired to become a nun. Dagobert gave his granary at Trèves to St. Modoald to be converted into a monastery, where Irmina was either first abbess, succeeded by St. Modesta, or second abbess, following Modesta and succeeded by St. Anastasia. A pestilence in her nunnery was supposed to have been stayed by St. Willibrord, to whom she gave Epternach and other estates. The charter by which Dagobert establishes the monastery of Horreum, and those conveying Irmina's gifts to Epternach, represent her as daughter of Dagobert I. (A.D. 628–638) by Nantilda; but Henschenius and most of the hagiographers pronounce her to be daughter of Dagobert II. (A.D. 674–679), by Matilda, an English princess, whom he married during his exile. Pertz gives the deeds amongst *Diplomata Spuria* and declares Irmina a fabulous person. Her life by Theofrid, abbat of Epternach in the 12th century, appears not to have been thought sufficiently trustworthy to be included in the principal collections. Le Cointe gives extracts from it. The date assigned to her death varies between 702 and 720. She was buried at Weissenberg, a monastery in the Vosges founded by Dagobert. She is said to have been sister of Adela the first abbess of Palatiolum (Palz near Trèves), who was perhaps a real person, though her will and her relationship to Dagobert are considered fictitious. St. Irmina appears in the modern Roman Martyrology, and in the auctaria to that of Usuard, Dec. 24. She is regarded as the patron saint of Trèves, and founder, with St. Willibrord, of Epternach. She is represented as forming, with her reputed father and sister, a group of saintly founders. Authorities, Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* xxvii. 169, 173–177; Bouquet, *Receuil.* iii. 693, 516; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* Saec. iii. pars i. 531, 613, pars ii. 611; *Gallia Chr.* xiii. 384, 515, 521, 618, and *Instrum.* 293, 294; Browerus, *Annales Trevirorum*, i. 350, 359, 572, 606–610; Browerus and Masenus, *Metropolis Ecclesiae Treveris*, 556; Du Saussaye, *Mart. Gall.* 1031; Henschenius, *De tribus Dagobertis*, 107–110, 112, 114, 120, 184; Le Cointe, *Annales Eccl. Franc.* iii. 793. [A. B. C. D.]

IRMINBURGA, queen. [EORMENBURGA (2).]

IRMYNBURGA, the name of an abbess in a spurious charter of Wihtred king of Kent, A.D. 694. (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, 296; Kemble, C.D. 44; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 246.) [EORMENBURGA (1).] [C. H.]

ISAACUS (1), bishop of Carcha Beth-Seleucia, martyred A.D. 339, the 34th year of Sapor II. in the persecution instigated by the Magians. He was stoned to death by the leading Christians of Beth-Nicator at the command of Artascir king of Adiabene and brother of Sapor (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 189; Assem. *Acta Mart.* i. 96, 100, 133, 226). He was commemorated on Nov. 20. [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (2), the name of two Meletian bishops in the Thebaid, one of Cleopatris, the other of Letopolis (Athanas. *Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 71; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 521, 527). The bishop of Letopolis (ἐν Λητοῦς) is believed to be the bishop Isaac "a Lueto" at the synod of Philippopolis, in 343 (Mansi, iii. 139). [C. H.]

ISAACUS (3), 2nd known bishop of Geneva, between Diogenus and Dominius (*Gall. Chr.* xvi. 377), cited by St. Eucherius bishop of Lyons, as one of the sources of his knowledge of the story of St. Maurice and the Thebaean Legion. He ruled probably between A.D. 389 and 415; certainly before 441. Isaac's informant was Theodorus or Theodolus, bishop of Sion. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* p. 274; *Gall. Chr.* xii. 769, 770.) [R. T. S.]

ISAACUS (4), archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, fifth in his see from Simeon the martyr, lived under Isdigerd of Persia and the emperor Theodosius, being thus a contemporary of St. Chrysostom. Amru notes his contempt of the world, his charity, wisdom, and miraculous powers. Cajumas resigned the patriarchate in favour of Isaac at a synod held at Modain (Seleucia) before Maruthas bishop of Mayafarqin or Tagrit [MARUTHAS], A.D. 399. The interpolator of Amru relates how Isdigerd, having fallen sick, applied to Arcadius (rather to his son Theodosius) for a physician. Maruthas was sent, with a letter begging toleration for the persecuted Christians of the East. Isdigerd was cured, and the persecution ceased, so that Isaacus was enabled to fulfil his long-cherished design of a synod. In A.D. 410 forty bishops and metropolitans met at Modain under the presidency of Maruthas and Isaac, and twenty-two (Amru) or twenty-six (Renaudot) canons were framed and passed. They are extant in a Syriac MS. at Florence, and all relate to church discipline, save the second, which contains an exposition of the faith (Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* 2, 272).

Then Maruthas submitted the canons of the West, and the bishops in turn displayed what Eastern canons had been discovered. Assemani doubts the existence of the latter, as this was the first synod of the Orientals. Elias, who was metropolitan of the Nestorians of Damascus, 893 A.D., has given in his *Nomocanon*, part ii., an account of the synod under Isaac primate of Seleucia and Maruthas bishop of Mayafarqin. He states that Maruthas had rendered the Nicene canons into Syriac, and that at this synod the question of their reception was discussed and decided in the affirmative, all the bishops present setting their seals to the document. Isaac died A.D. 411. (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. 194, 195; II. 400, 401; III. i. 363–368; Elias Damasc. *Nomocanon*, 507, p. ii. in Cod. 37; an Arabic MS. in the Vatican, quoted by Renaudot; *Concilium Seleuciae et Ctesiphonti habitum*, a. 410, T. J. Lamy, Lovan. 1869.) [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (5), bishop of Utina, or Uthina, a town in the eastern part of Proconsular Africa, mentioned by Pliny as a Roman colony, and by Ptolemy as between the rivers Bagradas and Triton (Plin. *H. N.* v. 4, 29; Ptol. iv. 3, 34). He was present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 133). [H. W. P.]

ISAACUS (6), bishop of Pachnamunis and Elearchia, on the eastern shore of the lake Butos in the Delta. He was present at the third general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, where he sided with Cyril, and signed all the synodical decrees. (Mansi, iv. 1128, 1221; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 568.) [J. de S.]

ISAACUS (7) I., ST. (SAHAG THE GREAT, PARTHEV, THE PARTHIAN), catholicos of the church of Greater Armenia, according to one account for forty, according to another for fifty-one years, 390–441. Moses of Khorene states that he belonged to the house of the founder of the Armenian church, being the son of Nerses the Great, the son of Athenogenes, the son of Iousig, the son of Verthanes, the son of Gregory the Illuminator. His long patriarchate is remarkable for the invention of the Armenian characters by Mesrob, to whom they were revealed according to the native tradition by the divine grace; the translation of the Scriptures into the Armenian language, and the commencement of the golden age of Armenian literature; by the revision of the Armenian liturgy, first translated from the Greek by Gregory, which has continued unaltered ever since in the Armeno-Gregorian church; and by the destruction of the independence of Armenia, which has since been ruled successively by the Persians, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Russians. At the commencement of his patriarchate Isaac visited the Persian king at Ctesiphon, where on behalf of his sovereign, he acknowledged Armenia to be tributary to the Persian empire. Owing to the troubled state of the country he was virtually ruler for several years. In 428, from which date Armenian chronology becomes more certain (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. 320, note) the Persian king deposed Ardashes IV., the last of the Armenian Arsacidae, and Isaac retired into Western Armenia, either by order of the Persian monarch or through the enmity of the satraps of his own country, whom it is said he had offended by refusing to join in their plans. Owing to the disorders and troubles of the church and country, he was unable to alter the mistake into which the Armenian church had fallen in celebrating the Lord's nativity concurrently with His baptism on Jan. 6, upon which subject he had held communication with Chrysostom. Whilst he was in Western Armenia (428–439) he sent Mesrob to Constantinople with letters to the emperor Theodosius II., the patriarch Arcadius, and the general Anatolius, who was commissioned by the emperor to build the city of Theodosiopolis (called Garin by the Armenians, Erzeroum by the Turks), near the sources of the Euphrates, as a place of refuge for Isaac. Meanwhile the Persian kings set up others as patriarchs in his stead, but at length the Armenian satraps repented and invited Isaac to resume his throne. This he refused to do, but appointed one administrator in his stead, according to some Mastentses, according to Moses of Khorene Samuel, nominated by the Persian king. [ARMENIANS.] After the death of his vicar he seems to have partially resumed his episcopal functions over the whole Armenian community. On account of the patriarch's expulsion, the archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea disallowed the ordination of bishops, which had been conceded to Isaac; but by the influence of the Persians all connexion between Armenia and Caesarea was from this time forth broken off—a fact which tended towards the isolation of the Armenian church. Isaac did not attend the general council of Ephesus. He died at the age of one hundred and ten years, being the last Armenian patriarch of the family of Gregory the Illuminator; he was followed to the grave in six months by his friend Mesrob. The last chapter of the third book (the fourth is lost) of the history of Moses of Khorene is an elegy on Ardashes, the last of the Armenian Arsacidae, and on Isaac the last patriarch of the family of Gregory the Illuminator. He is commemorated by the orthodox church on Nov. 20. (Moses of Khorene, bk. iii. c. xlix.–lxviii., in Langlois, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, ii. 159–173; St. Martin, *Mem. sur l'Arménie*, i. 437; Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. vii.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1375; Malan, *Life of St. Gregory*, p. 28.) [L. D.]

ISAACUS (8) II. (SAHAG), of Arcan, catholicos of the Armenian church for seven or five years, between Musce and Christopher I. He was of Oughga in the province of Hark'h (Charca or Arcan). [ARMENIANS.] (Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. x.; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1381; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii. 438, gives his date at A.D. 510.) [L. D.]

ISAACUS (9) III. (SAHAG), of Bazacastrium, catholicos of Armenia, c. A.D. 670–690, between Israel and Elias, previously bishop of the province of Rhodog. [ARMENIANS.] (Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. xv.; Le Quien, *O. C.* iii. 1389; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. 438.) [L. D.]

ISAACUS (10), bishop of Tana in Egypt, between Andropolis and Nicius, represented at the third general council (A.D. 431) by his colleague Adelphius of Onuphis, who signed on his behalf. He took part personally in the Ephesine *Latrocinium*, A.D. 449, and two years later supported Dioscorus at the council of Chalcedon by his protest against the decree of condemnation.

He also refused to approve of the epistle of Leo to Flavianus. (Mansi, iv. 1225; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 525.) [J. de S.]

ISAACUS (11), bishop of Thinis or Thynis (Ptolemais), in Thebais Secunda, one of the orthodox Egyptian bishops who, with some Alexandrian clerics, fled to Constantinople in A.D. 457, to escape the persecution of Timotheus Aelurus and the Eutychians [NESTORIUS, bishop of Phragones]. His name appears in their petition to the emperor Leo (Harduin, *Concilia*, ii. 696; Mansi, vii. 530), and at the head of the letter addressed to them by the pope Leo (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* clx. 1336). He appears also in the list of bishops subscribing the encyclical letter of the council held at Constantinople in A.D. 459, under Gennadius, against simony. (Hard. ii. 783. See *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 606.) [C. G.]

ISAACUS (12), bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda, and metropolitan. He is mentioned in the records of the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. It was stated that his name had been removed from the diptychs by his heretical successor. (Mansi, viii. 990; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 913.) [J. de S.]

ISAACUS (13), doubtful bishop of Pola, c. 546. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 802.) [A. H. D. A.]

ISAACUS (14) NINIVITA, abbat, anchorite, and bishop of Nineveh, towards the end of the 6th century, for he quotes Jacobus Sarugensis and pseudo-Dionysius, and writes to Simeon Stylites junior, called Thaumastorita, who died A.D. 593 (Vatic. *Cod. Graec.* 391 *ad fin.*). An anonymous life is prefixed to his works, in the Vatican *Cod. Nitr.* xx., an Arabic MS. written A.D. 1516, in Syriac characters. The life states that Isaacus was by birth a Syrian, and that, with his brother who became abbat, he entered the great monastery of St. Matthew at Nineveh. Afterwards he retired thence to a lonely cell, where he long remained, in spite of his brother's earnest entreaties for his return. His fame as an anchorite became so great that Isaacus was raised to the bishopric of Nineveh, which, however, he resigned on the very day of his consecration, owing to the following incident. Two persons broke into his cell, wrangling about a debt. Isaacus urged the creditor to forbearance, on the ground of Luke vi. 30. The allusion was received with scorn. Concluding, therefore, that his own office was superfluous in a place where the gospel was so little esteemed, and feeling that episcopal functions interfered with the ascetic life, Isaacus finally retired to the desert of Scete or Scetis, where he died a pattern of saintliness. Lambecius (*Comment.* lib. v. p. 74 *sqq.*), Cave (*Hist. Literar.* i. 519), and others, make Isaacus retire from Mesopotamia to Spoletum in Italy; confusing him with another Isaacus Syrus, whom Gregory the Great (lib. 3, *Dialog.* cap. 14) relates to have lived near Spoletum from the beginning almost to the end of the Gothic dominion, *i.e.* from before 541 to 552 A.D. nearly.

Works.—Ebedjesu (*Cat.* p. 63) writes that "he composed seven tomes on spiritual guidance, and on divine mysteries, judgments, and government." A considerable number, though not all, of these discourses are extant in Syriac, Arabic, and Greek MSS. in the Vatican and other libraries. *Cod. Nitr.* xx. examined by Assemani, contains large portions of the first three tomes, and four sermons of book 4; and *Codd. Nitr.* xxi. and xxii. supply book 4, serm. 5–18 in Syriac. Assemani adds to book 4 three other discourses from Greek MSS. In the MSS., which he reviews, book 1 contains twenty-eight, book 2 forty-five, book 3 forty-four, and book 4 twenty sermons, and the epistle to Simeon. At the end of book 1 in *Cod. Nitr.* xx. the scribe wrote: "Finished is all that I found of the first book of Mar Isaac; the rest survives only in the regions of Syria."

The Greek codd. 391, &c. of the Vatican; Cod. Theol. 104, num. 7, fol. 128, at Vienna; and codd. 12, Barocci, num. 1, cod. 256 in MSS. Roe cod. 10, cod. 295 in MSS. Cromwell, cod. 116 (*Isaaci Syri anachoretae Homiliae asceticae* 99. *Graece redditae ab Abramio et Isaacio* [*sic*] *Monachis S. Sabae*, pp. 1–610) in the Bodleian; as well as MSS. at Turin, Milan, and elsewhere, contain a Greek version of the discourses of Isaacus done from the Syriac, by Patricius and Abraham, monks of St. Saba. Fifty-three of them were rendered from the Greek into Latin, circ. A.D. 1407, by a monk who freely abridged and altered the order of his original. In this form they appear in the various *Bibliothecae Patrum*, as a continuous treatise entitled *De contemptu mundi*, uniformly but wrongly attributed to Isaacus Antiochenus.

Among the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum there are two codices, numbered 694 and 695, of about the 10th century, each purporting to contain the first half of the works of Isaacus Ninivita. No: 694 has the superscription, "In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the writings of holy Mar Ishaq, solitary and bishop of Nineveh. First half." Then follow sixty discourses, of which all but about six answer to those reviewed in Assemani. The last third of the MS. is lost. No. 695, which is perfect at the end, begins in a similar way, and gives a number of discourses contained in No. 694, as well as about twenty-five others. The Greek version of Isaacus was first published at Leipsic 1770, by Nicephorus Theotokius.

Isaacus Ninivita is much quoted by the old Syrian writers. His style teems with metaphor; his matter is often interesting, theologically as well as historically. He treats mainly of the ascetic life, its rules, and its spiritual experiences. Watching, fasting, silence, and solitude are means to self-mastery. There are three grades of anchorites—novices, proficients, and the perfect. The worth of actions is gauged by the degree of the love of God which inspires them. By the thoughts which stir within, a man may learn to what grade of holiness he has risen. There are three methods by which every rational soul can approach unto God, viz. love, fear, divine training. He who has gotten love feeds on Christ at all times, and becomes immortal, John vi. 52. Blessed is he who eats of the bread of love, which is Christ: he eateth Christ, who is God of all: as St. John testifies, God is love. Sermm. 8, 47, 48 (B. M. cod. 694) treat of the alternations of light and darkness, the deep dejection and sudden ecstasy to which anchorites were subject. For the former Isaacus prescribes holy reading and prayer—"infer tibi violentiam ad orandum, et praestolare auxilium, et veniet tibi te ignorante." Serm. 23 is directed against

those who asked, If God be good, why did he create sin, Gehenna, Death, and Satan? In another place Isaacus says that there is a natural faculty whereby we discern good from evil, to lose which is to sink lower than one's natural state; and this faculty precedes faith, and leads us thereto. There is also a faculty of spiritual knowledge which is the offspring of faith. He explains the "many mansions" of heaven as meaning the different capacities of the souls abiding there; a difference not of place but of grace.

Zingerle (*Mon. Syr.* i. 97 sqq.) has published Serm. 31, *On the natural offspring of the virtues;* and Serm. 43, *On the various grades of knowledge and faith.* Other titles are, *On the differences of revelations and operations in holy men; In how many ways the perception of things incorporeal is received by the nature of man* (B. M. cod. 694, 14 and 24); *That it is wrong without necessity to desire or expect any sign manifested through us or to us* (do. 695, 46).

A short tract, *De Cogitationibus* (περὶ λογισμῶν), attributed to this Isaacus, is given in Migne, vol. lxxxvi., along with the *De contemptu mundi.* A book, *De causa causarum* or *Liber generalis ad omnes gentes*, treating of God and the creation and government of the universe, has been assigned to this Isaacus; it really belongs to Jacobus Edessenus (fl. 710); *see* Pohlmann, *Zeitschr. d. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1861, p. 648.

For the contents of this article, cf. Wright's Cat. Syrian MSS. in Br. Mus. vol. ii. pp. 569–581; τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπισκόπου Νινευΐ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικὰ . . . ἐπιμελείᾳ δὲ Νικηφόρου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Θεοτόκου ἤδη πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθέντα. Leipsic, 1770; *De contemptu mundi* in Migne, Patrol. Curs. Graec. lxxxvi., pp. 811–885; Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 444–463, iii. 104, &c.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 519; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.* xi. 114–122 Harl.; Casimir Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccl.* i. coll. 1400–1405; Ceillier, xii. 100. [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS, of Jerusalem. [HESYCHIUS (12).]

ISAACUS (15), bishop of Neve, north-west of Bostra in Arabia according to Le Quien (*Or. Christ.* ii. 864). Lambecius in his descriptive catalogue of the MSS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna (*Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* lib. v. p. 73, ed. 1672) mentions a set of eighty-seven Greek ascetic sermons, with an ancient inscription attributing them to Isaacus Syrus, abbat and anchorite, formerly bishop of Nineveh [ISAACUS (13)]. Le Quien refers to the MS. thus described, but reckons Isaac among the bishops of the city of Neve, which was also called Nineveh. Lambecius identified his Isaacus Syrus with the anchorite Isaac of Spoletum in Gregory's *Dial.* iii. 14 [ISAACUS (38)], and Le Quien followed him; but that identification is not warranted by Gregory's story, which is silent as to the anchorite having ever been a bishop and merely states that he came from the parts of Syria. [C. H.]

ISAACUS (16), reputed bishop of Syracuse. Gratian (*Decretum*, pt. ii. caus. xvi. quaest. ii. cap. i.) has a letter with the rubric, "Presbyteri in monasteriorum ecclesiis per abbates instituantur," purporting to be addressed to Isaac in reply to his inquiries by pope John IV. (640–642). The letter also appears in the current editions of the *Councils* (Labbe, v. 1772; Mansi, x. 697). Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 160) accepts it as genuine, but the more general opinion is that the letter is apocryphal (Richter n. in Gratian u. s.). The list of bishops of Syracuse (Pirro, *Sic. Sac.* i. 608) places no bishop between Zosimus, who was sitting in 640, and Elias, who died in 660. [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (17), bishop of Susa, A.D. 680. (Assem. *Acta Mart.* i. 80, col. 2; Id. *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 422.) [C. H.]

ISAACUS (18) appears in most of the lists fortieth archbishop of Lyons, succeeding Lantbertus, and followed by Lebuinus, towards the close of the 7th century; but the authors of the *Gallia Christiana*, relying on the authority of the oldest catalogues, would expunge him altogether from the series, and their reasons appear to have much force. He is utterly unknown except from the occurrence of the name in various catalogues. He is omitted from the *Series* of Gams. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 49; Gams, *Series Episc.* 570.) [S. A. B.]

ISAACUS (19), fourteenth, or in Gams's *Series* twentieth, bishop of Vannes, succeeding Agus, and followed by Winhelocus, is said to have been sitting in A.D. 814. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 919.) [S. A. B.]

ISAACUS (20), servant of "the empress Alexandra," and martyr with his fellow-servants Apollo and Codratus (Basil. *Menol.* April 21). Alexandra is said by some martyrologists to have been the wife of Diocletian (Lactant. *Mort. Persec.* capp. 15, 39, notes, in *Pat. Lat.* vii. 321, 542). [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (21), a Donatist who, together with Maximianus, met his death at Carthage in consequence of the cruel punishment inflicted on them by order of the proconsul of Africa, A.D. 348. The history is related by a fellow Donatist named Macrobius [MACROBIUS], but though he does not mention the name of the proconsul, there can be no doubt that the tragedy which he describes took place in connexion with the mission into Africa of Paulus and Macarius [DONATISM, p. 883]. The narrative is told in barbarous Latin and a rhetorical style so turgid as to suggest the suspicion of exaggeration in the details. But these, horrible as they are, agree too well with what we know to have taken place in other cases to permit us to disbelieve them. Maximianus was the first to suffer, but Isaac provoked the anger of the judges by his taunting exclamations, and was forthwith compelled to undergo a treatment no less brutal than that of his precursor in suffering. Having been first scourged with "plumbata," a whip armed with leaden bullets, and then beaten with sticks, they were both cast into prison, but Isaac disappointed the further violence of his tormentors by death. This took place on a Saturday. Crowds immediately flocked to the prison, singing hymns as if the day were the eve of Easter, and they watched beside the corpse in order to ensure for it Christian burial. In order, however, to disappoint this intention, the proconsul on the day following gave orders that

both the living man and the dead body should be cast together into the sea. In order to execute this command, the soldiers were obliged to clear the way from the prison by force, and many persons were wounded in the struggle. The two victims were carried out to sea, and thrown into it at some distance from each other in baskets weighted with sand so as to ensure their sinking. But the action of the waves, caused according to the writer's belief by divine interposition, tore away the sand, and after six days brought the two bodies to shore close to each other, where they were received with welcome by their fellow Christians on their way to the churches. From their hands the bodies of the men who had thus won their crown of martyrdom received Christian burial, and the malice of those who had sought to deprive them of it was gloriously defeated.

Notwithstanding the inflated style of the narrative, very different, as Mabillon remarks truly, from that of the existing accounts of the deaths of true Catholic martyrs, and notwithstanding the very slight notice which St. Augustine takes of the event, into which he acknowledges that he had made very little enquiry, and also his evident success in convicting some of the accounts of Donatist martyrdoms of inaccuracy, if not of direct falsehood, there seems to be no reason for doubting the substantial truth of the narrative in general, especially when we view the case in conjunction with that of Marculus, who in December of the same year suffered death for a similar cause and with similar circumstances of cruelty. Neither can we doubt that the cause for which these men suffered was essentially one of religion. It is true that, in speaking of such cases, St. Augustine compares them to that of Hagar, and by this comparison seeks at the same time to excuse the treatment and to suggest the remedy which ought to be adopted by those who were liable to it. In other places he argues in favour of the duty of the state as the guardian of truth to repress heresy, and insinuates that those who are guilty of this offence are punished not so much on account of religion as of treason or disloyalty, an argument similar to that employed in later times to justify religious persecution in our own country. But we must bear in mind (1) that the proceedings here related took place six years before St. Augustine's birth, and had not been repeated in his time, and that thus he was no witness either to the truth or falsehood of the narratives; (2) that the behaviour and language of Isaac remind us more of the characteristics of angry partisans than of Christian martyrs; (3) that the glaring faults of the narrative in style and temper do not extenuate the treatment which, after every allowance for exaggeration, the sufferers must have endured. (Aug. *Tr. in Joann.* xi. 15; *c. Cresc.* iii. 49, 54; Mabillon, *Vet. Anal.* p. 185; *Mon. Vet. Don.* No. 29, pp. 237, 248, ed. Oberthür; Ceillier, v. 106; Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*, ii. 249.) [H. W. P.]

ISAACUS (22), martyr in Persia under Sapor II., with Simeon and Bachthisoe, for refusing to offer sacrifice to fire. (Basil, *Menol.* May 15.) [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (23), presbyter and martyr at Hâlsar in Persia under Sapor II. (Wright's *Syrian Martyrol.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 432; Assem. *Acta Mart.* i. 96, 100). The *Syrian Martyrology* (*l.c.*) mentions three other martyrs of this name, a presbyter at Ctesiphon and two deacons elsewhere. [C. H.]

ISAACUS (24), monk in Egypt, disciple of St. Antony, mentioned in Jerome's life of Hilarion (capp. 30, 31). Soon after Antony's death, Hilarion came to visit his tomb, and on the summit of a hill met the two monks Isaac and Pelusianus, the former having been the interpreter of Antony (*i.e.* as Tillemont, vii. 139, explains, when Antony conversed with Greeks). Isaac related to Hilarion the following anecdote. Three years before there came a flock of wild asses to drink at the foot of the hill, and Antony, finding them straying into his garden and damaging the plants, commanded one of the leaders to stand, smote him on the flanks with his staff, and demanded why they presumed to eat what they had not planted. Ever afterwards the animals, after quenching their thirst, retired without touching either tree or herb. [C. H.]

ISAACUS (25), a friend of Eusebius bishop of Samosata. Isaac having visited Basil A.D. 373, would be able to report to Eusebius in what a wretched state of health, and how overwhelmed with ecclesiastical troubles he found him. (Basil. *Ep.* 136 [257].) [E. V.]

ISAACUS (26), a Jew who professed to be a convert to Christianity and whom the party of Ursinus bribed to accuse pope Damasus, in order to lessen both his personal and his official authority. In the year 378 a council, which was assembled at Rome, entirely acquitted St. Damasus, and in their letter, addressed to the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, reported the case as a special aggravation of the conduct of the heretics. Isaac afterwards relapsed. [ISAACUS (29).] (Mansi, iii. 504 B; Pagi, *Crit.* ad ann. 378 xx.; *Append. Cod. Theod.* ap. Sirmond. i. 749, 752.) [J. G.]

ISAACUS (27) (HISACIUS, ISAACIUS, ISACIUS, Ἰσαάκης in Theod.), confessor in Constantinople, probably abbat, A.D. 383. The earliest notice of him is given by Sozomen (vi. 40). In Basil's *Menologium*, May 30, there is a notice drawn from Sozomen. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 30 Mai. vii. 247 sq.) give other lives. The general outline supplied by Sozomen is followed by Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.* iv. 31, al. 34), and by Theophanes (*Chron.* A.C. 370, Patr. Gr. cviii. 194). Isaac is said by Sozomen to have been in Constantinople when Valens emperor of the East (A.D. 364–78) was making war upon the Goths. As he was leaving for his last expedition, he was met by Isaacius, who came to plead specially for the free use of the Christian churches: "Restore, O emperor, to the orthodox and to those who keep the doctrine of the Nicene council the churches which thou hast taken away, and thou shalt have the victory over thine enemies." Failing this he foretold disaster as a judgment. But the emperor only ordered him to be arrested and kept in prison, till he should finish the war and return to punish him. The emperor soon died miserably in fleeing from battle, and according to the *Vita*

(auct. anon.) Isaac was highly honoured by Theodosius the Great, Valens's successor, and buried at last, by his orders, in the church of St. Irene; his body was afterwards translated to the church of St. Stephen, which was built by Aurelian, the consul (A.D. 400). He is often confounded with ISAACUS (32). [J. G.]

ISAACUS (28). Several eminent solitaries of the Egyptian deserts in the 4th century bore this name. The references are scattered up and down in the *Vitas Patrum*, and it is not always clear which Isaac is intended. The following seem to be distinct persons.

(i.) Abbat ISAACUS, presbyter of the anchorites in the Scetic desert (ἡ Σκῆτις, copt. Schiêt), south-west of Lake Mareotis. At seven years of age he withdrew from the world, A.D. 358, and attached himself to Macarius of Alexandria, the disciple of St. Anthony. Palladius relates of abbat Isaac that he knew the Scriptures by heart, lived in utter purity, and could handle deadly serpents (κεράσται) without harm. Fond of solitude, he so lived for fifty years. His followers were 150 in number. Certain anecdotes in the *Apophthegmata patrum* appear to belong to him. "Abbat Isaac was wont to say to the brethren, Our fathers and abbat Pambo wore old bepatched raiment and palm husks (σεβένια); nowadays ye wear costly clothing. Hence! It was ye who desolated the district." (Scetis was overrun, circ. 395 A.D., by the Mazices, a horde of merciless savages.)

"Abbat Isaac said, abbat Pambo used to tell us a monk should wear a cloak that he could throw out of doors for three days together, without fear of any one carrying it off." (Pambo was of Mount Nitria, Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* cap. x. These two stories may, therefore, refer to Isaacus of Nitria.)

When the anchorites of Scetis wanted to make Isaacus their presbyter, he fled into Egypt, and hid himself in a field. The fathers pursued, and chanced to halt for the night in the same field, loosing their ass to graze. In the morning they found the animal, which had strayed, standing by the fugitive. Isaacus yielded at once, saying, "It is God's will: whithersoever I fly, to that I come." (That this story relates to Isaac of Scetis is proved by the words, *presbyterum eum patres volebant facere in Scythi*, i.e. Sceti. *De Vit. Patr.* lib. vii. cap. 33, § 2, in Migne, tom. 73.) Cassianus, who was in Scetis A.D. 398, conversed with Isaacus, to whom he assigns the 9th and 10th of his Conferences (*Collationes*), which treat of prayer. In the former Isaacus distinguishes four kinds of prayer, according to 1 Tim. ii. 1 *Collat.* 9, capp. 9–14). Then he expounds at length the Lord's Prayer (capp. 18–23). The highest type, however, is prayer "unuttered, unexpressed," like that of Christ on the mountain or in the garden (cap. 25, *de qualitate sublimioris orationis*). In cap. 36 he advises short and frequent petitions (*frequenter quidem sed breviter*), lest, while we linger, the foe suggest some evil thought.

The 10th *Conference* begins by relating how the patriarch Theophilus scandalised the Scetic anchorites by his Paschal Letter denouncing Anthropomorphism; and how the aged abbat Serapion, though convinced of his error, could not render thanks with the rest, but fell a-weeping and crying, "They have taken my God from me!" Cassianus and the other witnesses asked Isaacus to account for the old man's heresy. Isaacus made it a survival of heathen ideas of Deity in a simple and unlettered mind (capp. 1–5).

After this, Isaacus goes on to shew how to attain to perfect and unceasing prayer. That end will be realised when all our love, all our desire, every aim, effort, thought; all that we contemplate, speak of, hope for, is God; when we are united with Him by an enduring and indissoluble affection. Cap. 10 gives as a prayer suited to all emergencies the verse Ps. lxx. 1.

Ill prays he who only prays when upon his knees. He prays never, who even upon his knees is distracted by wandering thoughts. Such as we would be found when praying, such should we be before we pray.

When fifty years old, Isaacus was expelled from his desert by Theophilus of Alexandria, albeit that prelate had made bishops of seven or eight of his anchorites. Isaacus turned for succour to St. Chrysostom and Olympias. He was still living in A.D. 408.

Sources.—Pallad. *Dialog. de vita Chrysost.* in Patrol. Graec. xlvii. 59, 60; *Cassiani Massil. Collat.* 9, 10; Migne, xlix. 770 sqq.; *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Migne, lxv. 223; a number of anecdotes under heading περὶ τοῦ 'Αββᾶ 'Ισαὰκ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν Κελλίων, but they refer to several persons, cf. *De Vit. patr.* lib. iii. col. 752, in Migne, lxxiii.; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 650, 617, 648, and 813, note vi.; Ceillier, viii. 174–177.

(ii.) ISAACUS, presbyter and abbat of the Nitrian desert, sometimes called Presbyter of the Cells (Κελλία N. of Nitria), succeeded his master Cronius, another disciple of St. Anthony.

The chief account of this Isaacus also is to be found in the passage of Palladius already cited (*Dialog.* Migne, xlvii. col. 59, 60). He was head of 210 recluses. His charity, mildness of temper, and humility were famous. He built a hospital for the reception of the sick, and of the numerous visitors of his community. Like Isaacus of Scete, he was an adept in the Scriptures. Like him, too, after thirty years of sojourn in the desert, he was driven forth about A.D. 400 by the patriarch Theophilus, who had chosen a great number of his disciples to be bishops. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* gives some stories about Isaac of the Cells. "The abbat Isaac said, In my youth I lived with abbat Cronius. Old and trembling as he was, he would never bid me do anything; he would rise by himself, and hand the water-cruse (τὸ βαυκάλιον) to me and the rest. And abbat Theodore of Phermè, with whom also I lived, would set out the table by himself and say, 'Brother, if thou wilt, come and eat.' I said, 'Father, I came to thee to profit: why dost not bid me do somewhat?' He answered never a word; but when the old men asked him the same thing, he broke out with, 'Am I Coenobiarch, that I should command him? If he like, what he sees me doing, he will himself do.' Thenceforward I forestalled the old man's purposes. And I had learned the lesson of doing in silence."

Once a brother entered the church of the Cells wearing a small hood. Isaacus drove him out: "These parts belong to monks; thou, being of the world, canst not stay with us." The abbat used to say, "I have never entered my

cell with anything on my mind against any of the brethren; and never have I allowed another to enter his cell, dissatisfied with me."

The last illness of Isaacus was long and grievous. One of the brothers made him some porridge (ἀθήρη) with prunes (μυξαρία) in it. The old man refusing it, the brother prayed, "Take a little, Father, for thy sickness' sake." "Brother, I would be content to live in this state thirty years." Dying, he was asked, "What shall we do, Father, when thou art gone?" He bade them walk as they had seen him walk, and God would keep them. Otherwise they should not continue in that place.

It thus appears that, after the persecution of Theophilus, Isaacus had returned to his desert. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Migne, tom. lxv. 223, 239, there are other anecdotes concerning this Isaacus. Cf. Tillem. *Mém.* viii. 623–625.

(iii.) ISAACUS, called Thebaeus, an anchorite of the Thebaid, probably not identical with ISAACUS (2), Presbyter of the Cellia, although Cronius, the master of the latter, at one time lived in the Thebaid (*Vit. Patr.* lib. vii. col. 1044, Migne, tom. lxxiii.). Alardus Gazaeus, the Benedictine annotator of Cassianus, writes (*Collat.* 9 *ad init.*) that there were two chief anchorites named Isaac; one who lived in the Scetic desert, and another called Thebaeus, often mentioned in the *Vitae Patrum* and in Sophronius (sic) *Pratum Spirituale*, cap. 161. In the latter passage the writer, Joannes Moschus, tells his disciple Sophronius that he had met abbat Isaac of the Thebaid (*Thebaeum genere*) and heard from his own lips how that fifty years ago a demon in guise of a youth had appeared at the window of his cell, offering to help him with some mosquito curtains (κωνωπεῖον) that he was trying in vain to make; and how the baffled demon claimed him for his own, because for three Sundays he had communicated in an unforgiving temper. Isaac rushed forth to his neighbour's cell, and begged forgiveness. The demon in a rage demolished his curtains and mat (storea).

Once Isaac ("de Thebaida;" *Vit. Patr.* v.) had banished an offending brother from the congregation. When he would have entered his cell, an angel stood in the way. "God sends me to learn where you wish Him to bestow the solitary whom you have condemned." The abbat owned his fault and was forgiven, but warned not to rob God of His prerogative by anticipating His judgments. Isaac Thebaeus used to say to the brethren, "Bring no children hither. Four churches in Scetis have been desolated, owing to children."

Sources.—Apoph. Patr. col. 240, in Migne, lxv.; *De Vitis Patr.* lib. v. in Migne, lxxiii. (version of an unknown Greek author by Pelagius, circ. A.D. 550), col. 909, 918; *De Vit. Patr.* iii. col. 786 (prob. by Ruffinus).

(iv.) ISAACUS, disciple of St. Apollos, probably lived at Cellia. He was accomplished in every good work. On his way to the church he would hold no converse with any, and after communion he would hurry back to his cell, without waiting for the cup of wine and the food (παξαμάτης), usually handed round among the brethren after service. "A lamp goes out, if one hold it long in the open air; and if I, kindled by the holy oblation, linger outside my cell, my mind grows dark." *Apophthegm. Patr.* col. 241. Ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλὼ ὅτι εἶχε μαθητὴν ὀνόματι Ἰσαὰκ κ.τ.λ. [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (29) SENIOR is mentioned, in an anonymous life of Ephraim the Syrian, among the more distinguished disciples of Ephraim, who were also Syriac writers. ("Now to each of his disciples grace was given, and they wrote homilies and expositions,"—*mim're* and *turgame* *Vatic. Cod. Nitr.* 5). He is cited by Joannes Maro (*Tract. ad Nest. et Eutych.*), by Barhebraeus (*Hist. Dynast.* 91), and by many other Syriac and Arabic authors, most of whom, however, confuse him with Isaac, presbyter of Antioch (Assemani, *B. O.* i. 165). Gennadius (ff. 490) in his *de Scriptor. Eccl.* cap. 26, has written thus: "Isaac wrote, concerning the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Lord, a book of very dark disputation and involved discourse; proving that there are three Persons in the one Godhead, each possessing a *proprium* peculiar to himself. The *proprium* of the Father is that he is the origin of the others, yet himself without origin; that of the Son is that, though begotten, he is not later than his begetter; that of the Holy Ghost is that it is neither made nor begotten, and yet is from another. Of the Incarnation he writes that two Natures abide in the one Person of the Son of God." This chapter precedes those about Macarius and Evagrius Pontinus, who lived *ante* A.D. 400. It is hence inferred that Isaac flourished about the end of the 4th century. (Cave, i. 415, places him about 430 (?), adding, however, that some put him a century earlier.)

The work of Isaac, not unfairly described by Gennadius, is entitled *Libellus fidei SS. Trinitatis et Incarnationis Domini.* It is a brief treatise, and is printed in Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xxxiii. It was first edited by Sirmond in *Opusca. vett. Scriptorr. Dogmat.* Paris, 1630. In a codex Pithoeanus, *teste* Sirmond, the title is *Fides Isaacis* (or *Isacis*) *ex Judaeo.* Hence Isaac Senior has been identified by Tillemont (viii. 409) with Isaac the converted Jew who calumniated pope Damasus [ISAACUS (26)]. Assemani thinks that the silence of Gennadius and his epitomiser Honorius renders it doubtful that Isaac Senior, the author of the *libellus fidei*, was a Jew. Cf. also Galland. vii. *Proll.* p. xxv.; Ceillier, vi. 290; Mansi, iii. 504 B; Pagi, *Crit.* ad ann. 378, xx.) [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (30), monk, in the diocese of Constantinople, who was one of a party among the monks who were opposed to St. Chrysostom and accused of maligning him (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. c. 9). This was probably the monk Isaac who fled into Egypt with Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, after the tumult which Theophilus had fostered against St. Chrysostom in Constantinople. (*Ib.* viii. c. 19.) [J. G.]

ISAACUS (31) ANTIOCHENUS, born at Amid (Diarbekir) in Mesopotamia, called "the Great" and "the Elder," a priest of Antioch in Syria, flourished in the middle of the 5th century, under Theodosius the younger and Marcianus, and is said to have visited Rome. His teacher was Zenobius, the disciple of St. Ephraim, not (as Cave) Ephraim himself. The Chronicle of Edessa speaks of him as an archimandrite,

without specifying his monastery, which was at Gabala in Phoenicia. He died about A.D. 460. The Jacobites keep Oct. 14, the Maronites Nov. 20, in his honour. This Isaacus is sometimes confused with Isaacus of Nineveh. Barhebraeus (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 91) unjustly brands him as a heretic and a renegade. He was author of numerous works in Syriac, of which the chief were polemics against the Nestorians and Eutychians, and of a long elegy on the overthrow of Antioch by the earthquake of A.D. 459. He also wrote a poem on the Ludi Seculares, held by Honorius in his sixth consulship (A.D. 404), and another on the sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410). Jacobus of Edessa reckons him among the best writers of Syriac. His poems are extant in MSS. of the Vatican and other European libraries. Many of them are wrongly ascribed to St. Ephraim, and included amongst his works in the Roman edition. Isaacus usually wrote in heptasyllables. In the Vatican MSS. examined by Assemani are found 104 metrical discourses on a variety of topics, mostly, however, connected with the ascetic life. In discourse No. 7 Isaacus speaks of relic-worship and holy days. Besides Sunday, many Christians observed Friday, the day of the Passion. No. 9 attacks prevalent errors on the Incarnation. Here Isaacus seems to fall into the opposite heresies, failing to distinguish Nature from Person. But elsewhere he uses language unmistakably orthodox. Assemani thinks his words have been tampered with by Jacobite copyists. (Dr. Bickell, *praef.* p. ix., mentions a *cod. Vatican.* "orthodoxam Isaaci fidem demonstrans." Cf. also the fragment *De Curru Ezechiel*, translated below.) No. 10, new-born babes should be baptized to scare away the fiend. It is not meet that the unbaptized should suck milk partly generated by the Eucharist. No. 24, Christ suffered as man, not as God. No. 25, Satan has no power over us save by permission of God, and our own free consent. Nos. 45, 46, on the Lenten Fast, urge abstention from vices as well as from food. "If thou canst not abstain from wine, at least give up wrong and robbery; and the High Judge will not doom thee for thy wine-drinking." No. 50 touches on the question of future retribution; "The fault is temporal, the punishment eternal." This aims at those Syrian monks who had adopted the opinion of Origen on this subject. No. 59 is a hymn asserting, against the Cathari or Novatians, that fallen man recovers innocence not only by baptism, but also by penitence. It was written on hearing a youth singing a poem beginning, "Quis me destruat, et reaedificet, atque virginem reficiat?" No. 53 illustrates the doctrine of the Trinity by the sun, the soul, and the flint for striking fire. No. 62 is a hymn of supplication, lamenting the disasters of the age, *e.g.* the inroads of Huns and Arabs, famine, plague, and earthquake. No. 65 advises priests seldom to excommunicate, often to impose physical penances. No. 74, attributed to Ephraim in the Ferial office of the Maronites, is a prayer in quinquesyllables, for which reason Assemani assigns it to Balaeus, who wrote in that metre. Johannes Maro quotes two discourses not found in the Vatican MSS. The first, on Ezekiel's chariot, clearly asserts two natures and one person in Christ: *duo aspectus, una persona; duas naturae, unus salvator.* Similarly, the second, on the Incarnation. Bickell has printed them both, so far as he found them extant (*S. Isaac. Opera*, i. 50, 52). The former of these fragments may be given as a specimen—

"In the preaching of truth | a wonderful likeness appeared:
On a chariot, in hidden mystery, | one Self, two forms—
Both the lowly and the mighty — | the seer beheld: one Person
Subsisting in twain shapes (*shuchlofe* differences) | amazing the eyes of beholders.
Half of Him devouring fire, | and half the glare of noon.
From the appearance of His middle upward, | He was like unto fire devouring;
From the appearance of His middle downward, | He was like the Bow in the clouds.
For Messias it was who was shewn | in the chariot mystically;
His Godhead and His Manhood | appeared in the likenesses:
Two aspects, one Person; | two Natures, one Saviour.
In the chariot His likeness and His mystery, | in His Gospel His sureness and His truth;—
His shadow in the chariot — | His body behold in the Gospel!"

The library of the British Museum possesses about eighty of the discourses, hymns, prayers, &c., of St. Isaacus, in MSS. ranging from the 6th to the 12th centuries: see especially codd. 740, 742, 745, 746, 747, 748, 766, 753, 768, 450. Cod. 919, *Eccl. Hist. of Zacharias Rhetor*, contains a life of him, and is published in Land, *Anecd. Syr.* iii. p. 84 sqq.

Dr. Bickell, in the preface to his still incomplete edition of the works of Isaac, gives a list of 178 entire poems, and of thirteen others imperfect at the beginning or end (179–191); three prose writings dealing with the ascetic life (192–194); five sermons in Arabic, on the Incarnation, &c. (195–199); and a sermon in Greek, on the Transfiguration, usually assigned to St. Ephraim (200). His first volume contains fifteen poems, including one of 2004 lines, *De avi illa quae Antiochiae Trisagion cantavit;* the second consists of twenty-two poems, one of which (*De Poenitentia*) has 1924 lines. Full prolegomena are promised with the last volume.

See *S. Isaaci Antiocheni opera omnia ex omnibus quotquot exstant codd. MSS. cum varia lectione Syr. Arab.* primus ed. G. Bickell, vol. i. 1873, ii. 1877; Gennadius, *Vir. Illustr.* 66; *Ausgewählte Gedichte der Syrischen Kirchenväter Aphraates, Rabulus und Isaak von Antiochien*, Nos. 102 sqq. in Reithmayr's *Bibliothek;* Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 207–234; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 434; Ceillier, x. 578; Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus. General Index*, p. 1289.

The poems of Isaac are important for the right understanding of the doctrines of the Nestorians, Eutychians, Novatians, Pelagians, and other sects; besides being authorities for the events, manners, and customs of the writer's age. [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (32), confessor with SS. Dalmatus and Faustus in Constantinople. He had lived at first in the desert, but came afterwards to Constantinople to the monastery which, at a later date, was known as that of St. Dalmatus. Dalmatus and his son Faustus he induced to enter the monastery, but of his own death nothing is known. (Basil. *Men.* iii. 192, Aug. 3.) [FAUSTUS (26).] [J. G.]

ISAACUS (33), a deacon of Longinus, archimandrite of Doloche in Syria, who sent him and his brother-deacon Matthew with consolatory letters and succour to Theodoret during his imprisonment in the monastery of Apamea. (Theod. *Ep.* 131.) [E. V.]

ISAACUS (34), deacon of Edessa, one of the subscribers to the letter to the council of Berytus, A.D. 448, in defence of his diocesan Ibas. (Mansi, vii. 253, where the Latin text has Sanctius.) [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (35). In a letter to John the Stylite, Jacob of Edessa informs his correspondent that there were three Syriac writers called Mar Isaac, of whom two were orthodox (*m'haim'ne*), in his sense of the word, and one was "a Chalcedonian heretic."

(i.) ISAAC of Amid, a disciple of St. Ephraim the Syrian, was the first. He, in the reign of the emperor Arcadius, went to Rome to see the Capitol, and on his way home was imprisoned at Byzantium. After his return he became a priest of the church of Amid.

(ii.) The second was ISAAC, a presbyter of the church of Edessa during the reign of Zeno. He went up to Antioch where Peter the Fuller was patriarch (471–485), and preached against the Nestorians. "And he saw there in the street of the city an orthodox citizen carrying on his hand the bird called psittacus (parrot), which was trained and taught to say the hymn of the three Holies (the Trisagion), and to say therein also 'who wast crucified for us!'" Isaac made this the text of an harangue.

(iii.) The third was ISAAC, also a presbyter of Edessa, who in the time of the bishop Paulus (510–526) was orthodox, but afterwards, in the time of bishop Asclepius, deserted to the Nestorians.

The letter of Jacobus, containing these statements, is extant in cod. dccvii. (about 9th cent.), which is a collection of the correspondence of that bishop (see Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* pp. 603–604). [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (36), the name of two presbyters who subscribed the deprecation from Syria Secunda to pope Hormisdas in 517. (Mansi, viii. 427.) [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (37), surnamed THE PERSIAN, a prominent Monophysite, accused by the council of Jerusalem in 536 of having publicly struck an image of the emperor Justinian at Verina (εἰς τὰ Βηρίνης), at the same time tearing up and burning a silken velum on which the portrait of that emperor was painted, and denouncing him as a heretic in the presence of a number of his followers (Mansi, viii. 897). His treatment of the image and the velum exposed him to the penalty of death for high treason. (*Corp. Jur. Civ.* Digest. lib. xlviii. tit. iv. 5, 6.) [T. W. D.]

ISAACUS (38), abbat of Spoletum (Spoleto) c. A.D. 550. The primary authority is pope Gregory the Great (*Dial.* iii. c. 14, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 243 sq.). This life had been frequently published by hagiologists (Surius, *De Prob. Sanct. Vit.* 11 Apr. ii. pt. i. 141–2, Cologne, 1618; Lipomanus, *SS. Vit.* f. 443, Venet. 1551; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. i. 107–9, ed. Achery, 733; Bolland. *Acta SS.* 11 Apr. ii. 28–30). Unfortunately the life by St. Gregory is not historical, but more intended for moral teaching and the exaltation of the saint's thaumaturgic power. Jacobillus (*Vite de' Sante*, i. 391–5, Foligh. 1647) treats of the saint and his monastery. Gregory professes to write from the testimony of a virgin Gregoria, who lived at the church of St. Mary in Rome, but at the outset by saying Isaac lived during the whole period of the Gothic wars, he suggests an incredibility. St. Gregory gives an account of Isaac's arrival from Syria at Spoletum and his early connexion with the church there. The Bollandists call him nephew and successor of St. Laurentius Illuminator in the monastery of Farfa in Umbria, and think that after living on a wooded hill called Monte-Luco, near to Spoletum, he built a monastery dedicated to St. Mary or rather a laura with distinct cells for the monks. The monastery of St. Julian is supposed by Jacobillus to have been founded by St. Isaac, but this the Bollandists doubt, though allowing that much of its early history is now obscured by the rise of the Benedictine monastery at Farfa. The church of the Madonna delle Grazie with its numerous hermitages, the successors of the original laura, is still shewn, and at the foot of the neighbouring Monte Luco is the old monastery of St. Giuliano. The writings attributed to St. Isaac, and mentioned by the Bollandists, appear to be unknown. [J. G.]

ISAACUS (39), a monk of the convent of Maro at Armanaz, near Apamea, who with another named Sergius was deputed to present a controversial letter from his community to the monks who were of the party of Petrus Callinicensis, patriarch of Antioch (elected 578 A.D.). The patriarch had procured, in a synod at Gubo Baroyo, the condemnation of those who had adopted the opinion of Stephanus, a sophist of Alexandria, with respect to the hypostatic union. Stephanus and his Syrian followers held that "the difference in the natural signification of those things whereof Christ is constituted, could not be maintained without division and number of the natures." Many Syrian monks, and whole cities in the district round Antioch, as a result of this dispute, went over to the Chalcedonian side. [PETRUS CALLINICENSIS.] (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 69–82.)

The letter, with which Isaac was charged, contained five propositions, and is extant in the Syriac cod. dccclvii. (8th cent.), a Monophysite compilation of "proofs from the holy fathers against divers heresies." (Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 945, No. xvi. 1.) [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (40), abbat of the convent of the Iberians (*dairo d'urtoye*) at Amid. The Syriac cod. cx. fol. 64 *a*, gives a contemporary record of his death. "In the year 894, according to the Greek reckoning [A.D. 583], on the first of Elul, departed from this world of troubles to the world of joys Mar Ishaq, of blessed memory, head of the holy house of the Iberians," &c. (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 70.) [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (41), abbat of the convent of Cyriacus at Tel Hafícha, mentioned in the Syr. Cod. dcxvii. p. 489 (7th cent.), which contains the first eight books of St. Cyril's Treatise *On Worship in Spirit and in Truth*. After the colophon there is a note: "This MS. belongs to

the holy Coenobium of Beth Cyriacus at Tel Hafcha," &c.; concluding that it was written at the costs of the abbat Isaac, the priest Andrew, and the rest of the brethren. (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 489.) [C. J. B.]

ISAACUS (42), exarch of Ravenna, c. 625–643. The first notice we have of Isaac is in a letter written to him by pope Honorius probably about 625, in which the pope requests the exarch to send to Rome the bishops of Northern Italy who had been favouring the tyrant Arioald as Honorius called him. Of this matter we know nothing further (Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* p. 156). Arioald became king of the Lombards about 626, and Fredegar relates that he sent a message to Isaac desiring him to kill or poison Taso (a duke whom Fredegar calls of the province of Tuscany). If the exarch would do this, the king promised to let him off one hundred pounds out of the three hundred pounds of gold which the Lombards were in the habit of receiving yearly from the Romans. Isaac succeeded in carrying out by treachery the king's wish, and after this time, says the chronicler, two hundred pounds of gold only continued to be paid yearly by the Roman patrician (*i.e.* Isaac). (Fredegar, cap. 69; Migne, lxxi. 649.) It is exceedingly probable that this story of Fredegar is only a variation of the story told by Paulus Diaconus (*G. L.* iv. 40) of the murder of Taso and Cacco by the Exarch Gregorius. (*Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch.* II. 430.)

At the time of the election of pope Severinus, *i.e.* in 638, Isaac is heard of again. When the pope was chosen but not yet ordained, the chartulary Maurice, acting in behalf of the exarch, devastated the episcopal residence at the Lateran. Great resistance was offered by the Romans, and we are told in the *Gesta Pontificum*, "venerunt omnes armati, qui inventi sunt in civitate Romana a puero usque ad senem." Isaac was summoned to Rome, and on his arrival he took the plunder which Maurice had obtained, and sent part of it to Constantinople. He further sent many of the chief dignitaries of the church into exile. (*Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Vignol. i. 248.)

During the early part of the reign of Rotharis king of the Lombards (636–652), the Byzantine power in Italy, at the head of which was Isaac, suffered considerable losses. Rotharis conquered and plundered Genoa, Savona, and other towns of the district about 641 (Fredegar, cap. 71; Migne, lxxi. 651). He also fought a battle with the Romans on the Panaro, and eight thousand Romans fell, according to Paulus Diaconus (iv. 27).

In the acts of pope Theodore (*Gesta Pontificum*, i. 254), who was pope from 642 to 649, we are told that Maurice the chartulary rebelled in Rome against Isaac, refusing to obey him, and saying that the exarch wanted to make himself emperor. Isaac thereupon sent Donus, his magister militum, with an army to Rome. Maurice was deserted, and captured and beheaded before he reached Ravenna. This was probably early in the pontificate of Theodore, and immediately after this Isaac died.

We learn from the Greek inscription on the still existing sarcophagus which his wife erected to him in the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, that he was an Armenian and that he ruled for eighteen years. (See the inscription in Camill. Spreti, *Histor. Ravenn.* vol. i. class. i. 276, vol. ii. part i. 237–258; or Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom.* ii. 135.) Allusion is also made to a son or nephew of Isaac's in another inscription. (Camill. Spreti, vol. ii. part i. p. 37.) [A. H. D. A.]

ISAACUS (43), June 3, monk at Cordova, martyred by the sword at the age of twenty-seven. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [C. H.]

ISACIUS. [ISAACUS.]

ISAOOCIS (Ἰσακόκις, Ἰσαακόκις being Mansi's reading), bishop of Armenia Major, who signs the synodal epistle of the synod of Antioch to the emperor Jovian, A.D. 363, between Eutychius of Eleutheropolis and Titus of Bostra (Soc. iii. 25; Mansi, iii. 372). In the Latin synodal epistle contained in the *Historia Tripartita* (vii. 4) his name is written Isaacius in one version (Mansi, iii. 373 A), and Josacius in another (*Pat. Lat.* lxix. 1071 A). A letter of Basil (ep. 92 al. 69), addressed to the bishops of the West in 372 (*Pat. Gr.* xxxii. 477 A), has Ἰσοάκης among the oriental bishops in whose name he writes without naming their sees, and Valesius (note to Soc. *l. c.*) thinks he must be our Isaoocis, as does also Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 1374). Le Quien also identifies the Ἰσακόκις of the Antiochene synod and the Ἰσοάκης of St. Basil with Ἰουσὴκ fourth or fifth catholicos of Armenia, who is well known in the history of his church [JOSEC I.]. But if Saint-Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 437) and Langlois (*Historiens de l'Arm.* ii. 138, note 3 on Moses of Choren, iii. 11) are correct in assigning the period A.D. 330–336 to Josec, whom they write Housig and Iousig, the identification must be abandoned and Isacocis must be considered as occupying some unknown suffragan see in Armenia during the catholicate of Nerses I. [C. H.]

ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF. (Ἀπόκρυφον Ἡσαΐου, Origen; τὸ ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαΐου, Epiphan.; Ascensio Esaiae, Hieron.) The apocryphal book which is thus called entirely escaped the notice of Western Christendom for many centuries, with the possible exception of one or two passing glimpses as in the works of Euthymius Zigabenus, of Georgius Cedrenus, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius and the *Bibliotheca Sancta* (lib. ii. p. 59, ed. iii.) of Sixtus Senensis, A.D. 1566. In the second decade of this century it was first brought into notice by Dr. Richard Laurence, then professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Cashel. He published it in A.D. 1819 from an Ethiopic MS. with a Latin and English version, critical notes, and dissertation. Since that date it has been discussed, among many others, by W. Gesenius, who has prefixed a lengthened dissertation on it, to his Commentary on Isaiah, by H. Ewald in his *History of Israel*, and by A. Dillmann, who, in a learned and accurate treatise embodying the Ethiopic and Latin texts carefully revised, notes, and prolegomena, has brought the latest light to bear on the question. This work (Brockhaus, Leipzig) was published in 1877. Dillmann enjoyed one special advantage over those possessed by earlier writers. Previous to the war waged by England against Abyssinia in 1868 we possessed but one Ethiopic MS. of the

Ascension, that used by archbishop Laurence, and now in the Bodleian library. Upon the capture of Magdala, April 13, 1868, the troops seized a vast quantity of MSS., now placed in the British Museum under the title of Collectio Magdalensis. Among them were discovered two copies of the Ascension of Isaiah, which Dillmann carefully compared with the edition of Dr. Laurence. We may now proceed to set forth (1) The contents of the book; (2) Its age and origin; (3) Its ecclesiastical use.

1. *The Contents.*—The book belongs to that class of apocalyptic literature of which the Books of Enoch, the 4th Book of Esdras, and the Shepherd of Hermas are conspicuous examples. It is clearly divisible into two parts. The Latin version numbers eleven chapters. The first five of these contain the narrative of Isaiah's persecution and martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh. The second division embraces the last six chapters, and sets forth the Vision or Ascension of Isaiah in the 20th year of Hezekiah. The following is a brief analysis of the different chapters. Chap. i. introduces Hezekiah in the 26th year of his reign, instructing Manasseh in righteousness; Isaiah at the same time prophesying of his wickedness and of his own death at the young prince's hands. Chap. ii. shews fulfilment of the warning thus given, and tells us of the persecution and flight from Jerusalem to the desert of Isaiah, his son Josheb, Micah, Hananias, and Habbakuk, where they are watched and betrayed to Manasseh by one Balkira, a Samaritan. Chaps. iii. and iv. give us a shorter account of Isaiah's vision, which is afterwards expanded into the details contained in chap. vi.–xi. On account of this vision Satan is enraged against the prophet, and procures his execution by sawing asunder with a wooden saw. In these first five chapters, whether written or not by a person distinct from the author of the remainder, there are most probably embodied some traditions current among the Jews from pre-Christian times, as for instance in chap. iii. 7–9, wherein Balkira accuses Isaiah of blasphemy because that whereas Moses said there is no man who can see God and live, Isaiah said that he had seen God and still lived. In chap. vi., which begins the second part of the book, we have a statement of the circumstances under which Isaiah saw his vision. In the 20th year of Hezekiah, the prophet came from Gilgal to Jerusalem, and conversed with the king, the princes, eunuchs, and councillors standing around. While he was so engaged the prophet suddenly fell into a trance, "his soul was raised above its ordinary conceptions, nor did he perceive the men who stood before him. His eyes were wide open, his mouth silent, and his mortal mind elevated above itself. But he still breathed, for he saw a vision." Under the guidance of an angel sent from the seventh heaven, the spirit of Isaiah then ascends through the seven different heavens, which are each severally described. In chap. vii. they ascend into the firmament, where he sees Sammael or Satan and his hosts engaged in perpetual warfare among themselves. They then ascend still higher into the first heaven, wherein he sees a throne in the midst, with one sitting thereon, and angels on the right and left glorifying. His guide instructs him, however, that the glory is all offered to Him who sitteth in the seventh heaven and to His Beloved. They then ascend into the second heaven, wherein is greater and quite different magnificence, with a throne and one sitting on it, and angels glorifying as before. The prophet there falls on his face to worship him sitting on the throne, when the guide restrains him, saying, "Adore not, neither the angel nor the throne which are in the six heavens, till I have shewn thee the seventh heaven" (cf. Rev. xix. 10, and xxii. 8, 9). He is then shewn the other heavens, each one similarly furnished with a throne and angels, and each surpassing the previous ones in glory till he comes to the sixth heaven, wherein was no throne, nor were there any standing on the left, but all participated in equal glory, and were all praising the Father, and his Beloved Christ, and the Holy Ghost. At last he ascends into the seventh heaven, where he sees the Father and "the Lord God, Christ who is called in the world Jesus" (cap. ix. 5), and the angel of the Holy Spirit. Isaiah sees all the just from Adam down joining with the angels in adoring and worshipping the three, while at the same time the Lord Jesus and the angel of the Holy Spirit, together adored and glorified God the Father (cap. ix. 40). Chap. x. sets forth the descent of Christ through the seven heavens, and through the firmament, preparatory to his Incarnation (cf. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, i. 453, Edin. 1861). Chap. xi. sets forth the story of Christ's birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension, very much as we have it in St. Matthew, with traces of some later speculations, as, for instance, that the devil was deceived by the Incarnation (cap. x. 30, xi. 23, 24), a point which Irenaeus and Origen have elaborately worked out. (See Irenaeus, lib. iii. 18, 6; Origen in *Matt.* tom. xiii. 9; Oxenham, *Catholic Doctrine of Atonement*, p. 117–121.)

2. *Its Age.*—We have very early testimony to the existence of this book. Justin Martyr (*Dialog. cum Tryph.* § 120 in Patr. Gr. vi. 755 A) seems to quote it when accusing the Jews of having removed from the sacred text the tale of Isaiah's execution, *πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε*. Tertullian (*de Patientia*, c. 14) clearly quotes cap. 5, 14, of the *Ascensio*, but without naming it. Origen is the first who quotes it by name. He calls it the *Apocryphon Isaias* in *Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 57. In his *Epist. ad Africanum* (Migne, Patr. Gr. xi. 66) he quotes it as an apocryphal book which the Jews had corrupted. In *Hom.* 1 upon Isaiah (Patr. Gr. xiii. 228; cf. Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.* i. 1090; Laurence, p. 145) he quotes, without naming the source, from c. iii. v. 9, the accusation of blasphemy brought by Balkira against Isaiah (cf. Hieron. *in Isaiam*, lib. i. cap. i., Patr. Lat. t. xxiii.). All these early quotations refer merely to the story of the martyrdom, which terminates with chap. 5. None of them notice the apocalyptic vision which occupies the latter portion of the book. The first part of the book was therefore in existence in some shape from the middle of the 2nd century at latest, and most probably may be dated even much earlier. The earliest notice of the Vision or Anabaticon (c. vi.–xi.) is found in the account of Hieracas and his teaching given us by Epiphanius, *Haeres.*

lxvii. Hieracas lived towards the end of the 3rd century. He distinctly quotes c. ix. 35, 36 (cf. Rom. viii. 26; Heb. vii. 3) in defence of his view that Melchisedec, king of Salem, should be identified with the angel of the Holy Ghost. [HIERACAS, MELCHISEDECIANS.] There are other points of contact between the theology of Hieracas and that of the Vision. He is said, for instance, to have rejected the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, meaning thereby the gross material body, while holding the existence of a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν), a view which is clearly stated in c. vii. 14, 26; ix. 7-18, and 24-26 (cf. Epiphan. *adv. Haeres.* lxviii. in Migne, Patr. Gr. t. xlii.). One extract from the ninth chapter will sufficiently prove this:—"Ibi vidi omnes justos qui inde ab Adamo, et ibi vidi Abelem sanctum et omnes justos, et ibi vidi Enochum et omnes qui cum eo, nudatos vestitu carnis, et vidi eos in vestitu eorum superno et ipsi erant sicut angeli." According to this writer heavenly bodies or vestments are ready and prepared beforehand in heaven for the just who are still militant on earth. Indeed one passage alone (c. xi. 34, 35) proves this to have been the meaning which the writer placed upon the "supernae vestes." The angel guide who had shewn him the wonders of the heavens tells him at last that it is time to return to his earthly body, saying, "Revertes in vestem tuam donec dies tui impleantur, tum huc venies" (cf. Fleury, *H. E.* t. ii. l. viii. s. 26). Again, in cap. ix. 16, we find a period of 545 days, or a year and a half, fixed as the time of our Lord's life upon earth after the resurrection, an opinion maintained by the Valentinians and Ophites, heretics who flourished from the middle of the 2nd century, especially in Egypt and its neighbourhood (Iren. *adv. Haeres.* I. i. 5). The view again given in this work of the Incarnation is decidedly of a docetic character (cap. ix. 13; xi. 7-11), resembling very closely that of the Valentinians in earlier and of the Paulicians in later times; "who ascribed to our Lord a body resembling the earthly only in appearance, of higher stuff, which he brought with him from heaven and with which he passed through Mary as through a channel without receiving any portion of it from her" (Neander, *H. E.* v. 360, ed. Bohn). In the Vision the birth of our Lord is represented as taking place without any natural pangs. The doctrine also of the person of Christ and of the Holy Ghost which is taught in the Vision is not strictly orthodox. The Son and the Holy Spirit are called God and adored (cap. ix. 31, 36), yet they in turn glorify and adore God (cap. ix. 40). The Holy Ghost is spoken of as the Angelus Spiritus Sancti, just as Origen tells us in his work, *de Principiis*, i. 3, that the two winged seraphim seen by Isaiah in the vision (Isaiah vi.) were the only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost. (Compare with this the similar doctrine of the Clementine *Recognitions*, written at the beginning of the 3rd century, as noted by Dorner, *Doctr. of Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. i. app. pp. 446, 447, Clark's edition, and also an art. in the *Journal of Philology* for 1871, t. iii. p. 223, by E. H. Palmer, on "The Eastern Origin of the Christian Pseud-Epigraphic Writings." From all these concurrent circumstances we are inclined to conclude that the *Martyrium Isaiae* was worked up into its present shape, and the apocalyptic vision elaborated in detail and added thereto by Hieracas himself or by one of the same later Origenistic school some time during the 3rd century. It has been almost universally agreed that the author or authors of the book were converted Jews. The Coptic and Abyssinian churches have, however, down to the present time retained (as in the rite of circumcision) quite enough of Jewish sentiment and ceremonial to explain the Judaic elements in the work; while the theory here advocated would account for the respect paid in the Coptic church to the *Ascensio Isaiae* as evidenced by the fact that there alone perfect copies of it have been preserved. [COPTIC CHURCH.] Epiphanius, *Haeres.* xl., mentions it also as one of the books used by the Archontici, a body of heretics who in the beginning of the 4th century taught that there were seven heavens presided over by seven different Archons, and rejected the resurrection of the body on Gnostic grounds. [ARCHONTICI.] There are several references to it in Jerome's works, as, for instance, in *Comment. in Isaiam*, cap. lxiv. vv. 4, 5; *Apol. adv. libros Rufini*, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxiii. It is also quoted in Ambros. *Psalm.* cxviii. *Opp.* ed. Bened. t. i. p. 1124, and in the imperfect work on St. Matthew attributed to St. Chrysostom (Chrysost. *Opp.* Montf. t. vi.), and then falls out of notice among Catholic writers. Dr. Laurence took quite a different view of the age and origin of the work. Considering its allusions to our Lord's second coming, its reference to one persecution only, and its plain allusion to Nero (cap. iv. 2, 12, 14, 18), he fixes the date of its writing for A.D. 68 or 69. All the passages, however, on which his theory depends are found in the first part of the book (the *Martyrium*), which may have been compiled during the 1st century. Laurence's strong point is the reference to Nero, where Antichrist is spoken of as "the king of this world descending out of heaven in the likeness of a man, a king of iniquity, and the murderer of his mother." On the long-continued expectation, however, of the reappearance of Nero as Antichrist compare Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* 42; Sulp. Sev. *Dialog.* ii. 16; Hieron. *in Daniel.* xi. 28, *in Isaiam*, xvii. 13; August. *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 19; Bleek's *Lect. on the Apocalyp.* ed. S. Davidson, p. 97; *Jour. Sac. Lit.* ed. Burgess, t. xii. p. 33, Oct. 1860. Dillmann divides the book into three parts. The earlier portions of the book he ascribes to the end of the 1st or early part of the 2nd century. The latter portions he would fix somewhat later in the 2nd century.

3. *Its Theological Use.*—The *Martyrium*, cap. 1-5, as we have already seen, is frequently quoted by Catholic writers till Jerome's time, after which its use seems to have been confined to heretical sects. The Arians seem to have employed it extensively. Its doctrine concerning the person of Christ and its Manichean views of matter, as shewn in its doctrine of the 'supernae vestes," commended it to them, and rendered it the fitter for their purpose. As Milman has well observed (*Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, i. 178)—"The same Oriental tenet which gave birth to the various Gnostic sects and to Manicheism had lain at the root of Arianism, which arose out of that profound sense of the

malignancy of matter, which in its grosser influence had led to the Manichean Dualism. The pure parental Deity must stand entirely aloof from all connexion with that in which evil was inherent, inveterate, inextinguishable." In Mai, *Nova Collect.* t. iii. par. ii. p. 238, 239, we find two fragments of it among certain Arian MSS., one the same as cap. iii., and the other identical with the first twenty verses of cap. vii. Mai professes himself completely ignorant of the apocryphal book whence they were taken. This book seems also to have been much used by the wild immoral sects of the middle ages, the Paulicians, Bogomili, Cathari, Massaliani, Beghards (see Mosheim, *H. E.* on sects and heresies of cent. xii. and xiii.). We find, therefore, Euthymius Zigabenus (*Victoria de Massalian.* Anath. iv.), a writer of the beginning of the 12th century, anathematising the Massaliani for holding a Trinity in the seventh heaven higher than the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost "according to the execrable vision falsely attributed by them to Isaiah" (Tollii, *Insignia Itiner. Ital.* p. 116). Gieseler conjectures that a Latin version of cap. vi.–xi. referred to by Sixtus Senensis (*Biblioth. Sanct.* lib. ii. p. 59) as printed at Venice some time in the 16th century was originally made for the use of those heretics in centuries xii. or xiii. This he concludes from its use of the word "honorantia," which, in his opinion, is scarcely ever found prior to that time. This version was republished by Gieseler in 1832, and is added by Dillmann to his able monograph.
[G. T. S.]

ISAIAS. [Esaias.]

ISAIAS (1), martyr of Mt. Sinai. [Sabas.]

ISAIAS (2), BAR CHADABU, of Arzun (*Erzeroom*), fl. A.D. 330, martyrologist of the persecution under Sapor II. A.D. 327. He relates especially the deaths of two brothers, Jonas and Brichiesus, at whose trial he was present as an officer of the king's horse. (S. E. Assemani, *Acta Martyrum Orient. et Occident.* i. pp. 215–225. Romae, 1748.) [C. J. B.]

ISAIAS (3), of Håleb (Aleppo), an anchorite of the 4th century. His life is written in the Syriac Cod. dcccclx. [1197 A.D.] of the Br. Mus. See Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* pt. iii. p. 1129, § 38. He was the last of the 70 disciples of Eugenius, an Egyptian who with his followers settled on the river Mascas, south of Nisibis, and took part in the consecration of Jacobus as bishop of that city. Eugenius was the first to introduce the ascetic life among the Christians of Persia. When Nisibis (363 A.D.) surrendered to Sapor, that monarch treated Eugenius and his monks with kindness, bestowing upon them a village with a mill near it. See the life of Eugenius by his disciple Michael in § 41 *loc. cit.* The emperor Constantine in an epistle praises Eugenius along with Antony and another ascetic. [C. J. B.]

ISAIAS (4), abbat of Scete. [Esaias (3).] (Cf. Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* vol. ii. pp. 458–465.) Codd. dlxxv. (dated A.D. 604) and dlxxvi. (7th century) are Syriac duplicates of the *Oratt. abbatis Isai.* in Galland, *Bibl. vett. Patr.* vii. and Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xl. They begin with (1) A discourse, *On the greatest benefits of the soul*; (2) Sayings of 12 wandering monks; and (3) *How it becomes the brethren to behave to each other.* There are one or two things besides, not contained in Galland and Migne. [C. J. B.]

ISAIAS (5), patriarch of Armenia, A.D. 775–788, between Sion and Stephen I. He was of Eghabadrousch (the name of a town and monastery), in the canton of Nik. (Saint-Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arméń.* i. 439; ii. 417, 458.)
[G. T. S.]

ISAM (Hisam, Isham, Hescham, Hiscam), fifteenth calif, the tenth in the Ommiad dynasty at Damascus. He is called Isam by the Greeks, and usually Hescham by the Orientals. Saint-Martin states (in his ed. of Le Beau, t. xii. 129 *n*) that the Arabs name him Abou'l-Walid Hescham, which accounts for his being called Evelid (*i.e.* Walid) in the *Historia Miscella* (Pat. Lat. xcv. 1082 C, 1090 A) and from thence by Baronius (ann. 741 vi. 742 i.; cf. Pagi, 742 v.). According to the Alexandrine system of chronology in Theophanes, Isam reigned from 716 to 734. Herbelot (*Bibl. Or. s. n.*), from oriental sources, places his death in 742, after a reign of nineteen years and eight or nine months. Arabic writers date his death 6 Rabia i. A. H. 125, which is reckoned as Jan. 7, 743 A.D. by *L'Art de Vérif.* (v. 151), and Feb. 6, 743, by Saint-Martin (*u. s.* 193 *n*). The latter assigns him a reign of nineteen years and seven months, which would make his accession to have been in July 723. *L'Art* puts his accession in 724, giving his age at death fifty-three or fifty-five years. Isam's reign was almost entirely comprised within that of the emperor Leo III. Isaurus. He was the son of Abdulmalek, the tenth calif, and brother of Izid II. his predecessor. He was succeeded by his nephew (wrongly called son in Theoph.) Walid II. the son of Izid II. The internal troubles of the empire following Leo's decrees against image-worship in 726, brought in (A.D. 731) the invading armies of Isam commanded by his two sons, Maowiyah (Μαυΐας) and Suliman (Σουλειμάν), the two scourges of Asia, besides the famous Batal (Βατάλ, Theoph.) or Sid-al-Battal, the prototype of the western Cid and the renowned champion of Islam (Finlay, ii. 19). In the six years A.D. 734–739, the Saracen incursions were uninterrupted. In one of them, A.D. 736, Batal made a prize of a man who pretended to be Tiberius the son of Justinian II., and Isam affected to treat him with great distinction, playing him off against Leo (Theoph. 344). Another eminent captive was Eustathius, son of the patrician Marianus, taken in 737 at a fortress named the Iron Castle (σιδηροῦν κάστρον). In May 739, the whole force of the Saracen empire poured into Asia Minor in four columns. It was completely overthrown by Leo and his son Constantine in person at a spot named by Theophanes Acroïnon (Ἀκροϊνόν, 345, or Ἀκρωϊνόν, 327, where Goar's note places it in Bithynia: the name in Anastasius is Achrohenum, Achrobinum, Chrahimon, in Pat. Lat. cviii. 1353 C, 1366 C). After this defeat the Saracens ceased to be formidable to the empire until the rise of the Abassides and Bagdad califate. Isam (Th. 347) in the following year, 740, avenged himself by ordering a general martyrdom of his Christian captives dispersed through his dominions, the most illustrious of the victims being Eustathius above

mentioned, who suffered at Charrae. [EUSTATHIUS (50).] Though such a foe to Christianity, Isam before his death conferred a signal favour on one branch of it under his rule. He permitted the church of Antioch, now "widowed" forty years (Th. 349), to resume the election of its patriarch, on condition of the choice falling on the monk Stephen, for whom he had a personal regard. This patriarchate therefore revived in the person of Stephen III. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 744). For the civil details of the reign see Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas-Emp.* xii. 169; Finlay, *Hist. Gr.* ii. 19). [T. W. D.]

ISAN, ST., a saint of the 6th century who was the founder of Llanishen in Glamorganshire and Llanishen in Monmouthshire. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 257.) [C. W. B.]

ISAURUS or **ISAURA**, an Athenian deacon and martyr with Felix and Peregrinus at Apollonia of Macedonia, under Numerianus, A.D. 282 (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. ii. 268; Bas. *Men.*). The same persons seem commemorated by the Bollandists and the *Mart. Rom.* on June 17, the place of their birth and execution and their names being identical. The only difference being that in Bas. *Men.* the martyrs of July 6 perished by fire, those of June 17 by the sword. [G. T. S.]

ISCHYRAS (1), one of the forty-seven orthodox Egyptian bishops who came with Athanasius to the council of Tyre in 335 (Athan. *Ap. c. Ar.* 79; Mansi, ii. 1143). There follows in this list the name of Ammon, and the two together must be the Ischyrammon in the corresponding place of another list of Egyptian bishops who assented to the decrees of the council of Sardica in 343 (*Ap. c. Ar.* 50; Mansi, iii. 68). Perhaps it is in favour of Ischyrammon being the true name, that there are four other bishops in the list whose names terminate in "ammon." [C. H.]

ISCHYRAS (2) (ISCHYRION, Sozom.), Egyptian pseudo-presbyter and finally bishop; a slanderer of Athanasius. His story, which begins under the predecessor of Athanasius, is made out from scattered passages in the *Apol. c. Arian.*, and a slight outline is given by Socrates (i. 27). He belonged to a hamlet in the Mareotis too small for a church of its own (§ 85, ed. Migne), and there had a conventicle attended by seven persons at the most (77, 83). He did not bear a good moral character (63), and was once charged with insulting the emperor's statues (vol. i. 185 b. *n.*). The Alexandrian synod of 324 disallowed his orders and pronounced him a layman (74, 75), disproving his pretensions to have been ordained by bishop Meletius, in whose *breviarium* his name did not appear (11, 28, 46, 71). He had given out that he was a presbyter of the pseudo-bishop COLLUTHUS, but no one out of his own family believed him, as he never had a church, and no one in the neighbourhood looked on him as a clergyman (74, 75). He never attended ecclesiastical assemblies as a presbyter (28). In spite of the synod, he continued to act as a presbyter, and was doing this in the cottage of Ision when Athanasius, being on a visitation in the Mareotis, sent his presbyter Macarius to bid him desist. When Macarius reached the house, Ischyras was reported ill in his cell or in a corner behind the door (28, 63, 83), certainly not officiating at the Eucharist (41). This occurrence may be assigned to about A.D. 329, between the latest date (June 8, 328) possible for the consecration of Athanasius and Nov. 330, when the troubles broke out. Ischyras on his recovery went over to the Meletians, in conjunction with whom he framed his accusation against Macarius (63), and through Macarius against Athanasius. It was in the spring of 331 (see vol. i. p. 184, and Hefele, ii. 13) that the three Meletians accused Macarius at Nicomedia of having broken a chalice, overturned a holy table, and burnt service books on the occasion of his visit. As his friends became ashamed of him (63), Ischyras confessed the fabrication to the archbishop and implored forgiveness (16, 28, 63, 74). This would be in mid-Lent, 332. In the summer of 335, Ischyras, having meanwhile been gained over by the Eusebians, revived the accusation before the council of Tyre (13), and accompanied the synodal commission to the Mareotis to investigate the truth of it (27). For his reward his Eusebian patrons procured (85) an imperial order for the erection of a church for him at a place called Pax Secontaruri, and the document recognised him as a "presbyter" [HEMERIUS]. They afterwards obtained for him the episcopal title (16, 41), and he figures as bishop of Mareotis among the bishops who assembled at Sardica in 343 (Socr. ii. 20; Soz. iii. 12, here "Ischyrion"), and afterwards withdrew to Philippopolis (Hilar. *Frag.* iii. in Pat. Lat. x. 677 A; Mansi, iii. 139), at which synod, however, his name is corruptly written Quirius. No other instance of a bishop of Mareotis occurs. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 530.) [T. W. D.]

ISCHYRION (1), Dec. 22 (Us.), June 1 (*Rom. Mart.*). Martyr in Egypt in the Decian persecution. "But many others were also torn asunder in cities and villages, of which I shall mention one as an example. Ischyrion was hired by one of the rulers in the capacity of a steward. This man was ordered by his employer to sacrifice, but as he did not obey, he was abused by him. Persevering in his purpose, he was treated with contumely, and as he still continued to bear with all, his employer seized a long pole, and slew him by thrusting it through his bowels." (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 42.) [G. T. S.]

ISCHYRION (2), one of the forty-seven orthodox Egyptian bishops who came with Athanasius to the council of Tyre in 335 (Athan. *Apol. c. Ar.* 79; Mansi, ii. 1143). As he does not appear in the list of the Egyptian bishops who accepted the decrees of Sardica in 343, he was then probably dead. [C. H.]

ISCHYRION (3), bishop of Leonto or Leontopolis in the small Egyptian Delta. He signed the epistle of Eugenius of Ancyra on behalf of Marcellus in 372. (Mansi, iii. 473; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 553.) Mansi thinks he may have been the preceding. [J. de S.]

ISCHYRION. [ISCHYRAS.]

ISCHYRION (4), deacon of Alexandria, and adherent of St. Cyril, author of a letter addressed to St. Leo of Rome, accusing Dioscorus. [DIOSCORUS, Vol. I. p. 855.] [J. W. S.]

ISDIGERDES (1) I. (JEZDEDSCHERD, YAZ-

DEJIRDUS, YEZDEGERDES; Ἰσδιγέρδης and Ἰσδεγέρδης by the Greeks; in Armenian YAZGERD; on his coins, יזדכרתי, *i.e.* IZDIKERTI), king of Persia, surnamed Al Aitham (the Wicked), always known in history as Isdigerd I., though an obscure and uncertain predecessor of the same name makes Mordtmann reckon him as Isdigerd II. There is a slight discrepancy as to the dates of his reign, and Rawlinson thinks the best evidence is in favour of A.D. 399 for the commencement, and 419 or 420 for his death. He was the son of Sapor III., succeeding his brother Vararanes IV., and was succeeded by his son Vararanes V. He reigned at Ctesiphon. For his coin see Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, 1876, p. 278. With the Romans he appears to have lived in peace; Agathias (*Hist.* iv. 26, p. 264, ed. Bonn, 1828) and Theophanes (*Chron.* i. 125, 128, p. 69, ed. Bonn. 1839) relate how the emperor Arcadius on his death-bed directed his son Theodosius to be put under Isdegerdes' tutelage. (Petavius, *Rat. Temp.* pt. i. l. vi. c. 15, p. 249, Lugd. 1710; Greg. Abul-Pharajius, *Hist. Comp. Dyn.* i. p. 91, Oxon. 1663.) His reign is of importance in the history of the Persian church, as for a time he was almost a Christian, and as Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 8) says, gave every facility for the propagation of the gospel, yet probably closed his days in persecuting the church. Under the example and influence of Maruthas bishop of Martyropolis in Mesopotamia, who had been sent to him on an embassy from the Romans, early in his reign, but the year is unfixed, he was very favourably disposed towards Christianity, and the church in his realm had peace, with fullest liberty of worship and church-building. The opposition and impostures of the magi round his throne and person he was able, with the assistance of Maruthas and other Christians, to overcome and expose, and miracles are said to have been wrought before him for the confirmation of the Gospel. A second visit of Maruthas seems only to have deepened the impression (Socrates, *ib.*). But the indiscreet and impetuous zeal of one of Maruthas's companions, Abdas bishop of Susa, lost this royal convert to the faith. Abdas burned one of the temples of fire (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 39). This offence Isdigerd was prepared to overlook, if Abdas would rebuild the burned pyreion; failing this the king threatened to burn down and destroy all the Christian churches in Persia. Abdas, esteeming it as morally wrong to rebuild the temple as to worship at the altar [ABDA], refused to comply, and Isdigerd kept his word. The churches were at once burned down, Abdas was himself among the first of the martyrs, and a persecution commenced in or towards the end of Isdigerd's reign, which his son and successor Vararanes or Bararanes carried on with the most revolting cruelty, and which was only ended by the presence of the Roman legions. From the odium of this persecution the memory of Isdigerd is specially shielded by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 18–21), who throws it on his son, but Theodoret (*ib.* v. 39) probably gives the truer account; and at the same time Isdigerd had probably neither the time nor inclination to carry out his edicts with severity against the Christians. His character is described as noble and generous, tarnished only by this one dark spot which belongs to the last year of his reign, or a brief period in the middle of it. For the best modern literature of this reign, see at the end of the following article. [G. T. S.]

ISDIGERDES (2) II., king of Persia, the son and successor of Vararanes V. All modern writers agree in placing his death at A.D. 457, but differ somewhat as to the length of his reign. For its commencement Rawlinson thinks the best evidence is in favour of Clinton's year 440. Soon after his accession he declared war against the Roman empire. Theodosius II., however, in a short time made peace with him, and Isdigerd then undertook a war, which continued many years (443–51), against the Tatars of Transoxiana. The chief interest for the student of church history in Isdigerd II. arises from the attempt he made to force the Zoroastrian religion on Christian Armenia. In this he was ably seconded by his vizier Mihr-nerses, whose proclamation, still extant, embodies the Zoroastrian objection to Christian doctrine [MIHR-NERSES, MESROBES]. It was answered in a council of eighteen Armenian bishops, headed by the patriarch Joseph, at Ardashad in 450. This document, which is also extant, is a lengthened apology for Christianity, and contains a detailed confession of faith, with a resolution of adhering to it couched in these terms: "Do thou therefore enquire of us no further concerning these things, for our belief originates not with man. We are not taught like children; but we are indissolubly bound to God, from whom nothing can detach us, neither now, nor hereafter, nor for ever, nor for ever and ever" (*Hist. of Vartan*, tr. by Neumann, 1830) [ELISAEUS (1)]. Isdigerd's attempt to convert Armenia to Zoroastrianism was manifestly dictated by a desire to detach the country from the Christian Roman empire. In 451 he attacked the Armenians. They endeavoured to secure the help of the emperor Marcian, who was, however, paralysed through fear of Attila and the Huns. In 455 or 456 the Persians triumphed in a great battle, wherein the patriarch Joseph and many nobles were taken prisoners and martyred. (Agathias, iv. 27; Tabari, *Chronique*, iii. 127; Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. p. 546; Tillem. *Emp.* vi. 39; Saint-Martin, *Mém. sur l'Armén.* vol. i. p. 322; Pathkanian, *Histoire des Sassan.* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, pp. 108–238; Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, t. viii. 70; Rawlinson's *Seventh Or. Monarchy*, 1876, cap. xv. p. 301, where other authorities will be found.) Pathkanian's article gives a list of writers who have treated of this period. A coin of Isdigerd II. is engraved in Rawl. p. 278. He was succeeded by Perozes. [G. T. S.]

ISENGERUS (ISENGRENUS), said to have been the seventh bishop of Verden-on-the-Aller, in modern Hanover, commemorated on March 21. It is supposed that he was a Scottish missionary, who went over to the north of Germany about the beginning of the 9th century. In the succession at Verden he is placed between Cortilla and Harruchus, and, like the latter, was a Benedictine monk and abbat of the monastery of Amarbaric (Amarbaricanus, Amarbaricensis). But about the person, his work, and time, there is no little doubt. Potthast, *Biblioth.* suppl. p. 435, does not include him among the bishops of Ver-

den, and makes Haruch succeed Tanko in 808. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 715, March 21) and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 379) have drawn together the testimony of Krantz (*Metropolis*) and others. His martyrdom took place about A.D. 824, and Dempster says he wrote *Ad suam Ecclesiam.* (Tanner, *Bibl.* 447; Camerarius, *De Scot. Fort.* 118; Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 195; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 715–16; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 102, calling him Joingerus. On the localising of Amarbaric near Verden, and not as equivalent to Armagh, see Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 20, § 4; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 568; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 240, n. [1], 348 a, b.) [HARRUCHUS.] [J. G.]

ISERNINUS. [ISSERNINUS.]

ISERUS, alleged bishop of Mende. [ILERUS.]

ISHMAEL, Welsh saint. [ISMAEL.]

ISICHIUS. [HESYCHIUS (9).]

ISICIUS, a chorepiscopus in Isauria and a bishop of Prusa. [HESYCHIUS (4).]

ISICIUS, bishop of Carcesa. [HESYCHIUS (1).]

ISICIUS (1) I. (HESICHIUS), 19th bishop of Vienne, a senator of the place, husband of Audentia, and father of Avitus his successor in the see, and of Apollinaris bishop of Valence. He died, according to the martyrology of Ado, on March 16; according to the necrology of Vienne, upon Nov. 12. The year is uncertain, but there is reason to believe that he lived to the year A.D. 490. (*Gall. Ch.* xvi. 19; Boll. *Acta SS.* 16 Mart. ii. 447.) [R. T. S.]

ISICIUS (2) II., ST. (ISITIUS, ESYCHIUS, HESYCHIUS, HYSICHIUS), twenty-fourth archbishop of Vienne, succeeding St. Pantagathus, and followed by St. Naamatus (Ado, *Chronicon*, 564). He is said in earlier life to have held high civil office, and to have been quaestor of the city. When he entered the ranks of the clergy he devoted himself to study, especially astronomy, and occupied a chair in the school of Vienne, from which he was transferred to the archbishopric. He was present at the fifth council of Orleans and the second of Clermont in Auvergne, both held in 549, and at the second of Paris about 553 (Mansi, ix. 135, 144, 740). According to the Life of St. Tygris it was St. Isicius who ordained Felmasius, the first bishop of Maurienne in Savoy (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 75). This is also said to be affirmed by a fragment of an old chronicle of Maurienne, published by Billiet (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 25). The passage in St. Tygris's Life brings him down to at least the commencement of Guntram's reign in Burgundy (A.D. 561). His death is ascribed to the year 565. His sister Marcella composed his epitaph, consisting of several stanzas of Sapphic verse, which may be read in the *Gall. Christ.* (ibid.) He is commemorated Nov. 12, the day of his death. [S. A. B.]

ISIDORA, a pious lady addressed by Severus of Antioch, in an epistle "to Isidora who loves Christ." (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 568, cod. DCXCIII. (of 8th cent.) § vii. 9.) [C. J. B.]

ISIDORUS (1), Jan. 2, a reputed bishop of Antioch (Usuard., Adon.), of which see, however, Baronius (in *Mart.*) declares that there never was a bishop of that name, nor does Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 699 *sqq.*) mention any. In *Mart. Hieron.* he is called Isiridonus bishop of Antioch. The tradition is that he was slain by the Arians. If they really killed a bishop of Antioch, it is most likely we should have heard more about it. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jan. i. 83.) [G. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (2), bishop of Cyrus, ordained to the episcopate by Eusebius of Samosata when the latter was returning from exile in 378 (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 4). Theodoret, who praises Isidore for his eminent zeal, mentions him in a company of bishops who visited Marcian the solitary after Easter in some year not stated (*Hist. Relig.* cap. 3, p. 1143, in Pat. Gr. lxxxii. 1331). In 381 Isidore was present at the council of Constantinople, in the records of which his description is corruptly given as Suriensis instead of Cyrensis. (Mansi, iii. 569; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 931.) [C. H.]

ISIDORUS (3), one of the Egyptian bishops and confessors, exiled to Diocaesarea in the reign of Valens. He and his fellow exile Adelphius jointly addressed Apollinaris as one in harmony with themselves shortly before Apollinaris broached his heretical opinions, and their letter was subsequently used by Apollinaris for his own purposes against Paulinus of Antioch. (Facundus Hermianens. *Def. Trium Capit.* lib. iv. cap. 2 in *Pat. Lat.* lxvii. 618 D.) [C. H.]

ISIDORUS (4), bishop of Hermopolis Parva (Demenhur) in Egypt; celebrated in the martyrologies upon Jan. 3. He lived in the 4th century, had been a monk in one of the Nitrian convents, and survived to a very advanced age. (Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca*, cap. 9, 10, in Patr. Gr. xxxiv. 1025 *seq.*; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 515.) [J. de S.]

ISIDORUS (5), bishop of Athribis in Egypt. His name is mentioned in one of the homilies of Theophilus Alexandrinus, who states that in a former year he had ordained "in Athribi pro Isidoro Athanasium." From this we infer that Isidorus lived in the later part of the 4th century. (Patr. Gr. lxv. 340; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 555.) [J. de S.]

ISIDORUS (6), bishop and confessor, who, among a multitude of monks, met St. Paula when she came from Alexandria to visit the monastic communities of Nitria (Jerom. ep. 108, § 14, ed. Vallarsi). Vallarsi (p. 698, note *e*) suggests that he was St. Isidore of Pelusium. [J. G.]

ISIDORUS (7), pretended bishop of Cordova. The earliest mention of him (the *Chronicle* which bears the name of Dexter being now considered to be a forgery of the 17th century) is in the *Chronicle* of Sigebert, who wrote about A.D. 1100, and is as follows:—"Isidore bishop of Cordova wrote to Orosius four books on the Books of Kings" (Migne, Patr. Lat. clx. 559), and accordingly Trithemius, assuming the Orosius above mentioned to be the historian of that name who flourished early in the 5th century, places Isidore about A.D. 420. However, as no mention whatever of such an Isidore is to be found before Sigebert, that is to say, for 700 years after his supposed date, it is now believed that this Isidore

is a fictitious personage, whose existence was assumed by Sigebert to account for a quotation in a sermon he believed to be by St. Augustine (St. Augustine, vol. v. appendix, *Sermo* 208, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxxix. 2129), but which was probably written by Fulbert of Carnotum, now Chartres. The quotation in question comes really from St. Isidore of Seville's treatise *de Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, c. 67, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 148. Sigebert, having once for this reason formed the hypothesis of an Isidore anterior to or contemporaneous with St. Augustine, may have had his belief confirmed by a further confusion between the Orosius to whom St. Isidore dedicates his allegories and the celebrated Orosius who lived about two centuries before St. Isidore; and mixing up the allegories with the four books on the Books of Kings, which is part of the treatise that comes next in order to the allegories, have supposed these four books to be the work of the imaginary Isidore. Sigebert may have found the word Carnotense on the margin of the above-mentioned sermon, and misreading it "Cordubense," have thus arrived at the see of his hypothetical Isidore. (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 220; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 418.) [F. D.]

ISIDORUS (8), bishop of Priene (Cadmea) near the mouth of the Maeander in the ecclesiastical province of Asia. At the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon his name was subscribed in his absence by Hesperius of Pitane, at the order of Stephen of Ephesus, to the formula of faith that was read before the emperor Marcian, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 717.) [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (9), one of the orthodox Egyptian bishops who, with some Alexandrian clerics, fled to Constantinople in A.D. 457, to escape the persecution of Timotheus Aelurus and the Eutychians [NESTORIUS bishop of Phragones]. His name appears also at the head of the letter addressed to them by pope Leo (Leo Mag. *Ep.* clx. 1336). We have no means of ascertaining his see. [C. G.]

ISIDORUS (10), bishop of Zoar in Palestine. He signed the synodical epistle of the province of Jerusalem to the patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 518, complaining of the invasion of the see of Antioch. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 743; Mansi, viii. 577.) [J. de S.]

ISIDORUS (11), bishop of Chalcis (Kenneserin) in Syria, to the south of Beroea. Having adopted Monophysite opinions, he was deprived of his see and exiled by edict of the emperor Justin, A.D. 518. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 788, on the authority of Dionysius patriarch of the Jacobites.) [J. de S.]

ISIDORUS (12) I., bishop of Samos. Joannes Moschus (*Pratum Spirit.* c. 108, in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvii. 2969) relates, cir. 600, that on landing at Samos he visited Isidorus, who was at that time abbat of the monastery Charixenus, and that he afterwards heard that he was raised to the bishopric of the island. [ISIDORUS (22).] [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (13), April 4, bishop of Seville, A.D. 600–636. Notwithstanding the prominent place that Isidore of Seville holds in Spanish ecclesiastical history, the facts of his life that have been preserved to us are but few, and considerable uncertainty attaches to many points of his history. We know that his father was Severianus, who has frequently been called prefect of Cartagena. Isidore's own words, however (*De Vir. ill.* 41), are "genitus patre Severiano Carthaginensis provinciae;" where he is speaking of his brother Leander. Severianus has been often assumed to have been of Gothic origin, or closely connected with the Gothic royal family, an assumption, however, which upon examination is found scarcely tenable. An obvious difficulty is that the names of Isidore's family are Greek and Latin—Leander, Isidore, Severianus, Fulgentius, Florentina. We can suppose the persons bearing these names to have been Goths, who were early severed from their home and adopted foreign appellations; or we may account for it by supposing that these were their baptismal names, just as Hermenegild when he renounced Arianism assumed the name of Joannes. In fact, the two points which appear certain about Isidore's origin are that his father was of the province of Cartagena, and that for some reason his parents left their original home either before or very shortly after his birth and came to Seville. It is not certain, therefore, whether Isidore was born at Seville or at Cartagena, but the balance of authority is in favour of the latter. Arevalo (i. 122) decides for Seville; so Dupin: Florez, on the contrary (*Esp. Sag.* ix. 193, x. 120), is in favour of Cartagena. Much greater uncertainty attaches to Isidore's mother. She has even been called the daughter of Theoderic, and her name is given as Theodora by the bishop of Palencia Don Rodrigo Sanchez (Florez, ix. 192); but by others as Theodosia, and the addition is made of Cervella or Cervilia. But others again, resting on a metaphorical passage from a letter of Leander to his sister, have called her Turtura. This passage is from the last chapter of what is known as the rule of St. Leander, and is given in vol. i. of Isidore's works, p. 7, edit. Arevalo; it is also quoted by Florez (ix. 192). All tends to shew that the parents of Isidore died when he was very young. He was the youngest of the family. Leander the eldest was archbishop of Seville from about 579 to 599, and Fulgentius was bishop of Astigi or Ecija in the province of Seville.

The precise year of Isidore's birth cannot be ascertained. We only know that he was archbishop of Seville for nearly forty years, and that he died in 636. Leander received the pall from Gregory the Great in 599. He therefore did not die till that year, or the following one. Gams selects 600 as the year of Leander's death, and consequently of Isidore's succession (ii. 41), and it must have been about that time; so that if we place the birth of Isidore about 560, we shall not be far wrong.

Isidore of Seville is sometimes called Senior, and sometimes Junior. He is called Junior with reference to a supposed Isidore of Cordova [ISIDORUS (7)], and Senior with reference to Isidorus Pacensis [ISIDORUS (23)]. (Florez, x. 220.) The name is a common one, and seems to carry us back in its origin to the banks of the Nile and the worship of Isis. The early manhood of Isidore was probably passed in a monastery, where he would find the opportunity for pursuing those studies which afterwards caused

him to be so famous. It is a question whether he ever belonged to a coenobite order. The best editor of Isidore comes to the conclusion that he did not. If we accept this decision, which appears to be sound, there is an end to another story, of the unwillingness with which Isidore left his monkish cell when Leander sent for him, as he felt death approaching, and indicated him as his successor; and about the bishops and people after Leander's death unanimously choosing him for their primate, and dragging him reluctantly from his cell.

We meet with Isidore's name in connexion with the so-called decree of Gunthimar, the Gothic king, and a supposed synod of Toledo in the year 610 assigning metropolitan rank to the see of Toledo. In the list of subscriptions appended to the *Decretum* in the conciliar collections (*e.g.* Mansi, x. 511) Isidore stands second, following the king, and his subscription is expressed in the following terms: "Ego Isidorus Hispalensis ecclesiae provinciae Baeticae metropolitanus episcopus, dum in urbem Toletanam pro occursu regio advenissem, agnitis his constitutionibus assensum praebui atque subscripsi." After him come the bishop of Merida and others, including Fulgentius bishop of Astigi, the brother of Isidore.

Isidore next comes before us as presiding over the second council of Seville in November of the year 618 or 619, in the reign of king Sisebut (Mansi, x. 555). The church of Seville is spoken of as the "holy Jerusalem." The governor of the city, Sisisclus, and the treasurer Suanilanus were present, and the clergy stood. The first canon decided the limits of the bishopric of Malaga. The second canon had reference to a similar local determination of rights between Astigi and Cordova. The fourth rendered null and void the ordination as deacons of those who had married widows. The seventh forbade that presbyters should be delegated by their bishop to erect altars, to consecrate churches; to consecrate presbyters, deacons, or virgins; to give imposition of hands or the chrism to the baptized or to converted heretics; to reconcile penitents in public to the church. It forbade also that in the presence of the bishop they should baptize, say mass, preach, bless the people, or "sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere." The eighth canon declared that liberated slaves who had proved ungrateful and injurious should return to slavery. The ninth canon provided that stewards of ecclesiastical property should not be seculars but clerics. The tenth provided that monasteries recently founded in the province of Baetica, *i.e.* Seville, the modern Andalusia, should be respected and preserved as well as the ancient ones, and that any bishop who destroyed them should be excommunicated. The eleventh gave, under certain stringent rules, the administration, protection, and instruction of nunneries to monks, who were to manage their country estates, and transact all their necessary town business. The twelfth had reference to the retractation of a Syrian Monophysite bishop. The decrees concluded with setting forth in full the doctrine of the Person of Christ against the Acephali, supporting it with appeals to Scripture, the Apostles' Creed, and the fathers. This document was signed by eight bishops, of whom Isidore subscribed first as metropolitan of Baetica. There is some uncertainty hanging over Isidore's presence at a council held at Toledo about the year 625; to this he appears to allude in a letter to Braulio the bishop of Saragossa: "Tuae sanctitatis epistolae me in urbe Toletana invenerunt: nam permotus fueram causa concilii." Arevalo supposes that this meeting may have been adjourned and gathered together again eight years afterwards. If such a council ever met, we have none of its decrees. About the same time also there is said to have been a synod held at Seville under the presidency of Isidore, at which Martianus bishop of Astigi, the successor of Fulgentius, was deposed. On this doubtful point see Florez, *España Sagrada*, t. x. p. 106.

We come now to the fourth council of Toledo, which was held in the year 633, in the extreme old age of Isidore, and shortly before his death. The Gothic king Swintila had recently been deposed by Sisenand, and it appears that the latter was only too glad to strengthen his cause by courting the favour of the church. Isidore certainly favoured the cause of Sisenand, though for what reason it does not appear. He repaired, however, to Toledo at an early period of his reign to salute him. This was perhaps a year or more before the council, according to Gams. Great obscurity hangs over the end of the reign of Swintila, the accession of Sisenand, and this visit of Isidore to Seville. As he speaks of the virtues of Swintila, we are at a loss to understand his conduct shortly after to a king who appears to have been a usurper; it is probably to be explained by a not unnatural desire on his part to pay homage to the rising sun (cf. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 188). At all events Isidore was president as metropolitan of Seville at the fourth council of Toledo, which assembled shortly after Sisenand came to the throne. It met in the basilica of St. Leocadia, and was composed of prelates from Gaul and Narbonne, as well as all the provinces of Spain. The king, with the magnates of his court, was present, and threw himself on the earth before the bishops, and with tears and sighs entreated their intercession with God, exhorting them also to observe the ancient decrees of the church, and to reform abuses. The results of this council were embodied in seventy-five decrees, for a summary of which see DICT. CHR. ANTIQ. ii. 1968. They were signed by the six metropolitan archbishops of Spain. This council was the only one in which they were all present, and it was the most numerously attended of all the Spanish synods. Isidore's name was signed first as the oldest metropolitan and the oldest bishop present (Mansi, x. 641). It may be taken as expressing with tolerable accuracy the mind and influence of Isidore. It also presents a vivid picture of the church of Spain at that period. For instance, the position and deference granted to the king is remarkable, and nothing is said of allegiance to Rome. The church is free and independent, and yet bound in solemn allegiance to the acknowledged king. The relations also of the church to the Jews are striking, and the canons shew that there must have been many Jews in the Spanish community, and that the Christian church had not yet emancipated itself from the intolerance of Judaism.

This council was the last great public event of Isidore's life. He died three years afterwards. As he felt his end approaching he distributed his goods lavishly among the poor, and is said to have spent the whole day for six months in almsgiving. Then when his last illness overtook him he strengthened himself to perform public penance in the church of St. Vincentius the martyr, gathered around him the bishops, the religious orders, the clergy, and the poor, then, as one bishop invested him with the penitential girdle, and another strewed ashes on his head, he made a pious and eloquent prayer, translated in full by Gams, received the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, took affectionate leave of all present, retired to his cell, and in four days died.

Isidore was undoubtedly the greatest man of his time in the church of Spain. He was versed in all the learning of the age, and was well acquainted with the classic and sacred languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. His works shew him to have been a man of varied accomplishments, and of great versatility of mind; and the prominent place he long filled in his own country is sufficient indication of his general ability and character. His eloquence is said to have been so great as to have struck all who heard him with astonishment, and it may be fairly said that he represented and gathered in himself all the science of his time. He has been quoted by Bingham as giving his testimony against the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Arevalo has taken the trouble to reply to the charge; but in point of fact the Roman doctrine had not advanced so far as Transubstantiation, nor did it reach that point for many years afterwards. The language of Isidore is studiously scriptural. He is also quoted as holding predestinarian views, but his language seems hardly to go so far. "Obdurare dicitur Deus hominem, non ejus faciendo duritiam, sed non auferendo eam, quam sibi ipse nutrivit. Non aliter et obcaecare dicitur quosdam Deus, non ut in eis eandem ipse caecitatem faciat; sed quod pro eorum inutilibus meritis caecitatem eorum ab eis ipse non auferat," and the same editor maintains that his doctrine is *Catholic*. Seventeen years after his death, at the 8th council of Toledo, in 653, the epithet *Egregius* was applied to him. This title was again confirmed at the 15th council of Toledo, 688. Afterwards, popes and councils vied in doing him honour, till Benedict XIV. permitted the office of St. Isidore to be recited in the universal church with the antiphon "O doctor optime," and the gospel, "Vos estis sal terrae."

The works of Isidore are many and multifarious. We begin with his *Etymologies* or *Origins*. According to the testimony of Braulio and Ildefonsus, this was his last work. He speaks as late as 632 of the MS. being uncorrected on account of illness, and says he had sent it to Braulio for revision. Gams believes that it was written between 611 and 632, or more probably between 622 and 632, when the friendship between the two men would be most intimate. This treatise is dedicated, "Domino meo, et Dei servo, Braulioni Episcopo," with the following brief preface: "En tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarumdam rerum, ex veteris lectionis recordatione collectum, atque ita in quibusdam locis annotatum, sicut extat conscriptum stilo majorum." It is in twenty books, and treats of the whole circle of the sciences in a very concise, methodical, and convenient manner. It is for the period a really wonderful work, and the authors quoted in the course of it shew the extent of classical reading with which its writer was familiar,—Aesop, Anacreon, Appuleius, Aristotle, Boethius, Caesar, Cato, Catullus, Cicero, Demosthenes, Ennius, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Horace, Livy, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Pindar, Plato, Plautus, Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Terence, Varro, Virgil, Sallust, and Juvenal. The work passed through many editions—no less than ten are specially described by Arevalo between 1470 and 1529. (See Dressel, *De Isidori Originum Fontibus*; and for Isidore's use of Suetonius see Reiffercheid, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Relig.* Lips. 1860. For a complete list of the authors used in the *Etymologies* see C. B. Arevalo, i. 431, and Otto in Lindemann's *Corp. Grammat. Vet.* iii. 641.) We can give only the barest outline of its contents. The subjects of the several books are as follows: i. Grammar in 44 chapters, containing an immense amount of information that many a schoolboy would be glad to find in a convenient form. ii. Rhetoric and Dialectics, in 31 chapters. iii. The four mathematical sciences: *i.e.* arithmetic, 9 chapters; geometry, 5 chapters; music, 9 chapters; and astronomy, 48 chapters; algebra, as its name testifies, being not yet invented. iv. Medicine, in 13 chapters. v. of Laws, 27 chapters, of Times, 12 chapters; vi. of ecclesiastical books and offices, 19 chapters; vii. of God, angels, and the orders of the faithful, 14 chapters; viii. of the church and divers sects, 11 chapters; ix. of languages, nations, kingdoms, warfare, citizens, and relationships, 7 chapters. x. An alphabetical index and explanation of certain words. A vast amount of erroneous ingenuity is displayed in deriving all the words of the Latin language from itself: *e.g.* "*Nox*, a nocendo dicta, eo quod oculis noceat. *Niger*, quasi *nubiger*, quia non serenus, sed fusco opertus est. Unde et nubilum diem tetrum dicimus. *Prudens*, quasi *porro videns*: perspicax enim est, et incertorum praevidet casus. *Timidus*, quod *timeat diu*, id est, a sanguine, nam timor sanguinem gelat, qui coactus gignit timorem. *Cauterium* dictum quasi *cauturium* quod *urat*," &c. xi. treats of men and of portents, in 4 chapters; xii. of animals, in 8; xiii. of the universe (mundus), in 22; xiv. of the earth and its parts, in 9; xv. of buildings, land-surveying, roads, &c., in 16; xvi. of mineralogy, stones, weights, measures, and metals, in 27; xvii. of agriculture, in 11; xviii. of war, and of various kinds of games, in 69; xix. of ships, of architecture, of clothes of various kinds, in 34; xx. of food, of domestic and agricultural implements, carriages, harness, &c., in 16. The treatise, which in the Roman edition occupies two quarto volumes, is a singular medley of information and ignorance, and presents a remarkable picture of the condition of life and knowledge at the time. It is difficult to give any correct idea of it. Under certain chapters and sections it treats of a great variety of subjects by giving a concise definition or explanation of certain select words, more or less connected with or suggested by the particular subject, thus conveying instruction in an encyclopaedic form. At times,

however, additional matter is introduced, not immediately arising out of the main discourse, *e.g.* in the 5th book, under the head of "De discretione temporum," a chronological summary of sacred and secular history from Adam to Heraclius finds place. It concludes in these striking words: "Eraclius xvii nunc agit imperii annum: Judaei in Hispania Christiani efficiuntur. Residuum sextae aetatis soli Deo est cognitum." The whole period (after an idea common in Augustine) is divided into six ages, the limits of which are Noah, Abraham, Samuel, Zedekiah, Julius Caesar, Heraclius. Again in the sixth book the writer gives a sort of introductory account of the several books of the Bible. However we may be disposed to treat the labours of Isidore with something of contempt, it is probably not possible to overrate the value and the usefulness of this treatise to the age in which he lived, and indeed for many ages it was the most available handbook to which the world had access.

2. The next work of Isidore to be mentioned is *Libri Differentiarum sive de proprietate sermonum. Liber primus, De Differentiis Verborum; Liber secundus, De Differentiis Rerum.* This book, like the last, is written in the same gnomic and sententious style. The writer tells us that he had in view the corresponding treatise of Cato, and that after his example he had partly edited a few of these differences, and partly borrowed them from other authors. In the first book he treats of the differences of words, arranging them alphabetically, and the distinction drawn is oftentimes acute and accurate, *e.g.* "Inter aptum et utile: *aptum* ad tempus, *utile* ad perpetuum. Inter *ante* et *antea*: *ante* locum significat, et personam; *antea* tantum tempus. Inter *alterum* et *alium*: alter de duobus dicitur; alius de multis. Alter enim sine uno esse non potest." The first book contains 610 of these brief and pregnant sentences. The second book treats in forty sections and 170 paragraphs of the differences of things, as for instance between Deus and Dominus, Substance and Essence, and the like. This is in fact a brief theological treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity, the power and nature of Christ, paradise, angels, and men, under which is an elaborate definition of words denoting the various members of the body, sin, grace, free-will, the law, and the gospel, the active and contemplative life, virtues, vices, and the like.

3. *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*, with a preface "Domino sancto ac reverendissimo Fratri Orosio." This treatise has sometimes been referred to the supposed elder Isidore of Cordova [ISIDORUS (7)]. There was an Orontius metropolitan of Emerita after and before the year 638, and the two names may have been confused. Some critics have suggested an Orosius in Monte Christi, mentioned by Gregory I. But it is not probable at that age that a foreigner should have been a bishop of Spain. The book consists of a spiritual interpretation and unfolding of the names of Scripture characters in the Old and New Testaments. As Adam was fashioned on the 6th day, so Christ was born in the sixth age of the world. As Cain the elder killed his brother, so did the elder people (the Jews) kill Christ on Calvary; 129 names and characters are selected from the Old Testament and explained, and 121 from the New, these latter being in many cases from our Lord's parables, miracles, &c., as the ten virgins, the woman with the lost piece of money, the man who planted a vineyard, and the like. The king being angry who sent his armies and destroyed those murderers and burnt up their city is interpreted of God the Father, who sent Vespasian Caesar with his armies to destroy Jerusalem. We are struck by the intimate acquaintance with Scripture evinced in all these writings, and the wonderful way in which it had permeated the teaching and life of the church of the time. This treatise is one of intrinsic interest.

4. A treatise somewhat similar to the last is the one known as *De ortu et obitu patrum qui in Scriptura laudibus efferuntur*, containing 64 chapters on Old Testament characters and 21 on New, from Adam to Machabaeus and from Zacharias to Titus respectively. The genuineness of this treatise also has been much doubted, though perhaps without adequate reason, as the chief cause of doubt arises from one passage, which may have been interpolated if it is needful to adopt that supposition. This passage is as follows: "Jacobus filius Zebedaei frater Joannis quartus in ordine, duodecim tribubus, quae sunt in dispersione Gentium, scripsit, atque Hispaniae, et occidentalium locorum gentibus evangelium praedicavit, et in occasu mundi lucem praedicationis infudit. Hic ab Herode Tetracha gladio caesus occubuit. Sepultus in Marmarica." As Gams says, this short sentence swarms with inventions and inaccuracies. The idea of James the elder being the author of the epistle to the Jews is too monstrous to need contradiction. James the younger was the apostle of the Jews, undoubtedly. James the elder never left Jerusalem; but if James had preached in Spain, he would not have been the apostle of the Jews, but of the heathen. Moreover, it was not Herod the Tetrarch, but Herod Agrippa I., who put James to death. Besides, Isidore himself, in the *Etymologies*, 7, 9, speaks of James the son of Zebedee more accurately, and says nothing about his preaching in Spain and nothing about his writing the epistle, and in the fourteenth book of the same treatise, chapter 5, when he makes mention of Libya and the north of Africa, he omits all notice of any such place as Marmarica. Gams therefore comes to the conclusion that the passage is an interpolation, and Fabricius and others say that it dates from the time of pope Callixtus II. This treatise gives the full scriptural account of the several characters it selects, but adds sundry other particulars on its own authority, which are often curious, *e.g.* Job "filius Zarae de Bosra, rex Idumaeorum, quartus post Esau, successor Balach filii Beor, homo gentilis," &c. He says that the rock which was smitten by Moses was near Petra, "ubi etiam et nunc usque ostenditur," and the same of the sepulchre of Joshua, "ubi usque hodie insigne monumentum ejus ostenditur." So likewise of Bethlehem he says, "Ibi etiam sepulchrum Jesse patris David ostenditur." One would like to know how far these various sites were traditionally identified in the 7th century. Of the apostle John we are told, "Mutavit in aurum silvestres frondium virgas, litoreaque saxa in gemmas." Gams, ii. 395, however, doubts the genuineness of this passage also, because "we do not find such silly legends in Isidore anywhere else," overlooking the fact

that we must first determine what is in Isidore and what is not, and that this cannot be determined except upon independent grounds not involving the rejection of what, as a matter of fact, we do find.

5. *Prooemia in libros Vet. et Nov. Test.* consist of very brief introductions to the several books of the Old and New Testament, including Tobias, Judith, Esdras, and Maccabees, "ex quibus quidem Tobiae, Judith, et Maccabaeorum, Hebraei non recipiunt. Ecclesia tamen eosdem intra canonicas scripturas enumerat." The several introductions are preceded by a brief general introduction to the whole Bible. In this list the Acts of the Apostles is enumerated immediately before the Apocalypse.

6. *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis Scripturis occurrunt.*—A mystical treatment of numbers from one to sixty, omitting some after twenty. This treatise ends with a curious computation to shew that the sum of the several numbers up to seventeen makes one hundred and fifty-three, the number of the miraculous draught of fishes. But the same idea had also occurred to St. Augustine.

7. *Quaestiones tam de Novo quam de Veteri Testamento,*—a series of forty-one questions on the substance and teaching of Scripture with appropriate answers. Some of these are very interesting. "Dic mihi quid est inter Novum et Vetus Testamentum? Respondit: Vetus est peccatum Adæ: unde dicit apostolus: Regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysem, et reliqua. Novum est Christus de virgine natus. Unde Propheta dicit: Cantate Domino canticum novum: quia homo novus venit, nova praecepta attulit, id est, novum testamentum. Dic mihi quibus modis creditur Deus? Respondit: Tribus sive iv. id est Deus bonus, perfectus, omnipotens, sempiternus debetur credi: quia sine his dici non potest Deus. Dic mihi cur esuriit salvator? Ut illuderet Satanam," &c.

8. *Secretorum expositiones sacramentorum, seu quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum.*—A mystical interpretation of the principal events recorded in the books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Ezra, Maccabees. The writer says in his preface that he has gathered together the opinions of ancient ecclesiastical writers, namely, Origen, Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Cassianus, and pope Gregory the Great. Genesis is treated of in thirty-one chapters, Exodus in fifty-nine, Leviticus in seventeen, Numbers in forty-two, Deuteronomy in twenty-two, Joshua in eighteen, Judges in nine, including one chapter on Ruth; 1 Kings, *i.e.* Samuel, in twenty-one, 2 Kings in six, 3 Kings in eight, 4 Kings in eight, Ezra in three, Maccabees in one. The mystical method of interpretation is pursued here to an excessive degree, not that in itself that constitutes a valid cause of complaint, inasmuch as it was the vice of the age rather than the man, as, *e.g.*, on the words, "The Lord shall sell him into the hand of a woman" Deborah evidently shews "quia non est apud illum populum primatus, nec permanet apud eum victoriae palma, sed apud Jahel mulierem, id est, ecclesiam: nam Jahel ista alienigena, in cujus manu victoria facta est, figuram tenet ecclesiae ex gentibus conjugatae." The portion of this work which treats of Genesis is a kind of paraphrase on the book, the last chapter dealing with the blessing of Jacob. The explanation is allegorical in style and moralising in tone. It will be seen that the treatment of the latter books is much more brief than that of the others, particularly the Pentateuch.

9. *De Fide Catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos.*—This is addressed to his sister Florentina, and was apparently written at her request. The treatise is in two books. The first, which contains sixty-two chapters, treats of the person of Christ, from His existence in the bosom of the Father before the world was, till His ascension and His return to judgment. The second book consists of 28 chapters, and treats of the consequences of the Incarnation, that is to say, of the unbelief of the Jews, and the ingathering of the Gentiles, of the conversion of the Jews at the end of the world, and of the cessation of the Sabbath.

10. *Sententiarum Libri iii.*—A kind of manual of Christian faith and practice. The first book, in 30 chapters, treats of God and His attributes, that the Creator may be known from the beauty of His creation, that the passions of men, as *e.g.* grief, jealousy, &c., may be attributed to God, though figuratively, but that He knows no succession of times. It discourses also upon the world, the origin of evil: "Malum a Deo non est creatum sed inventum: et ideo nihil est malum, quia sine Deo factum est nihil: Deus autem malum non fecit," of angels, of man, of the soul, and senses of the flesh, of Christ and the Holy Spirit, of the church and heresies, of the heathen nations, of the law, of seven rules or principles for the understanding of Scripture, of the difference between the two testaments, of symbol and prayer, of baptism and communion, of martyrdom, of the miracles wrought by the saints, of Antichrist and his works, of the resurrection and judgment, of hell, of the punishment of the wicked, and of the glory of the just. Great use has been made throughout of the works of Augustine and Gregory. The second book consists of 44 chapters, and treats of wisdom, of faith, of charity, of hope, of fear, of conversion and the converted, of the examples of saints, of compunction of heart, of penitence and confession, of despair and those who are forsaken of God. The third book consists of 62 chapters, and treats partly of ecclesiastical life and of the ecclesiastical orders, of the judgments of God, of God's twofold chastisement, John xv. 2, of infirmity of the flesh, of patience under divine chastisement, of the temptations of the devil and particularly in dreams, of prayer, reading, and study, of learning without grace, of contemplation and action, of despising the world, of the saints who separate themselves from the world, of the higher precepts of monks, their humility and work, of their laxity and care for the things of the world.

11. *De ecclesiasticis officiis.*—Two books. The first book treats de origine officiorum, and is addressed "Domino meo et Dei servo Fulgentio episcopo," his elder brother, the bishop of Astigi, who had asked of him an account of the origin and the authors of the ecclesiastical offices, that is to say, of the old Spanish liturgy. "As you wished, I have here put this book together for you from the most ancient authorities [which, according to Isidore's manner, are freely used but not otherwise named], wherein I have for the most

part exercised my own liberty, but have added many things found elsewhere. If these latter do not please, the blame will not be mine."

The first book contains forty-five chapters, and treats of the services of the church. Concerning the use of Jerome's translation, he says—"Cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiae usquequaque utuntur, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis et clarior in verbis." He treats also of praises, offertories, the mass, and prayers, the Nicene creed, benedictions, sacrifice. Here occurs the important passage: "Hoc enim in mysterio tunc factum est, quod primum discipuli corpus et sanguinem Domini non acceperunt jejuni. Ab universa autem ecclesia nunc a jejunis semper accipitur. Sic enim placuit Spiritui sancto per apostolos ut in honorem tanti sacramenti in os christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam ceteri cibi, et ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur. Panis enim, quem frangimus, corpus Christi est, qui dixit: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de coelo descendi. Vinum autem sanguis ejus est, et hoc est quod scriptum est: Ego sum vitis vera; sed panis, quia corpus confirmat, ideo corpus Christi nuncupatur, vinum autem, quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Haec autem dum sunt visibilia, sanctificata tamen per Spiritum sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt." Then he goes on to quote at length the sixty-third epistle of St. Cyprian.

The second book treats of clerics, their rules and orders, of the tonsure, of the episcopal office, of vicars episcopal, of presbyters, of deacons, sacristans, and subdeacons, of readers, psalmists, exorcists, acolytes, porters, monks, penitents, virgins, widows, the married, catechumens, exorcism, salt, candidates for baptism, the creed, the rule of faith, baptism, chrism, imposition of hands, and confirmation.

12. *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis.*—This also is in two books, and is one of the most curious of Isidore's works. The term synonyma is oddly chosen, and is calculated to mislead, as though it denoted a grammatical treatise of some kind, the fact being that it seems to be used to express the similarity of the ideas which are continually recurring but are couched in slightly different language. The book is a kind of soliloquy between Homo and Ratio. Homo begins by lamenting his lost and desperate condition in consequence of sin, and Ratio, undertakes to direct him aright to lead him to a higher and holier condition issuing in the bliss of eternal felicity. The first book dwells generally on man's deplorable condition, which is depicted in somewhat feeble and turgid language. The second book drops the dialogue form, and Ratio expatiates on fornication, on chastity, on various vices and the opposite virtues.

13. *Regula Monachorum.*—It is this treatise which has led some to suppose that Isidore was himself a Benedictine monk, the only order then established in the West; but Gams has determined that there is not sufficient proof of it. The work is in twenty-four chapters, and treats of the situation of the monastery, the election of an abbat, the various duties of the monks, their mode of life, their dress, discipline, and the like.

14. Thirteen short letters follow; to bishop Leudefred of Cordova, to Braulio, to whom he speaks of giving a ring and a pall, to Helladius of Toledo, on the fall of a certain bishop of Cordova, to the duke Claudius, whom he congratulates on his victories, to Massona bishop of Merida, and to the archdeacon Redemptus.

15. *De Ordine Creaturarum.*—This book has been doubted by some, and, though it is maintained by Arevalo to be genuine, he prints it in smaller type. Gams reckons it among the works of Isidore. It is written in fifteen chapters, and treats of the faith in the Trinity, of the spiritual creation of the waters which are above the firmament, of the firmament of heaven, of the sun and moon, "De spatio superiori et paradiso coeli, de spatio inferiori et hemisphaeriis diversis," of the devil and the nature of demons, of the nature of waters and the course of the ocean, of Paradise, of the nature of man after sin, of the diversity of sinners and their place of punishment, of purgatorial fire and the future life.

16. *De Natura Rerum liber.*—This is one of the most celebrated of Isidore's treatises. It is dedicated to king Sisebut, "Domino et filio [carissimo]," who came to the throne A.D. 612, and reigned eight years and a half. He was one of the best of the kings of Spain, and his death was universally lamented by the Goths. Isidore calls him "Christianissimus," and speaks of him as excelling in intellect and eloquence. He had been requested by him to write on the subject of his treatise, and he had studiously availed himself of all that the ancients, and more particularly those of the Catholic church, had written thereon. He follows them in turn, and sometimes verbally, in order to be sustained by their authority. There are forty-eight chapters, in which he discourses of the days, the night, the week, the months, the seasons, the solstice and the equinox, the world, the five zones of the world, the parts of the world, of heaven and its name, of the planets, of the waters, of the heavens, of the nature of the sun, of the size and course of the sun, of the light of the moon, of the course of the moon, of the eclipse of the sun and moon, of the course of the stars, of the position of the seven planets, of the light of the stars, of falling stars, of the names of the stars and whether they have any soul, of the night, the thunder, the lightning, of the rainbow, the clouds, the showers, the snow, the hail, the nature of the winds and their names, of the signs of storms, of pestilence, of the heat of the ocean, why the sea does not get larger, why it is salt, of the river Nile, of the names of the sea and the rivers, of the position and motion of the earth, of the mount Etna, and of the parts of the earth. He makes use of diagrams in this treatise to illustrate his meaning. For a full analysis of the sources of this book see Gustavus Bekker's new edition, Berlin, 1857.

17. *Chronicon.*—This is a very brief summary of the principal events from the creation of the world to the reign of the emperor Heraclius and that of king Sisebut. The history of the world is divided into six ages, the fifth reaching to Augustus, and the sixth to the fifth year of Heraclius and the fourth of Sisebut. Isidore says that others had written similar chronicles, as Julius Africanus under Marcus Aurelius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Jerome, and many others: among them is specially mentioned "Victor Tununensis ecclesiae episcopus," who carried down his chronicle to the consulate of the younger Justin. Hertzberg gives an elabo-

rate analysis of the sources of Isidore's two chronicles in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.* xv. 289.

18. *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum.* The Goths, according to Isidore, perhaps in this conjecture more accurate than sometimes, are descended from Gog and Magog, and are of the same race as the Getae. They first appeared in Thessaly in the time of Pompey, and under Valerian they devastated Macedonia, Greece, Pontus, Asia, and Illyricum. The history is brought down to 621, the reign of king Swintila. Notwithstanding his own origin and connexion with Rome, he is strongly in praise of the Goths; and Spaniards of his time esteemed it an honour to be reckoned Goths. This brief sketch of Gothic history is invaluable, inasmuch as it is our chief authority for the history of the West Goths. With regard to the Vandals we learn from him less, and his sketch of the Suevi is very brief, the former compressing the history of 123 years into a single page, and the latter that of 177. The Vandals entered Spain under Gunderic, and were destroyed on the fall of Gelimer, and the Suevi entered under Hermeric in 409, and became incorporated with the Gothic nation in 585. Some further remarks on this work will be found at the end of the article.

19. *De Viris illustribus liber.*—Many of the Greeks and Latins had treated of the Christian writers before Isidore, but he determined to give a brief outline of those whom he remembered to have read himself. The list embraces forty-six names, and Braulio has added that of Isidore himself in the celebrated "Praenotatio librorum S. Isidori a Braulione edita." Among those of whom a short account is here given are Xystus the pope, Macrobius the deacon, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Hosius of Cordova, Eusebius of Dorilaeum, Chrysostom, Hilary of Arles, Gregory the pope, Leander his own brother, and Maximus of Saragossa. This is a valuable summary of important facts in ecclesiastical history. It is too often disfigured by the fierce and illiberal polemical spirit of the day—see, for instance, the writer's remarks on the death of Hosius of Cordova.

Other minor works are assigned to Isidore, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. His right to some of them is doubtful.

Isidore's Latin was past its purity. He uses many Spanish words, which are therefore full of interest, and Arevalo has collected no fewer than 1640 words which would not be understood by the ordinary reader, or would strike him as strange. His style is feeble and inflated, having all the marks of an age of decadence. He was a voluminous writer of great learning, well versed in Holy Scripture, of which he manifests a remarkable knowledge; he had also a trained and cultivated mind; but he appears rather as a receptive and reproductive writer than as one of strong masculine and original mind. He is a very conspicuous ornament of the Spanish church, and sheds great glory on the age he adorned. He did much to hand on the light of Christianity, to hold it up and make it effectual to the amelioration of a semi-barbarous nation, and his character contrasts favourably with those of a later period. We must not exact of him more than was to be expected; the marvel is that in the commencement of the 7th century an author should have arisen in the Gothic church of Spain so great and wise and good as Isidore.

A full list of the Lives of Isidore up to the present time may be seen in Chevalier's *Sources Historiques du Moyen-age*, p. 1127. The following may be specified: those of Henschen in Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Apr. i. 327; Arevalo in his edition of Isidore's Works; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* ix. 173 ed. 1752; Dupin, *Eccl. Writ.* t. ii. p. 1 ed. 1724; Ceillier, xi. 710; Cave, i. 547; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, 3 vols. 8vo. Regensburg, 1862–74; the great want of this excellent work is an adequate index; the first volume alone has a "Register." Dahn, *Könige der Germanen;* Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina;* Nicol, Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hisp. Vet.*, ed. Bayer, Matr. 1788, 4 vols. fol.; Bourret, *L'École Chrétienne de Seville*, Paris, 1855; Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, 1860; Bähr, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 1837; W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1870.

The following editions of Isidore's works may be mentioned: *Opera Omnia*, ed. Breul and Grial, fol., Paris, 1601, Cologne, 1617; *Opera Omnia*, ed. Grial with notes by Gomez, 2 tom. fol., Matriti, 1778; Arevalo, *Sancti Isidori Hispal. Episc. Opera Omnia*, 7 vols. 4to, Romae, 1797–1803. This is the best and standard edition. The first two volumes contain, under the title of "Isidoriana," a collection of all that is known of his life, and of the editions of his writings; vols. iii. and iv. contain the Etymologies; vol. v., the *Differentiae, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, Prooemia, Liber Numerorum*, and the *Quaestiones;* vol. vi., the *De Fide, Sententiae, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, Synonyma, Regula Monachorum, Epistolae, De Ordine Creaturarum;* vol. vii., the *De Natura Rerum, Chronicon, Historia* or *De Regibus Gothorum*, &c., *De Viris Illustribus.* Arevalo's edition has been reprinted by the Abbé Migne in his *Patrologia Latina*, lxxxi.–lxxxiv., with the addition of an eighth volume, containing the *Collectio Canonum* ascribed to Isidore; vols. lxxxv.–lxxxvi. of Migne contain *Liturgia Mozarabica secundum Regulam Beati Isidori.* There is an excellent edition of the *De Natura Rerum Liber* by G. Becker, Berlin, 1857. Professor J. E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, has given a list of editions and authorities in his *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature*, p. 212. [S. L.]

De Reg. Gothorum, Vandalorum, et Suevorum.—The histories, of all Isidore's works, have the most practical value for us at the present day. The *Historia Gothorum* is still to us, as it was to Mariana, one of the main sources of Gothic history. Upon the histories in general was based all the later mediaeval history-writing of Spain, and in the world-wide reputation of their author, the works and merits of his historical predecessors and authorities, of Idatius or Joannes Biclarensis were for centuries forgotten. Of the two forms of the histories there have been altogether fifteen editions since the 16th century, and a critical edition has still to be made. Of late years, however, a most valuable contribution has been made to our knowledge of the exact place of the histories in historical work by Dr. Hugo Hertzberg, in an inaugural dissertation published at Göttingen in 1874 under the title, *Die Historien und Die Chroniken*

des Isidorus von Sevilla: Eine Quellenuntersuchung, Erster Th., die Historien. In this essay Dr. Hertzberg has so far superseded the work of previous editions, of Florez or Rösler or even of Arevalo, that it is only necessary for us here to sum up his results, from which any future edition of the histories must take its departure.

Dr. Hertzberg's great merit lies in the clearness with which he succeeds in shewing us exactly how Isidore worked, what was the kind and amount of his material on the one hand, and the method employed in working it up on the other. His points are:

(1) That the histories have come down to us in two forms—a shorter and a longer—which he names respectively text A and text B. This fact, though it was apparent before Hertzberg to Rösler and Arevalo, was misunderstood, and no one before him had attempted a close comparative examination of the texts, or the division of MSS. and editions into two groups, according to the text each represents.

(2) That text A is the earlier form and B the later, whereas up to 1874 A had been universally regarded as a mere excerpt from and epitome of B. That this cannot be the case Hertzberg proves abundantly from an examination of the many independent statements in A, and of the passages where A uses the sources more fully and exactly than B, and where even B can be proved to have used A's version of the authorities and not the authorities themselves.

(3) That text A was concluded probably about 621, the year of the death of Sisebut, and that five years later Isidore (reversing the process which had produced his two *Welt-Chroniken*) undertook a new redaction, adding moralising and theological remarks and explanations, especially Bible quotations and references, and inserting besides fresh historical statements, all of which, however, are of a more or less doubtful and legendary character. His intention evidently was to give a more popular and didactic character to his work; to make it, in fact, more readable. And it may be noticed that the tone of B towards Arianism is far more passionate than that of A.

(4) That the *Elogium Hispaniae* commonly prefixed to the histories is, in all probability, not Isidore's work.

(5) That the *Recapitulatio in laudem Gothorum*, with which the *H. Goth.* concludes, has also a doubtful connexion with the histories, though whether by Isidore or no, it is probably of the reign of Sisebut. This point is less clearly made out, and to our mind it remains most probable that the *Recapitulatio* is one of the B additions. The interesting mention in it of maritime successes under Sisebut, which Dr. Hertzberg is unable to explain, surely is only a magniloquent reference to the recovery of the maritime towns of Carthaginensis from the Imperialists, which took place under this king (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 178).

Isidore's sources in the Histories.—He nowhere expressly names his authorities as in his *Chronicle*, but Dr. Hertzberg has tabulated them with a laborious exactitude beyond praise. They are: (1) for Spanish events IDATIUS (*q. v.*), used specially in the sections from Thorismund to Euric in the *H. Goth.*, in the *H. Vand.* up to the death of Genseric, and in *Hist. Suev.* up to the conversion of the Suevi to Arianism under Remismund (462); (2) for African events Victor Tununensis, used in the *H. Vand.* from the death of Genseric to the end; (3) the *Chronicle* of Jerome and the *Libri Septem adversus Paganos* of Orosius, the use of both which sources is evident in the opening sections of the *H. Goth.* and *H. Vand.*; (4) Prosper's chronicle in a few passages (Diss. p. 49); (5) Isidore's contemporary, JOH. BICLARENSIS (*q. v.*), who is used freely, with little verbal copying, in the reigns of Leovigild and Reccared; (6) the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus (or rather of the Scholasticus Epiphanius) in two passages; (7) Eutropius in one; (8) the lost chronicle of Maximus of Saragossa.

With regard to Isidore's use of Maximus we shall have more to say under the head MAXIMUS OF SARAGOSSA. It may be noticed that the often-quoted passage in Isid. (text A), where, after his description of the sack of Rome by Alaric, he praises the mildness of the Goths, "so that at the present day the Romans living in the kingdom of the Goths love their rule so greatly that they hold it better to live with the Goths in poverty, than to be great under the Romans, and to bear the heavy weight of the taxes" is imitated from Orosius (vii. 41) "ut inveniantur jam inter eos (Gothos) quidam Romani, qui malint inter barbaros pauperem libertatem quam inter Romanos tributariam sollicitudinem sustinere." The Isidorian version of this panegyric was not included in the later B text.

Dr. Hertzberg's general conclusions are, that Isidore neither possessed large material, nor did he use what he had well. In no case did he take *all* that earlier chronicles had to offer him, but only extracts from them. So that there is no completeness of compilation, while the choice and arrangement of statements is often bad, and the proper chronological order frequently disregarded. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the permanent historical value of the *Historia Gothorum* is in certain portions of it very great. From the reign of Euric, where Idatius breaks off, Isidore becomes for a time our only informant. He alone preserves the memory of Euric's legislation, while our knowledge of Visigothic history under Gesalic, Theudis, Theudigisel, Agila, and Athanagild rests essentially on Isidore's testimony. In the prominent reigns of Leovigild and Recared Joh. Biclarensis becomes our great source, but Isidore's additions to him are not unimportant. From Recared to Suinthila he is again our best and sometimes our only source. The *Hist. Vand.*, on the contrary, is historically valueless, as we possess the sources from which it is a mere extract, and the same may almost be said of the *Hist. Suev.* Just where Isidore might have drawn most from oral testimony and thus supplied a real gap in our historical knowledge, viz. in the hundred years of Suevian history between Remismund and Theodemir, he fails us most notably. The whole missing century of history is despatched in one vague sentence which tells us nothing.

For a complete catalogue of the nine MSS. of B, and the two MSS. of A existing, as well as of the editions of both texts, see Dr. Hertzberg's *Diss.* 8–18. He has also affixed to his essay a complete analysis of both texts according to the sources.

(For general references see Potthast, *Bibl. Hist. Med. Aevi.* The B text of the histories is printed in *Esp. Sagrada*, vi. with an introduction and long notes by Florez.) [M. A. W.]

ISIDORUS (14), bishop of Astorga before the year 675, in which was held the third council of Braga. He subscribed the acts of the council as fifth among eight bishops (Mansi, xi. 159). The only other mention of him occurs in a strange and probably interpolated passage in the works of the contemporary Gallician saint and biographer of St. Fructuosus, Valerius abbat of San Pedro de Monber. (Conf. *Esp. Sagr.* xvi. 399, 115; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262.) [M. A. W.]

ISIDORUS (15), bishop of Abydos on the Hellespont, at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 653; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 773.) [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (16), bishop of Rhodes, present at the same. (Mansi, xi. 644; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 925.) [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (17) I., bishop of Saetabis (Xativa), at the 12th council of Toledo (681), where he subscribed fifteenth among thirty-five. (Mansi, xi. 1039; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 48.) [MULTUS.] [M. A. W.]

ISIDORUS (18) II., bishop of Saetabis from about 687 until after A.D. 693. He subscribed the acts of the fifteenth and sixteenth councils of Toledo (688, 693) under Egica. (Mansi, xii. 21, 84; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 49.) [MULTUS.] [M. A. W.]

ISIDORUS (19), bishop of Gordo-servorum (Juliopolis) in Bithynia, present at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692 (Mansi, xi. 996). Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 659) suggests an emendation of the text of the subscriptions, which would make Isidorus also present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (20), bishop of Anazarbus, was present at the Trullan or Quinisext synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 993; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 888.) [J. de S.]

ISIDORUS (21), bishop of Edessa (Aegae) in central Macedonia, present at the same. (Mansi, xi. 993; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 79.) [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (22) II., bishop of Samos, present at the same. (Mansi, xi. 1005; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 930.) [ISIDORUS (12).] [L. D.]

ISIDORUS (23) PACENSIS, bishop of Beja: the name given to the author of the contemporary Chronicle (first printed by Sandoval bishop of Pampeluna in 1615), which, commencing in 611, extends beyond the date of the fall of the Gothic monarchy, and terminates in 754. After examining the vexed question of authorship, we shall endeavour to shew, by a brief sketch of the contents of the Chronicle in question, how far it may be held to supply any biographical information. Lastly, we shall consider the claim of its composer, whoever he was, to certain other writings which have been attributed to him.

I. In a notice prefixed to a MS., now lost, which once existed in the monastery of Oviedo, by Pelayo, bishop of that see, about A.D. 1100, mention is made of "junior Isidorus Pacensis ecclesiae episcopus," as the author of one of the Chronicles contained in the volume. But the Chronicle so described is really the work of Isidore of Seville. Sandoval, the original editor of the Chronicle now in question, appears to have been the first to assign its authorship to the Isidorus Pacensis named by Pelayo. Following him, Juan Vaseo, a Spanish scholar who flourished about the middle of the 17th century, testified (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 270) that he had seen a MS. of this Chronicle, which bore the name of Isidorus Pacensis as its author. The same thing was asserted by Nicolas Antonio (*Bibliotheca Vetus*) of two other ancient MSS. of the Chronicle, one at Alcala, the other at Osma; but according to Florez (*loc. cit.*), neither of these MSS. contains any indication of authorship. Florez, however, considering that the statement of Pelayo, though mistaken, proved that there was such a person as "Isidorus Pacensis," and that he wrote Chronicles, and joining his testimony to that of Vaseo, was disposed to acquiesce in the general traditional opinion of Spanish scholars, and assume that one Isidore, otherwise unknown, bishop of Pax Julia, now Beja, in the Portuguese province of Alemtejo, near the Spanish frontier, composed the work under discussion. (An opinion once held, that Pacensis refers to Badajoz, not to Beja, has been long since so completely exploded that it need not be further alluded to.) On the other hand, Professor Dozy (*Recherches sur l'hist. et la litt. de l'Espagne*, 1860) considers that there is no solid ground for attributing the Chronicle to Isidorus Pacensis, or even for supposing that such a person ever existed. The scribe who wrote the prefatory notice to the MS. of Oviedo,—Pelayo, according to Dozy,—was thinking of the works of Isidore of Seville contained in it, and meant to write "Hispalensis;" but through the omission of the first syllable, and the change of *l* into *c*, the word came out "Pacensis." And in point of fact this MS., if we may trust to the copy of it made in the 16th century as correctly representing its contents (for the volume itself has disappeared), did not contain this particular Chronicle. Again, if the author of the Chronicle had been a bishop or a native of Beja, some notice of Beja would probably have been found in it, especially as the people of this town made a memorable rising against the Mussulman governor of Spain in his own day; but Beja is not once mentioned from the beginning to the end. Cordova, on the contrary, is frequently mentioned, and in such a manner (so at least thinks Prof. Dozy) as to suggest that the writer was living there at the time when he wrote. Thus he says (§ 76) that in a particular year three suns were seen in the heavens, "cunctis Cordubae civibus prospicientibus." Yet a third view as to the authorship is hazarded by Gams, the learned Benedictine historian of the Spanish church (*Kirchengesch. v. Span.* ii. 347). Gams thinks, (1) that the author of the present Chronicle was not a Spaniard, but an Oriental, a Nestorian Christian who came to Spain with an Arab army about 740. Not only does he know, according to this view, more about Moorish and Mahometan affairs than a Spaniard could have been in a position to know, but there is one passage (§ 70) where the writer speaks of having composed an "epitome" on the wars of the Moors against "Cultum," *i.e.* Kolthoum, the Arab

general employed (Dozy, *Mus. d'Espagne*, i. 244) to put down the Berber revolt of 723, which, in Gams's opinion, points decisively to the hand of an Oriental. (2) This Nestorian writer is identified by Gams with a certain Melito, who appears in one or two MSS. as the editor and reviser (though more in the way of curtailment than addition) of St. Isidore's Chronicle, which terminates in the fifth year of Heraclius (A.D. 614); and whom he believes to be the same person with Milita, a literary supporter of the heresiarch Elipandus, in 799.

Such being the different views taken as to the authorship of the Chronicle, all that we need say is that it is a question which must ultimately be decided by Spanish scholars, who alone have all the materials for an exhaustive judgment in their hands. It is obvious, however, that Dozy's supposition that "Hispalensis" was in some way changed into "Pacensis" does not cover all the facts, because it leaves the occurrence of the word "junior" unexplained. It may further be remarked that the frequent mention of Cordova need not count for much; it was the seat of Moorish government at the time; from it expeditions were sent forth, and to it they returned; the frequent occurrence of the name need not therefore imply that the writer of the Chronicle resided there, any more than the repeated mention of "Westminster" in the contemporary part of Henry of Huntingdon would warrant a similar inference in his case. As to the "three suns" which were seen by the citizens, if some strange optical phenomenon which admitted of being so described *was* witnessed at Cordova, there can be no difficulty in supposing that the rumour of it would reach to Beja, or even farther. With regard to the view of Gams, an obvious objection to it is, that the thirty-seventh section (noticed below), if there be no reason to think it interpolated, is written with a passionate intensity, which, while perfectly natural in a Spaniard writing of the downfall of his country, could not well have characterized the work of a Nestorian Christian, to whom the glories of Gothic Spain must have been of little moment. Even if the theory of Nestorian authorship were granted, the identification of the author with Melito, and still more with Milita, would remain extremely problematical. The actual contents of that variety of the Isidorian Chronicle which bears the name of Melito, do not correspond to the description of any one of the three historical works which the author of the *Chronicon Pacense* claims to have composed. So shadowy a personage is Melito, that Florez, no mean authority, doubts whether he ever existed. Lastly, beyond the very slight resemblance in the names, no reason is adduced by Gams for identifying Milita, the friend of Elipandus, with the chronicler Melito; and although it be conceded to him, that the author of the present Chronicle, which he closed at 754, *might* have lived on to 799, the year in which Milita helped Elipandus, it is evident that the probability of his having died shortly after the earlier date is enormously greater.

II. The *Chronicon Pacense*, divided into eighty sections, commences nearly where the Chronicle of St. Isidore ends, that is, at the beginning of the reign of Heraclius, A.D. 611. The writer shews an acquaintance with the successions of the Eastern emperors and the Gothic kings of Spain, as well as of the Mohammedan caliphs. He enters into many details respecting the numerous councils held at Toledo in the course of the 7th century, and speaks of the Roman see (§§ 8, 26) in a tone of respect which it is difficult to conceive a Nestorian either feeling or expressing. The style is barbarous, but, as a rule, equable; when, however, the reduction of Spain under the yoke of Islam has to be narrated, it rises, just as might be expected if the writer were a native, into a strain of rude eloquence, thrilled by grief and passion, which is extremely touching. "Who could relate," he says, "all these perils; who could count up these grievous calamities? If all one's members were turned into tongues, human nature would still be unable to describe the ruins of Spain, or her many and terrible woes. To sum up for the reader all these scourges in a few words—passing over innumerable destructions which, from Adam to the present day, in numberless countries and cities, a foul and cruel enemy has inflicted upon the world—whatever history tells us was endured by captive Troy, whatever Jerusalem suffered according to the warnings of the prophets; whatever Babylon had to bear; finally all the martyrdom of misery which fell on Rome, once made glorious by the preaching of Apostles—all these evils, however many they be, Spain, once the land of delights but now made wretched, full of honour and full of shame, has experienced in herself." In three different places (§§ 65, 70, 78) the writer mentions other works of his composition. In the first he excuses himself from relating at length the civil wars which raged among the Arabs in Spain about 742, because he has told the story elsewhere, "patenter et paginaliter manent nostro stylo conscripta." In the second he refers to the "epitome" on the war against Kolthoum already noticed. The third passage probably refers to the work which he had already spoken of in § 65; he now calls it "liber verborum dierum saeculi." The Chronicle is written, according to Dozy, in "rhymed prose," and unquestionably rhyming passages may be traced here and there, especially in the earlier portion; but over the greater portion of the work the attempt at rhyme, if it was really made, has failed so signally that the product is indistinguishable from ordinary prose. But if the description "rhymed prose" were truly applicable to the whole work, eminent critics are not agreed as to the inference to be drawn from the fact. Dozy says that this kind of composition was then in fashion throughout Spain; Gams declares, on the contrary, that it was unknown to the Spaniards, but was in use among the Orientals. The text is in a bad state, marginal glosses having evidently crept into it in various places, and lacunae being not uncommon; yet on the whole it is more readable than Dozy's report would lead one to suppose.

The last question for consideration refers to the proposal to ascribe to the writer of the *Chronicon Pacense* the authorship of other extant treatises. Gams, as we have seen, is disposed to assign to him the Chronicle of Melito; this point we have already discussed. He also would identify him with the author of the continuation of Joannes Biclarensis (printed in Florez, vol. vi.),

which extends from 600 to 723. There are several objections to this view. (1) The continuator is very brief, whereas Pacensis seems to speak of his other works, except perhaps the "epitome," as more detailed than the Chronicle which we possess, this last being itself more detailed than the continuation of Biclarensis; (2) the very words of Pacensis do indeed often occur in the continuator, but this is more simply explained by supposing that they were *borrowed*, than that the same person wrote both treatises; (3) out of eleven pages which the continuation occupies in Florez, only three refer to transactions later than the Moorish invasion, whereas the lost works of Pacensis seem to have dealt solely with such transactions. [T. A.]

ISIDORUS (24), son of Basilides. [BASILIDES, Vol. I. p. 278.]

ISIDORUS (25), early Christian writer. [HIERONYMUS (1).]

ISIDORUS (26), Dec. 14 (Us.), Feb. 5 and Dec. 14 (*Mart. Rom.*). Martyr by fire at Alexandria in the Decian persecution, with Hero and Ater. (Euseb. *H. E.* lib. vi. cap. 41.) The Basilian Menology furnishes a number of details upon the martyrdom of Isidorus, which are plainly apocryphal. [G. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (27), May 14 (*Bas. Men.*), 15 (Us.). A soldier and martyr in the island of Chios, 251 (*Mart.* Ad., Us.; Bas. *Men.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. iii. 449). He was a native of Alexandria, and went to Chios in the fleet commanded by Numerius, before whom he was accused by the centurion Julius of being a Christian. In his examination he professed his belief in Christ as the creator of heaven, earth, and sea, and as miraculously incarnate of the Virgin Mary for human redemption (Bas. *Men.*). [G. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (28), Alexandrian monk and priest. Born cir. 318, he became early in life an ascetic on the Nitrian mount, and distributed his possessions, which were large, to the poor. He had seen St. Antony. In 341 he accompanied Athanasius, by whom he was ordained, to Rome. During the persecutions under Valens, in 373, he was torn from his solitude and transported to an island. Afterwards we find him at Alexandria, as governor of the great hospital. In 388, when the contest between Theodosius and Maximus was impending, Isidorus was despatched by Theophilus of Alexandria to Rome with alternative letters, which were to be presented to whichever combatant should prove the victor. But the lector who accompanied him having stolen the letters, he retired hastily from Rome. His conduct on this occasion, however, satisfied Theophilus, since to it is afterwards attributed that anxiety on his part to raise Isidorus to the see of Constantinople, which was disappointed by the nomination of St. Chrysostom. We next find him deputed by Theophilus to examine the condition of things in Palestine, where, by taking the side of John of Jerusalem, he brought on himself the strong censure of Jerome, accompanied by accusations of Origenism. Palladius describes a visit which he paid to Isidorus in Alexandria, and the asceticism which the latter exercised without the slightest display or moroseness of manners. He paid still another visit to Rome with Acacius of Beroea, being sent by Theophilus at the instance of Chrysostom to reconcile pope Damasus with Flavianus of Antioch. At fourscore years of age he became an object of hatred and persecution to Theophilus for espousing the cause of Peter, when accused by Theophilus of admitting a Manichean to communion, and for applying to the relief of the poor a sum which a lady had given him for that special purpose, instead of giving it to the bishop for his buildings. Theophilus brought a hateful charge against him, excommunicated him, and forced him to flee first to his old home at Nitria, and then to Chrysostom at Constantinople, where he was admitted to communion of the prayers, but not to the Eucharist. He died in 403, aged 85. (Palladius, *Hist. Lausiac.* capp. 1, 2, and Dial. *de Vit. Chrys.* pp. 20–23; Socrat. vi.; Soz. viii. 2, 11 sq.; Theod. iv. 21; S. Hier. ed. Vall. ii. 447; Baron. a. a. 388, 68, and a. a. 397, 3.) [R. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (29), FLAVIUS ANTHEMIUS, a civil officer of high rank in the East, under the emperor Theodosius II. His official life may be traced in the *Cod. Theodos.* At the dates Sep. 4, 410, and Oct. 29, 412, he was prefect of Constantinople (VIII. xvii. 2, 3; XV. i. 50). At Nov. 11, 416, he was prefect of the East, according to the *Cod. Justin.* (I. xix. 6), or according to some MSS. of this text still prefect of the city. In 424 two edicts were addressed to him (Apr. 22, Oct. 10) as prefect of Illyricum, the second granting exceptional privileges to the church of Thessalonica (*Cod. Th.* XV. iv. 4; XI. i. 33). In Nov. 426, as prefect of Illyricum, he was enjoined to suppress heathenism throughout his jurisdiction by destroying all remaining pagan "fana, templa, et delubra," and "expiating" the spots by setting up the cross on them, death being the penalty of all who should resist. On Aug. 3, 435, an edict was issued to him as prefect of the East, enacting that the Nestorians should thenceforth bear the name of Simoniani, that their meetings should be suppressed, and that the writings of Nestorius should be burnt (XVI. v. 66). The prefect addressed a constitution to his officers commanding them to see the edict executed (Mansi, v. 414). In the same year an edict addressed to Isidore denounced exile against Irenaeus bishop of Tyre, and Photius a presbyter of Constantinople, as determined partisans of Nestorius (*Synod. Adv. Trag. Iren.* cap. 188, in Mansi, v. 960). In 463, on Ap. 3, June 4, July 14, Aug. 4, Isidore was still prefect of the East (*Cod. Th.* VIII. iv. 30; XI. v. 3, xxviii. 17; XII. i. 189–192; XIV. xxvi. 2, xxvii. 2). He is mentioned in the forty-second and forty-seventh letters of Theodoret, as having approved the report of commissioners sent at Theodoret's request to examine into the taxation of his episcopal city. (Baluze, *Nova Collect. Concil.* 583, 585, 731, 883; Baron. ad. ann. 435, Pagi, n. ii.; Theod. *Epist.* 42, 47.) He was also a correspondent of Isidore of Pelusium [ISIDORUS (31)] (Isid. Pelus. lib. i. ep. 299). [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (30), a deacon of Alexandria, who is said by the layman Sophronius to have cruelly treated him by order of the patriarch Dioscorus. (Mansi, vi. 1031 C.) [DIOSCORUS (1), Vol. I. p. 855 A.] [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (31) PELUSIOTA, an eminent ascetic, theologian, and guide of souls in the

5th century, was born at Alexandria (Photius, *Bibl.* 228). His family was probably of high rank. From the wide range of his reading, as shewn by his familiarity with Greek poets, historians, orators, and philosophers, we may infer that he received the best education which the Alexandrian school could bestow. But he also felt the full influence of that great development of Egyptian monasticism which was consecrated, in the minds of the orthodox of that time, by the mysterious seclusion of Athanasius during his third exile, and by the persecution of the "holy solitaries" after his death, and which, as described by an African Christian of high official standing thirteen years later, made so deep an impression on the as yet unconverted Augustine (*Confess.* viii. 6; cp. Isid. *Epist.* i. 173, alluding to "the blessed Ammon"). Isidore resolved to adopt the monastic life in its coenobitic form, as it had been organised by Pachomius at Tabenna, and was being exhibited by various communities in the Upper Thebaid which followed his rule, by others in the Lower Thebaid, and the 5000 inmates of the cells of Nitria (cp. Fleury, b. xx. c. 9). But the place which he selected was in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, an ancient border town at one of the Nile-mouths, supposed to derive its name from the fact that it was the last place in Egypt occupied by the "Hyksos," regarded as "Philistines" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 24, 207). Jerome says of it that it had "a very safe harbour," and was a centre of all "business connected with the sea" (*Comm. in Ezech.* ix. 30), although, for whatever reason, its inhabitants were proverbial for dulness (Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv. 9). It was the capital of the province of Augustamnica Prima, and was as such the seat of a "corrector" or governor. One of these functionaries, on his arrival, was recommended by Isidore to the confidence and respect of the decurions (*Epist.* i. 226). When Isidore first knew the place, it was, he tells us, "rich and populous" (*Epist.* iii. 260). It suffered much from the maladministration of a Cappadocian named Gigantius; and from a letter of Isidore to Rufinus, the praetorian prefect, entreating that this man might be "set over none but Cappadocians" (*Ep.* i. 489; cp. 484) we infer that the writer must have been, as Tillemont expresses it (xv. 98), "already a considerable person in A.D. 395," for Rufinus was slain towards the close of that year. At this time, it may be observed, Ambrose was still living and working at Milan. Augustine was in the last year of his presbyterate, for he was consecrated in December 395; Jerome had plunged into the Origenistic controversy; Chrysostom, at Antioch, was making use of a movement of external religiousness under pressure of public dangers (Tillemont, xi. 101); Arcadius and Honorius were beginning their "slumbers" on the two thrones of the newly divided empire. Isidore was not a person to do things by halves. Believing that monastic life was the "imitation and receptacle of all the Lord's precepts" (*Ep.* i. 278), he became a thorough monk in all that pertained to ascetic self-devotion. When a friend sent him a cloak (or "melotes"), he sent back a tunic (or "colobium") in return (*Ep.* i. 216). Evagrius says of him that, "to use a poetic phrase, his fame was wide," that "he so macerated his body by labours, and so fattened his soul by 'anagogic' doctrines [*i.e.* by the mystical interpretation of Scripture], that he led an angelic life on earth, and was through life a living pillar both of monastic life and of divine contemplation" (*Hist.* i. 15). Whether he became abbat of the monastery, Tillemont considers to be uncertain (xv. 101); the authoritative style of his letters to the monks is not decisive, considering his uniform style of correspondence; in one letter (*Ep.* i. 150) he writes as if he were *not* abbat, but it is probable that he became so. We know from Facundus (*Def. Tri. Capit.* ii. 4), and, indeed, virtually from himself (*Ep.* i. 258), that he was ordained a presbyter, very likely by the good bishop Ammonius (*Ep.* ii. 127), clearly not by his successor, Eusebius, whom Isidore depicts as the centre of a scene of ecclesiastical scandal which was to him a standing grief and offence. [EUSEBIUS (71).]

It may be hoped that the inevitable sense of this ecclesiastical degeneracy near his own home led Isidore to generalise somewhat too despondingly as to its prevalence all around. Alluding to Eusebius's love of church-building, he speaks out: "It was not for the sake of walls, but of souls, that the King of heaven came to visit us." "Could I have chosen, I would have rather lived in apostolic times, when church buildings were not thus adorned, but the church was decked with grace, than in these days, when the buildings are ornamented with all kinds of marble, and the church is bare and void of spiritual gifts" (*Ep.* ii. 246; cp. ii. 88). "Once pastors would die for their flocks; now they destroy the sheep by causing the soul to stumble. . . . Once they distributed their goods to the needy; now they appropriate what belongs to the poor. Once they practised virtue; now they ostracise [a favourite phrase with Isidore] those who do. . . . I will not accuse *all*" (*Ep.* iii. 223). "Once men avoided the episcopate because of the greatness of its authority; now they rush into it because of the greatness of its luxury. . . . The dignity has lapsed from a priesthood into a tyranny, from a stewardship into a mastership [δεσποτείαν]. For they claim not to administer as stewards, but to appropriate as masters" (*Ep.* v. 21, to a bishop). "It is not long since the church had splendid teachers and approved disciples;" and it might be so again if bishops would "lay aside their tyranny, and shew a fatherly interest in their people . . . but until that foundation is well laid, I think it idle to talk about the topstone" (*Ep.* v. 126). He would say to worldly and arrogant prelates, "Abate your pride, relax your superciliousness, remember that you are but ashes. . . . Do not use the arms of the priesthood against the priesthood itself" (*Ep.* v. 131). "When those who were crowned with the priesthood led an evangelical and apostolical life, the priesthood was naturally dreaded by the sovereignty; but now it is the sovereignty which is dreaded by the priesthood, or rather by those who seem to discharge it, but by their conduct insult it" (*Ep.* v. 268, to Cyril). "Some . . . openly reproach priests; others pay them outward respect, but in secret revile them. . . . This does not surprise *me*. As they do not act like those of old, they are treated differently

Those of old corrected kings when they sinned; these do not correct even rich subjects; and if they try to correct some poor man, they are reproached as having been convicted of the same offences" (*Ep.* v. 278). So, speaking to an ambitious deacon about 1 Tim. iii. 1, he corrects a misapprehension. "Paul did not say, '*Let* every one desire the episcopate.' . . . It is a work," he proceeds, in a memorable series of antitheses, "not a relaxation; a solicitude, not a luxury; a responsible ministration, not an irresponsible dominion; a fatherly supervision, not a tyrannical autocracy" (*Ep.* iii. 216). Elsewhere he complains that bishops would receive persons excommunicated by other bishops, to the ruin of the discipline of souls (*Ep.* iii. 259), and that in their bitter contests these official peacemakers would fain devour each other (*Ep.* iv. 133). The secularisation of the episcopal character he traces in one letter to the excessive honour paid by emperors to bishops; and then he adds: "There *are* bishops who take pains to live up to the apostolic standard; if you say, 'Very few,' I do not deny it; but . . . many are called, few are chosen." He was thinking of such bishops as Serapion (*Ep.* iii. 44) or Lampetius (*Ep.* ii. 221), or his friend Hermogenes of Rhinocorura, whom he calls "a good man, if ever there was one, in thought and action, worthy of the episcopate" (*Ep.* v. 466). One sees in him an intense habitual moral earnestness, vigilant against all that implied, or might tend to, sin; as when he himself says, in regard to sensual temptations, "The phrase, 'It does not matter,' has made vice rush wildly into men's lives" (*Ep.* v. 17), or as when he "rejoices exceedingly" in a correspondent's amendment of life (*Ep.* v. 208). His downright censures, delivered under a serious conviction that he was specially appointed for the purpose (*Ep.* i. 389; cp. Tillemont, xv. 102), naturally made him enemies among the higher clergy, who tried to put him under some sort of ban, and thereby, as he expresses it, "unintentionally set a crown upon his head" (*Ep.* v. 131). But he was not less stern to faults in other orders, such as the inhospitality (*Ep.* i. 50), the gluttony (*Ep.* i. 392), or the "pugnacity" (*Ep.* i. 298) of monks, or their neglect of manual labour (*Ep.* i. 49), or the disorderliness of those who haunted cities and frequented public shows, as if all that "the angelic life" required were "a cloak, a staff, and a beard" (*Ep.* i. 92; cp. i. 220, and Chalcedon, can. 4). He not only rebukes a physician who is morally diseased (*Ep.* i. 391), denounces a homicide who went "swaggering" through Pelusium (*Ep.* i. 297), and warns a wicked magistrate to flee from eternal punishment (*Ep.* i. 31), but remonstrates with a soldier for invading the cells of monks and teaching them false doctrine (*Ep.* i. 327), and with a general for attempting to take away the privilege of sanctuary (*Ep.* i. 174), &c. In a letter probably addressed to Pulcheria, he reprobates the conduct of some imperial envoys, who had strangely compromised their Christianity in the negotiation of a peace (*Ep.* iv. 143).

It is remarkable that each of the two great church questions on which Isidore took a decided part brought him into some degree of collision with his own patriarch, Cyril of Alexandria. The first of these related to the recognition of St. Chrysostom's memory as worthy of the reverence of faithful Christians. Theophilus of Alexandria had practically procured his deposition and exile; the West had supported him while he lived, and after his death had suspended communion with the churches which would not insert his name in their diptychs. Antioch had yielded the point; even Atticus of Constantinople had done so, not from conviction, but for peace-sake. Cyril, the nephew and successor of Theophilus, held fast to his uncle's position. Isidore had loved and honoured "holy John," if he had not, as Nicephorus says (xiv. 30), been instructed by him. In a letter to a grammarian, he quotes Libanius's panegyric on his oratory (*Ep.* ii. 42); in a letter to another Isidore, he specially recommends "the most wise John's" commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (*Ep.* v. 32); in another letter, recommending his treatise "on the Priesthood," he calls him "the eye of the Byzantine church, and of every church" (*Ep.* i. 156); and he describes the "tragedy of John" in the bitter words: "Theophilus, who was building-mad, and worshipped gold, and had a spite against my namesake" (see Socr. vi. 9), was "put forward by Egypt to persecute that pious man and true theologian" (*Ep.* i. 152). In a like spirit he wrote to Cyril to this purport: "If, as you yourself say, I am your father, I dread the condemnation of Eli . . . or if, as I am rather persuaded, I am your son, since you represent the great Mark, I am anxious on account of the punishment inflicted on Jonathan for not hindering his father from consulting the witch. . . . Put a stop to these contentions: do not involve the living Church in a private vengeance prosecuted out of duty to the dead, nor entail on her a perpetual division [*αἰώνιον διχόνοιαν*] under pretence of piety" (*Ep.* i. 570; transl. by Facundus). Cyril took this advice, and the "Joannite" quarrel came to an end, probably in 417–418 (Tillemont, xiv. 281; see Photius, *Bibl.* 232).

The other matter was far more momentous. When Cyril was at the council of Ephesus, absorbed in his great object of crushing Nestorianism, Isidore wrote to him: "Prejudice does not see clearly; antipathy does not see at all. If you wish to be clear of both these affections of the eyesight, do not pass violent sentences, but commit causes to just judgment. God . . . was pleased to 'come down and see' the cry of Sodom, thereby teaching us to enquire accurately. For many of those at Ephesus accuse you of pursuing a personal feud, instead of seeking the things of Jesus Christ in an orthodox way. 'He is,' they say, 'the nephew of Theophilus,' " &c. (*Ep.* i. 310; comp. a Latin version, not quite accurate, by Facundus, *l. c.*). He who thus wrote had no sympathy with Nestorius; in the close of the letter he seems to contrast him with Chrysostom; in the next letter he urges Theodosius II. to restrain his ministers from "dogmatising" to the council, the court being then favourable to Nestorius. Isidore was, indeed, very zealous against all tendencies to Apollinarianism; he disliked the phrase, "God's Passion," although, as he must have known, it had high authority; he insisted that the word "Incarnate" should be added,—it was the Passion of Christ (*Ep.* i. 129); he urged on Cyril the authority of Athanasius for the phrase, "*from*

two natures" (*Ep.* i. 323), and he even uses the yet clearer phrase, ultimately adopted by the council of Chalcedon, "*in* both natures" (*Ep.* i. 405); but he repeatedly insists on the unity of the Person of Christ, the God-Man, which was the point at issue in the controversy (*Ep.* i. 23, 303, 405). He says that "the Lamb of God," as the true Paschal victim, "combined the fire of the divine essence with the flesh that is now eaten by us" (*Ep.* i. 219); in a letter to a Nestorianising "scholasticus" he even calls the Virgin (not simply Theotocos, but) "Mother of God Incarnate" (Θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος μητέρα" (*Ep.* i. 54). And when Cyril, two years later, came to an understanding with John of Antioch, Isidore gravely exhorted him to be consistent, and said that his most recent writings, compared with his former ones, shewed him to be "either open to flattery or an agent of levity, swayed by vainglory instead of imitating the great athletes" of the faith, &c. (*Ep.* i. 324). Perhaps these letters were "the treatise to" (or against) Cyril, which Evagrius ascribes to Isidore. While some credit is due to one so ardent and strong-willed as Cyril was by nature for allowing the eminent recluse to treat him with such freedom, it may be thought that Isidore shews too evident a pleasure in playing the monitor to his patriarch, and forgets, at least in the latter case, his own maxims as to accurate enquiry. He was better employed when he uttered warnings against the rising heresy of Eutychianism: "To assert only one nature of Christ after the Incarnation is to take away both, either by a change of the divine or an abatement of the human" (*Ep.* i. 102); among various errors he mentions "a fusion and commixture and abolition of the natures," urging his correspondent, a presbyter, to cling to the "inspired" Nicene faith (*Ep.* iv. 99).

His theology was generally characterised by accuracy and moderation. In a truly Athanasian spirit (conf. Athan. *de Decr. Nic.* 22) he writes, "We are bound to know and believe *that* God is, not to busy ourselves as to *what* He is" (*i.e.* attempt to comprehend His essence; *Ep.* ii. 299). He is emphatic against the two extremes of Arianism and Sabellianism. "If," he argues, "God was always like to Himself, He must have been always Father; therefore the Son is co-eternal" (*Ep.* i. 241 and cp. i. 389); and Eunomians exceed Arians in making the Son a servant (*Ep.* i. 246). Sabellians misinterpret John x. 30, where ἕν shews the one essence, and the plural ἐσμεν the two hypostases (*Ep.* i. 138). In the Trinity, the Godhead is one, but the hypostases are three (*Ep.* i. 247). In Heb. i. 3, the ἀπαύγασμα indicates the co-eternity, the χαρακτήρ the personality; it is in things made that "before "and "after" have place, not in "the dread and sovereign Trinity" (*Ep.* iii. 18; cp. the *Quicunque*, ver. 25). The belief in three persons in one essence excludes alike Judaism and polytheism (*Ep.* iii. 112). Of John xiv. 28, he observes that "greater" or "less than" implies identity of nature (*Ep.* i. 422). On Phil. ii. 6 sq. he argues that, unless Christ was equal to the Father, the illustration is irrelevant; if He was equal, then it is pertinent. "If Christ had deemed equality with the Father to be a thing gained by accident [ἕρμαιον], He would not have humbled Himself, . . . but since He was by nature equal, and had His prerogative of birth [εὐγένειαν] by virtue of His essence, He did not decline to do so. A slave who has been emancipated and adopted as a son would regard that dignity as a ἅρπαγμα, and would not endure to do any household work; but a genuine son, being born noble, and so above all suspicion, would not decline to do anything of the sort." (*Ep.* iv. 22. The passage is interesting as shewing that he, like St. Chrysostom, while interpreting οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν—Θεῷ of the condescension, understood St. Paul to mean, "Christ could afford to waive the display of His co-equality, just because He did *not* regard it as a thing to which He had no right.") In another letter he explains Rom. iii. 25; when no other cure for a man's ills was possible, "God brought in the only-begotten Son as a ransom; one Victim, surpassing all in worth, was offered up for all" (*Ep.* iv. 100). He contends that the Divinity of the Holy Spirit—denied by Macedonians—is involved in the Divinity of the Son (*Ep.* i. 20). Against the denial of the latter doctrine he cites a number of texts, and explains the "humble language" used by Jesus as the result of the "economy" of the Incarnation, whereas the "lofty language" also used by Him would be inexplicable if He were a mere man (*Ep.* iv. 166). "Baptism," he writes to a count, "does not only wash away the uncleanness derived through Adam's transgression, for that much were nothing, but conveys a divine regeneration surpassing all words—redemption, sanctification, adoption, &c.; and the baptized person, through the reception of the sacred mysteries [of the Eucharist: cf. *Ep.* i. 228], becomes of one body with the Only-begotten, and is united to Him as the body to its head" (*Ep.* iii. 195). He censures such abstinence as proceeds from "Manichaean or Marcionite principles" (*Ep.* i. 52); notices the omissions in the Marcionite Gospel (*Ep.* i. 371); accuses Novatians of self-righteous assurance (*Ep.* i. 100), but is credulous in regard to scandalous imputations against the Montanists, much resembling the libels which had been circulated against the early Christians (*Ep.* i. 242).

These letters illustrate the activity of Jewish opposition to the Gospel. They tell us of a few who cavilled at the substitution of bread for bloody sacrifices in the Christian oblation (*Ep.* i. 401); of another who criticised the "hyperbole" in John xxi. 25 (*Ep.* ii. 99); of another who argued against a bishop from Haggai ii. 9 that the temple would yet be restored (*Ep.* iv. 17). And although Paganism, as a system and organised power, was defunct (*Ep.* i. 270), yet its adherents were still voluble; they called Christianity "a new-fangled scheme of life" (*Ep.* ii. 46); they contemned its principle of faith (*Ep.* v. 101); they disparaged Scripture on account of its "barbaric diction" and its defects of style (*Ep.* iv. 28); they sneered at the "dead Jesus," at the Cross, at the Sepulchre, at the "ignorance of the apostles" (*Ep.* iv. 27); and Isidore heard one of them, a clever rhetorician, bursting into "a broad laugh" at the Passion, and presently put him to silence (*Ep.* iv. 31). He wrote a "little treatise" (λογίδιον), "which some preferred to other works on the subject," to prove that there was "no such thing as fate" (*Ep.* iii. 253), and a book "against the

Gentiles," to prove that divination was "nonsensical" (*Ep.* ii. 137, 228), thus using in behalf of religion the "weapons and syllogisms of its opponents, to their confusion" (*Ep.* iii. 87). Both are now lost. His familiarity with heathen writers—among whom he cites and criticises Galen (*Ep.* iv. 125)—gave him great advantages in discussion with unbelievers; and he takes occasion from a question as to Origen's theory about the lapse of souls to recite a variety of opinions still current, apparently among those who still rejected the Gospel. "Some think that the soul is extinguished with the body . . . . some have imagined that all is governed by chance; some have entrusted their lives to fate, necessity, and fortune . . . some have said that heaven is ruled by providence, but the earth is not" (*Ep.* iv. 163). In one letter he attends to the wrongs done to the Christians' argument by Christians' misconduct: "If we overcome heretics, pagans, and Jews, by our correct doctrine, we are bound also to overcome them by our conduct, lest, when worsted on the former ground, they should think to overcome on the latter, and, after rejecting our faith, should adduce against it our own lives" (*Ep.* iv. 226).

Very many of his letters are answers to questions as to texts of Scripture. Like Athanasius, he sometimes gives a choice of explanations (*e.g. Ep.* i. 114); although a follower of Chrysostom, he shews an Alexandrian tendency to far-fetched and fantastic interpretation, as when he explains the live coal and the tongs in Isa. vi. 7 to represent the divine essence and the flesh of Christ (*Ep.* i. 42), or the carcase and the eagles to mean humanity ruined by tasting the forbidden fruit and lifted up by ascetic mortification (*Ep.* i. 282), or when "he that is on the house-top" is coerced into denoting a man who despises the present life (*Ep.* i. 210). These specimens may be sufficient. He reproves a presbyter for criticising mystical interpreters (*Ep.* ii. 81), but he says also that those who attempt to make the whole of the Old Testament refer to Christ give occasion to pagans, and to those heretics who do not recognise it: "for while they strain the passages which do *not* refer to Him, they awaken suspicion as to those which without any straining *do* refer to Him" (*Ep.* ii. 195). With similar good sense he remarks that St. Paul's concessions to Jewish observance were not a turning back to the Law, but an "economy" for the sake of others who had not outgrown it (*Ep.* i. 407). Again he observes that church history should relieve despondency as to existing evils, and that even the present state of the church should remove mistrust as to the future (*Ep.* ii. 5). Difficulties about the resurrection of the body are met by considering that the future body will not be like the present, but "ethereal and spiritual" (*Ep.* ii. 43). He admits that ambition is a natural motive, and can be turned to good (*Ep.* iii. 34). Ascetic as he was, he dissuades from immoderate fasting, lest an "immoderate reaction" ensue (*Ep.* ii. 45). Obedience to the government, when it does not interfere with religion, is inculcated, because our Lord "was registered and paid tribute to Caesar" (*Ep.* i. 48). But he exhorts Theodosius II. (probably soon after his accession) to "combine mildness with authority" (*Ep.* i. 35); he intimates that this prince's ears were too open to malicious representations (*Ep.* i. 275); and he speaks to a "corrector" in the manly tones so seldom heard in those days, except from the lips of typical Christians: "He who has been invested with rule ought himself to be ruled by the laws; if he himself sets them aside, how can he be a lawful ruler?" (*Ep.* v. 383.) Among his opinions on Biblical points, these may be mentioned: that the genealogy traced through Joseph proves that Mary also must have sprung from David (*Ep.* i. 7); that the fourth beast in Daniel meant the Roman empire (*Ep.* i. 218); that the seventy weeks extended from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to the eighth of Claudius (*Ep.* iii. 89); that the Epistle to the Hebrews was by St. Paul (*Ep.* i. 7). Like some Fathers, he interprets Mark xiii. 32 evasively (*Ep.* i. 117). He corrects the confusion between the two Philips (*Ep.* i. 447). His shrewdness and humour, occasionally tinged with causticity, appear in various letters. "I hear that you have bought a great many books, and yet . . . know nothing of their contents;" take care, he proceeds, lest you be called "a book's-grave," or "a moth-feeder;" then comes a serious allusion to the buried talent (*Ep.* i. 127). He tells a bishop that he trains the younger ministers well, but spoils them by over-praising them (*Ep.* i. 202). He hears that Zosimus can say by heart some passages of St. Basil, and suggests that he should read a certain homily against drunkards (*Ep.* i. 61). He asks an ascetic why he "abstains from meat and feeds greedily on revilings" (*Ep.* i. 446). His friend Harpocras, a good "sophist" (whom he recommends for a vacant mastership, v. 458, and urges to keep his boys from the theatre and hippodrome, v. 185), had written a sarcastic "monody," or elegy, on Zosimus and his fellows, as already "dead in sin;" Isidore, whom he had requested to forward it to them, defers doing so, lest he should infuriate them against the author; however, he says in effect, if you really mean it to go, send it yourself, and then, if a feud arises, you will have no one else to blame (*Ep.* v. 52). He seems to be drawing from life when he remarks that "some people are allowed to be tempted in order to cure them of the notion that they are great and invincible persons" (*Ep.* v. 39). He points out to a palace chamberlain the inconsistence of being glib at Scripture quotations and "mad after other people's property" (*Ep.* i. 27). But for all this keenness and all this didactic severity, and in spite of his expressed approval of the use of torture (*Ep.* i. 116), he impresses us as a man of kindly disposition; he writes with laconic cordiality to a count, "A cheery life to you, who are so kind to all!" (*Ep.* i. 161.) He dilates to a bishop on the "sacred delight" with which he looks forward to seeing him at a coming festival (*Ep.* ii. 31). He writes to Harpocras, "If for a little while I do not hear from you, I become quite low-spirited. . . . Write regularly, for so you will be still more endeared to me" (*Ep.* v. 125). He observes that "God values nothing more than love, for the sake of which He became man and obedient unto death; for on this account also the first-called of His disciples were two brothers . . our Saviour thus intimating that He wills all His disciples to be united fraternally" (*Ep.* i. 10). In this spirit he says of slaves, "Prejudice or fortune . . . has made them our property, but we are all one by

nature, by the faith, by the judgment to come" (*Ep.* i. 471); and he tells how a young man came to his cell, asked to see him, was introduced by the porter, fell at his feet in tears, and at first in silence, then, on being reassured, said that he was the servant of Iron the barrister, and had offended his master, in ignorance, but too deeply for pardon. "I cannot think," writes Isidore, "that the true Christian Iron, who knows the grace that has set all men free, can have a slave" (*οἰκέτην ἔχειν*, *Ep.* i. 142). This tenderness is in harmony with the candour ("si sainte et si belle," says Tillemont, xv. 104) with which he owns that when he has tried to pray for them who have deliberately injured him, he has found himself doing so "with his lips only." "Not that I doubt that some have attained that height of excellence: rather, I rejoice at it and rejoice with them, and would desire to reach the same point" (*Ep.* v. 398).

Isidore's letters naturally contain allusions to the religious customs or opinions of his age: such as pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints, as of St. Peter (*Ep.* ii. 5; cp. i. 160 on that of Thecla, and i. 226 on the martyrs who "guard the city" of Pelusium); the benediction given by the bishop "from his high chair," and the response of "And with thy spirit" (*Ep.* i. 122); the deacon's linen garment, and the bishop's woollen "omophorion" which he took off when the gospel was read (*Ep.* i. 136); the right of taking refuge in churches (*Ep.* i. 174); the wrongfulness of exacting an oath (*Ep.* i. 155).

The time of his death cannot be placed later than A.D. 449, or, at farthest, 450 (see Tillemont, xv. 116). He is commemorated, in the East and West, on Feb. 4.

Two thousand letters of his, we are told, were collected by the zealously anti-Monophysite community of Acoemetae, or "sleepless" monks, at Constantinople, and arranged in four volumes of five hundred letters each. This collection appears to be identical with the extant two thousand and twelve letters, distributed, without regard to chronology, into five books (see Tillemont, xv. 117, 847), of which the first three were edited by Billius, the fourth by Rittershusius, and the fifth by Andrew Schott, a Jesuit; the whole being included in the edition published at Paris in 1638. Many of the letters are, in effect, repetitions of each other. [W. B.]

ISIDORUS (32), of Alexandria, the successor of Marinus, who had succeeded the philosopher Proclus as the preceptor of Damascius. He died before 526. It is apparently he who is said by Suidas to have been the (nominal) husband of Hypatia; but this has been remarked by others to be chronologically impossible. He must not be confounded with Isidore of Gaza, an error into which Gibbon falls. (Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* i. 855–6, and *Epit. Fast. Rom.* pp. 200 and 216.) [R. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (33), an engineer (*μηχανοποιός*) associated with Anthemius by the emperor Justinian in 532 for the restoration of St. Sophia. He was a Milesian and a man of great genius (Procop. *Aedif.* lib. i. cap. 1). Paulus Silentiarius, in his *Descriptio S. Sophiae* (pars ii. ver. 136, p. 28, ed. Bekker), speaks of him as *πάνσοφον ἔχων νόον*. Justinian consulted him on plans for preventing inundations in the frontier city of Daras (ii. 3). Isidorus had a nephew of the same name and profession, and likewise a Milesian, associated with Joannes Byzantius in the public works of Constantinople (ii. 8). [C. H.]

ISIDORUS (34), presbyter and hegumenus of a monastery near the martyrium of St. Epimachus in the jurisdiction of Photinus bishop of Chalcedon. He was one of the subscribers to the libellus addressed to the patriarch Mennas in 536. (Mansi, viii. 1016.) [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (35), of Gaza, an eminent philosopher, who retired with six others, to Persia, in the 28th year of Justinian, A.D. 554, being disgusted with the manners of the Christians, and hearing great things of the simple life of Chosroes and the happiness of his people. But they were speedily undeceived, and returned, in spite of the entreaties of the Persian king. (Agathias, *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 30.) [R. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (36), prefect of the patriarchal library at Alexandria, who rendered Anastasius Sinaita good service in his controversies with the heretics of that city. (Anastas. Sinait. *Viae Dux*, x. in Pat. Gr. lxxxix. 186.) [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (37), deacon of Alexandria, messenger from the patriarch Eulogius to Gregory the Great in 596 and 603. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. vi. ind. xiv. ep. 60, lib. xiii. ind. vi. ep. 42; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 119, 152.) [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (38), vir clarissimus, excommunicated by Januarius bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, for personal reasons only. The bishop was in 592 reprimanded by Gregory the Great. In 593 Isidorus was summoned to Rome, that in his presence and that of the bishop Gregory might examine his complaints. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 49, lib. iii. indict. xi. 36 in Migne, lxxvii. 590, 632; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 101, 104.) [A. H. D. A.]

ISIDORUS (39), a monk martyred at Corduba (Cordova). (Usuard. *Mart.* Apr. 17.) [R. T. S.]

ISIDORUS (40), a man of rank at Palermo, who bequeathed a sum for a xenodochium in that town. In 601 Gregory the Great, through Fantinus the defensor, complained of the dilatoriness of the heirs, and gave instructions that the bequest, if insufficient for the purpose intended, should be appropriated to the Xenodochium of St. Theodorus founded earlier by a certain Peter. (Greg. Mag. lib. xii. ind. v. ep. 10, ed. Migne; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 146.) [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (41), hegumenus of Latrum, at the council of Nicaea in 787. (Mansi, xiii. 152 E.) [T. W. D.]

ISIDORUS (42), a presbyter of Antioch. [JOANNES (11) TALAIA.]

ISION (1), bishop of Athribis in Egypt. His name appears in the list called the *Breviarium* of Meletius, given to Alexander, after the Nicene synod. Ision was also one of the faction which attempted to convict Athanasius of various crimes. (Athanas. *Apol. contra Arianos*, Patr. Gr. xxv. 375; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 553.) [J. de S.]

ISION (2), of Mareotis. [ISCHYRAS.]

ISIRNINUS. [ISSERNINUS.]

ISITIUS, martyr at Antioch. [ISICHIUS.]

ISITIUS, archbishop of Vienne. [ISICIUS.]

ISITIUS, bishop of Grenoble. [HESYCHIUS (11).]

ISMAEL, a Persian martyr. [MANUEL.]

ISMAEL ST., son of Budic by Anaumed, the sister of St. Teilo. He received from his uncle the appointment of bishop of Menevia. He was the founder of St. Ishmael's near Kidwelly in Carmarthenshire, and of St. Ishmael's and other churches in Pembrokeshire. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 244, 252; see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Kambriae*, i. c. 11, p. 86.) [C. W. B.]

ISOCASIUS, a native of Aegae in Cilicia. He was a philosopher, and after having filled several offices of state with great reputation, he was quaestor at Antioch, when in 467 he was accused to the emperor Leo of being a pagan. The emperor sent him for trial, from Constantinople, where he was then residing, to Theophilus, the praeses of Bithynia, at Chalcedon. Jacobus Cilix surnamed Psychristus, the medical attendant of the emperor, and greatly esteemed by the people of Constantinople, being a friend of Isocasius, successfully pleaded with Leo that he might not be tried by a praeses because of his rank (*Cod. Theod.* IX. i. 13, A.D. 376; II. i. 12, A.D. 423; Cassidor. *Var.* iv. 22). Isocasius was therefore brought back to Constantinople to be tried there by Pusaeus, the pretorian prefect of the East, who was also consul. Pusaeus was a former colleague of his; and at his trial Isocasius appealed to him, saying, "Judge me as we used to judge others together." The people who stood by hearing this, earnestly appealed in his behalf to the emperor, and then, apparently with his permission, took Isocasius to the great church, where he was baptized. The emperor afterwards sent him back to Cilicia. (Joannes Malal. lib. xiv. t. ii. 76, 77 ed. Oxon.; *Chron. Pasch.* s. a. 467 in Migne, Patr. Gr. xcii. 822; Theophanes. *Chron.* s. a. 460 in Pat. Gr. cviii. 291.) He is mentioned by Basilius of Seleucia, in *Vita S. Theclae Mart.* (l. ii. c. 25), as having been cured of a sickness in St. Thecla's church near Aegae, and thereupon converted from paganism. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Sept. vi. 562 E.) [T. W. D.]

ISOCHRISTI (Ἰσόχριστοι), a sect of Origenistic monks of the sixth century, mentioned under that name by Cyril of Scythopolis in his Life of St. Saba (cap. 89 in Coteler. *Eccl. Gr. Monum.* iii. 372). In a theological controversy between the Laura of Firminus and the Nova Laura in Palestine, the disputants fastened names on their opponents, and the Neolaurites were called Isochristi, and the Firminiotes Protoctistae and Tetraditae. The emperor Justinian in his letter against the Origenists addressed to the council of Constantinople under Mennas cir. 543, distinctly refers to the opinions of the Isochristi, viz. that at the restitution of all things all men will be united with God in the same manner as Christ is, and thus that our Lord in no sense differs from others who are endowed with reason. The council condemned the tenets in its thirteenth canon, which is drawn in almost the very words of the emperor's letter (Cedrenus, *Compend.* p. 662 in *Pat. Gr.* cxxi. 721 C; Mansi, ix. 399, 536 D). Cyril of Scythopolis states (*u. s.*) that Theodorus Ascida bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia warmly espoused the opinions of the Isochristi, numbers of whom were under his influence promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. Evagrius (*H. E.* iv. 38) quotes a passage of Theodorus to the effect that since the apostles and martyrs now work miracles and are held in so much honour, their "restitution" must consist in their becoming equal to Christ (cf. Fleury, *H. E.* xxxiii. 40, 51; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Comp. der Dogmengesch.* i. 207; Dorner, *Person of Christ.* ed. Clark, div. ii. vol. i. p. 132). [T. W. D.]

ISONIUS, a Priscillianist bishop who recanted at the council of Toledo in 400. (Mansi, iii. 1006.) [T. W. D.]

ISOËS (Ἰσόης), presbyter, legate of the bishop of Thyatira at the council of Nicaea in 787. (Mansi, xiii. 143 C.) [T. W. D.]

ISPASANDUS (SPASANDUS, VASANDUS), archdeacon of Tarragona, representing Cyprianus bishop of Tarragona at the council of Toledo in 683 (Mansi, xi. 1076). He is probably the same person as ESPASANDUS, bishop of Complutum. [T. W. D.]

ISRAEL of Tmesu, for ten years catholicos of Armenia, between Anastasius and Isaac III. [ARMENIANS.] According to the annalist he was of the town of Zotmuds, and held the see for six years (Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. xv). Saint-Martin (*Hist. sur l'Armen.* i. 107, 438, ii. 367) places him in 667–677, and makes him born at Iothmous, a town of Vanant, a canton of the province of Ararat. [C. H.]

ISSERNINUS (ISERNINUS, ISIRNINUS, ISSERINUS, JERNINUS, SERINUS), was one of St. Patrick's earliest disciples, and is said to have been ordained deacon when St. Patrick was consecrated, and Auxilius made a priest by bishop Amathorex, in Gaul. [PATRICIUS.] He is afterwards spoken of as a bishop who was sent to aid St. Patrick, and settled at Kilcullen, county Kildare. He was probably a Gaul, but Colgan (*Acta SS.* 477–479) can scarcely be right in identifying him with St. Sezin. Spelman places this synod about 450 or 456. Isserninus's death is given in the *Ann. Tig.* in the year 469. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* pass.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. pass.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 317, 332, 485, 486; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, Wks. vi. 400, 401, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 439, 469.) [J. G.]

ISSEUS, a son of Brychan of Wales, the patron saint of S. Issey, a parish near Padstow in Cornwall, which was also called Egloscruc and Nansant. We also find it called "parochia sanctorum Ide et Lydi," and the present church is dedicated to St. Filius. There are parish fairs on June 4 and Sept. 22. There is a holy well in the parish. The worship paid to wells in the pagan times (*Revue Celtique*, i. 308) secured them much devotion after Christianity came in; and there are still some superstitious customs connected with the wells in Cornwall. (See W. Bottrell's *Traditions of West Cornwall*, 1870; see *Historia Gildae*, § 4: "fontes vel

colles, aut fluvios olim exitiabiles nunc vero humanis usibus utiles, quibus divinus honor a caeco tunc populo cumulabatur.") For lives of St. Ida the virgin, see Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, i. 144–5; and see Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, p. 13. Compare W. C. Borlase, *the Age of the Saints*, 1878, p. 72, 84. [C. W. B.]

ISSUI, ST. (ISHAW), a martyr to whom Partricio or Partrishaw, a chapel under Lanbedr in Brecknockshire, is dedicated. His day is Oct. 30. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

ISYCHIUS, presbyter and hegumenus of the monastery of St. Theodosius, apparently at or near Jerusalem, who subscribed the libellus to the patriarch Mennas in 536 in the name of the monks of the wilderness of the holy city. (Mansi, viii. 1017.) [T. W. D.]

ISYCHIUS, martyr at Antioch. [ISICHIUS.]

ITA (1), of St. Ives. [HIA.]

(2) Of Killeedy. [ITE.]

ITACIUS. [IDATIUS.]

ITALICA (1), a lady to whom St. Augustine wrote to console her on the loss of her husband, whom, he reminds her, she will see again without fear of separation, but exhorting her to remember that no one will see the light of God's presence in its fulness before the day of final revelation of the same. Evodius mentions this letter in one which he wrote to Augustine. (*Epp.* 92, 161.)

In a second letter addressed to Italica, Augustine acknowledges the receipt from her of three letters, and in his reply expresses his regret that neither she nor her agent, who had written to announce to him his intention of sending to Rome, had given him any account of the calamities which had taken place there, viz. the capture of Rome by Alaric, A.D. 408, of which he had heard an imperfect account from some bishops who were then in the city. As he speaks of her children, but not of her husband, it is probable that this is the same person as the one mentioned in *Ep.* 92. She is also probably the one of that name to whom St. Chrysostom addressed a letter A.D. 406.

She appears to have offered to St. Augustine a house in exchange for one in which he was interested, but he informs her that it is not in his power to effect the exchange, as the one which she wished to receive formed part of the ancient possessions of the church of Hippo Regius. (Aug. *Ep.* 99; Chrys. *Ep.* 170; Ceillier, ix. 98.) [H. W. P.]

ITALICA (2) PATRICIA, a lady addressed by Childebert king of the Franks, in 588 (Duchesne, *Script.* i. 870; Bouquet, iv. 86). She appears to have been related to the emperor Maurice (Ducange, *Fam. August.* p. 106), and to have been married to Venantius, an ex-monk and a patricius of Syracuse. In 593 there was some dispute in relation to the poor between Italica and pope Gregory the Great, who sent his deacon Cyprian to arrange matters. (Greg. *Epp.* lib. iii. ind. xi. ep. 60; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 106). A portion of this letter appears in the *Decretal* of Gregory IX. (*Corp. Jur. Canon*, lib. ii. tit. xxvi. 2, ed. Leips. 1839, pars ii. p. 369.) In Aug. 599, Gregory writes to Italica and Venantius; he felicitates them on their welfare of which he has heard; the wretched state of mankind portends, he believes, the approaching end of the world; he salutes Barbara and Antonina, the daughters of Venantius (lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 123; Jaffé, 135). In 601 Gregory writes to comfort Venantius in his illness (lib. ix. ind. iv. ep. 25; Jaffé, 142), and it appears that the sick man's estate is being attacked, and his daughters are coming to Rome for its protection (epp. 25, 75; Jaffé, 142, 145); Gregory directs John bishop of Syracuse to exert himself in behalf of the family, and as Venantius is to be urged to resume the monastic habit, the inference is that Italica is now dead (ep. 31; Jaffé, 142). Venantius recovered, and in 602 was addressed by Gregory as patricius of Palermo (lib. x. ind. v. ep. 45, lib. xi. ind. vi. ep. 14; Jaffé, 145, 150). [T. W. D.]

ITALICUS (1), an officer of the Christian city of Majuma, near Gaza, in the 4th century, whose duty it was to keep horses for the Circensian games. There was a rivalry between Majoma and the heathen city of Gaza; and it was believed that a spell had been laid on the chariot of Italicus by Marnas, the idol of Gaza. Jerome records that the hermit Hilarion, by pouring water on the wheels of the chariot, liberated it from the spell, and that the Christian city immediately prevailed in the races. (Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, 20.) [HILARION.] [W. H. F.]

ITALICUS (2), probably a relative of Italica Patricia. In May 602, Gregory the Great wrote to John bishop of Syracuse respecting some rents that were due to the church of Rome from an estate called Gelas in Sicily, apparently in the occupation of Italicus and Venantius (Greg. lib. xii. ind. v. ep. 43; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 148; C. H. Sack, *Patrimon. Eccl. Rom.* pp. 67–69.) [T. W. D.]

ITAMAR (Kemble, *C. D.* 984). [ITHAMAR.]

ITE (IDA, IDE, ITA, MIDA, MITA), commemorated Jan. 15. Of this saint we have a very early Life, supposed by Colgan to have been written about A.D. 640, and by Ware to have been in the end of the 6th century. This, taken by Colgan from an old Kilkenny MS., is given by him (*Acta SS.* 66–74, with notes, and an appendix of three chapters on her parentage and country, saints, her kinsmen, and testimonies to her by others), and by the Bollandists. (*Acta SS.* 15 Jan. [i. 1062 sq.], ii. 345–350, with short preliminary notice.)

St. Ite (known also as Ida, Ide, Ita, Ytha, and with the prefix of affection and reverence, *mo.* Mida, Mide, Midea, Mita) was of the noble family of the Desii in Waterford. Her mother was Neacht, and her father, Kennfoelad, son of Corbmac, descended from Fiacha Suighdhe, son of Fedhlimidh Reachtmhar, king of Ireland. Born about A.D. 480, and apparently of Christian parents, she received at baptism the name of Deirdre, latinised Derthrea and Dorothea, and was afterwards known as Ite (from ıoca, denoting her "thirst" for the love of God). At an early age she began to shew the love and spirit of God in her heart by unusual austerity and devotion. When marriage was desired for her, she declared

her wish for the life of Christian virginity, and at last secured her father's consent to take upon her the monastic veil and vows, possibly from the hands of St. Declan (July 24) of Ardmore. Having prayed to be guided in her choice of a place in which to serve God best, she went to the territory of the Hy-Connaill, and at the foot of Mount Luachra built her house, at first called Cluain-Credhail, and now Killeedy, in the barony of Glenquin, co. Limerick. Pious maidens soon came and placed themselves under her direction, and she secured such reverence that she is still regarded as the St. Brigida of Munster. She was on terms of closest friendship with the chief saints of that age, like St. Brendan (May 16) of Clonfert, and St. Comgan (Feb. 27) of Glenn-Uissen, and has had attributed to her many miracles and prophecies. At last, on Jan. 15, A.D. 570 (*Ann. Tig.*), after a life-long suffering from some terrible ailment, she departed to the Lord, invoking a blessing upon the clergy and people of the Hy-Connaill, among whom she had sojourned. She was held in special honour in the county of Limerick, and many churches, called Killeedy and Kilmeedy, are under her patronage. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 29, 33, 81 sq.; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 17; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 220 n. [44], 589, c. 1, 598, c. 2.) [J. G.]

ITERIUS, abbat. [ITHERIUS.]

ITHA of St. Ives. [HIA.]

ITHACIUS, bishop of Ossonoba, from before 379 until about 388. (*Esp. Sag.* xiv. 215.) [PRISCILLIANUS.] [M. B. C.]

ITHAMAR. [MARSAN.]

ITHARNAISC (IOTHARNAISC) is joined in commemoration with Latharnaisc at Jan. 14, in the *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 15), and is alone in *Mart. Tallaght* on that day, but in both is "of Achadh-ferta" (the field of the grave). He is possibly the same as Ethernasc or Iotharnaisc (Dec. 22) of Clane, and as the Ethernan or Ithernaisc whom Dempster *Men. Scot.*) places on Jan. 24. [ETHERNASC.] (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 199, 431; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 311.) [J. G.]

ITHERIUS, ST., fifteenth bishop of Nevers, succeeding Rogus and followed by Ebarcius, in the list of the *Gallia Christiana*, but in that of Coquille fourteenth, followed by Opportunus. It has been disputed whether he belonged to Bourges or Nevers, though he is usually assigned to the latter. He is said to have died in 691, and is commemorated as a saint on July 8, at Nogent, in the diocese of Sens. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 629; Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, p. 38, and sub fin., Paris, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 628.) [S. A. B.]

ITHERIUS (ITERIUS, HITHERIUS, French, ITHIER), ninth abbat of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, succeeding Wulfardus I. and followed by Alcuin, was one of the higher ecclesiastics whom the Carolingian princes were in the habit of employing on civil and diplomatic missions. We first hear of him as one of the hostages from high families of his province given by Waifarius, duke of Aquitaine, to Pippin in 760 (*Annal. Franc.* ad an. 760; *Einhardi Annal.* ad ann. 760, Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, v. 35, 199). Almost immediately he must have been appointed by the latter his chancellor, since we have his subscription in that capacity to a royal charter dated in that year, and ranging over the next fifteen years there are a number of grants and charters, first of Pippin and then of Charles the Great, signed by him as chancellor or by his deputy (Bouquet, *ibid.* pp. 704, 707–710, 712, 715, 717, 723–7, 729–734). In 769 we learn from a letter of pope Stephen to Charles and his mother praising the religion, wisdom, and loyalty of Itherius, that he was a member of a mission sent to Rome (Bouquet, *ibid.* pp. 538–9). His abbacy is said to have been conferred on him about 774. In 782 he was again Charles's ambassador to Rome, this time to Adrian I. Two of the pope's letters in 782 and 783 make mention of him. In the latter year he had assisted in a mission for the recovery of some territory for the holy see (Bouquet, *ibid.* pp. 564, 566). In 785 he is again at Rome, charged in company with Magenarius of St. Denys to consult the pope on Charles's behalf as to the penance which should be imposed upon those of the recently conquered Saxons who had apostatized from Christianity (Bouquet, *ibid.* 567). It was on this occasion that he obtained from Adrian a confirmation of the privilege which his monastery shared alone in France with that of St. Denys at Paris, Lobes and Hohenove in Alsace, of possessing its own peculiar bishop. The bull was given in June, 786 (cf. *Gall. Christ.* vii. 349, and Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xliv. 21). In 791 he founded a monastery or cell called Cormaricus (Cormerie) on the Indre as a dependency of St. Martin's, and dedicated it to St. Paul (Bouquet, *ibid.* v. 457 [a], vi. 519, 571, 613). His *praeceptum* for its foundation is given in *Gall. Christ.* xiv. instr. vii. col. 9; see col. 254 for its history. Besides the papal bull, he obtained three royal grants in favour of St. Martin's (Bouquet, *ibid.* v. 737, 747, 754). In his last illness he was consoled by a letter from Alcuin. He died in 796. (Alcuin. ep. 27. *Opp.* i. 36, 37, ii. 565, ed. Froben.; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 160–1.) [S. A. B.]

ITISBERGA, virgin. [IDABERGA.]

ITISBERGA, a virgin honoured at Yberghe, a village in Artois, between Aire and St. Venant, on the river Lys. She is thought to have lived about the beginning of the 8th century. According to one legend, she was a daughter of king Pippin and Bertha, and would therefore be sister to Charles the Great; but as Einhard (*Vita Car. Magn.* xviii., Patr. Lat. xcvii. 44) expressly states that Charles had only one sister, Gisla, this is impossible, unless Itisberga is to be identified with Gisla, which some commentators have ventured to assert. She is commemorated May 21. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 44–6.) [S. A. B.]

ITTA, ITTABERGA. [IDUBERGA.]

ITTA, virgin. [ITE.]

IUDOC, Armorican saint. [JUDOCUS.]

IUST (JUSTUS), son of Bracan or Brychan of Brycheiniog, and said by Colgan (*Acta SS.* i. 312, c. 5, quoting a list by Aengus the Culdee) to be in the region of Slemna, corruptly called Levinia in Albania or Scotland; he is otherwise unknown. (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 23, 36, n. [73].) [JUSTAN.] [J. G.]

IUTHWARA, British virgin, martyred in South Wales in the 8th century. Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* xxiii. 9) gives her legend from Capgrave, in which she suffers death at her brother's hand. Her feast is Dec. 23. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 321.) [J. G.]

IVA, IVE, of St. Ives in Cornwall.

IVENTIUS (*Usuard.* Sept. 12) of Pavia. [JUVENTIUS.]

IVO, ST. (Yvo), June 10, a supposed Persian bishop in Britain, after whom the town of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire was named. His life was written by the monk Goscelin, when a resident at Ramsey, at the request of the abbat Herebert. As this abbat became bishop of Thetford in 1091, the Life would have been undertaken a few years earlier. It was based on a more diffused account drawn up by a previous abbat Andrew, who collected his information while in the East on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This abbat is called Withman in the *History of Ramsey* (Gale, i. 434), and is there said to have remained abroad a year. As 1020 was the year of the pilgrimage (*Monast. Angl.* ii. 547), this earliest account of Ivo may be considered as compiled about the year 1021. Goscelin's *Life of Ivo* is printed in Boll. *Acta SS.* 10 June ii. 288. It describes Ivo as a missionary bishop, a star of the East, a messenger of the true Sun, divinely marked out for the western region of Britain. Quitting his native Persia, he passed through Asia and Illyricum to Rome, enlightening every place he visited. From Rome he proceeded to Gaul, where the admiring king and nobles would fain have detained him, but he pushed forwards into Britain with his three companions. There he rescued the people from idolatry. The first-fruit of his labours was "a youth of patrician dignity named Patricius, the son of a Senator." Passing into Mercia Ivo settled at the vill of Slepe, three English leucae (Gosc. cap. 2, § 8) from Huntedun. There he laboured many years, there he died and was buried. About one hundred lustra (Gosc. cap. 1, § 4) had passed since the bishop's death, when a peasant of Slepe chanced to strike his plough against a stone sarcophagus, within which were found, besides human remains, a silver chalice and insignia of the episcopal rank. Slepe had then become one of the estates of the abbey of Ramsey, eight leucae (Gosc. cap. 2, § 8) distant, and abbat Eadnoth was informed of the occurrence. The same night a man of Slepe saw in a vision one robed as a bishop, with ornaments corresponding to those found in the sarcophagus, who said he was St. Ivo and wished to be removed to the abbey, with two of his companions, whose burial-places he described. The translation was accordingly effected, and on the spot where the saint was found a church was likewise dedicated to him, connected with which was a priory, as a cell of the parent abbey. The spot was thenceforth known as St. Ives. A later hand adds that in the reign of Henry I. the relics of the two companions were re-translated to St. Ives from Ramsey. As Ramsey abbey is known to have been founded about 991 or a little earlier (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 580 D; *Monast. Angl.* ii. 547), Eadnoth the first abbat (*Liber Eliens.* ed. Stewart, p. 188) would be living about A.D. 1000 (the common date of the translation is 1001). Reckoning back one hundred lustra or four hundred years (computing by the four-year lustrum), we arrive at the year 600 as about the period of Ivo's death, and this is in fact the year given by Florence of Worcester (*Chron.* in *M. H. B.* 526). If then Ivo died in 600, his mission at Slepe must be placed about 580–600, which figures nearly correspond with the reign of the emperor Maurice, with whom Diceto (in Gale, iii. 559) makes him contemporary. Thus Ivo's Mercian mission preceded the arrival of Augustine by about half a generation, and anticipated by some seventy years the conversion of Mercia as narrated in Bede. The utter improbability of this will be obvious, and the monks of Ramsey must be held responsible for the legend. Their abbey had been newly built and needed relics; a consecrated spot was wanted for a daughter-house. This will explain all, and the invention of St. Ivo was of a piece with that of the two Kentish princes. [ETHELBERT (5).]

Even if the tale is, as to its facts, a pure romance, as probably it is, there was yet perhaps something local which caused the fabrication to assume the particular form it bears and gave it currency. Possibly there may be here indicated a lingering tradition of old British Christianity, and a reminiscence of its oriental origin, leaving the period out of the question. It would be nothing surprising if a British remnant should have survived in that locality so late as the Conquest. There are not wanting obscure indications that Britons did actually maintain themselves in eastern Mercia and the fastnesses of the fens long after the conversion of the whole English race [GUTHLAC]. Moreover the name of Patrick appearing in this story gives it a Celtic look, and the locality might have been a sort of eastern Glastonbury. The Celtic element in the first conversion of the Mercian Angles was likely enough to prolong the vitality of Celtic traditions if there was some Celtic blood there for them to take hold of. If then there was Celtic blood and Celtic traditions surviving in that part of the fens about the time when Ramsey was founded, the oriental colouring given to the legend is accounted for. The stone sarcophagus might easily have been a genuine Roman relic, furnishing a material basis of the story and suggesting the occasion. It may be added, if the above inferences are not unreasonable, that the legend of St. Ivo contains a reminiscence that the Christian missionaries who reached Britain from the East came by way of Gaul, combining also the tradition of their having been sent from Rome.

It remains to observe that Slepe is found in Domesday, and according to local accounts is still the name of one of the manors of St. Ives.

The priory of St. Ives, the ruins of which have survived to modern days, is described in *Monast. Angl.* ii. 631. In the time of Brompton (Twysd. p. 883) no saint in England was so eminent as St. Ivo at Ramsey for the cure of diseases.

After Goscelin, the story was written again by John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century, in whose *Sanctilogium*, before the manuscript was burnt, it stood No. 70 (Smith, *Cat. Cotton MSS.* p. 29). It was one of those, however, adopted by Capgrave in the 15th century for his *Nova*

Legenda (ff. 199) and so is preserved to us. At the point where Ivo is said to have arrived at Rome, this version states that it was the pope who commissioned him to Britain. The manuscript lives of Ivo are mentioned by Hardy (*Desc. Cat.* i. 184–186), and it appears that the Life by Goscelin exists as a Bodleian manuscript in a fuller form than the recension of it given by the Bollandists, the Life in Capgrave being another abridgment. One of the manuscripts mentioned by Hardy purports to be the very Life by abbat Andrew referred to by Goscelin. [C. H.]

IVOR, Welsh Saint. [IFOR.]

IVOR, IVORUS, bishop. [IBHAR.]

IVOR, son of Alan of Armorica, according to the *Annales Cambriae* succeeded Cadwalader, king of the Britons, in 682, and reigned forty-eight years. (*M. H. B.* 841.) Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. xii. c. 18) makes him son of Cadwalader and cousin of Ine, falling in with the common confused identification of Ceadwalha of Wessex with the British Cadwalader. According to Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 73, 75, Ivor's reign is altogether fictitious; it was invented to fill a gap in the history of the British kings, and the events of it were taken from those of the reign of Ine. As to the connexion of Ivor's history with that of Ine, see INE. [S.]

IWYUS, ST., a British saint buried at Wilton. His Life is given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, 201. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 161. [C. W. B.]

IZID II. (IZITH, IEZID, IEZITH, EZID, YESID), fourteenth calif, the ninth of the Ommiad dynasty at Damascus. He was the son of Abdulmalek, and succeeded his cousin Omar II., and was followed by ISAM. He died on the 26th of the Arabic month Schaban, A.H. 105, *i.e.* Jan. 28, 724, A.D. (*L'Art de Vérif.* v. 151). He began to reign in 720 (*ibid.*) or 719 (Herbelot). Theophanes (p. 336) under his year A.C. 715 (*i.e.* 722 in our reckoning) relates that a certain Jew, a native of Laodicea on the Phoenician coast, promised Izid a reign of forty years if he would expel the images from the Christian churches throughout his dominions. The edict was issued, and thus anticipated the famous one of Leo Isaurus in 726. Yet Izid's reign proved a very short one. The same account is given by Zonaras (*Annal.* xv. 5). It is related more fully at the Nicaean synod of 787, by the presbyter John, who was one of the representatives there of the three oriental patriarchates. He names the Jew Tessaracontapechys, and says the interview occurred at Tiberias while Izid was visiting Palestine. (Mansi, xiii. 197.) [T. W. D.]

IZOINUS (IZOIUS, IZOES and ZOIUS), one of the Encratite sect who, with Saturninus, had been ordained bishop by Basil. (Basil. ep. 188 [1], can. i.) [E. V.]

J

JABALLAHA (1) (JAHABALAHA, "GOD'S GIFT"), Nestorian catholicos of Seleucia on the Tigris, cir. 455–460. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 401; Le Quien, ii. 1111, 1251.)

(2), Nestorian bishop of the Gelanites (of the Dilemites in some statements), consecrated by the catholicos Timotheus I. and previously a monk of Bethaba. (Assem. iii. 162, 163, 489, 490, 492; Le Quien, ii. 1293.) [C. H.]

JACINCTUS (1), martyr, Feb. 10.

(2), martyr, Oct. 29. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [C. H.]

(3), a bishop who took the side of Paulus against king Wamba; Urgel is supposed to have been his see. He may, however, have been bishop of some other see in Narbonne, the government of Paulus. (Villanueva, *Viage Litterario*, x. 17.) [F. D.]

JACOBITAE. [JACOBUS (15).]

JACOBUS (1), a legendary bishop of Urci. Tradition made him the successor of St. Indaletius, one of the seven apostolic men, in that see (Almeria). (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 220.) [M. A. W.]

JACOBUS (2) I., bishop of Seleucia on the Tigris, cir. 172–190, according to Amrus. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 395, iii. 612; Le Quien, ii. 1104.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (3) II., Nestorian catholicos of Seleucia, 754–773 (Assem. ii. 432, iii. 616), and previously bishop of Gondisapor (iii. 111, 168, 205, 206; Le Quien, ii. 1126, 1183). [C. H.]

JACOBUS (4) or **JAMES**, bishop of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, in the early part of the 4th century, called "the Moses of Mesopotamia," from his wisdom, and the miraculous powers with which he was accredited. He was born at Nisibis or Antiochia Mygdoniae towards the end of the 3rd century. He is said to have been nearly related to Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia. At an early age he devoted himself to the life of a solitary, practising the severest self-discipline. The celebrity James acquired by the strictness of his asceticism and his spiritual gifts, caused Theodoret to assign him the first place in his *Religiosa Historia* or *Vitae Patrum*—where he is entitled ὁ μέγας—in which his self-imposed austerities, and the miracles of which he was the reputed worker, are fully detailed. During this period of his life he took a journey to Persia for the purpose of spiritual edification by intercourse with the Christians of that country, as well as of confirming their faith under the persecutions they had to endure from Sapor II. Theodoret records several grotesque but not unkindly miracles as taking place at this time (Theod. *Vit. Patr.* pp. 1110 sq.). Gennadius (*de Script. Eccl.* c. 1) reports that James was a confessor in the Maximinian persecution, and Nicephorus adds (*H. E.* viii. 14) that he was conspicuous at the council of Nicaea, like Paphnutius, for the seams and scars left by his sufferings. This is, however, discredited by the silence of Theodoret. On the vacancy of the see of his native city, James was compelled by the demand of the people to become

their bishop. His episcopate, according to Theodoret, was signalised by fresh miracles. A like tale is told of him as of Gregory Thaumaturgus (Greg. Nyss. *Vit. Greg. Thaumat.*) and of Epiphanius (Soz. vii. 27; Theod. *u. s.* p. 1112), *viz.*, the meeting with two beggars, one of whom while feigning death to impose on him, actually died by divine judgment.

In 325 James was summoned to the council of Nicaea (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 52, 76). A leading part is ascribed to him by Theodoret in the debates of that council, as the champion of the whole orthodox band, *οἷά τις ἀριστεὺς καὶ πρόμαχος ἁπάσης φάλαγγος* (Theod. *u. s.* p. 1114). He is commended by Athanasius, together with Hosius, Alexander, Eustathius, and others (*Adv. Arian.* tom. i. p. 252). According to some Eastern accounts of the council, James was one of those whom the emperor Constantine marked out for peculiar honour (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 203). Abraham Ecchellensis ascribed to him the compilation of the eighty-four Arabic Nicene canons, the spuriousness of which has been sufficiently proved (Pearson, *Vind. Ignat.* part i. p. 187; Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, vol. i. p. 366, Engl. trans.). His name also occurs among those who signed the decrees of the council of Antioch, *in Encaeniis*, A.D. 341, of more than doubtful orthodoxy (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 559). But as no mention of his being present at this council occurs elsewhere the fact is at least questionable (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. vi. note 27, *les Ariens;* Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 58, Engl. transl.). That the awfully sudden death of Arius at Constantinople, on the eve of his anticipated triumph, A.D. 336, was due to the prayers of James of Nisibis, and that on this emergency he had exhorted the faithful to devote a whole week to uninterrupted fasting and public supplication in the churches, rests only on the authority of one passage, in the *Religiosa Historia* of Theodoret, the spuriousness of which is acknowledged by all sound critics. The gross blunders of making the death of the heresiarch contemporaneous with the council of Nicaea, and of confounding Alexander of Alexandria with Alexander of Constantinople, prove it to be an ignorant forgery. In the account of the death of Arius given by Theodoret, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, from Athanasius (Theod. *H. E.* i. 14; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 20) no mention is made of James in connection with the death of Arius; and he is equally absent from that given by Athanasius in his letter to the bishops. As bishop of Nisibis James was the spiritual father of Ephrem Syrus, who was baptized by him, and remained by his side as long as he lived [EPHRAIM (4)]. Milles, bishop of Susa, when visiting Nisibis to attend a synod for settling the differences between the bishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, c. A.D. 341, found James busily engaged in erecting his cathedral, towards which, on his return, he sent a large quantity of silk from Adiabene (Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* tom. i. p. 186). On the attempt, three times renewed, of Sapor II. to make himself master of Nisibis, A.D. 338, 346, 350, James deserved the gratitude not of his fellow townsmen alone, but of the whole empire, of whose eastern provinces Nisibis was regarded as at once the bulwark and the key, by the power with which he maintained the faith of the inhabitants in the Divine protection, the enthusiasm he kindled by his words and his example, and the military genius and administrative skill with which he opposed and thwarted the measures of the besiegers. The tale of the final siege of 350, which lasted three months, and of the bishop's successful efforts to save his city, must be read in the pages of Gibbon (c. xviii. vol. ii. pp 385 ff.) or de Broglie (*L'Église et l'Empire*, tom. iii. pp. 180–195). See also Theod. *u. s.* p. 1118; *H. E.* ii. 26; Theophan. p. 32. Nisibis was quickly relieved by Sapor being called away to defend his kingdom against an inroad of the Massagetae. The date of James's death is not known, but he cannot have long survived this deliverance. He was honourably interred within the city, in pursuance, it is said, of an express charge of Constantine to his son Constantius, indicative of the reverence he entertained for him, in order that after death his hallowed remains might continue to defend Nisibis against its enemies. When in 363, Nisibis was yielded to the Persian monarch, the Christian inhabitants carried the sacred talisman with them. (Theod. *u. s.* p. 1119; Soz. *H. E.* v. 3; Gennad. *u. s.* c. 1.)

James of Nisibis is not enumerated by Jerome among ecclesiastical writers, which is accounted for by Gennadius by the fact that he wrote only in Syriac, a language of which Jerome was ignorant at the time he compiled his catalogue. Gennadius speaks of him as a copious writer, and gives the titles of twenty-six different treatises of which he was the author. Assemani, having rashly denied his having been an author (*Bibl. Or.* tom. i. p. 17 c. v.), retracts the assertion in his *Addenda* (*ibid.* pp. 557, 652), where he states that his kinsman, Gregory the Illuminator, having asked James for some of his writings, he sent him a considerable number of controversial, doctrinal, and practical treatises. In this statement of Assemani's there are several inaccuracies. The Gregory who wrote to James was not the "Illuminator," as Antonelli has satisfactorily proved (note, p. 1), and the request he made, as his letter given by Caillau shews, was that he would answer some theological questions he had propounded, and on James postponing this to a personal interview, that he would write to him on faith, its nature, foundation, building up, &c. In compliance with this request James sent him a collection of treatises of his composition. These, or some of them, eighteen in number, were found by Assemani in the Armenian convent of St. Antony at Venice, together with Gregory's letter, and James's reply. The titles of these treatises—*De Fide, De Dilectione, De Jejunio, De Oratione, De Bello, De Devotis, De Poenitentia, De Resurrectione*, &c.—correspond generally with those given by Gennadius, but the order is different. In the same collection he found the letter of James to the bishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, on the Assyrian schism. It is a lengthy document, in thirty-one sections, lamenting the divisions of the church and the pride and arrogance which were their cause, and exhorting them to study peace and concord. These were all published with a Latin translation and a learned preface establishing their authenticity and notes by Nicolas Maria Antonelli in 1756. They were also printed in the collection of the Armenian fathers, published at Venice in 1765, and again at Constantinople in 1824. The Latin translation is found in the *Patres Apostolici* of

Caillau, tom. 25, pp. 254–543. The liturgy which bears the name of James of Nisibis, said to have been formerly in use among the Syrians (Abr. Ecchell. *Not. in Catal. Ebed-Jesu*, p. 134; Bona, *Liturg.* i. 9), is certainly not his, but is rather to be ascribed to James of Sarug (Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* tom. ii. p. 4). James of Nisibis is commemorated in Wright's *Syrian Martyrology*, and in the Roman martyrology, July 15; in the Greek menology, Oct. 31; in the *Synax. Maronitarum* and *Synax. Coptarum* on 18 Tybi, *i.e.* Jan 13. (Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* tom. i. pp. 17 sqq.; 186, 557, 652; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii.; Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* tom. iv. p. 478 sqq.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* tom. ix. p. 289; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 189.) [E. V.]

JACOBUS (5), a disciple of St. Honoratus at Lérins, and first bishop of Tarantaise. He died at Arles Jan. 16, 429. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 26; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 701.) [R. T. S.]

JACOBUS (6), bishop of Dorostorum (the modern Silistria) on the Danube, one of the party of Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, v. 767, 776; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1227.) [L. D.]

JACOBUS (7). [CHARISIUS.]

JACOBUS (8), 3rd bishop of Embrun, died A.D. 438. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1055.) [R. T. S.]

JACOBUS (9), bishop of Anemurium in Isauria, represented at the council of Chalcedon 451, by Basil of Seleucia. (Mansi, vi. 566; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1015.) [J. de S.]

JACOBUS (10), bishop of Prymnesia (Promisus) in Phrygia Pacatiana; at the council of Chalcedon, Marianus of Synnada subscribed his name, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 164; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 843.) [L. D.]

JACOBUS (11), bishop of Lemelifense in Mauritania Sitifensis, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 59; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 201.) [R. S. G.]

JACOBUS (12), bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, near the end of the 5th century. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 893.) [J. de S.]

JACOBUS (13) SARUGENSIS, bishop of Batnae, a little town in the district of Sarug in Osrhoëne. He enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for learning and holiness, and was sainted alike by orthodox and heretics. The Syrian liturgies commemorate him with St. Ephraim as an "os eloquentissimum et columnam ecclesiae."

Three lives are extant, two in the Vatican and one in the British Museum (*cod.* dcccclx. 46, dated A.D. 1197). Of these the oldest and best is the spirited eulogium by his disciple Georgius, who was perhaps a bishop of the Arabs. The other two, which are anonymous and later than the 10th century, are in close agreement with it. According to these authorities Jacobus was born at Kurtom on the Euphrates (A.D. 452), in answer to the prayers of childless parents. His father was a priest. Brought up in the fear of God by his parents, Jacobus was further taught in one of the schools of Edessa (according to Mares the Nestorian). There is a story of his prophetically announcing the fall of Amid in his twenty-second year, while writing his poem on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot. According however to Joshua Stylites the Persians took the town A.D. 503, when Jacobus was not twenty-two, but fifty years of age. The poem on Ezekiel's vision contains no reference to the fall of Amid. The elegy on that event is quite distinct; see *cod.* dccciii. Br. Mus.

The anonymous Life (Vatic.) states that Jacobus was made bishop of Batnae ("urbis Sarug") when sixty-seven and a half years old, A.D. 519, and that he died two and a half years afterwards, *i.e.* A.D. 521. Before A.D. 503 Jacobus was a *periodeutes* or visitor of the district of Batnae, a middle rank between the episcopate and the priesthood. This we learn from Joshua Stylites. Cf. epist. 16 in the Br. Mus. *cod.* dclxxii. The Stylite adds that Jacobus had composed many homilies on passages of Scripture, and psalms, and hymns; which proves that his fame was already established in 503.

Renaudot (tom. ii. *Liturgg. Orientt.*) has charged Jacobus with Monophysitism, a charge which Assemani and Abbeloos shew to be unwarranted. Timotheus of Constantinople (fl. 6th cent. ad init.) calls him "orthodox," Isaacus Ninivita and Joannes Maro quote him as such, and we have seen that Joshua the Stylite, his contemporary, calls him venerable. The Maronites, always hostile to Nestorians and Jacobites, honour him as a saint. Further, he began his episcopate under Justin, by whose orders Severus was driven from Antioch, Philoxenos from Hierapolis, and other heretics from Mesopotamia and Syria. Had Jacobus been a Monophysite, he would have shared their fate. Not a single Catholic writer of the 5th, 6th, or 7th century, says Assemani, has so accused him. It is true that Barhebraeus and the Life in the British Museum allege that he communicated with Severus; and Dionysius in his *Chronicon* asserts that St. Jacobus of Sarug would not communicate with Paul of Antioch. because the latter confessed the two natures. But here Dionysius is self-contradictory in the matter of dates. Some passages of the hymns extant speak of the single nature of Christ, but they may be interpolated. There is direct evidence that after the council of Chalcedon the Monophysites began to tamper with texts (cf. Evagr. iii. 31). They even attributed whole works, written in their own interests, to great names, such as Athanasius and Gregory Thaumaturgus. And Jacobus Edessenus testifies that a certain poem was falsely ascribed by the Jacobite sect to the bishop of Batnae shortly after his decease (Barhebr. *Horr. Myst. ad* Gen. vi.). A silly poem directed against the council of Chalcedon (*cod. Nitr.* 5 fol. 139) is proved by internal evidence to be spurious. Professor Bickell says that before Justin's reign St. Jacobus *may*, on grounds of prudence, have professed adherence to the emperor Zeno's Henoticon; a fact which would not of itself imply more than the absence of that narrow spirit of persecuting bigotry, which in those times was so general. But his writings in general supply ample proof of orthodoxy on the doctrines in question.

Works.—St. Jacobus was a very voluminous writer. Barhebraeus says that he employed seventy amanuenses in writing his homiletic poems, of which 760 exist, besides expositions, epistles, hymns, and psalms. Georgius, in his panegyric, gives a list of those of his poetic writings which treat of the great men of the Old Testament, of angels, and of the mysteries

of the Son of God. The anonymous *Life* (Vatic.) states that his homilies (*mim'rê*) were 763 in number. Of these writings many may be lost: most of those which survive are unedited.

Prose Works.—(1) An anaphora or liturgy (Renaud. *Lit. Or.* ii. 556–566). It begins *Deus Pater, qui es tranquillitas!* and is also found in Ethiopic. (Br. Mus. *cod.* cclxi. 11. "Anaphora of holy Mar Jacob the Doctor, of Batnan of Serug." Also *codd.* cclxiii. and cclxxiii.)

(2) An order of Baptism; one of four used by the Maronites (Assemani, *Cod. Lit.* ii. 309).

(3) An order of Confirmation (*ib.* iii. 184).

(4) A number of epistles—the Brit. Mus. *cod.* dclxxii. (dated A.D. 603) contains thirty-four in a more or less perfect state, among which are

(*a*) Epist. to Samuel abbat of St. Isaacus at Gabûla; on the Trinity and Incarnation. "The Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, and receiving from the Son."

(*b*) Epist. to the Himyarite Christians.

(*c*) Epist. to Stephen bar-Sudail of Edessa, proving from reason and Scripture the eternity of heaven and hell.

(*d*) Epist. to Jacobus, an abbat of Edessa, explaining Heb. x. 26, 1 John v. 16, and two other contrasted passages.

(*e*) Epist. to bishop Eutychianus against the Nestorians.

(9) Six Homilies; on Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Palm Sunday, The Passion, The Resurrection (Zingerlé, *Sechs Homilien des heilig. Jacob von Sarug*, Bonn, 1867).

Poetic Works.—Assemani gives a catalogue of 231, with headings and first words. Very few have as yet been printed. See Zingerlé, in *Zeitschr. d. Morgen. Gesellsch.* 1858, p. 115; 1859, p. 44; 1860, p. 679, &c. Abbeloos, in his *Life*, gives two on the B. V. M., from which he tries to prove that Jacobus held the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The poem *On S. Simeon Stylites* appears in S. E. Assemani, *Act. Martyr.* ii. 230; that *On St. Abib, and SS. Guria and Samona, martyrs*, and a short hymn *On the Edessene Embassy to Christ*, with extracts from two other poems, are printed in Cureton's *Anc. Syr. Doc.* p. 86, London, 1864; two others in Wenig's *Schol. Syr.* The subjects are, for the most part, the personages and events of the Old and New Testaments, especially the words and deeds of Christ. Jacobus is very fond of an allegorical treatment of Old Testament themes. Thus Ezekiel's vision is made to refer to the church, the altar, and the Eucharist. Another poem (Assemani's, no. 3) states that the apostles were prefigured by the heads of tribes, the disciples by the seventy elders; Jesus, by Moses; and another (no. 5 in Assemani) makes Jacob, Leah, and Rachel symbolize Christ, the synagogue, and the church.

Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* pp. 502–525 gives an account of upwards of forty MSS. and fragments of MSS., containing metrical discourses, and letters and a few homilies in prose, by St. Jacobus. *Cod.* dcxxxvi. has a note, "Now this book was written at Edessa, in the year 876," *i.e.* A.D. 565. *Cod.* dcxxxviii. (6th or 7th cent.) has a discourse on "righteous Job," in two parts, of which the first is in heptasyllables, after the manner of Ephraim, the second in dodecasyllables. *Cod.* dcxl. of the same date is a mere remnant (three discourses) of a large collection of sixty-six metrical homilies, as its index shews. There are also a number of canticles (*sûgyotho*), hymns, and prayers; see Wright's *Cat. Index*, pp. 1291–1294. Assemani says that many poems in the Syrian church books pass under the name of St. Jacobus because they are written in his metre, *i.e.* in dodecasyllables or tetrasyllables thrice repeated. This was his usual, though not invariable, measure. In regard to style, Jacobus Edessenus classed the bishop of Batnae with St. Ephraim, Isaacus Magnus, and Xenaias Mabugensis, as a model writer of Syriac. "After Ephraim," says Prof. W. Wright, "we may mention three writers of verse, Balai, Cyrillona, and Isaac of Antioch. These, however, are deservedly cast into the shade by Jacob of Batnae or Serug, one of the most prolific and at the same time most readable authors of his class." In wealth of words and ease of expression he ranks next to Ephraim. (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 283–340; Cave, ii. 110; Abbeloos, *de Vitâ et Scriptt. S. Jacobi Batn. Sarugi in Mesop. Episc.* Lovan. 1867; Matagne, *Act. Sanct.* xii. Oct. p. 824; Bickell, *Consp. Syr.* 25, 26.) [C. J. B.]

JACOBUS (14) I., Nestorian bishop of Gondisapor, living in 522. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 409; Le Quien, ii. 1182.) [C.H.]

JACOBUS (15) or **JAMES BARADAEUS**, (AL BARADAI, BURDOHO, BURDEONO, BURDEANA, or BURDEAYA, also PHASELITA, or ZANZALUS), ordained by the Monophysite party bishop of Edessa (c. 541 A.D.), with oecumenical authority over the members of their body throughout the East. By his indomitable zeal and untiring activity this remarkable man rescued the Monophysite community from the extinction with which it was threatened by the persecution of the imperial power, and breathed a new life into what seemed little more than an expiring faction, consecrating bishops, ordaining clergy, and uniting its scattered elements in an organisation so well planned and so stable that it has subsisted unharmed through all the political and dynastic storms that have swept over that portion of the world, and preserves to the present day the name of its founder as the Jacobite church of the East. Contemporary materials for the life of this Monophysite apostle are furnished by the two Syriac biographies from the pen of his contemporary John of Asia, the Monophysite bishop of Ephesus, ordained by him, printed by Land (*Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. ii. pp. 249–253; pp. 364–383), as well as by the third part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of the same author (Payne Smith's translation, pp. 273–278, 291). The account of Jacobus Baradaeus in the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Barhebraeus, otherwise Abul-pharagius, towards the end of the 13th century (pp. 215 sqq., ed. Abbeloos and Lamy), is chiefly derived from these biographers, and supplies but little new matter. Asseman. (*Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. p. 424; tom. ii. pp. 62–69; 324–332, 414; tom. iii. pp. 385–388); Le Quien (*Or. Christ.* tom. ii. col. 1346 sqq. 1358); and Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 341; *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 133), together with our own Cave (*Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 524), have carefully collected the facts given by these authorities, as well as by Eutychius, the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 933–940 (*Annal.* tom. ii. pp. 144–147).

The surname Baradaeus is derived from the ragged mendicant's garb patched up out of old saddle-cloths, in which, the better to disguise his spiritual functions from the unfriendly eyes of those in power, this indefatigable propagator of his creed performed his swift and secret journeys over Syria and Mesopotamia. Baradaeus is a classicised form of the Syriac—ܒܘܪܕܥܝܐ *Burd'âyâ* or ܒܘܪܕܥܢܐ *Burdĕ-ā-nā*, in Arabic البرادعي *al-Barâdi'â*, from the word ܒܘܪܕܥܬܐ or ܒܪܕܥܬܐ *burda'tâ* or *barda'tâ*, Arabic بردعة *barda'ah*, defined by Payne Smith (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 604) as a "cento dorsualis," or saddle-cloth of an inferior kind used for asses, and then a shabby worn-out garment; and by Lane in his *Arabic Lexicon* (p. 186, col. 2), as in its primary sense, a cloth of the kind called حلس, which is put beneath the saddle of the camel, called رحل but conventionally applied in modern times to an ass's saddle-cloth, pannel, or dorser, and secondarily to an old tattered garment. John of Ephesus states, in connexion with the origin of his surname, that he cut a coarse robe into two pieces, and wore one-half as an undergarment, and the other half as an upper garment without changing them summer or winter, until they grew quite ragged and tattered like an old ܒܪܕܥܬܐ. The title *Phaselita*, or *Faselites*, is stated by Renaudot (*Lit. Or.* ii. 341) to be equivalent to "Baradaeus," and to be derived from a Syriac word signifying "segmenta," and to correspond to the later Greek ῥακενδύτης. This is erroneous. Professor W. Wright states that the word ܦܣܝܠܬܐ *pĕsiltā*, which a Greek or Latin writer would very naturally represent by *Phasilta*, means "a cut stone" (for a building) and "a quarry," and has no connexion with patchwork or rags. The *Dairā-daphĕsiltā*, or "convent of "Pesilta," of which Jacobus was a presbyter before his elevation to the episcopate, was probably so called either from being built of hewn stone or from standing near a quarry, and it was from his connexion with this monastery that he received the name "Phaselites." The name *Zanzalus* is said by Nicephorus (*H. E.* xviii. 52) and by Demetrius, metropolitan of Cyzicus (quoted by Ducange, *sub voc.*) to have been given to him "on account of his excessive shabbiness," διὰ τὴν ἄκραν (ἄγαν, Demetr.) εὐτέλειαν. The word τζάντζαλον is defined by Ducange (*Gloss. Med. et Infim. Graecit.*) as "nugamentum, φλυαρία, quidpiam vile ac tritum;" but he gives no derivation. That furnished by Asseman ܙܠܝܠ *zallîl*, *vilis*, *parvi pretii*, or ܕܠܝܠ or *dallîl*, *paucus*, *rarus*, *pauper*, *tenuis*, is rejected by Payne Smith and other trustworthy authorities.

James Baradaeus is stated by John of Ephesus to have been born at Tela, more fully Tela Mauzalat, otherwise called Constantina, in honour of its second founder, A.D. 350, a city of Osrhoëne, fifty-five miles due east of Edessa, towards the close of the 5th century. His father, Theophilus Bar-Manu, was one of the clergy of the place. In pursuance of a vow of his parents, James, at the age of two years, was placed in that monastery under the care of the abbat Eustathius. Here he was trained in Greek and Syriac literature, as well as in the strictest asceticism (Land, *Anecdot. Syr.* tom. ii. p. 364). As he grew into manhood he became remarkable for the severity of his self-discipline. Having on the death of his parents inherited all their property, including a couple of slaves, he manumitted them, and made over the house and estate to them, reserving nothing for himself (*ibid.* 366). He received deacon's orders, and eventually became a presbyter. The reputation of working miracles soon attached to so rigorous an ascetic. The sick came from far and near, some even from the Persian territory, to be healed by him, the cure being sometimes effected at a distance without personal communication. His fame spread over the East, and at last reached the ears of the empress Theodora, who was eagerly desirous of seeing him, as one of the chief saints of the Monophysite party, of which she was a zealous partisan. James, however, was indisposed to leave the retirement of his convent, and even when chosen by his party to go to Constantinople to plead their cause before the emperor Justinian, whose subserviency to his empress failed to secure the Monophysites from a persecution which threatened their very existence, a vision of Severus, the Eutychian patriarch of Antioch, and John, the deceased bishop of Tela, was needed to induce him to leave his monastery for the imperial city. His companion was Sergius, who was subsequently ordained by him Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (*ibid.* 368). On his arrival at Constantinople James was received with much honour by Theodora. But the splendour of the court had no attractions for him. He retired to one of the monasteries of the city, where he lived as a complete recluse. His convent, however, became a centre of attraction to comers, both lay and cleric. Among his visitors was Harith (Aretas) ibn Jabala, "the Magnificent," sheikh of the Christian Arabs A.D. 530–572, who, as an adherent of the Monophysite creed, had set out to pay his respects to James during his residence at Pesilta, but had been turned back by a vision. The period spent by James at Constantinople—fifteen years according to John of Ephesus—was a disastrous one for the Monophysite body. Justinian had come to the resolution to enforce the Chalcedonian decrees universally; and the bishops and clergy who refused to accept them were removed from their flocks, and punished with imprisonment, deprivation, and exile. Whole districts of Syria, and the adjacent countries, were thus deprived of their spiritual pastors, and the Monophysites were threatened with gradual

extinction. For ten years many churches had been destitute of the sacraments, which they refused to receive from what were to them heretical hands, and thus had to choose between being spiritually "famished or poisoned" (Gibbon). The extreme peril of the body to which she extended her "ambiguous favour" was represented to Theodora by the sheikh Harith, and by her instrumentality the recluse James was drawn from his cell, and persuaded to accept the hazardous and laborious post of the apostle of Monophysitism in the East. At that time a considerable number of Monophysite bishops from all parts of the East, including Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, Constantius of Laodicea, John of Egypt, Peter, and others, who had come to Constantinople in the hope of mitigating the displeasure of the emperor, and exciting the sympathies of Theodora, were detained by Justinian in one of the imperial castles in a kind of honourable imprisonment. By them James was ordained to the episcopate, nominally as bishop of Edessa, but virtually as a metropolitan with an oecumenical authority. The date of his ordination is uncertain, but that given by Asseman (A.D. 541) is probably correct. The result proved the wisdom of the choice. Of the simplest mode of life, inured to hardship from his earliest years, tolerant of the extremities of hunger and fatigue, "a second Asahel for fleetness of foot" (Abulpharagius), fired with an unquenchable zeal for what he regarded as the true faith, with a dauntless courage that despised all dangers, James, in his tattered beggar's disguise, traversed on foot the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and the adjacent provinces, even to the borders of Persia, everywhere ordaining bishops and clergy, by his exhortations when present, and by his encyclical letters when absent, encouraging his depressed co-religionists to courageous maintenance of their faith against the advocates of the two natures, and organising them into a compact spiritual body. By his indefatigable labours, in the words of Gibbon (vol. vi. p. 75, ed. 1838), "the expiring faction was revived, and united and perpetuated . . . The speed of the zealous missionary was promoted by the fleetest dromedaries of a devout chief of the Arabs; the doctrine and discipline of the Jacobites were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian, and each Jacobite was compelled to violate the laws, and to hate the Roman legislator." The number of clergy ordained by him is stated to have reached the incredible number of 80,000. John of Ephesus stretches it to 100,000 (Land, *Anecdot. Syr.* ii. 251), comprising eighty-nine bishops and two patriarchs. The wonderful success of his missionary labours in reviving the moribund Monophysite church excited the indignation of the emperor and of the Catholic bishops. Orders were issued for his apprehension; rewards were offered for his capture. But, in his beggar's garb, aided by the friendliness of the Arab tribes and their chiefs and the people of Syria and Asia, he eluded all attempts to seize him, and outlived Justinian, and his equally orthodox successor, Justinian II., into the reign of Tiberius. The longer of the two lives of James, by John of Ephesus (Land, *u. s.* pp. 364–383), must be consulted for the extent and variety of his missionary labours, as well as for the miracles which illustrated them. Among these a devout credulity reckons wonders of no ordinary kind. The dead were raised to life, the blind were restored to sight, rain was given, and even the sun was made to stand still lest the holy man should be benighted (*ibid.* pp. 372, 373, 377, 379 sqq.). Edessa, when attacked by Chosroes I., after the capture of Batnae and the other towns on the Euphrates, was saved by the prayers of James, who providentially happened to be in the city. Chosroes was scared by a terrific vision, and gave up the siege (*ibid.* p. 380 sq.). The biography in fact bristles with wonders.

But however marvellous his success as a propagator of the faith, James failed miserably when he attempted to govern the vast and heterogeneous body he had created and organized. The simplicity and innocence of his character, as described by his contemporary, John of Ephesus (*H. E.* iv. 15), suspecting no evil because he intended none, disqualified him for rule, and put him in the power of "crafty and designing men about him, who turned him every way they chose, and used him as a means of establishing their own powers, swaying him now in this direction, now in that, like a child." The unhappy dissensions between him and the bishops he had ordained, and among the rival nationalities who regarded him as their spiritual father, threw a cloud over the closing portion of James's long life. The internecine strife between the different sections of the Monophysite party is fully detailed by John of Ephesus, who records with bitter lamentation the blows, fighting, murders, and other deeds "so insensate and unrestrained that Satan and his herds of demons alone could rejoice in them, wrought on both sides by the two factions with which the believers —so unworthy of the name—were rent," provoking "the contempt and ridicule of heathens, Jews, and heretics" (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 30). For a full account of these miserable religious squabbles between members of the same schismatical body, we must refer our readers to John of Ephesus' History (Payne Smith's translation, pp. 48 sqq., 81 sqq., 274. sqq.).

One of these party squabbles was that between James and the bishops Conon and Eugenius, whom he had ordained at Alexandria—the former for the Isaurian Seleucia, the latter for Tarsus—who became the founders of the obscure and short-lived sect of the "Cononites," or, from the monastery at Constantinople to wichh a section of them belonged, "Condobandites" (John of Ephesus, *H. E.* i. 31, v. 1–12; Payne Smith's trans. pp. 49–65). [CONON.] Each anathematized the other, James denouncing Conon and his companion as "Tritheists," and they retaliating by the stigma of "Sabellian." On the dispute being laid before Justinian he is reported to have said, "How can I hope to set you at peace with others when you are divided among yourselves?" (Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon*, pp. 214 sq.)

A still longer and more wide-spreading difference arose between James and Paul, whom he had ordained patriarch of Antioch on the death of Sergius of Tela, who had succeeded the notorious Severus, the real founder of the Monophysite heresy. Whether Sergius also was ordained by James admits of question. Abbeloos and Lamy, in the notes to their edition of Bar-

Hebraeus (p. 214), say that it cannot be admitted, since Sergius was ordained on the death of Severus at Alexandria, in 539, and James had not then himself received episcopal orders. Le Quien also states that Sergius was ordained by John of Anazarbus, A.D. 539, with the title of patriarch of Antioch (*Oriens Christian.* tom. ii. col. 1347). It is however distinctly asserted by John of Ephesus (Land. ii. 256, 370), and he can hardly have been mistaken on such a fact. The chronology of this period is very uncertain. However this may have been, there is no doubt that on Sergius' death within three years Paul was ordained his successor by James, assisted by Eugenius and Thomas of Edessa (*Or. Christ.* u. s. 1358; Land, u. s. p. 371; Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 331). [PAULUS, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch.] The circumstances of this quarrel, by which "the church of the believers" —i.e. the Monophysites—"was split into two parts, and both sides entered upon unappeasable wars and contentions one with the other" (John of Eph. *H. E.* i. 41, p. 81) were briefly these:—

Paul and the other three leading bishops of the Monophysites having been summoned to Constantinople under colour of taking measures for restoring unity to the church, on proving obstinate in their adherence to their own creed, were thrown into prison, where they were detained for a considerable time, and subjected to the harshest treatment. This prolonged persecution broke their spirit, and one by one they all yielded, and accepted the communion of John the patriarch of Constantinople, and the "Synodites," as the adherents of the Chalcedonian decrees were contemptuously termed by their opponents, "lapsing miserably into the communion of the two natures" (*ibid.* i. 41; ii. 1–9; iv. 15). Paul, stung with remorse for this cowardly act of treachery, escaped from the palace where he was kept under surveillance, and made his way into Arabia, taking refuge with Mondir, the son and successor of Harith. On hearing of his defection James had at once indignantly cut Paul off from communion; but at the end of three years, on receiving the assurance of his contrition, his act of penitence having been laid before the synod of the Monophysite church of the East, he was duly and canonically restored to communion by James, who notified the fact by encyclic letters (*ibid.* iv. 15). Paul's rehabilitation caused great indignation at Alexandria, where he was well—some asserted too well—known, being a native of the city and formerly syncellus to the patriarch Theodosius. They clamoured for his deposition, which was carried into effect by Peter, the intruded patriarch, in violation of all canonical order; the patriarch of Antioch, which it will be remembered was Paul's position in the Monophysite communion, owning no allegiance to his brother prelate of Alexandria. "Nor did the fact," writes John of Ephesus, "of his having no legal rights himself, restrain him from this piece of audacity" (*ibid.* iv. 16). Once again James shewed his pliancy to the influence of those about him. He allowed himself to be persuaded that if he were to visit Alexandria the veneration felt for his age and services would bring to an end the unhappy dissension already existing between the churches of Syria and Egypt, and though he had denounced Peter, both orally and in writing, as a spiritual adulterer for invading a see already canonically occupied, he was induced not only to hold communion with him, but to draw up instruments of concord and to give his formal assent to the act of deposition of Paul, only stipulating that it should not be accompanied by any act of excommunication (*ibid.* c. 17). James's evil counsellors having persuaded the unsuspecting old man to do all they desired, allowed him to return to Syria, accompanied by three of the suffragans of Alexandria to confirm the account or what had passed there. The intelligence was received with indignation and dismay in Syria, and though some acquiesced in what had been done out of respect to their aged metropolitan, the majority rejected the whole as uncanonical and invalid. The schism which resulted between the adherents of James and Paul, A.D. 576, "spread like an ulcer" through the whole of the East, and declared itself with especial violence in Constantinople. In vain did Paul again and again entreat James to discuss the matters at issue between them calmly, promising to abide by the issue. In vain did Mondir put himself forward as a peacemaker. The simple old man was but a puppet in the hands of interested parties, who, conscious of the weakness of their cause, shrunk from investigation, and caused an obstinate refusal to be returned to all overtures of accommodation (*ibid.* cc. 20, 21). Equally fruitless was the attempt of Longinus the leading bishop of the Monophysites of Egypt, and the consecrator of the patriarch Theodore, to put an end to the quarrel by a judicial examination. With this view he visited Syria, accompanied by Theodore and other men of weight, and conferred with Mondir, but the partisans of James utterly rejected his mediation, and having deceitfully invited him to the convent of Mar-Ananias under colour of holding a private consultation with James, it was with difficulty he escaped with his life from the turbulent mob he found awaiting him (*ibid.* c. 22). Barhebraeus says that the purpose of this assemblage was the election of a patriarch in Paul's room, but that some of the bishops objecting that he was still alive, and had never been canonically deposed, it broke up without doing anything. Wearied out at last with the deepening strife, and feeling the necessity of taking some decided step for putting an end to the violence and bloodshed which was raging unchecked, the old man suddenly declared his intention of going to Alexandria. His avowed object was what all desired, the restoration of peace to the sorely divided church, but the means by which he proposed to effect this were kept a secret. Some said he was going in conjunction with Damianus, who had succeeded Peter as patriarch of Alexandria, to consecrate a new patriarch for Syria in the place of Paul; others on the contrary that he was going to propose terms of accommodation with Paul and his adherents; but whatever his plans were, they were never disclosed. Alexandria was never reached. For on the arrival of the party, numbering eight, including several bishops, at the monastery of Cassianus or Mar-Romanus on the Egyptian frontier, a deadly sickness attacked them, which within twelve days carried off, first, one of the bishops who accompanied him, who was also abbat of Cartamin in Mesopotamia,

then his own syncellus Sergius, and then, after three days' illness, James himself, and finally the deacon who attended on him. On the news of the sickness reaching Alexandria, Damianus with his clergy, hastened to the monastery, but arrived after the old man's death. His desire to carry off James's remains as a sacred treasure was thwarted by the members of the convent, who refused to part with them. The suddenness and strangeness of the fatality led to many surmises; some regarding it as a Divine judgment, others as an act of mercy, God taking him to Himself, that if he were meditating any step that would increase the troubles of the Church, "the soul of the pious old man might not suffer loss" (*ibid.* c. 33). The story set about by the enemies of Paul, that James's death was caused by some of his partisans, who by his command attacked him and his companions, beating them with staves, and stoning them, and that they were just able to creep to the monastery and die there, is indignantly rejected by John of Ephesus. The other report that the ship in which the party sailed from Syria was overwhelmed by a storm and sunk, is not absolutely rejected by him, though he thinks that the evidence for it is weak (*ibid.* iv. 38, 58). The date of his death is given by Assemani, July 30, 578 A.D. His episcopate is said to have extended over 37 years, and his life, according to Renaudot (*Lit. Or.* ii. 342) to 73 years.

A liturgy bearing the name of "Jacobus Bordayaeus" is given by Renaudot (*Lit. Or.* tom. ii. pp. 332–341), who confuses him, as Baronius also does (*ad. ann.* 535), with Jacobus Baradaeus. That this liturgy is correctly assigned to the Jacobite church, is proved by the special memorial of their founder, "memento Domine omnium pastorum et doctorum ecclesiae orthodoxae . . . praecipue vero Jacobi Bordaei,' as well as by the special condemnation of those who "impiously blasphemed the Incarnation of the Word, and divided the union in nature (*unionem in natura*) with the flesh taken from the holy mother of God" (*ibid.* 337, 338).

The *Catechesis*, the chief dogmatical formulary of the Jacobites, "totius fidei Jacobiticae norma et fundamentum" (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 524), though adjudged to be his by Cave, Abraham Ecchellensis, and others; together with the *Encomium in Jacobitas*, and an Arabic Homily on the Annunciation, are discredited by Assemani on philological and chronological grounds. [MONOPHYSITES.] [E. V.]

JACOBUS (16), Jacobite bishop of Mabug in the sixth century. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 27; Le Quien, ii. 1447.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (17), bishop of Foligno, c. 602. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iv. 401.) [A. H. D. A.]

JACOBUS (18) I., bishop of Mentesa before 610 (?). [GUNTHIMAR.] (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 255.) [PARDUS.] [M. A. W.]

JACOBUS (19) II., bishop of Mentesa before 633, and until after 638. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 405, 413; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 259.) [PARDUS.] [M. A. W.]

JACOBUS (20), eighth bishop of Surrentum, A.D. 628 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xix. 685, 723). Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* vi. 599) does not recognise him. [C. H.]

JACOBUS (21), Nestorian bishop of Saharzur, after 630. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 142, 143, 514.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (22), Jacobite bishop of Melitina, in Armenia, cir. 651. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 158; Le Quien, ii. 1451.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (23), bishop of Gerona before 683, represented at the thirteenth council of Toledo. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287; *Esp. Sagr.* xliii. 65.) [PONCIUS.] [M. A. W.]

JACOBUS (24) EDESSENUS, the Commentator, or Interpreter of Books (ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ), "one of the ablest and most versatile men of his age, an accomplished Greek scholar, acquainted with Hebrew, a theologian, historian, philosopher, and grammarian, a hard student, and practical man of the world" (Wright).

From Barhebraeus (ap. Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 336) we learn that he was born at 'Indobo, a town in Gûmêh, one of the districts of Antioch. While yet a mere youth he resigned wealth and position, and became a monk, doubtless with the intention of devoting himself wholly to the pursuit and advancement of knowledge. After studying the Greek language and the Scriptures in the monastery of Aftûnoyo (Aphthonios) at Qinnesrîn, Jacobus proceeded to Alexandria; and having availed himself to the full of the means of instruction afforded by that famous centre of oriental and western ideas, he returned to Syria, and settled at 'Ûrhoi (whence *Orrhoëne* and *Osrhoëne*) better known as Edessa (a classicized form of ܐܕܣܐ 'Ôdsô) and Orfah (ارفا) of which city he was ordained bishop in A.D. 651 (Dionysius in *Chron.*). About four years later Jacobus retired from his see, in consequence of the insubordination of certain of his clergy. He had also been engaged unsuccessfully in a warm dispute with the patriarch Julius and other bishops, concerning the observance of the canons. An aged monk named Habib was consecrated as his successor, and Jacobus withdrew first to Kîshûm (ܟܝܫܘܡ), a monastery between Berea and Edessa, and then to Eusebona in the region of Antioch, where he stayed eleven years, expounding the Psalms and studying the Greek Scriptures. From that retreat he once more migrated to the neighbouring Tel'ada, where he spent nine years, occupying himself chiefly with his critical labours upon the books of the Old Testament. On the death of Habib, the people of Edessa besought the patriarch to induce Jacobus to return to them. Only four months after this reinstatement, Jacobus died at Tel'ada, whither he had gone to fetch his books, June 5, A.D. 708 (or 710, Dionysius). Dionysius relates that he had taken a leading part in a synod convoked A.D. 706 by Julianus the patriarch of the Jacobites. Assemani throws doubt upon this statement, apparently without good reason. That Jacobus was a Monophysite there can be little question, notwithstanding Assemani's endeavours to refute Renaudot. (*Liturg. Orient.* ii. 380, *Bibl. Or.* i. 470–474.)

The letters of Jacobus addressed to John the Stylite (*vid. no.* dccvii. in Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.*), prove that Renaudot was correct. Thus in

Epist. 10 Jacobus says that to answer a certain question he would require to have by him all the writings of the principal fathers, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, John (Chrysostom), Cyril (of Alexandria), Severus, Ephraim, Xenaias, and Jacob (Sarugensis). Here, as in another passage which Assemani tries to explain away, Jacobus ranks the heresiarchs Severus and Philoxenus with the great doctors of the church. And in *Epist.* 14 he thus answers the question who was Peter the patriarch of Antioch, whom the "heretics" called the Fuller, and why he got this name: "he was called . . . . *fuller* because his ancestors had been fullers by trade. The Chalcedonian heretics now style him Fuller by way of contumely." Lastly, in *no.* dccccl xxii. there is an extract from a letter of "Mar Jacob of Edessa to the deacon Barhad b'shabbo *against the Chalcedonians;*" *i.e.* against those who upheld the authority of the council and decrees of Chalcedon.

Writings.—"Ex infinitis propemodum Jacobi scriptis," says Assemani, "haec duntaxat ad nostram notitiam pervenerunt." But although much has perished, enough survives to enable us to estimate the position of Jacobus in Syriac literature.

I. As a translator of Greek works he was indefatigable. Barhebraeus states that he made a Syriac version of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen. In A.D. 701 (according to the Vatican *Cod. Nitr.* 31) Jacobus translated the Λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι or Festal Homilies of Severus. This work exists in a MS. of the British Museum, *no.* dclxxxv. Wright) dated A.D. 868. There are 125 homilies arranged in three books. A scholion on the word Hosanna implies an acquaintance with Hebrew. "The Greeks said ܐܘܣܐܢܐ (ωCCANNA) for ܐܘܫܥܢܐ, sounding Semchath and Nun twice, because they could not pronounce Shin and 'Ayin," cf. also another Scholion, "Concerning the august and, according to the Hebrews, separated name . . . . שֵׁם פְּרוּשׁ" (or הַמְּפוֹרָשׁ), A table is given, which is interesting as it bears on the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה). Jacobus and his teachers appear to have said *Yehyeh* (cf. Exod. iii. 14).

FALSE NAME.	TRUE NAME.
ПIПI In Syriac Pîpî	IЄϭIЄϭ In Syriac Yehyeh.
ПIПI in Greek	In Hebrew יהוה
ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܪܝ ܕܝܠܝ ܬܒ ܠܡܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܝ (Syriac.)	
NIOYM IЄϭIЄϭ ΛΑΔωΝΙ ϢЄΒ ΛΙΜΙΝΙ (Hebrew.)	
ЄΙΠЄΝ Ο ΚС ΤW ΚW ΜΟΥ ΚΑΘΟΥ ЄΚ ΔЄΞΙWΝ ΜΟΥ (Greek.)	

(In ПIПI the Hebrew ה is obviously confused with the Greek П; and Yod and Waw are not distinguished in יהוה. The Hebrew text of Ps. cx. 1 is correctly transliterated into Greek in the last line.)

His translation of certain treatises of Aristotle proves the interest which Jacobus felt in philosophy proper. Assemani mentions a Vatican *Cod. Syr.* xxxvi. entitled "The Categories and Περὶ ἑρμηνείας and Analytic of Aristotle;" a note in which states that it was "Interpreted by St. Jacob the metropolitan of the city of Edessa." It is a translation, with notes, and a life of Aristotle. Jacobus also wrote Commentaries (ܦܘܫܩܐ) on the Isagoge of Porphyry, which had been translated into Syriac by Athanasius, afterwards patriarch of the Jacobites, in A.D. 645. And there is in the British Museum collection a tract (Wr. *no.* dccclx.) discussing φύσις (ܦܘܣܝܣ), οὐσία (ܐܘܣܝܐ), ὑπόστασις (ܩܢܘܡܐ), τὸ εἶναι (ܐܝܬ), πρόσωπον (ܦܪܨܘܦܐ), and εἶδος (ܐܕܫܐ).

II. As a liturgical writer Jacobus edited the order of Baptism of Severus, and made a new recension of his hymns. The latter is contained in *no.* ccccxxi. (Wr.) dated A.D. 675, and not improbably an autograph of Jacobus. A note states that "Jacob Philoponus revised and corrected these hymns, 365 in number, whereof 295 are by Severus, in the year of the Greeks 986." See also Codd. ccccxxii. and ccccxlv. Cf. also a note in the Vatican *Cod. Syr.* xv.; "All the hymns, then, of the holy Mar Severus in this book are 295. But the rest are of John bar Aftûnoyo, abbat of Qinnesrîn, and another John, abbat of the same house, and of others whose names are unknown; according to the recension of Mar Paulus and Mar Jacob Urhoyo."

Jacobus, further, revised the old text of the Anaphora of St. James "the brother of the Lord;" see *no.* cclxxxvi. (10th cent.), and Vatic. *Cod. Syr.* 35; compiled another Anaphora, beginning "God, father of all, and lord of lords!" published in Latin by Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* ii. 371; and an order for the consecration of water (Wr. *no.* cclxxxvii. m.); arranged the Horologium, see *no.* cccxciii. (services for the canonical hours of the ferial days); expounded the Order of Baptism (*no.* cclxxxvii. 1, j. a fragment), and drew up that which is used in the rituals of the Maronites and Jacobites, beginning ܐܦܐܠܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ. Jacobus also expounded the Syriac Liturgy (*Cod. id.*). Assemani (*B. O.* i. 479 sqq.) has printed this work, from from a somewhat different text. Lastly Jacobus drew up ecclesiastical canons, and sent them to his correspondents John the Stylite and Addai the presbyter: see *no.* cclxxxvi. (Wright, *Cat.*)

III. But the fame of Jacobus of Edessa rested chiefly upon his Scholia and Commentaries on the Scriptures. The British Museum possesses several MSS. of the former, viz. *no.* dccvi. (9th or 10th cent.) containing extracts from Scholia on Genesis, 1 Samuel, and the two books of Kings; and *no.* dccclxi. 75, 77 (dated A.D. 874). Dr. Phillips has published a number of these extracts in a work entitled 'Scholia on passages of the Old Testament, by Mar Jacob bishop of Edessa. The Syriac text with English Translation and Notes' (London, 1864).

There is also a Cod. dccliii. which (No. 13) contains "Jacob of Urhoi on Paradise, the Creation of Adam," &c., and Scholia on passages in Kings, Zechariah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, &c. But these are the merest wreck of labours which included the whole of the Scriptures. A Vatican MS. (*Cod. Syr.* iii.) states that the Scholia and Commentaries together came to 2860!

The expositions of Jacobus display a thorough knowledge of the sacred text. Though fond of allegory, he does not allow that tendency to override and exclude the natural meaning. Nor was he over-anxious to extend the sphere of the miraculous. His common sense and moderation appear in the Scholia on Gen. xxiii. 13 and 1 Kings xvii. 4–6. In the former he thinks that the ram was neither a special creation nor a phantom, but a stray from a flock grazing somewhere on the mountain; in the latter that the ravens were ordinary birds and not angels, as some idly told; and the food they brought Elijah was common food, set before them at God's command by one of the prophets. In allegorizing the story, Jacobus makes the unclean birds which ministered represent "those priests who, although of impure races, are accounted worthy to act as priests in the holy and heavenly sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ."

IV. Jacobus also laboured greatly to restore his native tongue, the Syriac, to its original purity. It was largely due to his efforts in this direction that the dialect of Edessa became recognized as the standard of elegance. He was the first to write a Syriac grammar, and his work, which he called (ܬܘܪܨ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ), "An Emendation of the Syriac Language," is much quoted by all other Syrian grammarians, and especially by Barhebraeus in his great grammar the *Book of Splendours* (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܙܠܝܓܐ), wherein he calls Jacobus ܩܕܝܫܐ, *Saint.* Unhappily only a very small portion of the work survives (Wr. *no.* dcccxcvi., two vellum leaves of 9th or 10th cent.). In it Jacobus illustrated his invention of a new set of vowel signs for the Syriac language. They were to be written not above and below but, like the Greek vowels, in the same line with the consonants. The new symbols were these:



ă. ĕ. ĕ̆. ī. ĭ. ū. ŭ

and Olaf  was to be used for ā (ŏ).

Barhebraeus gives these seven new signs in his *Book of Splendours*, pt. 4, ch. 2. He says, "Paul of Antioch, a Syrian presbyter (aware that even the Greeks originally had a defective writing, since they had only seventeen signs, and afterwards characters were gradually added, until with twenty-four signs their writing reached perfection;) asked St. Jacob of Edessa that he too might supplement the defects of the Syrian writing. The saint answered him, 'Many before thee and me have entertained this wish; but to avoid destruction of the books written in the defective character, this useful work was let alone.'" Jacobus, however, sent the above seven characters in the same epistle to Paul of Antioch.

It has also been thought that the introduction of the Greek vowel signs, commonly used in Syriac books, must be ascribed to Jacobus of Edessa. The earliest examples of their use in the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum, occur in codices of his works (Wr. *nos.* ccccxxi. and lx., dated A.D. 719). See Abbé Martin, *Jacques d'Edesse et les Voyelles Syriennes.*

Jacobus, further, gave much attention to the kindred subject of the Syriac Massora. In *no.* clxii., a Biblical MS. of the 9th or 10th cent., reference is frequently made in the margin to his orthographical variations of reading, thus: ܩܕ *i.e.* ܠܩܕܝܫܐ "the Saint" (Abbé Martin). Cf. *Histoire de la Ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens, par l'Abbé Martin*, Paris, 1875; and *A Letter by Mar Jacob, bishop of Edessa, on the Syriac Orthography* (by G. Phillips, D.D., London, 1869), which letter the Abbé Martin also has edited (*Jacobi Edesseni episcopi epistola*, Paris, 1869). The original is contained in the same Cod. clxii. 2, 1, and is addressed to George bishop of Sarug. It is followed by a treatise on the tenses, persons, genders, diacritical marks, and signs of punctuation, which has also been published by the same editors; and by another tract on the accents or signs of punctuation, illustrating the proper modes of writing them. (See Appendix of the above work of Dr. Phillips.)

V. Of the Chronicle which Jacobus wrote in continuation of the work of Eusebius, no copy is known to exist. Ebedjesu (*Cat.* 106) says: "Jacob the Edessene wrote | Concerning times, and a chronicle." In the British Museum there is a fragmentary Cod. (*no.* dcccxxi. 10th or 11th cent.) entitled

ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܗܝ ܕܐܘܣܒܝܘܣ ܩܣܪܝܐ ܕܥܒܝܕܐ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܪܚܡ ܥܡܠܐ܀

that is, "Chronicle subsequent to that of Eusebius of Caesarea; composed by Jacob the lover of toil." It begins, "Whereas Eusebius of Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea Stratonis in Palestine, composed a chronicle great and universal and renowned, with all care and diligence, and with as much research as was possible to a man, in order to reach and grasp remote ages." The introduction consisted of four sections. The first was "concerning the canon which Eusebius made, and the three years whereby he falsified his computation." The second treated of the dynasties contemporary with the Roman empire, but omitted by Eusebius. The third set forth what dynasties were co-ordinated by Jacobus with the Roman empire, and the fourth gave a separate chronology of each dynasty. Then followed the chronological canon, beginning with Olympiad cclxxvi., and ending in this MS. with Ol. ccclii. The last monarchs mentioned are Heraclius I., Ardeshir III., and Abubecr the successor of Mahomet.

VI. In his old age Jacobus published a new recension of the Old Testament. Cod. *no.* lx. (Wr. *Cat.*) contains the books of Samuel, and part of 1 Kings. It is of the date A.D. 719 or earlier. A note at the end of 1 Samuel runs: "This first book of Kings was corrected so far as possible, and with much labour, from the

various versions of the Syrians and Greeks, by the hand of the holy Jacob bp. of Urhoi, in the year 1016 of the Greeks (A.D. 705) in the great convent of Tel'ada." *No.* lxi. contains Isaiah. Barhebraeus notices Jacob's various readings in the Psalms.

VII. Jacobus Edessenus was a great letter-writer. His chief correspondents were John the Stylite of ܠܝܬܪܒ Eustathius of Dara, Addai the presbyter, and George bishop of Sarug. The Cod. *no.* dccvii. (Wr. *Cat.*) contains about twenty-six epistles more or less perfect. The first is part of a long poem in heptasyllables, and now begins: "God creates by his power | And nature as commanded | And mind observeth nature." It is followed by six others, addressed to Eustathius. This MS. also has sixteen letters to John the Stylite. The first invites questions (edited with trans. and notes by R. Schröter, *Zeitschr. Morg. Gesellsch.* xxiv. p. 261); the rest are occupied with answers on various points of history and theology. Epist. 12 was published in the *Journal of Sacr. Lit.* 4 ser. x. p. 430.

Jacobus Edessenus has been confounded with Jacobus Nisibenus (Masius; Hottinger), and with Jacobus Sarugensis (Baronius; Nairon, *Index ad Eupol.*; Cave ii., 110).

For the facts here stated see Wright's *Catalogue of Additional Syriac MSS.*; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 468–494; and the authors cited in the text. [C. J. B.]

JACOBUS (25), bishop of Catania, a Basilian monk, martyred c. 730 during the Iconoclastic persecution. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 636.) [A. H. D. A.]

JACOBUS (26) ARABS, Nestorian bishop of Calata or Achlat, cir. 731, author of a *Commentary on Proverbs*, and other works in Syriac. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 431, iii. 96, 173; Le Quien, ii. 1285.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (27), doubtful bishop of Tortona, c. 744. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 672.) [A. H. D. A.]

JACOBUS (28), Jacobite blind bishop of Reschipha, cir. 755. (Assem. *Dissert. de Monoph.* in *Bibl. Or.* ii.; Le Quien, ii. 1515.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (29), ST., twenty-fourth bishop of Toul, present at the council of Compiègne in 757 (Mansi, xii. 757, 675; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 757, xv. tom. v. 564; Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1516). From the description appended to his signature, "Episc. de monasterio Gamundias," it seems that he was at this time abbat of St. Guemund in the diocese of Metz, but whether he governed the monastery at the same time with the see of Toul, as the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xiii. 960) believe, or resigned the see first, which is Le Cointe's view (765 xx.), is doubtful. He is said to have died about 767 at Dijon, where he had stayed to pray at the tomb of St. Benignus. He was buried there near the shrine, and is commemorated June 23. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 583.) See also HILDULFUS. [S. A. B.]

JACOBUS (30), Nestorian bishop of Beth-garma, one of the disciples of the catholicos Mar-aba in the eighth century. (Assem. ii. 412, iii. 96; Le Quien, ii. 1239.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (31), bishop of Anchialus on the Euxine, in Thracia, towards the close of the 8th century (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1190). See also Lambecius (*Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* lib. viii. cod. 28, p. 642, ed. Kollar). [J. de S.]

JACOBUS (32), seventeenth bishop of Lucca, A.D. 803–818. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 797; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xv. 505, 556.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (33) the Lame, a disciple of St. Anthony. (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 90, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxiv. 1198; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* vii. 485.) [I. G. S.]

JACOBUS (34), a presbyter recommended by Ambrose to Severus, a bishop in Campania. (Ambros. *Ep.* 59, p. 1016; Ceillier, v. 499.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (35), a reader accused of fornication. (Theophil. Alexand. *Commonit.* can. v. in Labbe, ii. 1800.) [T. W. D.]

JACOBUS (36), a young man whose name usually occurs with that of Timasius. They had been persuaded by Pelagius to embrace a monastic life, and they brought under the notice of Augustine a book written by him. His answer consists of the book entitled *De Naturâ et Gratiâ*, which was written A.D. 415. It had the effect of convincing Jacobus and Timasius of the errors of Pelagius, a result for which they expressed their gratitude in a letter to Augustine, which is quoted at length in his work *de Gestis Pelagii*, Aug. 168, 177; *Epp.* 179, 2–10, 186; *de Gest. Pelag.* 10, 23, 24.

A person named Jacobus is also mentioned in a letter of Augustine to Christinus (*Ep.* 256). [H. W. P.]

JACOBUS (37), a deacon and "archimandrite of the Syrians" at Constantinople. (Labbe, iv. 232 c.) [FAUSTUS (28).] [C. G.]

JACOBUS (38), ST., a disciple of St. Maro, whose austerities he surpassed. Many miracles of healing are related of him. He lived in the 5th century. (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* xxi. in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxii. 1431; Ceillier, x. 20.) [I. G. S.]

JACOBUS (39), surnamed THE PERSIAN, a follower of Julian the Ascetic. (Theod. *Rel. Hist.* cap. 2, in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 1310 C, 1311 B), and afterwards of Eusebius of Mount Coryphe, in the fifth century (*ib.* cap. 4, p. 1346 C.) [EUSEBIUS (118).] [C. H.]

JACOBUS (40), deacon of Heliopolis or of Edessa, the author of the life of Pelagia, an actress and courtesan at Antioch, converted by Nonnus, then bishop of Heliopolis. The date of this conversion may probably be placed in the second half of the 5th century [see PELAGIA]. A deacon of Edessa signed the address of the clergy in favour of Ibas (Labbe, iv. 669), who, if we accept Baronius's view, was probably the same with the biographer of Pelagia. [E. V.]

JACOBUS (41), abbat of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, and called "governor of the altar of St. Cadoc," ruled apparently in the lifetime of St. Cadoc, in the 6th century. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 354 n. 390; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 381–7.) [J. G.]

JACOBUS (42) DIACONUS (JAMES THE DEACON), one of the companions of Paulinus, the first bishop of York, especially when he was baptizing in the Trent (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 16). When Paulinus returned to Kent, in A.D. 633, James was left behind, the sole relic apparently of the mission. He chiefly resided, as Bede says, at a village near Catterick, which bore his name. He did a great work in teaching and baptizing. When peace was restored to Northumbria, and the troubles resulting from Edwin's death were over, James exercised, with great success, his power of teaching, singing, and church music among the increasing congregations; indeed he was the first to introduce the Kentish or Roman manner of singing in the Northumbrian church (*H. E.* ii. 20; iv. 2). In A.D. 664 James was present, on the side of Wilfrid, at the great conference at Whitby (*Id.* iii. 25). Bede (who was born in A.D. 673) says that James survived, full of years and good works, to his own time (*Id.* ii. 16, 20).

Smith, the editor of Bede, conjectures that the Yorkshire village in which James chiefly resided was Aikburgh (Jake's burgh or town), a few miles south of Catterick (p. 102). This is probable enough. A little further south is the village of Haukswell, which may perhaps be Jake's Well. In the churchyard there is an early cross covered with interlacing work, on the base of which Mr. D. H. Haigh thought he could trace the words *Haec est crux Sti Gacobi* (adopted by Hübner, *Inscrr. Brit. Christ.* 68). This, however, has been doubted. [J. R.]

JACOBUS (43) O'FARANNAN, "the greatest preacher in his time," died A.D. 746. (*Ann. Ult.*) [J. G.]

JACOBUS (44), one of the seven martyrs of Samosata under Galerius. [HIPPARCHUS.]

JACOBUS (45), June 11, martyr at Milevis under Florus in the Diocletian persecution. [INNOCENTIUS (25).] [MATRONA]. (De Rossi, Bull. 1875, p. 162; 1876, p. 59; 1877, p. 97.) [G. T. S.]

JACOBUS (46)—March 22. Presbyter and martyr of Thelscialila, or the village of Scialila, on a tell or hill above the Euphrates in Persia, with his sister Maria a nun. He suffered under Sapor II., A.D. 346. See Assemani (*AA. MM.* i. 121) and Ceillier (iii. 333). He is apparently the presbyter and martyr of Telatha-Schelila, under the same king, mentioned in Wright's *Syr. Mart.* but without a day. [G. T. S.]

JACOBUS (47), the name of a presbyter of Seleucia, and also of a deacon, martyred under Sapor, mentioned, but without a day, in Wright's *Syr. Mart.* [G. T. S.]

JACOBUS (48), surnamed **ZELOTES**—Nov. 1. Presbyter and martyr in Persia, under Sapor, with Joannes a bishop. (*Mart. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*; Assem. *AA. MM. Orient.* i. 102.) [G. T. S.]

JACOBUS (49), presbyter, martyr in Persia in the reign of Sapor, with the bishops Melisius and Acepsimas. He was commemorated on April 22. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 344, xvi.; *Mart. Roman.*) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (50)—Nov. 27. A Persian martyr under king Isdigerd I., or his son Vararanes IV., cir. 420. (*Mart. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*; Assem. *AA. MM.* i. 242; Natal. Alex. *H. E.* saec. v. cap. I.; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. xxiv. s. 26.) [G. T. S.]

JACOBUS (51), deacon, martyr with Marianus, a reader at Lambesa in Numidia. He was commemorated on April 30. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Roman.*) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (52), Aug. 9, one of the ten martyrs for the image of Christ under Leo Isaurus. (Sirlet. *Menol. Graecorum*; Baron. Ann. 726, xiii.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (53), governor of Cappadocia, addressed by Gregory Nazianzen, cir. 380, on behalf of Simplicia (ep. 207 al. 146, and ep. 208 al. 147, but uncertain; Tillem. ix. 548, 726; Ceill. v. 254). [C. H.]

JACOBUS (54), count. [CYRILLUS (7), vol. i. p. 768, col. 2.] (Mansi, *Concil.* iv. 1398 b, d.) [C. H.]

JACOBUS (55) CILIX, surnamed PSYCHRISTUS (*Chron. Pasch.* s. a. 467). [ISOCASIUS.]

JACOBUS (56), protospatharius, confessor for images under Leo IV. Chazar in 780 (Theoph. p. 382). [IRENE (10).] [C. H.]

JADER, bishop of Midila, in Numidia (an inscription has "Veteranorum Medilitanorum"). His name is Punic; it is supposed by Morcelli (*Afr. Chr.* i. 226) to be the same as IAR, of which he gives an instance from an inscription. But in Gruter, *Inscr.* p. ccccl xx. 1, occurs the name itself, "Jader Jummon." (Cypr. *Sentt. Episc.* 40, epp. 76, 79; August. *de Bapt.* lib. vii. c. 9.) [E. W. B.]

JAENBERT (JAMBERT, JAINBERT, JANIBERT, LAMBERT, GENGBERHT), the thirteenth archbishop of Canterbury. Before his promotion to the archiepiscopate he had been abbat of St. Augustine's, to which office, according to the Canterbury historians, he was appointed in the year 760, on the death of Aldhun the ninth abbat, and blessed by archbishop Bregwin. (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 319; Thorn, *ap.* Twysden, c. 1775.) The attestation of Jaenbert as abbat is appended to four charters, also attested by archbishop Bregwin, and all of them somewhat suspected. They are (1) the grant of land at Sarr to Sigeburga abbess of Minster (Kemble, *C. D.* 106; Elmham, p. 322), dated in the thirty-sixth year of Eadbert, who is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have died in 748, but here seems to be reigning in 761; (2) a grant of the same king to Jaenbert himself and the monastery of St. Augustine's (Kemble, *C. D.* 107; Elmham, p. 319) of land at Mundlingham (cf. Thorn, ap. Twysden, 1775); and bearing the same date; (3) the charter of Dunweald, the thegn of king Ethelbert, who grants property at Queengate (K. *C. D.* 109; Elmham, 326) to St. Augustine's; this is dated 762; and (4) an undated confirmation by a king named Eanmund of a grant by Sigiraed, king of half Kent, to Rochester, not dated, but attested by Bregwin. (K. *C. D.* 114; *Mon. Angl.* i. 163.) These charters do not throw any real light on the date of Jaenbert's promotions. Archbishop Bregwin died in August 765 [BREGWIN], and, when it was

found that he had been buried at Christ Church, contrary to the right and privilege asserted by St. Augustine's as the place of burial for kings and archbishops, Jaenbert is said to have determined to appeal to Rome. According to this story, which in its details is certainly of late authority, the monks of Christ Church, in order to avoid the appeal, elected Jaenbert to the archiepiscopal see. (Elmham, p. 330; Thorn, c. 1775.)

The consecration of Jaenbert is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 763, *M. H. B.* 333) as having taken place forty days after midwinter, in the year following his predecessor's death, and therefore, if the computation of Bregwin's death be correct, in the year 766. Elmham, however, dates the event on Jan. 8. Feb. 2 in 766 was a Sunday, and on that day probably Jaenbert was consecrated, possibly by archbishop Egberht of York, possibly by his own comprovincial bishops; as this was the first case in which the archbishop of York possessed the pall since the days of Honorius and Paulinus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he acted on the occasion.

There is a charter dated 765 in which Jaenbert appears (Gengberhtus) as archbishop, but it is of very questionable authority. (K. *C. D.* 113; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 403.)

Of the early years of Jaenbert's episcopate we have very few data. The kingdom of Kent was broken up among a variety of claimants, in the West Saxon, East Saxon, and Mercian interests, and Jaenbert probably was more powerful in his ecclesiastical position than any single pretender to royalty. It may have been now that the archbishops first assumed the right of coining their own money; Jaenbert, at any rate, is the first archbishop of Canterbury, any of whose mintage has been preserved. (Hawkins, *Silver Coinage*, ed. Kenyon, p. 102.)

In the first year after his consecration Jaenbert received the pall from pope Paul I. (Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* 544), and as the four bishops, Ethelbert of York, Alhmund of Hexham, Aluberht the missionary to Old Saxony, and Ceolwulf of Lindsey, are said to have been consecrated on April 24, 767, it is most probable that this was done by Jaenbert immediately after his investiture with that most important emblem (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 663).

The charters of the following years furnish proof of the activity and extensive influence of Jaenbert: they also prove the gradual predominance of Offa and the approach to a state of affairs in which the freedom of the Kentish church would be seriously endangered. As early as 767 the archbishop is found attesting a grant of Offa to Stidberht, in company with two Mercian bishops (K. *C. D.* 116); in 772 he attests two grants of Offa, one to St. Augustine's (K. *C. D.* 119), and another to the bishop of Selsey (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 402). In 774, the year to which Florence of Worcester refers the great defeat of the Kentish men by the Mercians at Otford (*M. H. B.* 544), Jaenbert is found accepting a grant at Higham in Kent from Offa (K. *C. D.* 121, 122), and also attesting grants made at Mercian Witenagemots. It is unnecessary to describe the several grants which bear Jaenbert's signature during the following years. Jaenbert was at a council at Brentford in 781, in which some causes connected with Worcester were settled (K. *C. D.* 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439); and after that little is heard of him until the year 786.

It is to these years no doubt that we must fix the growth in Offa's mind of a policy adverse to Jaenbert and the independence of Canterbury. Possibly Jaenbert himself may have taken part with that body of Kentish nobles who afterwards supported Eadbert Praen against Offa. The chronicle under the year 784 mentions the reign of the West Saxon Ealhmund in Kent, and there can be no doubt that Ealhmund in Kent, like his son Egbert in Wessex, represented the patriotic party opposed to Mercian rule. Offa may further have suspected some complicity between Jaenbert, or the West Saxon party in Kent, with Charles the Great, who, during these years, was apparently viewed with jealousy by Offa, and who had informed Adrian I. that the king of Mercia was thinking of unseating the pope himself. (*Mon. Carolina*, ed. Jaffé, p. 279; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 442.) In the late biography of Offa, it is plainly asserted that Jaenbert had invited Charles to invade England (M. Paris, *V. Off.* ii. p. 21, ed. Wats); but this testimony is too weak to allow such a charge to be believed, although Charles may have been asked to lend his aid to the Kentish nobles. The result proves that the uneasy relations had been long increasing, and that Offa mistrusted an archbishop who was firmly established outside of his own dominions. He accordingly determined to apply at Rome for the gift of an archiepiscopal pall to Higbert, the bishop of Lichfield, the effect of which would be to cut off the Mercian episcopate from the obedience of the see of Canterbury. The several steps of the negotiation are obscure, and are unfortunately darkened more than was necessary by the attempts made by William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris to fill up the vacant spaces. It is certain, however, that in the year 786 and 787, two Roman legates, George and Theophylact, visited England, were received by Jaenbert at Canterbury, visited Offa and Eanbald, and propounded a series of canons, which were accepted in provincial councils of both the provinces. In the council of the province of Canterbury Jaenbert sat with twelve bishops; Offa and three or four ealdormen were likewise present. The place of the council, which must be dated in 787, is not given, nor is the division of the province of Canterbury mentioned in the decrees of the council. But the Chronicle, apparently referring to the same assembly, mentions (A.D. 785; *M. H. B.* 336) a contentious synod at Cealchyth, in which Jaenbert gave up some portion of his bishopric; Higbert was chosen archbishop by Offa, and Egfrid, Offa's son, was consecrated king. It can scarcely be doubted that this was part of the work of the legates; although we have no data as to the exact nature of their share in it, and king Kenulf in writing to pope Leo III. distinctly claims the authority of Adrian for the diminution of the rights of Canterbury. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 522.)

Higbert did not assume the pall at the legatine council, so that possibly he may not have received it until 788; from that year he attests charters as archbishop, and as equal in rank, although inferior in seniority, to Jaenbert.

As to the exact number of sees taken from the obedience of Canterbury, we have no contemporary information. William of Malmesbury mentions Worcester, Leicester, Sidnacester, Hereford, Elmham, and Dunwich. (*G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 16.)

The following years saw several councils; one at Acleah in 787 (K. *C. D.* 151). There was apparently one at Cealchyth, Chelsea, in 788 and 789, and many charters were confirmed in both years. (See K. *C. D.* 152, 153, 155, 156, 157; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 463–466.) No pecial personal act of Jaenbert is recorded. The exact year of his death is uncertain; the best authority, Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 667), places it in 791; Florence of Worcester and the Chronicler in 790 (*M. H. B.* 337, 546); Elmham in 789. The day was Aug. 11 (*Obit. Cant.* in *Angl. Sacr.* i. 53) or Aug. 12 (Flor. Wig.). Gervase, vol. ii. p. 346, assigns him twenty-seven years, which, dated from 766, brings down his death to 793; but this is not worth considering. The same writer adds that he was buried at St. Augustine's, and Elmham gives his epitaph. (Ed. Hardwick, p. 335.) [S.]

JAFREDUS (THEOFREDUS), Sept. 7, martyr commemorated at Saluzzo, said to have been one of the Theban Legion. [LEGIO THEBAEA.] (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 9.) [C. H.]

JAHABALAHA. [JABALLAHA.]

JAINBERT, JAMBERHT. [JAENBERT.]

JAMBLICHUS (1), one of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, commemorated on Oct. 23. (Basil, *Menol.* i. 137.) [C. H.]

JAMBLICHUS (2), a celebrated Neoplatonic philosopher, born at Chalcis in Coele-Syria. He lived in the time of Constantine, and did not outlive that emperor, but the exact dates of his birth and death are uncertain. (Zeller puts A.D. 330 as the probable date of his death.) For his life and works see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 549.

Christianity, never mentioned in the extant works of Jamblichus, is nevertheless a profound moving cause, whether by sympathy or antipathy, of all that he wrote. It would be unjust to deny to Jamblichus some sound elementary ideas on morality and religion, but his predetermination was to find the sound development of these ideas in all the effete philosophies and religions of his day. He was one of those who endeavour to put new wine into old bottles. His learning was great, but the use to which he was able to turn it was but small. The impulses to beneficent action and to progressive systematic knowledge were clogged and thwarted in him by his obstinate adherence to the old and hitherto dominating systems. That Jamblichus did not become a Christian cannot be imputed to him as a crime; that he travestied history in his life of Pythagoras, in order to find a rival to Christianity, was certainly an offence. His popularity in his own age is easy to understand. He satisfied the conscience of his hearers by the rank which he assigned, and justly assigned, to morality and religion; he flattered their prejudices by teaching them that the dogmas and mysteries of the most venerable forms of religious cultus were the secret and difficult entrance into a true life; he excited their ambition by exhibiting the total results of his researches in the form of a philosophy, which, fantastic and diffuse as it appears to us, who have such good grounds for disbelieving it, must have seemed brilliant and comprehensive to minds that thought contemplation the final good of man, and action a comparatively vulgar and transient thing. Not that Jamblichus is either to be blamed for any excessive subtlety of intellect, or praised for intellectual successes; his whole effort lay in other regions, partly in the inculcation of goodness, but more frequently in the much easier task of inculcating those deceptive imaginations and mystic apparatuses which have mimicked goodness through all human history. We read that Jamblichus personally was of excellent and gentle character; this may be believed. For the philosophical theories of Jamblichus in their more particular detail we must refer to the full and minute account given by Zeller (*Die Philosophie der Griechen*, vol. v. pp. 613–646). [J. R. M.]

JAMBLICHUS (3), a priest and monk cir. 449. (Theodoret, Epist. xcvii. in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxiii. 1291.) [I. G. S.]

JAMBLICHUS (4), JAMNECIUS, JAMLYCHUS, JAMNERICUS, JAMNERIUS, fifteenth bishop of Trèves, circ. A.D. 475. (*Patr. Lat.* lxi. 1008; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 378.) [R. T. S.]

JAMBLICUS, bishop of Chalcis (Kenneserin) in Syria, present at the synod of Antioch, A.D. 445. (Mansi, vii. 326 seq.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 786.) [J. de S.]

JAMNECIUS. [JAMBLICHUS.]

JAMNUS, Jew. [CANDIDUS (10).]

JANIBERT, archbishop. [JAENBERT.]

JANSO, a bishop of Teate (Chieti), probably about the middle of the 4th century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xxi. 96.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIA (1) (Carthaginian refugee?), Christian at Rome. (Cyp. *Ep.* 22.) [E. W. B.]

JANUARIA (2), sister of Lucian, Carthaginian confessor. (Cyp. *Ep.* 22.) [E. W. B.]

JANUARIA (3), July 17, one of the Scillitan martyrs. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [C. H.]

JANUARIANUS (1), bishop of Tubulba, or Tubulbaca, in Byzacene, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* Cognit. i. 126.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (2) or JANUARIUS, bishop of Gisipa Major, in Proconsular Africa, present at the Carthaginian conference (i. 133). (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 420, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (3) or JANUARIUS, Donatist bishop of Casae Nigrae, in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (i. 10, 14, 149). He was regarded as the primate of the Donatist bishops, taking rank even before Primianus. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 14; Aug. *Ep.* 88; Possidius, *Indic. Opp. Aug.* c. 3.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (4), Donatist bishop of Auzaga, or Auzagga, in Numidia, who was dead at the time of the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (See Ant. *Itin.* 30, 36; Ptol. iv. 2–31; and Böcking, *Not. Dignit. Occ.* pp. 604, 643; *Coll. Carth.* i. 179.) [PRIVATUS.] [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (5), Donatist bishop of Tibursicus or Tubursicus, a town of Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* Cognit. i. 143, 201). (Ptol. iv. 3, 29.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (6), a Donatist bishop, probably the preceding. (*Coll. Carth.* ii. 251.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIANUS (7), bishop of Mascula in Numidia banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notit.* 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 215.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARINUS, a monk of the monastery of St. Aurelian, or the Holy Apostles, at Arles, was the author of an epitaph upon Florentinus, the first abbat of his monastery. It may be read, among other places, in Baronius, *Annales*, an. 553, n. cclv. Januarinus is named in the *diptyches* which follow the *Regula* of his monastery (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 397), among the *patres* and *institutores* of the foundation, and the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 600) doubt whether he should not be included among the abbats. (Cf. Ceillier, xi. 321.) [S. A. B.]

JANUARIUS (1), the first named of eight Numidian bishops to whom in A.D. 253 Cyprian (*Ep.* 62) sends a large contribution for the relief of Christians whom the barbarians had carried into captivity. The order in which they are named, viz. Januarius, Maximus, Proculus, Victor, Modianus, Nemesianus, Nampulus, Honoratus, corresponds, with one exception, to the order in which they occur in the next list of eighteen Numidian bishops (ubi falso l. Jubaiano) to whom is addressed by Cyprian and the African bishops the synodal reply on the baptism of heretics from the first Carthaginian council on the subject, A.D. 255 (Cyp. *Ep.* 70). He is probably the bishop of Lambaese who spoke sixth in the third council (A.D. 256), and in this case again is probably the successor of the deposed heretic bishop PRIVATUS, *q. v.* [E. W. B.]

JANUARIUS (2), ninth of thirty-six bishops of Africa at the council *de Basilide.* (Cyp. *Ep.* 67.) [E. W. B.]

JANUARIUS (3), seventeenth of thirty-six bishops of Africa at Syn. Carth. *de Basil.* (Cyp. *Ep.* 67). Probably, judging from seniority, the same as twenty-second bishop in fifth council, A.D. 255 (*Ep.* 70), and same as twenty-third bishop in seventh council (*de Bap. Haer.* iii. *in Sentt. Epp.*), where he appears as "Episcopus de Vico Caesaris" in Prov. Byzac. (*i.e.* Ep. Vicensis, or *Itin. Anton.* ap. Morcelli, "de Vico Augusti"). [E. W. B.]

JANUARIUS (4) gave thirty-fourth suffrage of eighty-seven bishops in Syn. Carth. *de Bap.* iii. A.D. 256, as Episcopus Muzulensis (v. l. Mozulensis, &c.), probably of Muzuca, in Prov. Byz. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 238.) [E. W. B.]

JANUARIUS (5), a Numidian bishop in the reign of Constantine. (Aug. *Excerpt. de Don.* app. vol. ix. p. 729; *Mon. Vet. Don.* no. 26, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (6), bishop of Jericho, at the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 693; Le Quien, iii. 653.) [J. de S.]

JANUARIUS (7), a Donatist minister or bishop, probably the same as JANUARIANUS (3). (Aug. *c. Petil.* iii. 53, 54.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (8), Donatist bishop of Flumenpiscensis, in Mauretania Sitifensis, associated with Felix of Zaba. (Opt. ii. 18.) [FELIX (185).] [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (9), the name of several bishops present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411, viz. of

Tunnsuda, or Thunusida, a town probably of Numidia (Plin. *H. N.* v. 4, 24; Ptol. iv. 3, 30). (*Collat Carth.* cognit. i. 120.)

(Donatist) Lamasna, Lamasba, or Lamsa, a town of Numidia, eighteen miles from Diana (Ant. *Itin.* 25–8). (Lamaza) (*Coll. Carth.* i. 128, 187; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 408, 438, ed. Oberthür.)

Cunculiana, or Cenculiana, in Byzacene. (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 648.)

Aptuca, an African town, called by Pliny Abutuca, either in Proconsular Africa or Numidia. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 128, 201.)

Casae Medianenses, in Numidia. (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 644; *Coll. Carth.* i. 135; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 423, ed. Oberthür.)

(Donatist) Numidia, a town in Mauretania Caesariensis. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 188.)

(Donatist) Aquae Albae, probably in Byzacene. (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 647; *Coll. Carth.* i. 197.)

(Donatist) Tubursicus. [JANUARIANUS (5).]

(Donatist) Horrea Caelia, a town on the sea-coast of Byzacene, eighteen miles north of Hadrumetum (Ant. *Itin.* 56, 5 [Herklah]). (*Coll. Carth.* i. 201.)

(Donatist) Centuriona, a town of Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 644). (*Coll. Carth.* i. 202.)

(Donatist) Nara, a town of Byzacene, fifteen miles from Sufetula (Ant. *Itin.* 49, 8). (*Coll. Carth.* i. 206.)

(Donatist) Betagbara, a place of unknown site in Africa (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 654). (*Coll. Carth.* i. 206.)

(Donatist) Libertina in Proconsular Africa. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 116, 201.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (10), one of the bishops who met at the council of Carthage against Pelagius A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 175, 181.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (11), bishop of Aquileia, addressed by Leo the Great in Dec. 447 (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 18, 729, Migne). His name appears in some MSS. as Julian. Ughelli (*Ital. Sacra*, v. 25) states that he occupied the see of Aquileia for eight years, but there seems to be no evidence for this. The letter (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 1, 589) written about A.D. 442 to a bishop of Aquileia, was probably written to a predecessor of this one (cf. also De Rubeis, *Monumenta Eccl. Aquil.* pp. 133–140). [C. G.]

JANUARIUS (12), thirteenth bishop of Beneventum (Benevento), the celebrated martyr and patron saint of Naples; commemorated on Jan. 19. It has been warmly disputed whether he was a native of Naples or of Beneventum, but little is known of the events of his life. He was put to death at Puteoli, Sept. 19, A.D. 305 (or perhaps 304), by the order of Timotheus, prefect of Campania. It is very doubtful at what date the alleged liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius began, some authorities placing it as early as the 10th century, others as late as the 14th. It was certainly known in the middle of the 15th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 19 Sept. p. 761; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 312, viii. 13; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 13.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (13) II., bishop of Beneventum (Benevento), c. A.D. 343, present at the council of Sardica. (Hilar. *Frag.* ii. cap. 14 in *Pat. Lat.* x. 642 B; Athanas. *Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 50; Mansi, iii. 47; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 15; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 14.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (14), Maximianist bishop of Aquae, a town probably of Mauritania Caesariensis (Hammam Mridja), twenty-five miles from Caesarea (Ant. *Itin.* 31; Shaw, p. 87), present at the council of Cabarsussis A.D. 394. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* xxvi. 20; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 80.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS, bishop of Tubulbaca. [JANUARIANUS (1).]

JANUARIUS (15), a bishop at the council of Carthage in 416. (Innocent. *Epp.* 26, 29 in *Pat. Lat.* xx. 582; Mansi, iv. 321.) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (16), bishop of Marciana in Lycia in 448. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 983; Mansi, vi. 751.) [L. D.]

JANUARIUS (17), bishop of Leontopolis, in the smaller Egyptian Delta, present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 720; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 553.) [J. de S.]

JANUARIUS (18), bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina), was present at the council held at Rome by Hilarius, A.D. 465. (Mansi, vii. 959; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 193; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 596.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (19), bishop of Ariminum (Rimini), c. A.D. 462–484, said to have been "de Praeneste." (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 375; Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 721.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (20), the name of certain African bishops banished by Hunneric in 484, viz. the bishops of—

Aquae in Mauritania Caesariensis (Victor. Vit. *Notit.* 58; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 80).

Centuriae in Numidia (*Not.* 57; *A. C.* i. 136).

Gauria in Num. died in exile (*Not.* 57; *A. C.* i. 167).

Jactera in Num. (*Not.* 56; *A. C.* i. 188).

"Legensis" in Num. (*Not.* 57; *A. C.* i. 200).

Nasbinca in Mauritania Caes. (*Not.* 58; *A. C.* i. 241).

Tagaste in Num. (*Not.* 57; *A. C.* i. 299).

Velesa in Num. (*Not.* 57; *A. C.* i. 351). [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (21), first bishop of Alba, afterwards called Viviers, before the 5th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 541.) [R. T. S.]

JANUARIUS (22), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, A.D. 505–515. A letter addressed to him by Theoderic is preserved in Cassiodorus. (*Variarum*, iii. 7; Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* ii. 149–154.) [J. de S.]

JANUARIUS (23), bishop of Vegeselae in Numidia, present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 647; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 350.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (24), bishop of Mascula in Numidia, was present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 647; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 215.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (25), bishop of Calaris (Cagliari), in Sardinia. He appears to have been a contemporary of Gregory the Great through nearly the whole of his pontificate, and he received a great number of letters from him on a variety of subjects. In the early part of his correspondence the pope thought favourably of the bishop and commended various persons to him (*Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 62–64; Migne, lxxvii. 520). Later on he heard complaints against him, and wrote him various letters of censure (*Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 49; lib. iii. indict. xi. 36; Migne, lxxvii. 590, 632; *Epist.* lib. iv. indict. xii. 9, 26; Migne, lxxvii. 675, 694; *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. 1, 2; Migne, lxxvii. 939). In his last letter Gregory praises the bishop for his pastoral zeal (*Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. 4, 65; lib. xi. indict. iv. 25; Migne, lxxvii. 941, 1001, 1135). [A. H. D. A.]

JANUARIUS (26), bishop of Malaga. The only information we have about him is derived from a letter of Gregory the Great, written in A.D. 602 or 603, addressed to one John, whom he was sending to Spain with the title of Defensor. From this letter it appears that Januarius had complained to the pope that he had been deprived of his see, and seized and violently carried off out of the church, and another bishop appointed in his place by Comitiolus, who was the commander-in-chief in the dominions of the emperor in Spain, and the bishops of his party. The pope directed John to inquire into the matter, and if no crime that deserved exile or deposition was proved against Januarius, to restore him to his see, and to deprive the intruding bishop of his orders, and hand him over to Januarius, that he might either keep him in prison or send him to the pope.

What purports to be the sentence of John is also preserved. After reciting that he had heard the cause, and examined witnesses on both sides, he pronounces that Januarius had done nothing to merit being deprived of his see, and still less being violently removed from the church, and orders that he should be restored, and that the bishops who had opposed him should be punished as the pope's letter had directed, and the intruding bishop deprived of his orders. Florez is, however, inclined to think none of these documents are genuine, but is of opinion that as the forger of them used the name of Comitiolus, whom we know to have

been a real personage, he also used the name of a real bishop, and that therefore Januarius should be admitted among the bishops of Malaga. (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 49; *Esp. Sag.* xii. 321; S. Greg. Mag. *Epist.* xiii. ind. vi. ep. 45, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. p. 1250 et seq.; Ceill. *Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 532.) [F. D.]

JANUARIUS (27), the name of two Byzacene bishops, one of Gattia, the other of Bana, who subscribed the letter of that province A.D. 641 against the Monothelites. (Mansi, x. 927, 928; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 96, 166.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (28), the name of two bishops in Proconsular Africa, one of Libertini, the other of Musti, present at the council A.D. 646 against the Monothelites. (Mansi, x. 940; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 205.) [R. S. G.]

JANUARIUS (29), one of the seven martyred sons of Felicitas; commemorated on July 10. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (30), one of four subdeacons decapitated at Rome with the martyr bishop Xystus, in the reign of Decius. He was commemorated on Aug. 6. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (31), one of the twelve sons of the centurion Marcellus, martyred with him in Spain under the praeses Agricolaus A.D. 298. (Baron. *A. E.* 298, ix.) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (32), martyred at Cordova, with Faustus and Martialis. He was commemorated on Oct. 13. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [FAUSTUS (19).] [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (33), one of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa, commemorated on April 16. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (34), two presbyters of Elvira, 303, one of Laurus, the other of Barba in Baetica. (Mansi, ii. 108.) [T. W. D.]

JANUARIUS (35), a subdeacon and a "fossor" of Cirta, at the inquisition for sacred books in 303. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 29, 33; *Gesta apud Zenoph.* apud Aug. *Opp.* vol. ix., app. p. 794; Augusti, *Archäolog.* vol. ix. p. 557.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (36), Jovinianist, condemned by pope Siricius in A.D. 390. (S. Siricius Papa, *Epist.* vii. ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. 1171; S. Ambrosius *Ep.* xlii. ap. Migne, *Ib.* xvi. 1128; Baronius, *Ann.* vi. a. 390, xlvii.) [J. G.]

JANUARIUS (37), one of five martyrs at Carthage, buried in the basilica of Faustus, commemorated on July 15. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [CATULINUS.] [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (38), a scribe or notary on the Catholic side at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 1, ii. 1, iii. 1.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (39), a presbyter who became a member of St. Augustine's monastery at Hippo, and respecting the disposition of whose property a troublesome controversy arose. (Aug. *Serm.* 355, 3, 4; *Serm.* 356, 11; Tillemont, *Hist. Eccl.* 317.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (40), a friend of St. Augustine, and called by him his son, as being probably much younger than himself. He is called in some MSS. "notarius," *i.e.* a secretary or scribe, and a person of this name is certainly mentioned in affectionate terms by Augustine as the bearer of a letter from himself to Paulinus, A.D. 417; but nothing is known for certain about him beyond what may be gathered from the replies of St. Augustine to his enquiries. These are contained in two letters, written about A.D. 400, of which the second amounts in length to a book or treatise, and is so styled by himself in his *Retractations.* The letter or letters of Januarius are lost; but the replies to them shew that the subject of them was connected with ritual observance, and so Augustine himself entitles his second letter *de Ritibus Ecclesiae.*

Although in the course of St. Augustine's argument, especially in the second letter, there is a good deal of fanciful and inconclusive reasoning, the whole work is of great value, as shewing the principle sanctioned by the church of allowing liberty of usages in matters not ruled either by Scripture or by express decree. Maintaining the firmest loyalty towards the authority of the church, he claims on that authority a liberty in matters of secondary importance, which it is of the greatest consequence to assert and uphold. (Aug. *Retract.* ii. 20; *Epp.* 54, 55.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (41), a Donatist presbyter of Ucus Major or Ucitanum, present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411 (i. 133). (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 418, ed. Oberthür; Plin. *H. N.* v. 4, 29; Ptol. iv. 3, 29; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 643.) [H. W. P.]

JANUARIUS (42), monk. [BACHIARIUS.]

JANUARIUS (43), subdeacon of the church of Messina, founded a basilica there. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 5 in Migne, lxxvii. 541.) [A. H. D. A.]

JANUARIUS (44), martyr with Felix (199) at Heraclea, and commemorated on Jan. 7. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (45), martyr with Pelagia at Nicopolis, a town in Lesser Armenia, commemorated on July 11. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JANUARIUS (46), presbyter and martyr, Oct. 24. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [FELIX (174).] [C. H.]

JAQUINTUS, the first known bishop of Gauria (Coria), in Spain, subscribed the third council of Toledo in 589. (Mansi, ix. 1002; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xiv. 56.) [C. H.]

JARLOGA, JARLUGH. [IARLUGH (1).]

JARUMAN (JERUMAN), the fourth bishop of the Mercian church (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 623). He was appointed on the death of Trumhere, by the influence of Wulfhere king of Mercia, and in connexion with the Scottish mission (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 24). The date of his appointment, according to the Lichfield annalist (*Ang. Sac.* i. 425), was 662; and, although the precise year cannot be regarded as fixed on such authority, it is clear that, as Jaruman was the second bishop since

the accession of Wulfhere in 657, and was in office in 665, the computation cannot be very far wrong. Jaruman's activity was not confined to Mercia. Under the pressure of Wulfhere he undertook the recovery of the East Saxons to the faith from which they had fallen after the death of king Swithelm and the apostolic Cedda. Bede, who learned the history of Jaruman from a priest who had accompanied this mission, gives him a high character for industry, and enlarges on the success which he achieved in the destruction of the idolatrous temples, and the propagation of the faith (*H. E.* iii. 30). The death of Jaruman, which is fixed by the Lichfield writer in 667, must have taken place before Theodore in 669 placed St. Chad at Lichfield (*H. E.* iv. 3). Jaruman appears in the foundation charter of Medeshamstede, in the Peterborough MS. of the Chronicle (*M. H. B.* 313, 315). [S.]

JASIMUS, bishop of Spires. [JESSES.]

JASON (1), bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, supposed to be the Jason mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 21; commemorated in the Greek *Menaea* on April 27. (Basil, *Menol.* iii. 73; Le Quien, ii. 869.) [J. de S.]

JASON (2) and PAPISCUS. [ARISTO PELLAEUS.]

JASON (3). [ELPIDIUS (41).]

JASON (4), Dec. 3, son of the tribune Claudius and his wife Hilaria, martyred with them at Rome. (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JAST (JUSTUS), obscure Irish saint, given by Aengus the Culdee (*Felire*, l. iv. c. 76), as son of Bracan or Brychan, and the Saxon Dina, but is unknown in the Welsh pedigrees. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 13.) [J. G.]

JAZDEPHANES (1) (JESUPHANA, "JESUS HEAR HER"), Nestorian bishop of Saharzur or Sciaharzul, who cir. 630 joined the Jacobites and assisted in ordaining Maruthas maphrian of Tagrit. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 419; Le Quien, ii. 1329, 1535, 1593.)

(2) called CATARENSIS, Nestorian bishop of Cascara, present at the death of the catholicos Jesujab III. Adiabenus in 660. He wrote *Spiritual Philosophy* and other works in Syriac. (Assem. ii. 420, iii. 188; Le Quien, ii. 1165.) [C. H.]

JEHUDAH I. (R.), B. Simon III. grandson of Gamaliel II., also called R. Jehudah, the Prince (הנשיא), R. Jehudah the Holy, or simply *Rabbi* (רבי) = *the Teacher*, was born *circa* A.D. 150. He was the seventh of the fifteen patriarchs of the house of Hillel, who for upwards of 450 years (from *circa* B.C. 30 to A.D. 425) were the hereditary presidents of the Sanhedrin. Though heir to a large fortune and to a sickly constitution, he was a most diligent student. Under the guidance of R. Simon b. Joshai, and R. Eleazar b. Shamma at Usha, whither the Sanhedrin removed after the cessation of the Hadrian persecutions, he so successfully developed his great natural powers that when quite a youth he became very distinguished for his great learning, and was placed by his father and the college in the first rank of disciples. Therefore when he had to succeed to the presidency of the Sanhedrin at the age of twenty (*circa* A.D. 170), he was perfectly qualified to discharge with honour the important functions connected with this high office. Being himself an ardent student he thoroughly sympathised with all who were anxious to devote themselves to the study of the Law. He became an attraction to all the intellectual young men. They flocked to him from far and wide, from Palestine and from Babylon, to place themselves at his feet at Beth Shearim, also called Beth Shari, the present Turan, where the Sanhedrin now hold their sittings, and he maintained at his own cost hundreds of poor students. How thoroughly he identified himself with them may be seen from his beautiful saying: "I learned much from my teachers, more from my colleagues, but most from my own disciples" (*Machoth*, x.). The importance which he attached to education may also be seen from his solicitude about the instruction of children. "The world," he declared, "only exists by the breath of the children at school. Children are not to be taken from school even if it were for the rebuilding of the temple" (*Sabbath*, ii. *b*). Owing to his feeble health he removed his residence, and with it the seat of the Sanhedrin to Sepphoris, which, according to tradition, was the home of the Virgin Mary's parents, and where she is said to have received the salutation of the angel. Though the Sanhedrin here had its complete number of seventy members, and though the power to decide religious questions and the care for the spiritual wants of the different communities were vested in them, yet so great was the confidence they reposed in the piety, learning, judgment, and administrative powers of R. Jehudah, that they voluntarily renounced all the authority which formerly belonged to the entire college and to the individual members, and made it over solely and exclusively to the president. He was therefore the first patriarch who had the sole power to nominate and appoint the disciples to the office of judge and teacher of the Law for all the Jewish communities, whilst the nomination of the Sanhedrin without his consent was invalid. He had no Deputy-president (אב בית דין) nor official Speaker (חכם); he was in fact the first spiritual autocrat. By this change uniformity of teaching and practice was secured throughout all the congregations far and wide, since the president would not ordain any teachers with whose theological views he was not personally acquainted and thoroughly satisfied. Of great interest to the student of ecclesiastical history are the qualifications which were deemed necessary in a Jewish minister of religion in the 2nd century of the Christian era. The congregation at Simineas, in applying to R. Jehudah to send them a pastor, asked for one "who has the gift to deliver public discourses, is able to adjudicate legal matters, to superintend the affairs of the synagogue, to instruct the youth, to draw up legal documents, and to attend to all the higher wants of the community" (*Jerusalem Yebamoth*, xii.), and it was only such men of learning and authority that R. Jehudah ordained. Invested with such power, R. Jehudah carried through

reforms which his predecessors in office could not venture to attempt. These reforms generally tended to relieve the people from the rigorous interpretation of the canonical laws put forth by former Sanhedrins. He allowed prayer to be offered up in any posture and under any circumstances. He abolished several fasts, he repealed some of the stringent laws about the observance of the Sabbath, he freed many of the border cities from the tithal laws and from the year of release, which weighed heavily on the farmers. When his own brothers and relatives were alarmed at his innovations, declaring that he allowed what the six previous presidents his own ancestors forbade, he forcibly replied: "King Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent which Moses erected in the wilderness, because it led the people to idolatry. Now there were pious kings before him—Asa, Jehoshaphat, &c.—who destroyed all the idols in Judaea, but did nothing to this brazen serpent erected by Moses. How could Hezekiah destroy that which his ancestors spared? You will say that it was his own merit to do it. I, too, regard this as a meritorious work, which my ancestors left for me to accomplish" (*Chulin*, 6 *b*). One of the most important reforms introduced by R. Jehudah was his reinstating Hebrew not only as the language of ecclesiastical intercommunication, but as the medium of common intercourse among the Jews. Under the presidency of Gamaliel I., A.D. 30, the language of the Jews, not only in Palestine and Babylon, but also in Media, Greece, and in the other countries of the dispersion, was Aramaic [GAMALIEL I.]. Now R. Jehudah, who was a distinguished linguist, and knew thoroughly Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, ordained that pure Hebrew was to take the place of the impure Aramaic. He declared that "the corrupt Aramaic is of no use in Palestine. Speak either Greek or Hebrew" (*Pessachim*, 41, with *Baba Kama*, 82 *b*.). And we have it on record that even his servants could speak pure Hebrew.

That however which immortalised R. Jehudah's name is his compilation and redaction of the Mishna, *circa* A.D. 189. Since the attempt of his grandfather, Gamaliel II., and R. Akiba made on a smaller scale to collect the various canon laws, the Jewish nation had experienced different changes, and new laws had developed themselves in the different schools. R. Jehudah therefore resolved to collect all the traditional lore, to subject it to re-examination, and codify it once for all. His immense wealth, his extraordinary learning, his unparalleled authority as a spiritual autocrat, his power to command the different doctors of the law, his intimate acquaintance with the various representatives of the traditions of the different schools, and his power of incessant work combined to enable him to produce the grand code which others attempted, but failed to carry through. The materials which he collected R. Jehudah arranged in six parts, consisting of sixty-two treatises, for an account of which we must refer to the article TALMUD in this Dictionary.

Hardly ever did a spiritual autocrat care and provide more thoroughly for the wants of a nation under his control. By precept and by example he endeavoured to set forth the divine mission of Judaism. The prayers which he offered are models of brevity and earnestness. Though the Holy Land was in possession of the heathen, and tyrants lorded it over God's heritage, he often found comfort in the prayer, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is the Lord of the land" (*Gittin*, 63). He warned the people against those who preached that the law was done away with, and that circumcision availeth nothing (Rom. iv. 7; Gal. ii. 19, 20; Phil. iii. 20; Col. ii. 11), by declaring "Every sin is forgiven on the great day of atonement, except the rejection of the Law, the heretical interpretation of the Law, and the doing away with the covenant of circumcision" (*Yoma*, 85). "The path which you are to pursue," he urged, "is the one which is honourable in itself, and brings thee honour from thy fellow man. Keep the little precepts as carefully as the important ones, for thou knowest not the reward of the commandments. Balance the loss which thou mayest sustain by observing a precept against the future recompense thereof, and the advantage which thou mayest gain from committing a sin against the future punishment. Remember three things, and thou will not get into sin. Know what is above thee, an eye which seeth and an ear which heareth, and that all thy deeds are written in a book" (*Aboth*, ii. 1). At the age of sixty R. Jehudah felt that his work here below was finished, and that he must prepare to meet his Creator. He had two sons, named Gamaliel and Simon, and a daughter. He appointed the elder to the presidency of the Sanhedrin to which he succeeded under the title of Gamaliel IV., and his younger son Simon he constituted *Chacham* (חכם)=the Speaker and official referee in the Sanhedrin. Having set his house in order, and given strict injunctions that his funeral should be of the simplest kind, that his servant was to have the principal share in the preparation of his corpse for burial, and that there should be no public mourning for him, R. Jehudah, whom the nation called the Holy, a distinction which no other president of the Sanhedrin, or any doctor of the Law ever received, departed this life on a Friday about A.D. 210. The disciples who tenderly watched at the death-bed of the Patriarch dared not announce his death to the anxious crowd outside. At last Bar Capara stepped forward and said, "Angels and men contended for the ark of the covenant, the angels prevailed, and the ark is no more." The people then exclaimed, "He is dead!" Bar Capara replied, "You have said it" (*Kethuboth*, 103). The gratitude and true appreciation of his services, of the nation, and of his numerous disciples, were manifested in the following national sentiments. "Never since the days of Moses were the knowledge of the divine Law and authority united in one person as much as in R. Jehudah" (*Sanhedrin*, 36). "With the death of Rabbi humility ceased, the fear of God disappeared, and sufferings multiplied" (*Sota*, 49). "He who sees Rabbi in dreams may expect wisdom" (*Berachoth*, 57 *b*). "If the Messiah is to bo of living men, he must be like Rabbi" (*Sanhedrin*, 98 *b*). Comp. Frankel, *Darke Ha-Mishna*, pp. 158–164; Leipzig, 1859; Weiss, *Dor Dor Vedor-shav*, ii. pp. 177–217, Vienna, 1877; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. pp. 210–240, Leipzig, 1866. [C. D. G.]

JEREMIAS (1), supposed bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda in the apostolic period (cf. Le

Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 909). (See Terzi, *Syria Sacra*, p. 99.) [J. de S.]

JEREMIAS (2), a martyr in Palestine. (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* c. 11.) [ESAIAS (1).] [C. H.]

JEREMIAS (3), Jan. 14, a solitary of Raïthu under the anchoret Paul, martyred in 373. (S. Nili *de Caede Monach. Montis Sinae Narrat.* in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxix. 590, &c.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 936.) [I. G. S.]

JEREMIAS (4), Armenian writer, one of the disciples of Mesrob. (Langlois, *Discours Prélim.* p. xxiii. in his *Historiens de l'Armen.*) [MESROBES.] [G. T. S.]

JERNINUS. [ISSERNINUS.]

JEROME. [HIERONYMUS.]

JERUMAN, bishop. [JARUMAN.]

JESER, catholicos of Armenia. [ESDRAS.]

JESERNINUS, bishop. [ISSERNINUS.]

JESSE, twenty-first bishop of Amiens, succeeding Georgius in A.D. 798 or 799, was intimately concerned with the civil history of the time. We first hear of him in the latter year as one of the bishops deputed by Charles the Great to meet pope Leo on his approach to France. Later he escorted him back to Rome, and inquired on the part of Charles into the outrage committed on him by the Roman populace. In 802 he was sent with count Helmgaudus to Constantinople to reply to the overtures of peace which the empress Irene had made. He seems indeed to have occupied a certain official position as ambassador, for in 805 we find one of the capitulars of Charles intrusted to him to be made known in all parts (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvii. 289). About 808 he appears to have been sent to Ravenna on a mission to Leo III., as there is a letter of that year from the pope to Charles, expressing suspicion as to his fidelity (Patr. Lat. xcviii. 534). In the following year he was present at the council of Aix. In 811 he was one of the bishops and nobles who subscribed Charles's will (Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 463). In 812 he addressed to the priests and soldiers in Christ of his diocese a letter on the subject of baptism, which, though not so expressed, was undoubtedly an answer to the questions on that subject proposed by Charles in the preceding year to the bishops of his empire. It was first published by Des Cordes at Paris in 1615 at the end of the *opuscula* of Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, and may be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 781 sqq. For an account of it, see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 528, and Ceillier, *Hist. Gén. des Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 338. In 814 he was present at the council of Noion, summoned by Wulfarius archbishop of Rheims, and recorded by Flodoard (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 18, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 126). He was also present at the council held at Thionville in A.D. 821, and that of Paris in 829. In the following year he joined the rebellion of Lothaire against his father, Louis the Pious, and was degraded from his bishopric for high treason at the council of Nimègue, and though he regained his see when Lothaire succeeded in displacing his father, he was finally ejected on the restoration of Louis in 834, and driven with others of the rebels into Italy, where he died of a plague in 836. He was succeeded in the see by Ragenarius. (Einh. *Ann.* ad an. 802; Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 190, 352; Flodoard, ii. 20; Theganus, *Vita Ludovici Pii*, xxxvi. xxxvii., Patr. Lat. cvi. 418, 419; *Ludovici Pii Vita*, auct. anon., Patr. Lat. civ. 970; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* xiv. 22, 23, 389, 529, 606, 629, Florence, 1759–98; *Gall. Christ.* x. 1157; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 527–9.) [S. A. B.]

JESSES (GESSIUS, JASINUS, TESSIS), reputed first bishop of Civitas Nemetum (Speyer) in 346. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 715; Mansi, ii. 1371.) [R. T. S.]

JESU-BUCHAT (JESUBOCHT), a Nestorian bishop in Persia, placed by Le Quien (ii. 1177) in the eighth century. Assemani mentions his writings, but can define no period. (*Bibl. Or.* iii. 194, 269, 279, 351.) [C. H.]

JESUDENHA, bishop of Kosra after 706 and writer in Syriac. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 195, 196, 256, 309; Le Quien, ii. 1177.) [C. H.]

JESUJAB (1) I. ARZUNITA, by birth an Arab, studied at Nisibis, and afterwards became bishop of Arzun (Erzeroom). On the death of Ezekiel he was raised to the patriarchate of the Nestorians (A.D. 580) by the goodwill of Hormisdas king of Persia. Barhebraeus relates that he visited Naaman, prince of the Christian Arabs, in the hope of winning him over from the Jacobites, but died (A.D. 596) in the tents of the Maadenes, and was buried at Hirat, in the monastery of Hind, Naaman's daughter. Amru gives a fuller account. (See John of Ephesus, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 40 sqq.) After the deposition and death of Hormisdas, Chosroes Abruizus, his son and successor, sent Jesujab to the emperor Mauricius, to beg help against Beheram (Varames), the late king's generalissimo (A.D. 592; see Pagi).

In A.D. 588, Jesujab called a synod (Ebedjesu cxci. *ap.* Assem. *B. O.* III. i. 279), and enacted thirty canons. He wrote besides twenty-two questions on the sacraments of the church, an apology (perhaps the same as his confession of faith to Mauricius), epistles, a work against Eunomius, another against a heretical bishop, and replies to twenty questions put by Jacobus bishop of Dadlan (Ebedjesu, *Cat.* lxxii.). Elias Damascen. *Nomocanon*, II. 8, 9, 14, gives his canons, the letter to Jacobus, and his rules for the Eucharist (*B. O.* III. i. 514). A Vatican MS. (*B. O.* ii. 487) contains questions or enigmas, in dodecasyllables, on Christ, love, hope, the Eucharist, &c., by "Jesujab," whether Arzunita or not is uncertain (*B. O.* III. i. 108–111; Badger's *Nestorians*, ii.). [C. J. B.]

JESUJAB (2) II., GADALENSIS, a native of Gadhala in the district of Mosul. He studied at Nisibis, became bishop of Balada, and afterwards catholicus of the Nestorians (A.D. 628). Barhebraeus relates that he did his utmost to further the cause of learning by restoring schools which had been destroyed. Siroes (Shirwai) king of Persia sent him, accompanied by Cyriacus of Nisibis, Paulus of Adiabene, Gabriel of Beth Seleucia, Jesujab of Adiabene,

Sahaduna bishop of the Garmaeans, and others, on an embassy to Heraclius. At Apamea the party rested in an orthodox monastery, where the abbat (by the power of magic, according to Thomas Margensis, *Hist. Monast.* ii. 4) induced Sahaduna to renounce Nestorianism. [JESUJAB (3).]

At the imperial court Jesujab found it convenient to pretend conformity to the imperial faith; condemning Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius, and accepting Cyril, and the expression *Theotokos.* He was then allowed to officiate at the altar (Barsumas of Susa, quoted by Barhebraeus). On his return his name was expunged from the diptychs; but the patriarch denied the allegations against him, and was restored by the influence of Sirois. Barhebraeus also speaks of a visit of Jesujab accompanied by Saïd prince of the Nagrans, a Christian tribe of Arabs, to Muhammad, who gave him a document favourable to the Christians. Jesujab died A.D. 647, in the time of Omar ben Alkhettab, from whom he had obtained a charter of protection for himself and his people. He was author of a Commentary on the Psalms, and of epistles, narratives, and discourses on various subjects (Ebedj. *Cat.* lxxi.). Amru mentions a book against sceptics, another on ambiguities of language, and a catechism of twenty-two questions and answers on the sacraments. (Assem. *B. O.* III. i. 105–108, 344, 346, 416; *ib.* ii. 417, 418; Badger's *Nestorians*, ii.) [C. J. B.]

JESUJAB (3) III. ADIABENUS, catholicos of the Nestorians. He was the son of Bastumag, studied at Nisibis, and afterwards entered the monastery of Beth 'Abé. He became successively bishop of Nineveh, metropolitan of Mosul and Arbela, and, on the death of Maremes, catholicos of the Nestorians, holding office from A.D. 650 to A.D. 660.

While a bishop, he was sent by the king of Persia as envoy to the emperor Heraclius. On that occasion he stole the chest containing the bones of St. Peter and St. Paul from Antioch, and put the treasure in Beth-'Abé (Thomas Marg. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 4). By bribing the magistrates, he prevented the Jacobites from building a church in Mosul (*Epp.* i. 43–48). Become a metropolitan, he vigorously contended with Sahada, nicknamed Sahaduna, archbishop of Mohuzé d'aryûn (metropolitan city of the Garmaeans), who had renounced Nestorianism for orthodoxy. On this matter five letters are extant. As patriarch, Jesujab was a patron of letters. But when he resolved to raise a school at Beth-'Abé in connexion with the monastery, abbat Kamjesu and a number of his monks, after vainly protesting, deserted their house, bearing with them the bones of Mar Jacobus, their founder. The patriarch was therefore obliged to establish his school elsewhere. After this Jesujab engaged in a long struggle with the chief bishops of Persia and Socotora (Qatara), who had declared themselves independent of the see of Seleucia. Amru says that Jesujab went to Persia, and received the submission of Simeon the metropolitan. But Barhebr. alleges that down to the time of Timotheus (a century later) the Persian bishops were not subject to the catholicos of Seleucia. They maintained their own customs—*e.g.* they wore white robes like secular priests, ate flesh, and lived in wedlock It appears, however, from the patriarch's own epistles, that he did not himself visit Persia, and that the bishops of that country had formerly maintained unbroken communion with his see. Jesujab accuses his opponents of apostasy, though they had merely disowned allegiance to him. Georgius, the successor of Jesujab, managed to win back the revolted churches (Thomas Marg. ii. 14).

Works.—Jesujab was the chief Syriac writer of his day. Assemani gives a list of 105 epistles, mostly addressed to monks and bishops on church matters. Some (i. 3–5) speak of Persian persecutions; i. 46 was sent to Cyriacus, archbishop of Nisibis, with 1000 cors of barley and a quantity of dates for the relief of his people; ii. 6, 7, 21, relate to Sahaduna. In iii. 21, to the monks of Socotora, Jesujab asserts that more than twenty bishops and two metropolitans are subject to his jurisdiction. Some of his epistles have perished. He himself describes his book *Kothbo d'hufokh hushobé*, a controversial work directed against the doctrine of Christ's Unity of Person, which was maintained by Sahaduna. His *Martyonûtho dalwoth 'noshin hadwoyé* was a hortatory address to novices. Jesujab was anxious to reform the monks. In ep. 3 he urges them to labour, to live under one abbat, and not to wander without leave. But his great work, in which Thomas Margensis (*Hist. Monast.* II. *cap.* 11) tells us that he had the assistance of Ananjesus, was the revision of the *Penkitho d'hudro* (codex circuli)—*i.e.* the divine office or breviary. (Therein he prescribed the third hour for the Eucharist.) Besides he put forth an order of baptism, an order of penitence, a form of consecration of a church, chants, discourses, hymns (used anonymously in the Chaldean offices), paracletic homilies, as well as various argumentative writings (Ebedjesu, *Cat. cap.* lxxiv.). A life of Jesusabran, monk and martyr, is also mentioned. (*B. O.* III. i. 106, 113–143, 285, 633; Bickell, *Consp. Syr.* 38, 74, 5, 88, 90, 1.) [C. J. B.]

JESUJAB (4), Nestorian bishops, *viz.* of Cardaliabed (also called Sena and Elsen) cir. 640 (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 492; Le Quien, ii. 1173), and of Bassora cir. 686 (*Bibl. Or.* ii. 423; Le Quien, ii. 1209). [C. H.]

JESUZACHA (1), Jacobite bishop of Mosul, in the sixth century. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 414; Le Quien, ii. 1561.)

(2) Nestorian bishop of Bethseleucia or Carcha cir. 720. (Assem. ii. 494; Le Quien, ii. 1332.) [C. H.]

JEU, in the system of *Pistis Sophia*, the chief ruler of "the place of those who belong to the right hand," a region next, but a long way below, that of the "treasure of light," but infinitely above that of the visible heavens (p. 186). It is the office of Jeu to draw light from the treasures above, and transmit it to the regions next below (p. 193). He is therefore the ἐπίσκοπος or ἄγγελος of light; he is also called the πρεσβευτής primi statuti (p. 322), and the "first man" (p. 285). He restrains the archons of the lower heavenly spheres, and punishes them if they transgress (pp. 34–90). He is the father of

Sabaoth, the lowest archon of the "place of the right hand," and from Sabaoth is derived the ψυχή of Christ, who accordingly is made to speak of Jeu as "the father of my father" (p. 127). There is also a book of Jeu purporting to have been written by Enoch, containing mysteries spoken to him from the tree of knowledge and from the tree of life (pp. 246–354). [G. S.]

JEZDEGERDES. [Isdigerdes.]

JOAB, catholicos of Armenia (790–791). (Saint-Martin, *Mem. sur l'Armenie*, i. 439.) [G. T. S.]

JOACHIM, bishop of Bologna, A.D. 470) (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 461, 579). He is not recognised by Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* ii. 10). [C. H.]

INDEX TO JOANNES.

Surnames and Designations.

Bishops are in alphabetical order of sees. Those whose sees are unknown may be looked for under East, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gallic, Italian, Macedonian, Persian, Syrian, Welsh.

JOANNES (1), bishop of Abela (Avila) from about 687 till after 693, at the fifteenth (688) and sixteenth (693) councils of Toledo. (Mansi, xii. 21, 85; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 25.) [Priscillianus.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (2), bishop of Abila (Baalbec) in Phoenicia Secunda. His name appears among the signatures to the synodical letter of his province, addressed to the emperor Leo, A.D. 457. But it is possible, as Le Quien suggests, that for Joannes we should read Jordanes, if the latter was not his predecessor. (*Or. Christ.* ii. 844; Mansi, vii. 559.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (3), bishop of Abydos on the Hellespont, present at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 993; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 774.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Acilizene, *vid.* of Ecelesina.

JOANNES (4), bishop of Adada in Pisidia, present at the Trullan synod A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1004; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1054.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (5), bishop of Adana in Cilicia to the east of Tarsus. He was present at the sixth general council of Constantinople, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 640, 651, 679; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 882.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (6), bishop of Adria, probably in the 8th century, as is gathered from an inscription in the church of Santa Maria della Tomba. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 13.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (7), bishop of Adriana in second Pamphylia; present at the Trullan synod (Quinisext), A.D. 692. (Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1023; Mansi, xi. 1004.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (8), bishop of Adriana in the Hellespont, at the seventh synod, A.D. 787, as given in the Latin text of one list (Mansi, xii. 1100), where the bishop's name should be Sisinnius (xiii. 143, 390; cf. Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 782). [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Adrianople, *vid.* of Hadrianople; bishop of Aemonia, *vid.* of Novae.

JOANNES (9), bishop of Albanum (Albano) c. A.D. 594, in which year his name is found appended to a grant made by Gregory the Great to the monastery of Subiaco. He is said to have been also "Bibliothecarius Sanctae Sedis," but this is doubtful. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 288; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 658.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Albintimilia, *vid.* of Ventimiglia.

JOANNES (10), fourteenth bishop of Alby, in A.D. 734. The same source names no successor till 812. (*Gall. Chr.* i. 7; Gams, *Series Episc.* 484.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Alessio, *vid.* of Scyllacium.

JOANNES (11) I., surnamed TALAIA and TABENNESIOTES, the Catholic successor of Timotheus Salofaciolus in the patriarchate of Alexandria, A.D. 482 and afterwards bishop of Nola. From his having been a presbyter in the monastery of the Tabennesians at Canopus near Alexandria, he was known as Tabennesiotes (Pagi *Critic.* s. a. 482, xix.; the *Libellus Synodicus* has Ταβενσιώτης, Mansi, vii. 1178 B). Previous to the expulsion of Salofaciolus from his see, John had held the office of oeconomus under him (*Brevic. Hist. Eutych.* Mansi, vii. 1063), and when that prelate retired to Canopus John accompanied him. On the restoration of Salofaciolus to Alexandria John returned with him, and through his friend Illus the ex-consul, who was then magister officiorum, he was reinstated in the office of oeconomus, and put in charge of all the churches of the city. He was not unmindful of the obligation under which he was thus laid to his friend, and accordingly sent him many valuable presents (Liberatus, *Breviar.* c. 16 in Migne, Patrol. lxviii. 1020). Shortly afterwards John was sent by the Catholics of Alexandria to the emperor Zeno, to thank him for the restoration of Salofaciolus, and to pray that when a vacancy occurred in the see they might choose his successor. Zacharias, on whose authority Evagrius relies for his narrative of the legation, says that John was detected in an endeavour to procure the succession for himself, and was therefore bound by an oath not to accept the see if he should be elected to it. He was successful in the object of his mission, and obtained an edict from the emperor complying with the request of the Catholics (Evagrius, *H. E.* iii. 12). After his return he became greatly distinguished as a preacher in Alexandria (*Brevic. Hist. Eut. u. s.*).

Salofaciolus died A.D. 482, and the Catholics of the city then elected Joannes (*Brevic. Hist. Eut. u. s.*). The Monophysites, however, elected Peter Mongus, notwithstanding that he was then in exile, and by unworthy means prevailed upon the emperor to expel John, and recall Mongus (Liberatus, c. 17; Theophanes, s. a. 476). Mongus accompanied Augustalius when he replaced Ebn Gustus, who had orders to comply with the request of the Monophysites (Eutychius, *u. s.*). In the meanwhile John sent the usual synodic to Simplicius bishop of Rome by Isidorus a presbyter and Paulus a deacon, but neglected to send one directed to Acacius bishop of Constantinople, contenting himself with sending one to his friend Illus, who was then in that city, with instructions to make what use of it he thought fit, and accompanying it with a letter addressed to the emperor. When the magistrianus whom John employed as his messenger to Constantinople arrived there, he found that Illus had gone to Antioch, whither he followed him with the synodic. On receiving it at Antioch, Illus delivered the synodic to Calandio, then recently elected to the patriarchate of that see (Liberatus, c. 17, 18). Acacius, taking offence at not receiving a synodic from John, joined the Monophysites in their appeal to the emperor against him, and also prevailed upon Zeno to write to Simplicius, praying him not to acknowledge John on the ground that he was unworthy of the episcopate, and had perjured himself (Simplic. *Ep.* 17, July 15, A.D. 482, in Mansi, vii. 992). Without waiting for the reply of Simplicius, however, Zeno instructed Apollonius the Praefectus Augustalis, the Augustalius of Eutychius, and Pergamius the dux, to expel John.

When he was thus driven from Alexandria, Talaia went to Illus at Antioch, and under his advice, having procured letters of intercession from Calandio addressed to Simplicius, he went from thence to Rome (Liberatus, c. 18). He was favourably received by Simplicius, who at once wrote to Acacius, urging him to intercede with the emperor to put an end to the scandals which had arisen at Alexandria (*Ep.* 18, Nov. 6, 482 in Mansi, vii. 995). To this Acacius replied that he did not recognise John, but had received Mongus into communion by command of Zeno, and Simplicius rejoined, blaming him for what he had done in no measured terms (Liberatus, c. 18).

Simplicius died March 2, A.D. 483, but John was also warmly supported by his successor Felix III., who shortly cited Acacius to answer certain charges which had been brought against him by Talaia, and at the same time wrote to the emperor earnestly praying him to withdraw his countenance from Mongus and to restore John (*Libell. Citationis ad Acac.* Mansi, vii. 1108; Felic. *Ep.* 2, A.D. 483, in Mansi, vii. 1032). On the return of the legates, who had been sent with these communications to Constantinople, Felix held a synod at Rome, in which he excommunicated Acacius for his persistent support of Mongus (*Ep.* 6, July 28, A.D. 484, in Mansi, vii. 1053), and also wrote to Zeno to inform him of the fact, and at the same time let him know that "the apostolic see never would consent to communion with Peter of Alexandria, who had been justly condemned long since" (*Ep.* 9, Aug. 1, A.D. 484, in Mansi, vii. 1065). But Felix met with no greater success than his predecessor had done; and John seems to have remained at Rome until the death of Zeno and the succession of Anastasius, A.D. 491.

John had known the new emperor at Alexandria, where he had had an opportunity of shewing him kindness when he landed at the city after having suffered shipwreck. Presuming that Anastasius would not be unmindful of the service which he had then rendered him in former days, John resolved upon a personal appeal to him, and went to Constantinople with that intent. On hearing of his arrival Anastasius at once gave orders for his being sent into exile, and John was only too thankful to make his escape and return to Rome (Theophanes, s. a. 484, p. 118; Victor Tununens. s. a. 494 in Migne, Patrol. lxviii. 948). Felix died Feb. 25, A.D. 492, but his successor, Gelasius I., also equally interested himself in John (Gelas. *Epp.* 13, 15, in Mansi, viii. 49 seq., cir. A.D. 493–495).

All these efforts to procure his reinstatement, however, were of no avail; John never returned to Alexandria, but received, as some compensation for the loss of his patriarchate, the see of Nola

in Campania, where, after a residence of many years, he died in peace (Liberatus, c. 18).

During his episcopate of Nola, he appears to have written an ἀπολογία addressed to Gelasius, in which he anathematized not only the Pelagian heresy, but also Pelagius himself, and Celestius, as well as Julianus of Eclana. (Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. liv.: Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 417, 419; Remondini, *del Nolana Eccl. Storia,* iii. 56–59; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 251; Tillemont, *Mém.* xvi. 313, et seq.; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 604, et seq.; ACACIUS.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (12) II., surnamed MELA and HEMULA, patriarch of Alexandria, 496–507, a Monophysite, who accepted the Henoticon of Zeno, and entered into communion with Flavian of Antioch (Evagrius, *H. E.* iii. 23). His apocrisiarii, who went to Constantinople at the beginning of his patriarchate, entered into negotiations with the delegates of pope Anastasius II., but owing to the Alexandrine hostility to the council of Chalcedon these negotiations bore no fruits. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* A.M. 5989; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 423.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (13) III., surnamed NICIOTA and NICEOTA, also MACIOTA in Liberat. Diac. *Brev.* 18, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 507–517. He adopted Zeno's Henoticon, though he said it was imperfect because it contained no anathema against the council of Chalcedon; but he failed in inducing the Acephali to return to the communion of the church. (Phot. cod. 54; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 425; Theoph. A. C. 499, 504, 505; Evag. *H. E.* iii. 23.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (14) IV., patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 569–579. He was consecrated at Constantinople by John the patriarch. Anastasius patriarch of Antioch protested in vain against this invasion of the rights and privileges of the Alexandrian church. John was accepted only by the Catholics, or Melchites as they were called by their opponents, who set up rival patriarchs for themselves. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* A.M. 6061–2; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 437.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (15) V., surnamed ELEEMOSYNARIUS), and MISERICORS, Catholic patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 609–616. He was born at Amathus in Cyprus, his father, Epiphanius, being governor of the island; he became widely celebrated for his acts of charity towards the poor, and on the death of Theodorus the people of Alexandria requested the emperor to appoint him to the patriarchal throne, which he reluctantly accepted. There he continued to shew forth his lovingkindness towards the destitute and afflicted. Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, wrote a life of him, which was translated into Latin by Anastasius the Librarian, at the order of pope Nicolas (*Acta SS.* Boll. ii. Jan. 498). This work was mentioned at the fourth session of the seventh general council, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 54). Simeon Metaphrastes also wrote his life, different in many points from that of Leontius; Jan. 23 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxiv. 894–966). He is commemorated by the Greeks on Nov. 12. He was the original patron saint of the Hospitallers. (Basil. *Menol.* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxvii. 183; Ceillier, xi. 658; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 445.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (16), Theodosian bishop of Alexandria, c. A.D. 620–625, contemporary with George the Catholic patriarch (Le Quien, ii. 447). Two of his festal letters are quoted by his contemporary Anastasius Sinaita (*Viae Dux,* c. 15, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxix. 257). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (17) SEMNUDAEUS, Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, 677–686, succeeding Agatho. He lived on friendly terms with Abdul-aziz the Saracen ruler of Egypt, rebuilt the church of St. Mark, extended the bounds of the Jacobite church, and was noted for his liberality to the poor. (Renaudot, *Pat. Alex.* 174; Le Quien, ii. 452.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (18), Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, 775 or 6–799, contemporary with the Melchite patriarch Politian. (Renaudot, *Pat. Alex.* 241; Le Quien, ii. 462.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (19), bishop of Alinda in Caria, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 156; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 911.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (20), bishop of Altinum (Altino), probably between A.D. 579 and 635, but his exact date is not known. A second John of this series, between Dominicus and Deodatus, c. 800, was bishop of Torcellum, whither the seat of the bishopric had been removed about the middle of the 7th century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ix. 518, 527.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (21), bishop of Amasia, the metropolis of the province of Helenopontus. We have his signature to the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 641, 671, 690; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 528.) [F. A.]

JOANNES (22), bishop of Amastris (Sesamus), on the coast of Paphlagonia, c. A.D. 750. An oration by him on image worship is quoted by Nicolaus Comnenus. (*Praenotiones Mystagogicae,* iii. sec. 1, 9; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 563.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (23), bishop of Amathus in Cyprus, at the seventh synod, A.D. 787, in one Latin list; but the bishop's name is more correctly Alexander. (Mansi, xiii. 367 D; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1064.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (24), bishop of Amida (the modern Diarbekir), on the Tigris. He died shortly before that city was taken by the Persians, A.D. 502. (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 280, 283; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 992.) A second John, a Jacobite, succeeded to the see A.D. 551. (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 48, n.; Le Quien, ii. 994.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (25), bishop of "Ammoria" in the reign of Justin I. (Assem. *Dissert. de Monophys.* p. 3, num. ii. in *Bibl. Or.* t. ii.). Le Quien, undecided whether by Ammoria is intended Anemurium in Isauria or Himerium in Osrhoëne, places him under both these sees (*Or. Chr.* ii. 984, 1017). [C. H.]

JOANNES (26), bishop of Amyzon in Caria, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 156; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 911.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (27), bishop of Anaea in the province of Asia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 647, 676, 993; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 719.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Anazarbus, *vid.* of Justinianopolis in Cilicia.

JOANNES (28), according to Ughelli, bishop of Ancona, c. A.D. 602 (*Ital. Sacr.* i. 329). But Ughelli was apparently misled by the title of the letter of Gregory, which he quotes as his authority (Coleti, n. in l.). The letter (A.D. 603) is addressed "Joanni Episcopo," without any mention of a see, and simply instructs him to make enquiries as to the relative fitness of those persons who were candidates for the episcopate of Ancona, which was then vacant [FLORENTINUS (18)] (Gregor. *Ep.* xiv. 11 in Migne, *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1313; Jo. Diac. *Vit. Greg.* iii. 12 *in Patr.* lxxv. 137). The letter also appears in the *Decretum* of Gratian (Dist. lxxxv. 1; Cappelletti, vii. 27). There was a doubtful John bishop of Ancona, c. 629 (Cappelletti, vii. 29). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (29), bishop of Ancona, present at the council of Agatho, at Rome, A.D. 679 (Mansi, xi. 314). Ughelli is mistaken in saying that he was present at the council of Constantinople in 680 (*Ital. Sacr.* i. 339; Coleti, *n.* in. l.; Cappelletti, vii. 30). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (30), bishop of Andrapa, in the province of Helenopontus, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680 (Mansi, xi. 649, 675). Andrapa was also known as Claudiopolis and Nova Claudiopolis. (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 442; Baudrand, *Lexic. Geogr.* s. v.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 540.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES, of Anemurium, *vid.* of Ammoria.

JOANNES (31), bishop of Antioch in the second quarter of the 5th century. He succeeded Theodotus A.D. 429, and died A.D. 448, after a thirteen years' episcopate (Theodoret, *Ep.* 83), being succeeded by his nephew Domnus II. Nothing certain appears to be known of the place of his birth and education, or of his life, before his elevation to the episcopate. Cave states that he was brought up in the monastery of St. Euprepius in the suburbs of Antioch, where he had Nestorius and Theodoret as his fellow students (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 412), but Cave cites no authority for this statement. Cyril of Alexandria, John's great antagonist, in one of his violent diatribes alludes in encomiastic terms to his intimate acquaintance with the doctrines and canons of the church (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 1050); and, according to Theodoret, testimony was also borne to the thoroughness of his theological education and the accuracy of his dogmatic knowledge by one equally indisposed to take a friendly view, Cyril's successor, the patriarch Dioscorus. (Theod. *Ep.* 83). As none of his theological writings or sermons have come down to us, beyond the fragment of a homily delivered at Chalcedon, and his controversial letters, we have no means of judging of the worth of these eulogistic expressions. The fact that the letter of remonstrance addressed by him to Nestorius before the council of Ephesus, so remarkable for its wise persuasiveness, was currently attributed to Theodoret, seems to shew that John's literary reputation was not of the highest. In depth and extent of theological learning he was certainly as much inferior to Cyril as he was in strength of character and determination of will.

Our knowledge of John commences with his election as successor to Theodotus in the see of Antioch. In A.D. 429 his devotion to his episcopal labours was so great and attended with such success as to obtain the admiration of all the bishops of the East, who according to the aged Acacius of Beroea rejoiced and congratulated themselves on having such a leader (Labbe, iii. 386). But the troubles which have rendered John's episcopate so unhappily famous began immediately to shew themselves. Almost at the same time with himself, his old companion and fellow townsman Nestorius had been appointed to the see of Constantinople, and had inaugurated his episcopate with a sermon in the metropolitan church, repudiating the term "Mother of God," θεοτόκος. On the history of the controversy thence arising see CYRILLUS (7) and NESTORIUS. Celestine the Roman pontiff summoned a synod of Western bishops in August 430 A.D., which unanimously condemned the tenets of Nestorius. The name of John of Antioch now for the first time appears in the controversy. The support of the Eastern prelates, of whom the patriarch of Antioch was chief, was of great importance. Celestine therefore wrote to John, together with Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, informing them of the decree passed against Nestorius (Baluz. p. 438, c. xv.; Labbe, iii. 376). At the same time Cyril wrote to John calling upon him, unless he wished to be separated from the communion of the West, to accept Celestine's decision, and unite with him in the defence of the faith against Nestorius (*ibid.* p. 442, c. xviii.; Labbe, iii. 379). Such a declaration of open hostility against an old friend, of whose virtual orthodoxy he was convinced, and with whose views on the nature of our blessed Lord he probably felt more real sympathy than with the more narrowly defined opinions of Cyril, was very distasteful to John. Measures of peace should first be tried. He would see what friendly persuasion could effect. He therefore despatched a letter full of Christian persuasiveness, by the count Irenaeus, to Nestorius, in his own name, and that of his brother bishops Archelaus, Apringius, Theodoret, Heliades, Melchius, and the newly appointed bishop of Laodicea, Macarius, for whose ordination the above-named bishops had probably come to Antioch, all of them his sure friends, and all sharing in their counsels of peace. He entreats him not to plunge the church into discord on account of a word, to which the Christian ear had become accustomed, and which was capable of being interpreted in his own sense. He begs Nestorius to regard this letter as a confidential not an official communication, expressive of his real sentiments towards him. He feels it his duty to send him copies of the unwelcome letters he has received from Rome and Alexandria, which he begs him to read calmly, and without prejudice or too much reliance on his own opinion. He expresses his conviction that Nestorius holds the common faith; why then should he refuse to adopt the common terminology? The ten days allowed

by Celestine for decision was indeed a short time. But it was quite long enough. A single day, nay a few hours would suffice for him to make up his mind to adopt a term employed by the fathers, and in accordance with the truth. He enlarges on the danger of schism, warning him that the East, Egypt, and Macedonia are about to separate from him, and closes a letter so admirable in tone and feeling, so happy in its expression that, as has been already remarked, it has been attributed to the practised pen of Theodoret, by exhorting him to follow the example of Theodorus of Mopsuestia in retracting words which had given pain to the orthodox, since he holds the orthodox faith on these points equally with them (Baluz. p. 445, c. xxi.; Labbe, iii. 390 sq.). John wrote also at the same time to the count Irenaeus and to Musaeus bishop of Antarada, and Helladius bishop of Tarsus, who were at Constantinople at that time, in the hope of availing himself of their influence with Nestorius in support of his advice (Baluz. p. 688). Nestorius's reply, though courteous and respectful, indicated no intention of following John's counsels of moderation. He declared himself orthodox in the truest sense. He had no rooted objection to the term θεοτόκος; but he thought it an unsafe one, because it was accepted by some in an Arian or Apollinarian sense. He preferred Χριστοτόκος, as a middle term between it and ἀνθρωποτόκος. He proposed to defer the discussion to the general council to which he was looking forward, at which he hoped he should meet John and arrange all differences without offence to any and to the advantage of all. John had had too large experience of the presumption of the Egyptian (Cyril) to find anything surprising in it. But he trusted his measures would prove effectual in this as they had done in other matters (Baluz. p. 688).

However much we may regret Nestorius's rejection of John's counsels of peace, his acceptance of the party watchword would only have postponed for a time a struggle that was imminent, and which for the better definition of the faith was not only necessary, but desirable. The divergence of the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools of thought in their way of regarding the mystery of the Incarnation lay at the root of this controversy about the term θεοτόκος. This antagonism between the two schools was brought into open manifestation by the publication of Cyril's twelve "anathematisms" on the teaching of Nestorius. This bold step at once changed the aspect of the controversy, converting it from a personal attack on Nestorius to a general attack on the Antiochene school of dogma. This was the light in which it was regarded by the leaders of that school. Such a challenge of their orthodoxy must be promptly and decidedly met. Nestorius, on receiving these fulminations of the Alexandrian patriarch at the end of A.D. 430, lost no time in transmitting copies of them to John, together with his two sermons of Dec. 13 and 14, in which he professed to have acknowledged Mary as the "Mother of God" (Baluz. p. 691, c. iv.). John declared himself horror-stricken at the Apollinarian heresy which characterised Cyril's articles. He made them known far and wide, in Cappadocia, Galatia, and through the East generally, accompanying them with earnest appeals to the bishops and the orthodox everywhere to openly repudiate the grave errors they contained (Baluz. p. 838, no. xxxvi. *Epist. Alexandri Episc.*). His letter to Firmus is preserved (Baluz. p. 691, c. iv.), in which he expresses his abhorrence of the "capitula," which he considers so unlike Cyril both in style and doctrine that he cannot believe that they are his, and calls upon Firmus, if they reach Pontus, to examine them well and get them abjured by the bishops of the province, without naming the supposed author. He rejoices over Nestorius's public acceptance of the test-word, in the two sermons he has sent him, which has quieted the storm and restored tranquillity to the church of Constantinople. While taking these measures for the general repudiation of Cyril's heretical formularies, John was also careful to have them refuted by able theologians. See the articles ANDREAS SAMOSATENSIS and THEODORET.

The breach between the two patriarchs was now complete. Antioch denounced Alexandria, and Alexandria Antioch as heretical. The struggle required a larger arena to be fought out. This arena was supplied by the general council summoned by Theodosius to meet at Ephesus at Pentecost, A.D. 431. Passing over the details of the earlier weeks of this council, which have only a remote connexion with John, it will be enough here to mention that the arrival of John and the oriental bishops having been delayed more than a fortnight beyond the time fixed for the opening of the council, Cyril, and the majority who acted with him, resolved to wait no longer, but to proceed at once to the trial and, which was indeed a foregone conclusion, the condemnation of Nestorius. John wrote a letter in which he apologised for the tardiness of his arrival, which had been caused partly by circumstances which had unavoidably delayed his setting out from Antioch, partly by the difficulties of the journey—transport failing, and the beasts of burden breaking down. Antioch was forty-two days' journey from Ephesus, at the fastest. He had been travelling without interruption for thirty days; he was now within five or six stages of Ephesus. If Cyril would condescend to wait a little longer, he hoped in a very few days to embrace his brother of Alexandria (Baluz. p. 451, c. xxiii.). Cyril's decision was fixed and unalterable. An excuse for commencing proceedings before the arrival of John, was found in a courteous message John had sent by his two metropolitans Alexander of Hierapolis and his namesake of Apamea, but certainly never intended to be acted on, that if he was delayed Cyril was to proceed with the business the emperor had entrusted him with (Labbe, iii. 569, 1043, 1051). On Monday, the 22nd of June, A.D. 431, the bishops met, to the number of 198, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, and within the space of one short day the bishop of New Rome, the ecclesiastical head of the second city in the world, was tried, condemned, sentenced, deposed, and excommunicated. Five days later, Saturday the 27th of June, John arrived with fourteen bishops accompanying him. His reasons for delay were very sufficient. His patriarchate was a very extensive one. His attendant bishops could not leave their churches before "New Sunday," *i.e.* Low Sunday, the octave of Easter, April 26. The distances some of them had to travel were so great that they could not all as-

semble at Antioch before May 10. When all was ready for the start, John's departure had been arrested by a famine at Antioch and consequent outbreaks of the populace; the weather had proved unfavourable; their progress was impeded by floods (*ibid.* 602); the transport had broken down; many of the bishops were aged men, unfit for rapid travelling. There was nothing to support Cyril's accusation that John's delay was intentional and premeditated, designed either in some unexplained way to shield Nestorius from the anathema of the council, or to escape participation in the condemnation which he saw was inevitable.

John, as has been said, brought with him only fourteen bishops. The two Alexanders and others had preceded him, but he had strictly followed the imperial commission, that each metropolitan should be accompanied by only two suffragans. Whatever was to be done must be done with promptitude and decision. Cyril being apprised of John's approach sent a deputation of bishops and ecclesiastics to offer him welcome and to apprise him in the name of the council of the deposition of Nestorius, and to signify to him that he must no longer regard him as a bishop (Labbe, iii. 761). John, who had already heard from his friend count Irenaeus, with the utmost indignation, of the hasty decision of the council, refused to admit the deputation to his presence, and they complained that on pressing for admission they were rudely treated by the guard whom Irenaeus had sent to do honour to and protect the Eastern bishops. The deputation, however, accompanied John into the city and even to the door of the house where he took up his quarters, at which they were compelled to wait for some hours, exposed to the insults of the soldiers and the attendants and hangers on of the Orientals (*ib.* 593, 764). While the deputies of the council were waiting outside, a rival council was being held within. The Alexanders and the other bishops who sided with John, on hearing of the arrival of their venerated chief, flew to his lodgings, where, with a precipitancy equal to that against which they were protesting, quite alien from the solemnity of the act, weary and travel-stained, "before they had shaken the dust off their feet, or taken off their cloaks" (Cyril. *Epist. ad Coelest.* Labbe, iii. 663), the small synod—the "conciliabulum" their enemies tauntingly called it—of forty-three bishops, passed a sentence of deposition on Cyril and Memnon, and of excommunication on all the other prelates of the council, until they should have condemned Cyril's "capitula," which they declared tainted not only with Apollinarian, but with Arian and Eunomian heresy (*ibid.* 596, 637, 657, 664 passim). The sentences of excommunication and deposition were posted up through the city with the utmost formality. The work of the "conciliabulum" being thus completed, John vouchsafed an audience to the deputies of the council who had been so long waiting to be admitted to his presence. They communicated the decrees of the council with regard to Nestorius, but received, they asserted, no other reply but insults and blows (*ibid.* 764). On their return to Cyril and his assessors they made a formal complaint of John's treatment, of which they shewed marks on their persons. The council immediately declared John separated from their communion until he should have explained such strange conduct.

The next day was Sunday. Cyril and Memnon being, in the view of John and his party, excommunicated persons, though no steps seem to have been taken to serve the decree of excommunication on them, leaving them to learn it by common report (τὸ θρυλλούμενον, *ibid.* iii. 637), were incapacitated from celebrating the holy mysteries. Candidian was therefore sent to them on Saturday evening to command them to desist from the attempt. The prohibition was naturally regarded with contempt, and both on that Sunday, June 28, and during the whole period of Cyril's sojourn at Ephesus, he, as well as Memnon, continued to celebrate the Eucharist, which up to that time they appear not to have done in person (Baluz. p. 704; Labbe, iii. 737). John's attempts to reduce Cyril and his adherents to submission by his own authority having thus proved fruitless, he had recourse to the emperor and the ecclesiastical and civil power at Constantinople. Among the interminable series of letters which burden the narrative of this controversy are several written to Theodosius, to the empresses Pulcheria and Eudocia, the clergy, the senate, and the people of that city (Labbe, iii. 601–609; Liberat. c. vi.) to explain the tardiness of his arrival, and to justify the sentence pronounced on Cyril, Memnon, and the other bishops. These letters were sent by Candidian, who was commissioned to give the emperor an unvarnished report of the whole proceedings. Theodosius wrote in reply to the council, June 29, by the hands of Palladius, expressing his displeasure at these proceedings, declaring their decisions null, and forbidding any bishop to leave Ephesus until the dogmatic question had been settled (*ibid.* 704). The letter, which reached Ephesus June 29, was received with very different feelings by the two parties. Cyril and his friends complained, July 1, of the garbled statements by which Candidian had deceived the emperor, and begged that a deputation of five bishops might be allowed to wait upon him (*ibid.* 748). John and his friends welcomed the letter with a thousand benedictions. They assured the emperor in their reply that they had not acted with any undue warmth, or from personal feeling, but from pure zeal for the faith which was imperilled by the Apollinarianism of Cyril's "anathematisms." If their numbers were small, which their enemies taunted them with, it was because they had had more respect to the injunctions of the emperor. It would have been equally easy to the Eastern metropolitans, if they had been so minded, to have come attended with a crowd of bishops (*ibid.* 705). Relying on imperial favour, John, with Candidian's help, strove to persuade the Ephesians to demand a new bishop in the place of the deprived and excommunicated Memnon, but to no purpose. The churches of Ephesus were held like fortresses to hinder the accomplishment of any such a design, and an attempt to force his way into that of St. John the Baptist ended in a riot in which some of the mendicants at the church doors were wounded (*ibid.* 764). Meantime the legates of Celestine had arrived from Rome, and after confirming the sentence against Nestorius, the council, strengthened by their presence, and the assurance of the approbation of the bishop of Rome, proceeded, July 16, to summon John to appear

before them. The first deputation found John's house surrounded with soldiers and could get no admission. The second was informed that John could hold no intercourse with excommunicated persons (*ibid.* 640). On this the council declared null all the acts of John's "conciliabulum" and decreed that if John refused to answer to the third citation, he should be treated with the utmost severity according to the canons (*ibid.* 645). John's only answer was to re-publish his condemnation of Cyril and Memnon and its alleged grounds in the form of a placard affixed to the walls of the city (*ibid.* 648). The next day, July 17, three bishops and a notary were sent to cite John for the third time. They found his door surrounded by a hostile body of clergy, who were with difficulty prevented from assaulting them by the soldiers, to whom one of the bishops, Commodus of Tripolis, had been previously known, their regiment having been quartered in his city. They were again refused admission to John, who sent down to them his archdeacon, whose name the deputies did not know, "a little pale man with a thin beard," who offered them a paper, which they declined to receive. The archdeacon returned to the presence of John, and in obedience to his instructions refused to receive any paper from them or to listen to any message, stating that the whole matter had been laid before the emperor and they awaited his decision. The third citation was addressed to Asphalius a presbyter of Antioch, to be communicated to John (*ibid.* 649–652). The council on their return separated John and the bishops who had joined him from the communion of the church, and pronounced them disqualified for all episcopal functions, and published their decree through the whole church (*ibid.* 302). Passing over various incidents, we come to the unwilling consent extorted from the perplexed young emperor that eight deputies should be sent by each party to lay their respective case before him. The oriental deputation included John of Antioch. Some little time before this John and his associated prelates had despatched two letters, one to the church of Antioch, the other to the aged Acacius of Beroea, fully detailing the course of events at Ephesus, and in a most unworthy manner rejoicing over the deposition and imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon, and desiring that, if the council should presume to send any of their emissaries to Antioch, they would cause him to be immediately arrested and put into the hands of the secular power as a sower of sedition (Baluz. pp. 713–715, cc. xviii. xix.).

The two counter deputations presented themselves to Theodosius in the first week in September. The emperor knew the temper of his city too well to run the risk of the disturbances their presence might cause, if he allowed them to cross the Bosphorus, and gave both parties audience at Chalcedon. While the deputies of the council confined themselves to the personal question between Cyril and Nestorius, John and his companions argued the doctrinal point before the emperor. John himself did not shrink from openly defending the orthodoxy of Nestorius, declaring his deposition illegal, and exposing the heresy of Cyril's anathematisms (Baluz. pp. 837, 839). He is reported to have declared with an oath, that even if Cyril were to condemn his own words and renounce his errors he would never regard him as a bishop, or admit him to communion except as a layman and a penitent (*ibid.* pp. 843, 874). To support their evidently failing cause, John and his fellow deputies wrote to some of the leading prelates of the West, the bishops of Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna, as well as to Rufus of Thessalonica, laying before them in earnest terms the heretical character of Cyril's doctrines (Theod. *Epist.* 112; Labbe, iii. 736), but apparently without favourable result. The victory finally remained substantially with the Cyrillian party. After six audiences the emperor, weary of the fruitless strife, declared his final resolve. Nestorius, who was generally abandoned by his supporters, was permitted to retire to his former monastery of St. Euprepius at Antioch. Maximian, a presbyter of Constantinople, in defiance of the protest of John and his party, was consecrated Oct. 25 bishop of the imperial see in his room. Memnon and Cyril were reinstated; the former was to remain at Ephesus as its bishop; Cyril and the other bishops were to return to their homes. John and the orientals were only not formally condemned because the dogmatic question had not been discussed. Before he retired vanquished from the scene of struggle, John delivered a closing remonstrance. The churches of Chalcedon had been closed against the oriental bishops and they had been precluded from meeting for reading the Scriptures or receiving the eucharist. But they had obtained the use of a spacious hall in which they held meetings for public worship and for preaching. Large crowds assembled to listen to the powerful sermons of Theodoret, and the milder exhortations of John. The feelings of annoyance and mortification with which John left Chalcedon were deepened by the events of his homeward journey. On reaching Ancyra he and his companions found that they had been anticipated by letters from Theodotus, the bishop of that city, who was one of the eight deputies of the council, as well as from Firmus of Caesarea, and Maximian the newly appointed bishop of Constantinople, commanding that they should be regarded as excommunicate. John immediately despatched a vehement protest to Antiochus the prefect, renewing his sentence of excommunication on Theodotus and his party, denying the consecration of Maximian—"for how could he receive grace from those who had none to give, having previously deprived themselves of it by their own act?" This protest he requested Antiochus to shew to the emperor, the high officers of state, and to the senate (Baluz. p. 741, c. xxxviii.).

From Ancyra John proceeded to Tarsus. Here he was in his own patriarchate. He immediately proceeded to hold a council, together with Alexander of Hierapolis and the other deputies, at which he confirmed the deposition of Cyril and his brother commissioners (*ibid.* 840, 843, 847). At the same time Theodoret and the others engaged never to consent to the deposition of Nestorius. On reaching Antioch, about the middle of December, John summoned a council of bishops, which was very numerously attended, at which a fresh sentence was pronounced against Cyril, and a letter was drawn up addressed to Theodosius, calling upon him to take measures for the general condemnation of the doctrines of Cyril throughout the world, as being con-

trary to the Nicene faith, which they were resolved to maintain to the death (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 34; Liberat. c. vi.; Baluz. p. 741, c. xxxix.). A letter was also written by him in his own name to Appinian, duke of Mesopotamia, in which he expatiated on the abominable character of Cyril's heresies (*ibid.* p. 839, c. cxxxvi.). One of John's first cares on his return to Antioch was to visit the venerable Acacius of Beroea, whose sympathy in all the controversy had greatly strengthened and consoled him. He was accompanied by six other bishops. The old man was rejoiced by their visit, but deeply grieved to hear of the untoward result of their proceedings, and communicated his sorrow in a letter to Alexander, probably him of Hierapolis (*ibid.* p. 746, c. xli.). Having learnt that Rabbulas, bishop of Edessa, who had voted at Ephesus for the deposition of Cyril, but had afterwards declared himself a convert to his opinions, and had thus become, in Cyril's words, "the pillar and guard of the truth for the whole of the East," had written strongly against the doctrine of Theodore as the source of the error of Nestorius, whose teaching he anathematized; John gathered a few bishops, in whose name he wrote to Rabbulas's suffragans in Osrhoene, stating that if what was said of Rabbulas was true they ought to suspend communion with him, which he desired them to do until he had had opportunity to summon him and examine the matter (*ibid.* p. 749, c. lxiv.). Nestorius meanwhile was quietly settled in his monastery at Antioch, where he lived in peace and respect for four years, receiving it was said, at least at first, many presents and tokens of regard from John (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 7; Labbe, 14, 1071; Baluz. p. 906, c). Almost the last recorded act of pope Celestine, the first mover in this unhappy controversy, before his death in July 432, was to write to Maximian of Constantinople, who had ventured on the bold step of deposing Helladius of Tarsus, and three other metropolitans attached to the party of John, advocating the adoption of mild measures towards the condemned bishops, among whom he specially names John himself, provided they would condemn the errors of Nestorius, together with those who held and propagated them. (Labbe, iii. 1071.)

The battle was now over, and the victory remained with Cyril. His return to Alexandria bore the character of a triumphal progress, and he was received in his own city with enthusiastic acclamations as the successful champion of the orthodox faith (Labbe, iii. 105). But the victory had been purchased by a schism in the church. Alexandria and Antioch were two hostile camps, of which Cyril and John were the commanders, each declaring the other the enemy of the truth, whose evil designs must be thwarted and crushed, or the very existence of the church would be imperilled. For three weary years a bitter strife was maintained. The issue of this conflict however was never doubtful, and as it advanced it became more and more certain what it would be. John, anxious for the peace of the church, and alarmed for his own safety in this unequal battle, soon began to shew symptoms of yielding. The emperor had given way to the urgent demands of Celestine, and had pronounced for the banishment of Nestorius. John might not unreasonably fear that his inveterate antagonist would revenge himself by demanding his own deposition. It was time that he should make it clearly seen that he had no real sympathy with the errors of the heresiarch. His relations with the exiled archbishop had greatly changed since he had become his near neighbour at Antioch. Perhaps the honour with which he had been treated had given him umbrage (Evagr. *H. E.* 1, 7). The pertinacity with which he continued to promulgate the tenets which had proved so ruinous to the peace of the church irritated him. This change of feeling with regard to the original cause of the quarrel removed one obstacle to the reunion of Cyril and John. The newly elected bishop of Rome, Sixtus, who had warmly embraced Cyril's cause, made special mention of John in the letter addressed to the prelates of the East in the interests of reunion, A.D. 432, declaring that even he might hope to be received again into the Catholic church, provided he repudiated all whom the council of Ephesus had deposed, and proved by his acts that he really deserved the name of a Catholic bishop (Coteler. *Mon. Eccl. Graec.* i. 47). John's nephew and successor Domnus added his urgency in the same direction (Cyril. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthy.* cc. 42, 56). Theodosius sought to bring matters to a decision by commanding John to meet Cyril at Nicomedia, without any attendants on either side, and there arrange their differences. When this was done both the prelates were to wait upon him at Constantinople. As long as they were at variance he refused to see them (Labbe, iii. 1083). Matters however were not yet ripe for this friendly conference. John declined it on the plea of ill-health, and also because he had been informed that a plot had been formed to waylay and murder him. Besides, he heard that those now in power would demand of him as the price of peace the anathematization of the two natures, which not even Cyril had ventured to propound (Baluz. p. 754, c. l.). The execution of this order was committed to the tribune and Secretary of State Aristolaus, one of the most ardent in the cause of reunion (Baluz. 753, 756, 764). By this time Cyril had moderated somewhat of his arrogant dogmatism, and was disposed to limit his requirements to the condemnation of Nestorius and the recognition of Maximian as his successor. On the arrival of this emissary of concord, John summoned Alexander of Hierapolis, Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, and probably some others, to Antioch. A conference was held with the view of drawing up terms of peace. At this it was agreed that if Cyril would reject his anathematisms they would restore him to communion. Six short articles were also drawn up, the acceptance of any one of which would be regarded as a sufficient warrant for reunion. Of these articles Aristolaus chose one, as the most likely to find favour with Cyril and his adherents. This was to the effect that all parties should be content with the symbol of Nicaea, rejecting all the other documents which had been the cause of so much trouble (*ibid.* 756, c. liii.). The propositions for union were dispatched by John to Cyril by Aristolaus. John and his fellow bishops next sought the intervention of Acacius of Beroea, the universal object of veneration, for his age, piety, and wisdom, in the hope that his influence with Cyril might render him more

willing to accept the terms (Baluz. 756, c. liii.; Labbe, iii. 1114). We must refer to another article [CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA] for a fuller detail of this transaction. It is enough to say here that Cyril, though naturally declining to retract his condemnation of Nestorius's tenets, in his reply to Acacius, opened the way for a reconciliation between him and John. John, with a readiness which shews how eager he was to come to terms with his formidable foe, declared himself fully satisfied of Cyril's orthodoxy. His explanation had removed all the doubt his former language had raised (*ibid.* pp. 757, 782). Paul, bishop of Emesa, was despatched by John to Alexandria to confer with Cyril and bring about the much-desired restoration of communion (*ibid.* 783). These events, which took place in December 432, and January 433 A.D., have been fully narrated in another article. [CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, Vol. I. p. 769.] It is enough here to say that Cyril was at first greatly offended by the tenor of John's letter. "He expected an apology for the past, and he found a new insult" (Labbe, iii. 1151). He was however appeased by the representations of Paul that the bishop of Antioch meant no offence, and without further hesitation signed a confession of faith sent him by John. This had been originally drawn up by Theodoret at Ephesus, declaring in express terms "the union of the two natures without confusion in the One Christ, One Son, One Lord," and confessing "the Holy Virgin to be the Mother of God, because God the Word was incarnate and made man, and from His very conception united to Himself the temple taken from her" (Labbe, iii. 1094; Baluz. pp. 800, 804; Liberat. 8, p. 30). Cyril in his turn then gave Paul a paper containing the profession of his faith and explaining his anathematisms, which Paul approved (Labbe, iii. 1090) Cyril then advanced a step, requiring as the price of agreement the acceptance of the deposition of Nestorius, the recognition of Maximian, and an acquiescence in the sentence passed by him on the four Metropolitans deposed as Nestorians. These terms were acceded to by Paul. Each party was sincerely desirous of peace, and equally disposed to make mutual concessions. Paul placed in Cyril's hand a written consent to all his requirements, on which he was admitted to communion, and subsequently allowed to preach at the Feast of the Nativity (Cyril. *Epist.* 32, 40; Labbe, iii. 1095; Liberat. c. 8, p. 32). Paul however was proceeding a little too fast for John, who sent letters stating that neither he nor the other oriental bishops could consent so hastily to the condemnation of Nestorius, from whose writings he at the same time gave extracts to prove their orthodoxy (Baluz. p. 908). Paul shewed the correspondence to Aristolaus, who wrote very strongly, reprimanding the malcontents. Cyril, and the court began to weary of so much indecision. To bring matters to a point, two deacons, Cassius and Ammonius were despatched from Alexandria to Antioch with a document drawn up by Cyril and Paul for John to sign (Cyril. *Epp.* 40, 42), together with letters of communion to be given him if he consented to do so. Fresh delays ensued. John, though desirous of the re-establishment of peace, and apprehensive of the danger that would ensue if he continued to hold out against the wishes of Theodosius and of the empresses by whom his feeble mind was swayed, took exception to some of the language of the document. But Aristolaus, a sensible, prompt man of action, had threatened that if John interposed any more scruples he would go straight to Constantinople and let Theodosius know that it was he alone who delayed the settlement (Cyril. *Ep.* 40, p. 153). John in alarm reduced his demands for modification. The alterations required by him, of the nature of which we are ignorant, were accepted by Cyril, and at last in April 433 A.D., the act giving peace to the Christian world was signed and dispatched to Alexandria, where it was announced by Cyril in the cathedral on the 23rd of the month. John accompanied it with a letter to Cyril, in which he stated that in signing this document he had no intention to derogate from the authority of the Nicene creed, nor to fathom mysteries beyond the power of human thought to grasp or human language to express; but simply to stop the way against assailants of the true faith. He also expressly recognized Maximian as the lawful bishop of Constantinople in the place of Nestorius, sometime bishop, but deposed for teaching meriting anathema. He also wrote a circular letter of communion addressed to pope Sixtus, Cyril and Maximian (Labbe, iii. 1087, 1154, 1090, 1094; Cyril, *Ep.* 41). The East and West were once more at one. Cyril testified his joy in the celebrated letter to John, commencing "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad" (Labbe, iii. 1106–1111). John also wrote a letter to Theodosius by the hands of Aristolaus who was returning to the court, thanking him for the peace which his cares and labours had procured for the church, which he begged him to render universal by restoring to their sees the deposed bishops. Those who had been consecrated in their room, he somewhat *naïvely* suggests might wait for the death of their predecessors to resume their place. As for himself he accepted the ordination of Maximian and the deposition of Nestorius, and anathematized all the latter had said and written against the true faith (Baluz. p. 737).

This accommodation however was far from being satisfactory to the extreme members of either party. Isidore of Pelusia and other adherents of Cyril expressed a fear that he had made too large concessions for the sake of peace, especially in recognising the phrase, "two natures." On the other hand John's conduct had given great offence to many of his oldest friends and warmest supporters. They complained of his having betrayed them, and accused him of cowardice, of base desertion of the faith through fear of man, of truckling to the powerful advocates of a hollow peace to secure his position as bishop. The letters written by him to announce his reconciliation with Cyril were coldly received. Theodoret refused to abandon Nestorius. He would not deny the orthodoxy of Cyril, but he demanded that he should condemn his anathematisms, and that the four metropolitans should be restored. Alexander of Hierapolis wrote in a still more severe and uncompromising tone, and shewed the depth of his feelings by his acts. Soon after the return of Paul of Emesa he took the decided step of breaking off communion with John, his patriarch.

(Baluz. pp. 799, 832). It would be wearisome to follow out in detail the unhappy events of the next two years, during which John, with the zeal of a new convert, seeking to crush down all self-questioning by vigorous action, was endeavouring to force the bishops of his patriarchate to accept the submission to which he had bowed his neck. The task was a difficult and painful one, and the manner in which it was carried out throws a painful cloud over John's closing years. The narrative will be found in other articles [ALEXANDER OF HIERAPOLIS; ANDREW OF SAMOSATA, HELLADIUS OF TARSUS; IRENAEUS OF TYRE] and need not be repeated here. One by one the remonstrants succumbed to what we can hardly shrink from calling the persecution of their former leader. Theodoret was one of the last to hold out. His unwillingness to abandon Nestorius, and his rooted dislike to Cyril's articles raised a coldness between him and John, after the reconciliation of the latter with his great antagonist, which was much strengthened by an unhappy and entirely unwarrantable usurpation of power on John's part. In violation of all canonical law, at the close of 433 A.D. or the beginning of 434 he had taken upon himself to ordain bishops for the Euphratesian province, on the plea that Alexander the metropolitan had forfeited his functions by his obstinate refusal to accede to his terms of peace (Baluz. pp. 830 sq.). This usurpation caused serious irritation among the bishops of the province, who with Theodoret at their head at once withdrew from communion with John. In the synodical letter they put forth they charged him with having ordained unworthy persons, whose evil doings were notorious, and could not fail to have been known to him (Baluz. pp. 831, 850). But a party document emanating from persons suffering from extreme irritation is not the place where one expects exact truth. Even if the newly ordained bishops were such as they described, we may assert with confidence that their character was unknown to John. John unhappily continued his acts of usurpation, and by a painful want of consideration for his old friend and fellow combatant, chose this time for consecrating a bishop for Sergiopolis, a town which had clustered round the new church built by Alexander in honour of St. Sergius, at his own cost. John did not even take the trouble to inform Alexander of his intentions. The bishops of the province appealed to the empress Pulcheria against the act, but the issue is not known (*ibid.* pp. 838, 865). The disaffection spread. Nine provinces subject to the patriarch of Antioch renounced communion with John, who was at length driven to call in the aid of the imperial power to force them into union by ejecting the bishops who refused to accede to the terms of agreement he had arranged with Cyril. The Cilicias, under the leadership of Helladius of Tarsus, were foremost in their refusal to yield. John made a special appeal through the patrician Taurus for the aid of the secular arm in their case (Baluz. p. 827). His request was favourably received by Theodosius, who despatched a rescript ordering the expulsion of all bishops who continued to refuse to unite with John (*ibid.* pp. 829, 844). As narrated in another place [HELLADIUS, Vol. II. p. 889], all eventually yielded except the stubborn old bishop of Hierapolis and four others. Theodoret, whose noble nature was proof against menaces, yielded to the entreaties of James of Cyrus, and other solitaries of his diocese, famous for their sanctity, to consent to a conference with John. He was received by his old friend with the utmost cordiality. All reproaches were silenced; and when he found that John did not insist on his accepting the sentence against Nestorius, he embraced the concordat, and returned to communion with John and Cyril (*ibid.* pp. 834–836). The way towards accommodation had been much smoothed by the death of Nestorius's successor, Maximian, Ap. 12, 434 A.D., and the appointment as archbishop of Constantinople of the saintly Proclus, who, in the early part of the Nestorian controversy, had preached the great sermon on the Theotokos (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 40; Baluz. p. 851). The event was made known to John by the patrician Taurus, who received the intelligence with great joy (Baluz. p. 827). Proclus embraced communion with both John and Cyril (*ibid.* 858), and despatched to them a synodical letter of the bishops who had enthroned him (of which we only have a fragment), addressed apparently to the whole church, requesting communion with them (*ibid.* 851). All Proclus's influence was exerted in favour of peace, and that so successfully, that all the remonstrant bishops, with the exception of Alexander of Hierapolis and five others, ultimately accepted the concordat and retained their sees. Alexander was ejected in April 435 A.D. A strong representation was made by John to Proclus in the following year that Nestorius in his retirement was persisting in his blasphemies and perverting many from the truth, both in Antioch and throughout the East (*ibid.* p. 894), accompanied by a formal request to Theodosius that he would expel him from the East, and deprive him of the power of doing mischief (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 7; Theophan. p. 78.) An edict was accordingly issued commanding that all the heresiarch's books should be burnt, that his followers should be called "Simonians," and their meetings suppressed (Labbe, iii. 1209; Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 66). The property of Nestorius was confiscated, and he himself sentenced to be banished to the remote and terrible Egyptian oasis.

Although Nestorius was banished and Nestorianism placed under the ban of the imperial and ecclesiastical power, Nestorian doctrines were far too deeply rooted in the Eastern mind to be eradicated by any persecution. Cyril, suspecting that the union for which he had been so long labouring was more apparent than real, and that some of the bishops who had verbally condemned Nestorius in their hearts still cherished his teaching, procured orders from the Imperial government, which Aristolaus was commissioned to carry into effect, that the bishops should severally and explicitly repudiate Nestorianism. A formula of Cyril's having been put into John's hands for signature, he wrote to Proclus to remonstrate against this multiplicity of tests which allowed the bishops no repose, and distracted their attention from the proper care of their dioceses, in some of which the Jews and Pagans were causing great disturbances (*ibid.* 894). This letter was written in 436 or 437 A.D., and was probably sent by Aristolaus on his return to Constantinople.

Fresh troubles speedily broke out in the East in connexion with the writings of the greatly revered Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus, which were all the more greedily studied, now that those of Nestorius, their disciple, had been forbidden. The bishops and clergy of Armenia having appealed to Proclus for his judgment on the teaching of Theodore (Labbe, v. 463). Proclus replied by the celebrated doctrinal epistle known as the "Tome of St. Proclus." To this were attached some passages selected from Theodore's writings, but without the name of the author, which he deemed deserving of condemnation (*ibid.* 511–513). This letter he sent first to John with the request that he and his council would sign it, and thereby signify their union in the same faith (Liberat. p. 46; Facundus, lib. 8, c. 1, 2). At the same time he wrote a private letter to John exhorting him to watch diligently over those God had committed to his care; and since Ibas had been accused, he hoped falsely, of Nestorianizing views, he urged him to procure his signature to the Tome, to prove the falsity of the reports (Labbe, v. 511–513). In compliance with Proclus's request John assembled his provincial bishops at Antioch. They expressed annoyance at being called on for fresh signatures, as if their orthodoxy was still questionable; but they made no difficulty about signing the "Tome," which they found worthy of all admiration, both for the beauty of its style, and the dogmatic precision of its definitions. But the condemnation of the appended extracts, to which the bearers of the tome without authority from Proclus had appended the revered name of Theodore, was an entirely different matter. The very mention of such a demand called forth loud and indignant protests. They utterly refused to condemn passages divorced from their context, and capable, even as they stood, of an orthodox interpretation. A fresh schism was menaced, but the letters of remonstrance written by John and his council to Proclus and Theodosius, put a stop to the whole matter. Proclus assured them that he had no desire for a sweeping condemnation of so renowned a teacher as Theodore; but on account of the heretical character of the propositions, as they stood, he had hoped for the mere confirmation of the truth that they would have condemned them, without reference to the author. Even Cyril, who had taken an active part in the controversy, and had striven hard to procure the condemnation of Theodore, was compelled to desist from its further prosecution by the resolute front shewn by John and his Orientals, some of whom John told him were ready to be burnt rather than condemn the teaching of one they so deeply revered (Cyril. *Epp.* 54; 199), and to declare himself satisfied with the condemnation already long since passed on the tenets of Nestorius. Theodosius also, in a letter to John and the Oriental bishops, expressed his resolute determination that the peace of the church should not be disturbed by any fresh controversy, and his desire that no one should have the presumption to decide anything unfavourable to those who had died in the peace of the church (Baluz. p. 928, c. ccxix.). The date of this transaction is uncertain, but it may be placed with tolerable safety in 438 A.D. It is the last recorded event in John's career. We have no separate record of his death, but from the dates of the episcopate of his nephew and successor, Domnus, it must have occurred in 441 or 442 A.D. (Tillemont, *Mémoires Eccl.* tom xiv. xv.; Ceillier, *Auteurs Ecclés.*; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 412; Neander, *Church. Hist.* vol. iv., Clarke's edition; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 141–177; Bright, *Hist. of Church*, pp. 310–365.) [E. V.]

JOANNES, of Antioch; *vid.* of Apamea.

JOANNES (32), called MARO (ܡܪܘܢܐ) after the famous monastery of St. Maro on the Orontes, or, as in the Carshunic MS. of Stephan. Edenensis, Joannes Sirimensis (ܝܘܚܢܐ ܐܠܣܪܝܡܘܣܝ), flourished about A.D. 700, and was the first patriarch and religious founder of the Maronites, a Syrian sect which has perpetuated his surname He was born of noble and pious parents at *S'rûm* (Sirimis), a fortress on the Black Mountain over Antioch. Ebedjesu calls him Bar Frangoyê, which means that his parents were "Franks," *i.e.* Latins. He was educated first at Antioch, later at St. Maro's, and completed his studies at Constantinople. On the death of his parents he returned to Syria, and after recognizing his nephew Abraham as head of the family, retired with Cyrus, his other nephew, to St. Maro's, where he became monk and priest. By written and oral arguments he gained many converts from among the Jacobites (cf. Pagi ad ann. 635, num. 5); and visitors were attracted to him from all quarters. His fame grew apace, insomuch that the Latins of Antioch induced the Roman legate, in A.D. 686, to appoint him bishop of Botrys on the coast of Phoenicia; their object being to save the Libaniotes from falling into heterodoxy. The zeal and ability of Joannes in his new sphere won over great numbers of Monophysites and Monothelites; and soon his followers had overflowed the Lebanon and occupied the Holy Land from Antioch to Jerusalem itself. Strangers, foreign slaves, natives, all alike pressed into the ranks. Joannes ordained priests and bishops for his flock, and appointed military chiefs for their protection. His captains struck dread into the Persians, and were even successful against the more formidable Saracens. In the second year of Justinianus Rhinosmetus, Joannes became patriarch of Antioch in the room of Theophanes. (The Greek prelates of that period make no mention of this: he can only have been elected, therefore, by the bishops of his own sect.) Soon, however, he was driven from the city, and took refuge at St. Maro's, from whence he sent his *Book of Faith* to the Libaniotes. But his enemies gave him no rest; so with a great escort, furnished by Simeon prince of the Lebanon, and commanded by his nephew Abraham, he set out for the castle of Semar Gebail, near Botrys.

The patriarch now gave himself up to the work of organizing his church in the Lebanon. But in the spring of A.D. 694, an imperial army invaded Syria, razed St. Maro's, slaying 500 monks, and carried havoc everywhere. There upon the Maronite leaders rushed down from the heights, and wreaked signal vengeance. Mauricius, one of the generals, was slain in the battle; the other, Marcianus, died of his wounds. After this, Joannes built another monastery at Caphar

Hai, a stronghold near Botrys, and there he ended his days, Feb. 9, 707. That day is observed by the Maronites, and the patriarch is commemorated in their offices.

Eutychius of Alexandria (*Annal.* ii. p. 191), followed by William of Tyre and many succeeding writers, has charged the Maronites and their founder with Monothelitism, a charge which Maronite scholars have laboured to refute. Nairon and Assemani at least make it very doubtful; although Mosheim writes that there are strong reasons for believing that it was Joannes Maro who brought the Libaniotes to embrace Monothelitism. He admits, however, that the ancients are silent on the point. Ceillier entirely disbelieves the accusation. A. G. Hoffmann (in Ersch u. Gruber) leaves the question undecided, remarking, after Assemani, that falsification of documents by interpolation and omission is quite supposable in the present instance. At the same time, the modern Maronites, owing to their anxiety to prove that their sect has never swerved from orthodoxy, can hardly be impartial judges. Pagi (ad ann. 400 num. 19) asserts that the monks of St. Maro were always orthodox; and therefore the Monophysite sects persecuted them. Le Quien iii. p. 10, sqq. sums up the arguments on both sides, leaving the reader to decide upon them. Of writings reputed to belong to Joannes Maro there are extant in the Vatican—

(1) A *Liturgy* or *Anaphora* beginning, "Before Thee, King of kings, and Lord of lords!"

(2) *The Book of Faith*, a treatise directed against the Nestorians and Monophysites. Stephanus Edenensis accuses Thomas of Caphartaba, a Monothelite bishop, of interpolating this treatise. The work begins by naming and assenting to the first four councils, and then after a summary profession of faith in the Holy Trinity, goes on to quote authority for its doctrines, referring to Pope Sylvester, Athanasius, Gregory Nyssen, St. Ambrose, St. Jacobus Sarugensis, and others, including "Saint" Severus of Antioch, which may be an interpolation. To these testimonies the writer adds the definitions of the councils, and concludes by a charge to diligently examine all this evidence of the truth.

(3) A treatise against the Monophysites.

(4) A treatise against the Nestorians.

(5) A letter on the Trisagion, defending the Syrian addition *who wast crucified for us*. Probably a forgery, based on the *Dialogue between a Syrian and a Greek on the Trisagion* by David bar Paul, a Jacobite bishop.

(6) A work on the Priesthood, really by Joannes Darensis.

(7) *An explanation of the Liturgy of St. James the Apostle*, rightly ascribed by Renaudot (*Lit. Or.* ii. Dissert. prooem. p. 15, where *all* these works are rejected) to Dionysius Barsalibaeus.

The British Museum has a "concise discourse on the Incarnation of God the Word" (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 114); and an exhortation in Arabic (Rosen and Forshall's *Cat.* xli. 8) by Joannes of Maron.

Joannes *bar Frangoyê* must not be confused with Joannes, *bar Finkoyê*, a Nestorian writer of uncertain epoch; nor with the Joannes Maro, who lived about A.D. 901, and is mentioned by Barhebr. Chron. ii. 286.

See Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* i. 496–520 (a life of Joannes Maro, drawn chiefly from Stephanus Edenensis *Vindiciae Maronit.* lib. i. cap. 7, sqq.); *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 177, 306; Cave, i. 537; ii. iv. 35, 36; Pagi, 635, 5–11; Ceillier, xii. 102, 103; Mosheim, vol. i. p. 469 (Eng. trans.); Ersch und Gruber, *Encycl.* sect. ii. theil 22; Badger's *Nestorians*, ii. 374 (bar Finkoyê); Bickell's *Consp. Syr.* p. 45 (Monothelite Syrian documents mostly destroyed, after Maronites had joined Roman Communion A.D. 1182).

For the question of the orthodoxy of the ancient Maronites cf. also Faustus Naironus, *Dissert. de orig. nomin. ac relig. Maronit.* Rom. 1694; Gulielm. Tyr. *Hist. Rerum in partibus transmar. gest.* libr. 32, cap. 8; Michel le Quien, *Christianus Oriens*; and Joseph bar David, *Antiqua Ecclesiae syro-chald. traditio circa Petri Ap. ejusq. successorum Roman. pontiff. divinum primatum*; Romae, 1870. Bickell states that the last *proves* that Monothelitism once flourished among the Maronites. [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (33), bishop of Antioch in Pisidia. He signed the report of the synod of Constantinople to John the patriarch concerning Severus of Antioch, 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1039.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (34), bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda; present at the second general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 4; Mansi, iii. 568; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 911.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (35), surnamed CODONATUS, successively bishop of Apamaea, the metropolis of Syria Secunda, patriarch of Antioch, and bishop of Tyre, in the latter half of the 5th century. He was originally of Constantinople (Simplic. *Ep. a Luc. Holst.* ed. Mansi, vii. 996), where he seems to have allied himself to Peter Fullo, the exiled bishop of Antioch. When Fullo was restored to Antioch by the usurper Basiliscus, c. 476, John accompanied him to that city, and one of the first acts of Fullo on recovering his see was to ordain Codonatus, who was then a presbyter, to the episcopate of Apamaea.* The citizens of that see, however, refused to receive him, and John had to return to Antioch (*Breviar. Hist. Eutych.* Mansi, vii. 1064; Liberatus, *Brevic.* c. 18 in Migne, Patrol. lxviii. 1027.

On the deposition of Basiliscus, A.D. 477, and the recovery of the empire by Zeno, that emperor exiled Peter Fullo a second time, and John, the rejected of Apamaea, was chosen to succeed him. After he had occupied the see for some three months, however, he was deposed and condemned by a synod held at Antioch (*Brevic.* u. s.; Liberatus, u. s.; Theophanes, *s. a.* 469; Mansi, vii. 1018). The successor of John at Antioch was Stephen (*Libell. Synod. Co. Ant.* in Mansi, vii. 1175), who immediately sent a synodic to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, to inform him of his accession to the see, and also of what had taken place with regard to Fullo and to Codonatus, and Acacius at once convened a synod at Constantinople, A.D. 478, by which Fullo and John were again con-

* Theodor. Lect. i. 22, makes the ordination of Joannes to Apamaea to have taken place in the reign of Leo, and on the first appointment of Fullo to Antioch, upon which see the note of Valesius.

demned and a letter was sent to Simplicius bishop of Rome, praying him to concur in their condemnation (*Brevic. Eutych.* u. s.; Vales. *de Petr. Antioch.* c. 2, ad cal. Evagr. *H. E.*; Mansi, vii. 1018). Simplicius replied declaring John deprived of all association with Christian persons, debarred all right of appeal, and without any reconciliation (Mansi, vii. 996).[b]

Stephen died A.D. 481, and was succeeded by another of the same name (Theophanes, *s. a.* 473), and upon his murder shortly afterwards by the party of Fullo (*Libell. Synod. Co. Laodic.* in Mansi, vii. 1176, Theophanes, *u. s.*), the emperor commanded Acacius to ordain Calandio, which he accordingly did. But in the meanwhile a council of Oriental bishops at Antioch, not knowing what was done at Constantinople, elected Codonatus to the patriarchate a second time (Victor Tununens. *s. a.* 488; Theophanes, *u. s.*). But Calandio took possession of the see, and John was again deposed. Acacius, however, notwithstanding his previous condemnation of him, and his earnest appeal to Simplicius to have that condemnation stringently confirmed, at once translated him to Tyre, where he was enthroned by Calandio. (*Brevic. Eutych.* u. s.; Liberatus, *Breviar.* c. 18; Felix III. *Ep. ad Acac.* July, A.D. 484 in Mansi, vii. 1053; *Ep. Synod Rom. ad Monach. Orientales*, Oct. A.D. 485; Theophanes, *u. s.*; Pagi *Crit.* s. a. 477, xi. 479, i. 482, ii. 484, xi.; Tillemont, xvi. 301, 316, 335, 353; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 726, 727, 808, 912; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 602.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (36), bishop of Apamea Cibotis, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 396; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1046.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (37), bishop of Apri in Thracia, at the seventh general council at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 993 E, 1096, xiii. 142, 367 A; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1125.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (38), patriarch of Aquileia c. 606. He was set up in opposition to the patriarchs of Grado [EPIPHANIUS (24)]. He had been an abbat, and three bishops were forced, according to the chronicle of Grado, to ordain him at Friuli by Gisulf the Lombard duke of Friuli and with the consent of Agilulph the Lombard king (*Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium* in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 394, and note; Paulus Diaconus, iv. 33; Sigonius, *Hist.* lib. ii. p. 48). A letter of Joannes to king Agilulph has been preserved, in which he complains of the oppression of the Greeks and the forcible carrying off of some bishops of Istria to Ravenna. He probably alludes to their ill-treatment by Smaragadus, exarch of Ravenna, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (iii. 26). His rival at Grado was Candidianus, and his successor at Aquileia was Marcianus. (De Rubeis, *Monum. Eccles. Aquil.* p. 289; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 39; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* viii. 68.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (39) II., schismatical patriarch of Aquileia, c. A.D. 663. He succeeded Fortunatus, and is said to have held his see for ten years. (De Rubeis, *Monum. Eccles. Aquil.* p. 308; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 89; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* viii. 71.) A doubtful John III. is assigned to the year 680 (De Rub. *l. c.*; Capp. *l. c.*). [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (40), bishop of Aquinum (Aquino) in the 6th century. He is said to have been contemporary with John III. of Rome, A.D. 560–573. (Ug. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 441.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (41), bishop of Arbel, martyred under Sapor II. (Wright's *Anc. Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (42), bishop of Arcadia in Crete, present at the seventh general council at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 1099, the see here miscalled Arcadiopolis, xiii. 146, 370 C, 391; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.*) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (43), bishop of Arcadiopolis in Thracia, present at the seventh general council at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 994 D, 1096, xiii. 139, 367 A, 383; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1135.) [NICEPHORUS.] [J. de S.]

JOANNES (44), bishop of Arce in lesser Armenia; represented at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 149, 594; Le Quien, *Or Ch.* i. 447.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (45), bishop of Argos, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 642, 673; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* ii. 183.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (46), bishop of Ariassus in the second Pamphylia; signed synodal letter to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 576; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 1024.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (47) I., bishop of Ariminum (Rimini), succeeded A.D. 366. He was followed (A.D. 395) by Joannes II. who is supposed to have been living in A.D. 438. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 418; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 374, 375.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (48), bishop of Ariminum, present at the first, third, and sixth synods under pope Symmachus in March 499, Oct. 501, and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who adopts, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele (§ 220) (Mansi, viii. 234, 253, 315). There was a John IV., who died in or before 590. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 375.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (49) I., 28th archbishop of Arles. He is said to have died A.D. 675. (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1; *Acta SS. O. S. B.* ii. 1032; *Gall. Christ.* i. 542.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (50) II., 34th archbishop of Arles, was one of the prelates who subscribed Charles the Great's will (A.D. 811). In 813 he presided over the sixth council of Arles. He is said to have died in A.D. 819. (Einhard, *Vita Kar. M.* sub fin., in Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 463; Mansi, xiv. 57; *Vita Martini*, Bouquet, vi. 306; *Vita Ludovici Imp.* 26, Pertz, ii. 620; *Gall. Christ.* i. 545.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (51) I., surnamed MARTACUNES, ὁ Μαρτακουνῆς in the Catal. and MANTACU-

[b] The two letters given by Mansi (vii. 1037, 1046) as relating to this correspondence, are pronounced by Jaffé spurious (*Reg. Pontif.* 931).

NENSIS in *Hist. Arm.*, catholicos of Armenia, preceding Papchen, and according to the catalogue for six years, but in the *Historia Armena* for twelve. [ARMENIANS.] (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1380; Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. ix. pp. 69–78.) Saint-Martin (*Mem. sur l'Armen.* i. 437) assigns him to the years 480–487. [L. D.]

JOANNES (52) II., catholicos of Armenia, between Nerses II. and Moses II. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1383), for seventeen years according to the catalogue, for fifteen according to the *Historia Armena* (Galanus, cap. 11) which states that he was of the town of Zeighuani and was surnamed CAPIEGHINUS. St. Martin (i. 437) assigns him the period A.D. 533–551. While he is called Joannes in Galanus, he is named only Βιανίσης in the *Narrat. de Reb. Arm.* and Εὐανίσης in the catalogue. Le Quien preserves both names. [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (53) III., of COCOSTA, orthodox catholicos of Armenia, more strictly of the province of Greek Armenia, reckoned (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1384), 28th in the series of the Armenian catholici, following Moses II. The earlier sources of information are the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, and the catalogue appended to it (Combefis, *Bibl. Nov. Auct.* ii. 271), besides the *Historia Armena* of Galanus (cap. 13). The *Narratio* designates him as ἀπὸ τῆς Κωκοστᾶ Παγκράτων χώρας, the catalogue only as ἀπὸ τοῦ Πακρανᾶ, the *Hist. Arm.* as "Ghocouthanus ex oppido Pacaranae." By all these authorities twenty-six years are assigned to John, but without dates. The dates are not computed by Le Quien, nor in the present instance are they given explicitly by St. Martin (*Mém. sur l'Armen.* i. 437). It was in the summer of 591 (Rawlinson, *Seventh Orient. Monarchy*, p. 493) that Chosroes II. king of Persia was established upon his throne. The emperor Maurice received for the important services he had rendered to Chosroes the Armenian province of Taron, extending to the river Araxes and the city of Tiben (geographical details in St. Mart. i. 25, and his notes on Le Beau, *Le Bas Emp.* x. 332). This province constituted Greek (also called Roman) Armenia, in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of which Maurice placed the orthodox John, in consequence of the Armenian church, which was Monophysite, and Moses II. its catholicus, repudiating all intercourse with Maurice, while the episcopate of the ceded province were willing to conform. The date of this event then may be considered as A.D. 591 or 592, and from that period the question of orthodoxy and Monophysitism continued in hot debate through all Armenia, the authorities say for fourteen years, until the province was recovered by Chosroes. In 594 (St. Mart. i. 437) Moses II. was succeeded by Abraham I. whom Le Quien reckons the twenty-ninth catholicus. In 603, after Phocas had succeeded the murdered Maurice, Chosroes II. began his long war upon the empire. The recovery of the Armenian province, if the fourteen years are to date from 592, would be in or about 606, but the narrative of the war in Rawlinson (p. 502) would have suggested 609. When the monophysite supremacy was thus re-established by the change of civil rule John had to retire from the province and discharge his functions in exile for his people who remained. The twenty-six years assigned to him would end about 617 or 618, and the twenty-three years of Abraham in 617 (which in St. Martin's computation in regard to him), so that these two rivals were contemporary nearly all their time. [C. H.]

JOANNES (54) III. al. IV., catholicos of Armenia, under whom the schism between the Armenian and orthodox churches was consummated. [ARMENIANS.] (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1391; Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. xvii.). The *Historia* designates him as OZNIENSIS. He is not mentioned in the *Narratio* nor in the catalogue. St. Martin (i. 438) places him in A.D. 718–729, between Elias and David I., and states that he was surnamed IMASDASAR, THE PHILOSOPHER. He wrote a work on the person of Christ, two editions of which have been published at Venice, A.D. 1807 and 1816. He also wrote against the Paulicians and several works on Armenian ritual, which are still extant in MS. He attended the council of Tovin in 719. (Dwight, *Catal. Armen. Auth.* in *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* t. ii. p. 254.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Asia, *vid.* of Ephesus.

JOANNES (55), bishop of Assos in the Troad, in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 1097, xiii. 141, 386; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 702.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (56), bishop of Athens, at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, where he acted as one of the legates of the Roman see. (Mansi, xi. 642, 672; Le Quien, ii. 171.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (57), bishop of Attalia, at the synod of Constantinople A.D. 518 (Mansi, viii. 493); whether he was bishop of Attalia in Lydia or of the better known town of the same name in Pamphylia is uncertain (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 888, 1028). There was a John, bishop of Attalia, at the seventh synod, 787, according to the Latin list (Mansi, xii. 1101, xiii. 370 B), where the Greek has Joseph. [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Auca, *vid.* of Valpuesta.

JOANNES (58) I., bishop of Augustopolis in Palestine, present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Mansi, iv. 1218; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 727). In 536 there was a John II. at the council of Constantinople (Mansi, viii. 1172; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 728). [J. de S.]

JOANNES (59), bishop of Aureliopolis (Pericome) in Lydia, present at the council of Ephesus A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1366; v. 767; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 895.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (60), bishop of Auximum (Osimo), in 680. (Mansi, xi. 316; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 496; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (61), May 20, bishop of Auxuma (Axum), near the river Astaboras in Ethiopia. He is mentioned in the Ethiopic Calendar edited by Ludolfus (*Hist. Aethiop.* ii. 202), together with four other metropolitans of Abyssinia, (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 645.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (62), bishop of Avignon in the list of La Rivière, who makes him the seventh bishop, John I. The commencement of his episcopate is dated A.D. 219 (*Gall. Christ.* i. 852). La Rivière's John II. is made the twenty-first bishop, who ruled for about fifteen years, died A.D. 429 (*Gall. Christ.* i. 860). The Sammarthani print La Riviere's list without adopting it. The Johns whom they recognise are the following two:—

JOANNES (63) I., eleventh bishop of Avignon, subscribed by deputy the second council of Mâcon in A.D. 585. He died before 587. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 798; Gams, *Series Episc.* 503; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* ix. 958, Florence, 1759–98.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (64) II., nineteenth bishop of Avignon. He is said to have died about the year 750 (*Gall. Christ.* i. 802; Gams, *Series Episc.* 503). As far as the dates are concerned he may be identical with the Joannes III. who appears in Dom Polycarpe de la Rivière's list of the bishops of Avignon (*Gall. Christ.* i. 866) as thirty-third bishop of that diocese. But the greatest obscurity envelopes the early bishops of this see. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* publish two distinct lists of bishops for Avignon, their own (pp. 795–840), and one compiled by Dom Polycarpe de la Rivière (pp. 851–70), between which there is the least possible agreement. The former is undoubtedly the least untrustworthy. [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Avila, *vid.* of Abela; bishop of Axum, *vid.* of Auxuma.

JOANNES (65), bishop of Azana in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the seventh synod, 787. (Mansi, xii. 1109, xiii. 150, 398; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 800.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (66), bishop of Balneoregium (Bagnorea) c. 600, elected by popular suffrage. His election was enquired into and approved of by Gregory the Great. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 515; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* v. 588.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (67), "Episcopus Barbileorum," subscribed the synodical letter of the council of Chalcedon to Leo the Great, A.D. 451. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1105.) [C. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Barcusena or Barcusi, *vid.* of Justianopolis.

JOANNES (68), bishop of Baretta in the ecclesiastical province of Asia. At the council of Chalcedon, his name was subscribed in his absence by Hesperius of Pitane at the order of Stephen of Ephesus, A.D. 451 (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 731). In the Latin list the name of the see is Bargasa, which was a Carian city, and not known to have been episcopal. [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Bassora, *vid.* of Bostra; bishop of Batnae, *vid.* of Rhaesina; bishop of Beja, *vid.* of Pax Julia.

JOANNES (69), bishop of Bellunum (Belluno), c. A.D. 364, in which year he is said to have died in exile. Others place his death, A.D. 564. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 170; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 108.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (70), bishop of Beneventum (Benevento), elected A.D. 415 (Sarnelli, *Memor. dei Vescovi di Benev.* p. 24; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 16; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 13). A later John occurs in this see, c. 748 (Cappelletti, iii. 30). [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (71), bishop of Bergamum (Bergamo), probably c. A.D. 668. For a story about him and king Cunipert, see Paulus Diaconus, vi. 8. He died c. A.D. 691, but whether as a martyr or not is uncertain. He was commemorated on July 11 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 200). Others speak of a John bishop of Bergamum as martyred A.D. 556; but this statement is apparently without foundation. (Mansi, xi. 303; Mutio, *Sacr. Istor. di Bergamo*, p. 195; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 589; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xi. 458, 539.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (72), bishop of Berytus (Beyrout) in Phoenicia Prima. He flourished in the 5th century. (*Maenol. Graec.* 19th Feb.; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* ii. 819.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (73), Nestorian bishop of Bethbagas and afterwards of Adiabene, in the 8th century. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 494, iii. 478; Le Quien, ii. 1221, 1231.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (74), bishop of Beth-garma, or of Beth-seleucia according to Maruthas, martyred in the 34th year of Sapor (Assem. *B. O.* i. 189, iii. 748; Le Quien, ii. 1237). Le Quien considers him to be the John in the list of bishops martyred under Sapor, mentioned by Sozomen (ii. 13). [C. H.]

JOANNES (75), Nestorian bishop of Beth-garma in the 5th century. (Le Quien, ii. 1238.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (76), bishop of Bigastrum (near the modern Orihuela), appears at the eleventh council of Toledo (A.D. 675). (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 247; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 128.) [VINCENT.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (77), bishop of Bizya in Thracia. He took part in a conference at Constantinople with the Severians, A.D. 533. (Mansi, vii. 817; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 1147.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (78), bishop of Blera (Bieda), south of Viterbo, present at the Roman synod under Gregory II. in 721. (Mansi, xii. 265; Hefele, § 330.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES, bishop of Bomarzo, *vid.* of Polymartium.

JOANNES (79), said to have been bishop of Bononia (Bologna), c. A.D. 344. (Lambertini, *Trattato sopra gli atti d'alcuni Santi*, pp. 61, 62; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 8; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 448, 579.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (80), bishop of Bosporus on the Cimmerian Bosporus, at the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 518. He also attended the synod under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1048, 1143; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1327.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (81), bishop of Bostra, and metropolitan of Arabia. He was present at the 5th

general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 174; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 858.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (82) called BASSORENSIS, Monophysite bishop of Bassora or Bostra in Arabia, died A.D. 650. He was author of an Anaphora beginning, *Deus Largitor Caritatis et Aequanimitatis*, rendered into Latin by Renaudot, vol. ii. *Liturg. Orient.* p. 421. The *oratio fractionis* in the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil is drawn from this source. Jacobus Bartelensis, bishop of Maiphercata in *Libr. Thesaur.* par. 4, cap. 1, seems to imply that Joannes was also a commentator on the Scriptures, quoting his opinion that angels existed before the creation of the world, a doctrine for which Jacobus Tagritensis also refers to him. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 97, 153, 239; Le Quien, ii. 1477.) [C. J. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Botrys. *vid.* of Antioch.

JOANNES (83), bishop of Brysis in the province of Haemimons in Thracia. A difficulty has arisen in identifying the exact locality, owing to a double mention in the *Notitiae* of Leo. (See Patrol. Gr. cvii. 370, where an archbishop of Brysis is mentioned, and in a later catalogue, p. 382, a simple bishopric.) One of these took part in the seventh general council, A.D. 787, at Nicaea. (Mansi, xii. 996 B, 1100, xiii. 143, 367 D; Le Quien, i. 1187.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (84), two bishops of Buazicha, or perhaps only one, who was also a physician, cir. 780. (Assem. *B. O.* 422, 431; Le Quien, ii. 1179.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (85), bishop of Bulleria in Proconsular Africa, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. The *Notitia* misreads the name of the see "Bullensium regio," which might have been intended for Bulla Regia, but that this town was in Numidia. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 109; cf. note p. 246 in Ruinart's ed. of Victor, 1737.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Burgos; *vid.* of Valpuesta.

JOANNES (86), bishop of Cabillo (Châlon-sur-Saône), c. 470. The circumstances under which he was ordained to his episcopate are narrated by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* iv. 325, Migne, Patrol. lviii. 551). He is commemorated April 30. (*Act. Sanct.* April, iii. 778, 779; *Gallia Christ.* iv. 863.) [EUPHRONIUS (5).] [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (87) (surnamed ABRIS, *i.e.* LEPROSUS), Nestorian bishop of Cadne (Le Quien, ii. 1311), then in 686 of Nisibis (ii. 1198), and afterwards intruding catholicos of Seleucia (ii. 1123; Assem. *B. O.* ii. 423, 424, 429). [C. H.]

JOANNES (88), metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine, between Gelasius and Eulogius (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 563). The authority for him is the life of Porphyrius bishop of Gaza by Marcus Diaconus (Boll. *Acta SS.* 26 Feb. iii.). Porphyrius was consecrated by John (cap. 2, p. 647), from which circumstance the commencement of John's episcopate is determined to have been in 395 (Tillem. *Mém.* x. 850). John accompanied Porphyrius on his visit to Constantinople (cap. 5) and on his return (cap. 8). He was dead in 404, in which year Chrysostom wrote (ep. 87) to his successor Eulogius. [C. H.]

JOANNES (89), (surnamed CHUZIBITA or CHOZEBITA and GRAMMATICUS), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, previously a monk in the laura of Chuziba (Evag. *H. E.* iv. 7; Joannes Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* 24, 25, ap. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lxxxvii. 2869). He was present at the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 518. Some writings of his are mentioned, but these are not now extant. One was an *Apology for the Faith of Chalcedon* referred to by Anastasius Sinaita in his *Hodegus* (cap. 6 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxix. 101 D, 104 A, 105 D). Passages of Severus against John are quoted by Leontius of Jerusalem in his treatise against the Monophysites (Galland. *Bibl. Pat.* xii. 733; Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vii. 138). He was commemorated Oct. 28. (Basil. *Menol.* i. 149; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 570.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (90), bishop and metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine, present at the 5th general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553 (Mansi, ix. 174, 191 A, 389; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 572). He is the last known bishop of this see before the Latin period. [J. de S.]

JOANNES (91), bishop of Caesarea in Bithynia; present at the synod at Constantinople under Mennas, 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 627.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (92), bishop of Caesena (Cesena), c. 804. (Manzonius, *Caesen. Chronol.* p. 7; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 457; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 532.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (93), bishop of Calibe in Proconsular Africa, at the provincial council, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 939; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 116.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (94), Jacobite bishop of Callinicus (Leontopolis) on the Euphrates, chosen patriarch by the Mesopotamian bishops in opposition to Georgius, who was regularly elected by the whole communion. He held the position for four years, and died A.D. 765, when Georgius held a synod at Sarug, and deposed the bishops Joannes had ordained. (Dionysius, *Chron.* in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 112, 340; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 972.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (95), bishop of Caliipolis (Gallipoli), in the gulf of Tarentum, received a letter from Gregory the Great in 593 with reference to the crime of Andrew bishop of Tarentum. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. 46 in Migne, lxxvii. 641.) A later John, present at the Lateran synod of 649, and designated Gabopolitanus. (Mansi; x. 867), is reckoned to this see. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ix. 100.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES, bishop of Capaccio, *vid.* of Paestum; bishop of Capodistria, *vid.* of Justinopolis; bishop of Caprita or Caorla, *vid.* of Concordia.

JOANNES (96), bishop of Carina, in Sicily, c. A.D. 649. His name is found as having been present at the Lateran council under Martin I., but in some editions of its records John is called bishop of Catania. (Mansi, x. 867; Pirro, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 511.) [R. S. G.]

OANNES (97) called CARPATHIUS. Photius (*Cod.* 201 in *Patr. Gr.* ciii. 163 b) mentions a work entitled *To the Monks of India, the Consolatory Book for which they had asked*, by John the Carpathian. In all probability he was bishop of the island of Carpathus in the Aegean, present at the sixth synod, 680. Cave enumerates other works attributed to him and preserved in the libraries of Vienna and Paris. (Mansi, xi. 651, 694; Cave, i. 612; Ceillier, xii. 21; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 947.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (98), twenty-first bishop of Carpentras, said to have held the see in A.D. 813. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 899.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (99), bishop of Catania, in Sicily, c. A.D. 649 (Pirro, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 518). He appears to have attended the Lateran council under Martin I., if he has not been confused with John, bishop of Carina (*q. v.*). [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (100), bishop of Cauria (Coria in Lusitania) from about 640 till after 653. (Mansi, x. 771, 1222; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423, 448; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 57.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES, bishop of Celesene, Celezine, Celzene; *vid.* of Ecelisina.

JOANNES (101), bishop of Cemeneleon (Cimié, Cimella) at the council of Narbonne, 788, where he subscribed as "Cimelanensis" (Mansi, xiii. 824). This city was in the immediate neighbourhood of NICAEA (Nizza, Nice) and both cities sometimes designated the diocese [MAGNUS]; but after this John the title of the see was usually taken from Nicaea alone. He appears to have succeeded Syagrius, c. A.D. 787. He was present at the council of Narbonne, A.D. 788 or 791, where he subscribed as bishop of Cimella, being the last bishop who used this, the old title of the see. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1275; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 704.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (102), bishop of Cerasa in Lydia, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 893; Mansi, ix. 177.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (103), bishop of Cerasus, present at the seventh council, 787. (Mansi, xiii. 146, 370 D, 391; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 514.) [F. A.]

JOANNES (104), bishop of Ceretapa (Chaeretapa) in Phrygia Pacatiana, ordained by Eunomius the Arian bishop of Cyzicus. When Theodulus was deposed by the council of Seleucia, A.D. 359, the Arians appointed Caeterius bishop, who, dying shortly afterwards, was succeeded by Joannes. (Philostorgius, *H. E.* ix. 18; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 811; Mansi, iii. 324.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Cesena; *vid.* of Caesena.

JOANNES (105), bishop of Chalcedon, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 210 D, 641, 670, 690, 989.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Chalcis, *vid.* of Euboea; bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône, *vid.* of Cabillo.

JOANNES (106), bishop of Characmoba in Palestine, c. A.D. 800, mentioned by Leontius in his life of St. Stephen Sabaïta. (*AA. SS.* Boll. 13 Jul. iii. 544 C.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (107), bishop of Charrae (Haran) in the ecclesiastical province of Osrhoena, present at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 1078, 1085, vii. 553; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 977.) He may be the "Joannes episcopus Carrhorum" in the Latin text of Mansi, vii. 438, but omitted in the Greek. [L. D.]

JOANNES (108), Jacobite bishop of Charrae cir. 740 (Le Quien, ii. 1503). Renaudot (*Liturg. Or.* ii. 260) thinks that the Liturgy bearing the name of Chrysostom among the Jacobites ought to be assigned to this bishop. [C. A.]

JOANNES (109), bishop of Chrysopolis in Arabia, to the east of Bostra. He was present at the fourth general council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, although he is described in the Latin codices as Joannes Cyropolitanus. (Mansi, vii. 403; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 867.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Cindgalarat. [IOLAN.]

JOANNES, bishop of Cittanova; *vid.* of Aemonia.

JOANNES (110), bishop of Cius in Bithynia, present at the Trullan synod A.D. 692; in the subscriptions he is called simply bishop of Bithynia. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 634; Mansi, xi. 992.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Civita Castellana; *vid.* of Faleria.

JOANNES (111), bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, present at the synod of Constantinople in 520. (Mansi, viii. 492; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1028.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Claudiopolis in Helenopontus; *vid.* of Andrapa.

JOANNES (112), bishop of Cnidus (Stadia) on the peninsula of Caria, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 156; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 917.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Cogni; *vid.* of Iconium.

JOANNES (113), surnamed SILENTIARIUS, bishop of Colonia and afterwards one of the most celebrated of the monks. His life was written by Cyril of Scythopolis.

John was born in A.D. 454, at Nicopolis in Armenia. His father and mother were Encratius and Euphemia, noble and wealthy; many members of his family had held high office in court and camp. His parents being Christians, he and his brothers received a Christian education. Encratius and Euphemia dead, and their property divided, John consecrated himself to God in the eighteenth year of his age, built a church at Nicopolis in honour of Mary the mother of Christ, and taking ten brethren set up a monastery. In his twenty-eighth year, *i.e.* cir. 481, the bishop of Sebastia, metropolitan of the district, at the request of the people of Colonia, consecrated him bishop of that see. Elevated to the episcopate against his will, he

continued his monastic life, specially avoiding the baths. "He thought it the greatest of all virtues never to be washed;" "determined never to be seen, even by his own eyes, without his clothes." His character had the happiest effect on his own family.

When he had been bishop of Colonia ten years he had occasion to go to Constantinople to appeal to the emperor. Here a thought came into the head of John—why should he return to be troubled with the affairs of Colonia? He embarked on a ship without the knowledge of any of his friends, and made his way to Jerusalem. Here he took up his abode in a hospital for old men, wherein was an oratory of George the Martyr, but was supernaturally guided to the community of St. Sabas.

Sabas presided over 150 anchorets; he received John, and had him appointed to some petty office. A guest-house was being built; the former bishop of Colonia, the noble of the Byzantine court, fetched water from a torrent, cooked for the builders, brought stones and other materials for the work. Next year the time came for the change of officers; the new steward appointed John to the humble duty of receiving the guests and presiding over the kitchen. A monastery was at this time being built more than ten stadia from the guest-house; it was to serve as a preparatory discipline before St. Sabas would admit new comers to the separate life of the anchoret community. John was ordered to the same servile offices during this work as during the construction of the guest-house. Sabas now allowed him a cell, and imposed on him the rule of silence for three years. Five days of the week he remained alone, seen of none, and eating nothing. On Sundays he was always first in the church, and last out of it. During service he stood trembling with humility and fear, and, at the administration of Holy Communion, used to burst into floods of tears, to the admiration and edification of the other solitaries. At the end of the three years he was himself appointed steward.

Sabas considered that it was high time now that John should be ordained, ignorant of his ecclesiastical rank. He took him to Jerusalem, and introduced him to archbishop Elias, and he was obliged to confess to the archbishop that he was a bishop. Archbishop Elias wondered at his story, summoned Sabas, and excused John from ordination, promising that from that day he should be silent, and that nobody should ever molest him.

Sabas was greatly afflicted at being, as he thought, deceived in thinking John worthy of the presbyterate, but it is said that an angelic vision appeared, he learnt the truth, hurried to John's cell, embraced him, and told him that he knew all. John was sorry, for he felt that he would have to leave the community; but the aged archimandrite promised him that nobody should knew his secret.

From that time he never left his cell for four years, and was seen by nobody but the brothers who served him, except at the dedication of a church in the community, when he was obliged to go out and pay his respects to archbishop Elias. The patriarch was captivated with his conversation, and held him in honour as long as he lived.

In 503 Sabas left his community on account of the insubordination of those who lived in the new part of it, and went to Scythopolis, capital of the Second Palestine. John also departed, and went into the desert of Ruba. Here he remained silent about seven years, only leaving his cave every third or fourth day to collect wild apples, the usual food of the solitaries.

About this time Alamundarus Zizices, chief of the Saracens under the Persians, invaded Arabia and Palestine. The anchorets of the community sent to John, begging him, for the sake of safety, to return and remain at peace in his cell. He preferred, however, to trust in God, and told his biographer, Cyril, how an enormous lion used to patrol day and night in front of his cave. Theophanes would place this invasion twenty years later than it is apparently dated by Cyril.

Soon afterwards, Sabas returned to his old community, where peace had been established. He persuaded John also to return. This was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, A.D. 510. Here he continued to live a life that seemed to the idealists of those days absolutely angelical, and many stories are told of his miraculous endowments. He must have died about 558 A.D. He is honoured on May 13, but in the Menology of the emperor Basil on Dec. 8. Ceillier attributes Cyril's biography to Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene.

(Cyrillus Monachus, ap. *AA. SS.* Bolland. 13 Mai. iii. 232; Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 457, lviii. &c.; Ceillier, xi. 277.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (114), bishop of Comana Pontica, called Manteium at the time of Pliny. His signature is found to the decrees of the sixth general council A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 651, 678; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 518.) [F. A.]

JOANNES (115), bishop of Combi, present at the synod called Quinisext or Trullan, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1001, where the reading of the see is Sombus; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 991.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (116), bishop of Commacum in Pamphylia, at the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 518 (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1026.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (117) I., twelfth bishop of Como, between Prosper and Agrippinus, elected Aug. 3, 565, died Aug. 3, 568. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 315; Ughelli, *Ital Sac.* v. 261.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (118) II., eighteenth bishop of Como. He died Oct. 5, 660 (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* v. 262; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 318.) He was commemorated at Como on Oct. 2, but Oct. 5 was also observed in his honour. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 353.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (119) III., bishop of Como, acceded probably c. A.D. 660 or 665, and died A.D. 668. He followed Joannes II. (*Acta SS.* 20 Oct. viii. 903; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 262; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ix. 318.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (120), second or third bishop of Concordia, on the Venetian mainland. He succeeded Augustinus in 604, and refusing to submit to the schismatic patriarch of Aquileia, whose

authority was then dominant in those parts, he retired with his clergy and the Catholic portion of his flock to the neighbouring island of Caprulae which had recently been annexed to the metropolitan Catholic jurisdiction of Ravenna. (Dandulus, *Chron.* lib. vi. cap. 4, pars 8 in Muratori, t. xii. p. 110; Sigonius, *Hist.* lib. ii. ann. 605, p. 48; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* v. 326; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 419.) The date of the removal to Concordia is fixed by Ughelli as A.D. 604. [C. H.]

JOANNES (121) I., tenth bishop of Constance, succeeding Gaudentius in 614 or 615, known to us from Walafrid Strabo's Life of St. Gall, whose disciple he was, and whom he buried [GALLUS (11)]. The sermon which St. Gall preached on the occasion of his consecration (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 9 seqq.) was translated by the new bishop for the benefit of the people of the country. This account of Walafrid's is not free from difficulties (see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 44). The date of John's death is unknown. He ranks among the beati. (*Vita S. Galli*, lib. i. capp. 15, 20, 24, 25, 30, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxiv. 991, 994, 998, 1003; Muelinen, *Helvetia Sacra*, i. 8; *Gall. Christ.* v. 893.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (122) II. (HANNO, HANNUS), appears in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 894), as fifteenth bishop of Constance. He is, however, omitted from the lists of Muelinen's *Helvetia Sacra* (i. 8) and Gams's *Series Episc.* (p. 271), and his position in the catalogue seems to be unsupported by testimony. According to Rettberg, the bishops of Constance up till the commencement of the 8th century are involved in the deepest obscurity. (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 106.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (123) III., 20th bishop of Constance, succeeding Sidoinus, or Sidonius (*Gall. Chr.* v. 895). In the lists of Muelinen (*Helvet. Sac.* i. 8), and Potthast (*Bibl.* supp. 302), who do not recognise Joannes II., he appears as second of the name. Before his elevation he was a monk of Augia Dives (Reichenau), and with the bishopric he assumed the abbacies both of Reichenau and St. Gall. He trod in the steps of his predecessors, and strenuously asserted the episcopal jurisdiction against the claims of the two monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gall to independence (Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 74 n.). An attempt at compromise failed, owing to the bishop's bad faith (Ratpertus, *De Casibus Mon. S. Galli.* c. iii., Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxvi. 1061). He was present at the council of Attigny (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 1516, Pertz, iii. 30, Legum, i.). With Lullus of Mainz and Heddo of Strasburg he is made to take part in the pretended mission to Rome on the subject of simony. But the only authority for the story is a spurious document (see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 69, 108). He died in 781, having held his three offices for twenty-one years. (Hermannus Contractus, *Chron.* ad ann. 759, 781, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxliii. 161, 164; *Catal. Abbat. Sangall. et Aug.* Pertz, ii. 35, 37.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, *vid.* of Nova Justinianopolis; bishop of Constantina in Mesopotamia, *vid.* of Tela; I. bishop of Constantinople. [CHRYSOSTOM].

JOANNES II. (124), surnamed CAPPADOX, Aug. 18, twenty-seventh bishop of Constantinople, patriarch and metropolitan, between the intruder Timothy and Epiphanius, A.D. 517–520. Designated by Timothy, appointed by Anastasius after an enforced condemnation of Chalcedon, John of Cappadocia, although (unless a mistake has been made with other Johns) a saint in the Greek Calendar, and called by Photius "the very home of virtue," bore a pitiable character. His short patriarchate is memorable for the celebrated Acclamations of Constantinople, and the reunion of East and West after a schism of thirty-four years.

At the death of Timothy John was presbyter and chancellor of the church of Constantinople. Whatever his subsequent career, the fact remains, that to gain the patriarchal throne he anathematized opinions to which the whole of the rest of his life shewed his vigorous adherence.

On July 9, 518, the long reign of Anastasius came to a close. Justin succeeding re-established orthodoxy. On the following Sunday, July 15, a strange scene occurred in the cathedral. The new emperor had entered, and the archbishop, accompanied by twelve other prelates, was making his way through the throngs that filled the nave. Every corner was densely crowded. As he came near the raised dais where the pulpit stood shouts arose, "Long live the patriarch! Long live the emperor! Long live the empress! Why do we remain excommunicated? Why have we not communicated these many years? You are Catholic, what do you fear, worthy servant of the Trinity? Long live the emperor! Long live the empress! Cast out Severus the Manichee! Let that holy synod, worthy of the Trinity (Chalcedon), this instant be proclaimed! Depart! or proclaim our synod! Long live the emperor! O Justin, our emperor, you win! This instant proclaim the synod of Chalcedon, because Justin reigns." These and other cries continued for some time. At length John obtained silence, and said, "I crave your patience, brethren; allow us first to adore the sacred altar, and after that I will give you my reply." The procession then passed into the inclosure, but the excited congregation went on shouting outside the gates of the choir in similar strains:—"You shall not come out unless you anathematize Severus. I take my oath on it! Long live the emperor!" The patriarch meanwhile had gained time for thought and consultation; he came out and mounted the pulpit. "You know my labours, dearly beloved," he said, "which of old I bore for the faith, which I have borne till the present, which I continue to bear till death. There is therefore no need of disturbance or tumult. Nothing has been done against the faith; none dares to anathematize the holy synod (of Chalcedon). We recognise for orthodox all the councils which have confirmed the decrees of Nicaea, and principally these three—the Council of Constantinople, the Council of Ephesus, and the great Council of Chalcedon."

But the authority of John was too scant to settle the matter in this way. The people evidently suspected either his honesty, his consistency, or his courage, and they were determined

to have a more formal decision. They continued shouting for several hours, mingling with their former cries such as these: "Fix a day for a festival in honour of Chalcedon!" "Commemorate the holy synod this very morrow!" "Unless I get an answer, I stay here till night!" John then proposed to await the consent of the emperor, who had probably long since retired from the church. But the people were firm against all temporizing, and the deacon Samuel was instructed to announce the desired festival. The Greeks still commemorate on the Sunday nearest July 16 the 630 fathers of Chalcedon, and also the other general councils.

But John had not yet satisfied the people. Long after this concession, they continued as with one voice to shout with all their might, "Severus is now to be anathematized. I don't go out, unless I get an answer. I take my oath. You are orthodox; anathematize him this instant. Anathematize him, or there's nothing done!" The patriarch saw that something must be settled. He took counsel with the twelve attendant prelates. They agreed to the curse on Severus. The following decree of this extemporaneous and intimidated council was carried by acclamation: "It is plain to all that Severus in separating himself from this church condemned himself. Following, therefore, the canons and the fathers, we hold him alien and condemned by reason of his blasphemies, and we anathematize him." Loud rang the domes of St. Sophia with shouts of triumph from hoarse throats, and at length the crowd dispersed to their own homes. It was a day long remembered in Constantinople.

The next day was Monday the 16th. The promised commemoration of Chalcedon had taken place. Again the patriarch had made his processional entrance. Again as he approached the pulpit clamours arose from the whole people. "Long live the patriarch! Long live the emperor! Long live the new Constantine! Long live the new Helen! Restore the relics of Macedonius to the church! Restore those who are exiled for the faith! Let the bones of the Nestorians be dug up! Let the bones of the Eutychians be dug up! Cast out the Manichees! Cast out the two Stephens! Let the name of Macedonius be restored to its place! Cast out the new Ezumas! Cast out the accursed fellow from the palace! Restore Euphemius and Macedonius to the church! Let the Roman synodals be valid! Place the four councils in the diptychs! Place Leo, bishop of Rome, in the diptychs! Bring the diptychs to the pulpit!" This kind of cry continuing, the patriarch replied, "Yesterday we did what was enough to satisfy my dear people, and we shall do the same to-day. We must take the faith as our inviolable foundation; it will aid us to reunite the churches. Let us then glorify with one mouth the holy and consubstantial Trinity." But the people went on crying madly, "This instant, let none go out! I abjure you, shut the doors! You no longer fear Amantius the Manichee! Justin reigns, why fear Amantius?" So they continued. The patriarch tried in vain to bring them to reason. It was the outburst of enthusiasm and excitement long pent up under heterodox repression. It bore all before it, like a reservoir that has burst. The people shut the doors, and redoubled their shouts. The patriarch was at last obliged to take the diptychs and get inserted the names of the four councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, of Euphemius and Macedonius, patriarchs of Constantinople, and of Leo bishop of Rome. Then the multitude sang with one loud voice, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people!" They stood on either side the sacred enclosure, and chanted this canticle for more than an hour. By this time the choir had assembled on the raised platform, and, turning eastwards, sang the Trisagion. Then the whole people was silent, and listened to the sacred strain. The gospel was then read, and the communion office of the catechumens finished. Then came the complete office; the gates of the choir were closed, the service went on, and the moment arrived for the recitation of the names of the defunct bishops from the diptychs. The multitude closed round in deep silence about the holy table. And when the deacon had read only the new insertions, again a mighty shout arose, "Glory be to thee, O Lord!" The liturgy was quietly finished, and care was taken by the orthodox monks, who doubtless were the main authors of the whole demonstration, to write out a verbatim record of what had taken place on these two most remarkable days, and to present it as a memorandum to the patriarch John.

To authenticate what had been thus done, John assembled a council of forty bishops, who happened to be at the capital. The abbats of the city presented a petition to the same effect, which bore 104 signatures. The council assembled July 20, 518, A.D. The memories of Euphemius and Macedonius were reinstated, according to the precedent of Paul, banished in the days of Constantine, John Chrysostom and Flavian. All who had been exiled on account of these two prelates were also restored. The four general councils, and the name of Leo bishop of Rome, were also inscribed in the diptychs. Severus of Antioch was anathematized after an examination of his works, in which a distinct condemnation of Chalcedon was discovered. A synodal was then written to the patriarch John, who had not been present (probably on account of the ostensible irregularity of his enforced proceedings in St. Sophia), and he was requested to report it to the emperor, the empress, and the senate. John then wrote to John of Jerusalem and to Epiphanius of Tyre, telling them the good news of the acclamations and the synod. His letters were accompanied by orders from Justin to restore all who had been banished by Anastasius, and to inscribe the council of Chalcedon in the diptychs.

At Jerusalem and at Tyre there was great joy. Many other churches declared for Chalcedon, and during the reign of Justin two thousand five hundred bishops sent in their adhesion and approval.

Now came the reconciliation with Rome. The emperor Justin wrote to the pope a fortnight after the scene of the acclamations, informing him of his election, begging him to further the desires of the patriarch John for the reunion of the churches, and to send bishops capable of arranging terms. John wrote saying that he

received the four general councils, and that the names of Leo and of Hormisdas himself had been put in the diptychs. Count Justinian, the emperor's nephew, also wrote saying that the only difficulty now remaining was the name of Acacius. A deputation of two bishops, a presbyter and two deacons were sent to Constantinople, bearing a large number of letters, and with instructions that Acacius was to be anathematized by name, but that Euphemius and Macedonius might be passed over in silence.

The deputies arrived at Constantinople, on Monday in Holy Week, March 25, 519. Next day, Tuesday, the 26th, they had an audience of the emperor, in presence of all the senate, and of four bishops deputed by the patriarch. Justin received the pope's letters with great respect, and told the ambassadors to come to an explanation with the patriarch.

Wednesday and Thursday passed, and on Thursday, March 28, the patriarch came to the palace, and a general assembly was held. He received the pope's formula, but at first wished to express his adherence in the form of a letter; but after some contest with the legates, he agreed to write a little preface, and to place after it the words of Hormisdas, which he copied out in his own handwriting. Two copies were sent by the legates to Rome, one in Greek, the other in Latin. Emperor, senate, and all present were so overjoyed at this ratification of peace, that some even burst into tears.

The sting of the transaction still remained; they had now to efface from the diptychs the names of five patriarchs and two emperors, Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius, Macedonius and Timotheus; Zeno and Anastasius. All the bishops at Constantinople gave in their consent in writing; so did all the abbats, after some had raised a difficulty.

It was Easter day when the pacification of the churches was promulgated. From the palace the court and people, equally enthusiastic, surged into St. Sophia. Again the vaults resounded with acclamations in praise of God, the emperor, St. Peter, and the bishop of Rome. The expectations of the opponents, who had prophesied sedition and tumult, were signally disappointed. Never within memory had so vast a number communicated. The emperor sent an account of the whole proceedings throughout the provinces, and the ambassadors forwarded their own report to Rome, saying that there only remained the negotiations with Antioch. John also wrote to Hormisdas to congratulate him on the great work effected, and to offer him the credit of the success. John also received this year a letter from Avitus, the famous bishop of Vienne, warmly commenting on the happy event.

On Jan. 19, 520, we find John writing to Hormisdas, noting that Easter that year would fall on April 19. Soon afterwards he died. He is commemorated in the Greek church on Aug. 18.

(Baronius, ad ann. 518, x.-lxxvii. 520, vii.; Fleury, ii. 573; *Acta SS.* Bolland. 18 Aug. iii. 655; Theoph. *Chronogr.* § 140, *Patr. Graec.* cviii.; Niceph. Callist. iii. 456, *Patr. Graec.* cxlvii.; Photius, iii. § 287 a, *Patr. Graec.* ciii.; Avitus, *Epist.* vii., *Patr. Lat.* lix. 227; Hormisdas, *Epistles, Patr. Lat.* lxiii. p. 426, &c.)

[W. M. S.]

JOANNES (125) III., surnamed SCHOLASTICUS, THE LAWYER, thirty-second bishop of Constantinople, patriarch and metropolitan, intruded by Justinian and his successor during the twelve years' exile of Eutychius (April 12, 565–Aug. 31, 577). He was born at Sirimis, in the region of Cynegia, near Antioch. In his early days there was a flourishing college of lawyers, at Antioch, where he entered, and did himself credit. This was suppressed in 533, with other provincial schools of law, by a constitution of Justinian, who determined that this study should be practised only at the capitals of the empire. Passing into the ranks of the clergy, he became agent and secretary of his church. This would bring him into direct communication with the court at Constantinople. When, towards the close of Justinian's life, he tried to raise the sect of the Aphthartodocetae to the rank of orthodoxy, and determined to expel the blameless Eutychius for his opposition, no more appropriate instrument of the imperial pleasure could be thought of for the patriarchal chair than the able lawyer-ecclesiastic of Antioch, who had already distinguished himself by his great edition of the canons.

Little is known of the episcopal career of John the Lawyer. Seven months after his appointment Justinian died. The new emperor, Justin II., was crowned by the patriarch, Nov. 14, 565. A picturesque description is given of the scene in a poem by Victor Tunnunensis. John himself died shortly before Justin. Evagrius makes John crown Tiberius II., but Eustathius, the biographer of the patriarch Eutychius, clearly shews that Justin was still alive when the death of John enabled Eutychius to be recalled.

One of the most useful works of that period was the Digest of Canon Law formed by John at Antioch. Following some older work which he mentions in his preface, he abandoned the historical plan of giving the decrees of each council in order, and arranged them on a philosophical principle, according to their matter. The older writers had sixty heads. He reduced the number to fifty. To the canons of the councils of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Ephesus, and Constantinople, already collected and received in the Greek Church, John added the "Apostolical Canons," to the number of eighty-nine, the twenty-one of Sardica, and the sixty-eight of the canonical letter of Basil. In writing to Photius, pope Nicholas I. cites a harmony of the canons which includes those of Sardica; the only harmony at that time answering this description would be that of John the Lawyer. When he came to Constantinople, he edited a new work, the *Nomocanon*, an abridgement of the first, with the addition of a comparison of the imperial rescripts and civil laws (especially the Novels of Justinian) under each head. Balsamon cites this work without naming the author, in his notes on the first canon of the Trullan Council of Constantinople. In a manuscript of the Paris library the *Nomocanon* is attributed to Theodoret, but in all others it bears the name of John. Theodoret would not have inserted the "apostolical canons" and those of Sardica in such a work; and the style has no resemblance to his. In 1661 these two works of John the Lawyer were printed at the beginning of the second volume of the Bibliotheca

Canonica of Justellus, at Paris. Photius (Codex lxxv.) mentions his catechism, in which he established the Catholic teaching of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, saying that he wrote it in 568, under Justin II., and that it was afterwards attacked by the impious and silly Philoponus. Fabricius on the whole considers it probable that the Digest or Harmony and the *Nomocanon* are rightly assigned to John the Lawyer. He is commemorated by some Greek menologies on Feb. 21. (Fabricius, xi. 101; xii. 146, 193, 201, 209; Evagrius, *H. E.* iv. 38; v. 13, Patr. Graec. lxxxvi. part 2; Theoph. *Chronogr.* 204, &c., Patr. Graec. cviii.; Niceph. Callist. iii. 455, Patr. Graec. cxlvii.; Victor Tununensis, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 937; Baronius, ad ann. 564, xiv. xxix.; 565, xvii.; 578, 5; *Patr. Constant.* in *Acta SS.* Bolland. Aug. i. p. *67.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (126) IV. (surnamed THE FASTER, JEJUNATOR, sometimes also called CAPPADOX, and thus liable to be confused with the patriarch John II.), thirty-third bishop of Constantinople, metropolitan and patriarch, from April 11, 582 to Sept. 2, 595, commemorated by the Greek church on Sept. 2. He was born at Constantinople of artisan parents, and himself was a sculptor. According to a discourse attributed to him, he appears to have become a monk. His predecessor seems to have heard that he was likely to be appointed, and did not augur well of him on account of the obtrusiveness of his fasts. John is said to have fled at the time of the election, but to have taken good care to let it be known where he was.

In 587 or 588 John the Faster summoned a general council of the East to decide the cause of Gregory archbishop of Antioch. Gregory, afterwards pope Gregory the Great, who was then living at Constantinople, asserts that this was only a pretext of John for extending his authority and airing his favourite title. That title had been claimed before by John the Cappadocian and by Mennas, but not so boldly enforced. John the Faster summoned the bishops of the East in the name of "the Oecumenical Patriarch." The archbishop of Antioch was acquitted, and returned to his see. Pelagius II., bishop of Rome, solemnly annulled the acts of this council, and the archdeacon Laurentius, who represented the Roman see at the capital of the East, was forbidden to assist John at the administration of communion.

In 593 Gregory sent as his representative at Constantinople Sabinianus, his secretary, who succeeded him in his see. He had written before to John, blaming him for having allowed an Isaurian presbyter named Anastasius, accused with some other Isaurian presbyters of heresy, to be beaten with ropes in the church of Constantinople. These letters are lost, as is John the Faster's reply, in which he had said he did not know why Gregory wrote. In the letter which Gregory sent by Sabinianus he answered in very strong terms.

In 595 the controversy again blazed forth about the title of universal bishop. We find Gregory the Great writing to the emperor Maurice to the effect that though such an honour had been offered to the bishop of Rome by the Council of Chalcedon, no Roman prelate had ventured to accept or use it. To his legate Sabinianus he wrote as Pelagius had written to Laurentius, forbidding him to communicate with John. Letters on other subjects passed at this time between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. A presbyter of Chalcedon named John had been condemned by John the Faster's ecclesiastical court on a charge of Marcionitism [EUCHITES]; the presbyter had appealed to Rome and was acquitted by the Roman synod. Gregory speaks to the patriarch of "your most sweet and delightful letters about John," and writes himself with great politeness. Another case was that of a presbyter named Athanasius, accused of being to some extent a Manichee, and condemned as such. Gregory shews that the accuser on this occasion was himself a Pelagian, and that by the carelessness, ignorance, or fault of John the Faster, the Nestorian council of Ephesus had actually been mistaken for the Catholic, so that heretics would be taken for orthodox, and orthodox condemned as heretics!

In 596 the schemes and ambitions of John the Faster were ended by death. About his fasting, the purity of his life, and the extreme austerity of his personal habits there could be no doubt. Saintship was accorded to him by the Byzantines as spontaneously as the title by which they had indicated his celebrity for abstinence.

His Writings.—Isidore of Seville (*De Script. Eccl.* 26) attributes to him only a letter on baptism addressed to St. Leander. John, he says, "propounds nothing of his own, but only repeats the opinions of the ancient fathers on trine immersion." This tract is no longer to be found.

But there are extant four works attributed to John the Faster. 1. His Penitential, *Libellus Poenitentialis*, or, as it is described in the third book of the work of Leo Allatius, *de Consensu Utriusque Ecclesiae* (Rome, 1655, 4to.), *Praxis Graecis Praescripta in Confessione Peragenda*, *ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων*. In 1651 Morinus published it at Paris in folio from a MS. of the Altempsian Library in his work on Penitence; it came out again at Brussels in 1685, Venice, 1702. Morinus added the places where it had been quoted. It has been urged that this work must be long after the time of John the Faster, because it mentions three fasts of forty days to be kept by Christians, in which laymen as well as ecclesiastics were to abstain from meat; whereas these three fasts were hardly heard of by the Greeks before the 10th century, and were suppressed in the 11th. Morinus, however, con siders that these are interpolations in the work of John the Faster, and that we have the body of his production. Schröckh is hardly satisfied about it. But the fact that John was blamed by later writers for too great indulgence agrees very well with the character of the existing work, as the catalogue of vices detailed at disgusting length is of the most hideous and appalling description. The Greeks of the middle ages always attributed this and the next to John the Faster.

2. *Λόγος πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξαγορεῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν υἱόν*; *Instructio, qua non modo confitens de confessione pie et integre edenda instituitur, sed etiam sacerdos, qua ratione confessiones excipiat, poenitentiam imponat et reconciliationem praestet informa-*

tur. This was edited at the same time by Morinus. He got the MS. from the library of Charles de Montchal, archbishop of Toulouse. Morinus was doubtful whether this was John's, or whether some writer had taken it from his Penitential. The MS. attributed it directly to John.

3. Περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ παρθενίας λόγος; *Homily on Penitence, Continence, and Virginity.*

This has often been printed among Chrysostom's homilies, but it is now agreed not to be Chrysostom's, as the style is base, turgid, and occasionally ungrammatical. This would suit the account we have of the education and character of John the Faster. Montfaucon, Vossius, and Pearson held it to be by John the Faster; Morel and Savile still printed it among Chrysostom's works.

4. Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλων καὶ ἀθέων αἱρετικῶν καὶ σημείων τῆς συντελείας; *Homily on False Prophets and False Doctrine.*

Said to be written shortly before the author's death. Attributed occasionally to Chrysostom, by Peter Wastel to John of Jerusalem, but by Vossius, Petavius, and Cave to John the Faster.

5. A set of *Precepts to a Monk*, not yet edited, in a MS. at the Paris library.

Migne reproduces the Penitential, the Instructions for Confession, and the Homily on Penitence. (Joh. Jejun. Arch. CP. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxviii. 1089, &c.; Theoph. *Chronogr.* 212, 213, 225, Patr. Graec. cviii.; Niceph. Callist. *H. E.* xviii. 34, Patr. Graec. cxlvii. p. 396; Baronius ad ann. 588–593; *AA. SS.* Bolland. Aug. 1, p. 69; Fleury, ii. Book xxxiv. c. 44, &c.; Ceillier, xi. 427, &c.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* xi. 108, xii. 239; Greg. Mag. Epist. I. ix. 4, &c. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 447, &c.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (127) V., (A.D. 669–673 or 675), 41st bishop of Constantinople, metropolitan and patriarch. Pagi points out the error of Baronius in dating his episcopate from 658. A letter of his to Macarius is quoted in the sixth General Council, where he is styled "of blessed memory." (Pope Paul V.'s *Concilia Gen. Eccl.* iii. p. 207, Sext. Synod. Act. 13 (Rome, 1628); Baronius ad ann. 658; Pagi, note; Niceph. Callist. *Enarratio, Patr. Graec.* cxlvii. p. 457; *AA. SS.* Bolland, August. i. p. 83.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (128) VI. (712–715 A.D.), 48th bishop of Constantinople, patriarch and metropolitan. At the expulsion of the patriarch Cyrus by the emperor Philippicus John was deacon and chartulary of the Great Church. He subsequently declared that Philippicus had determined to replace Cyrus by as thorough a Monothelite as himself; that the bishops had interposed, had recommended to him John as agreeable to themselves and likely to suit the tyrant; and that, much against his will, to save the church further troubles, he had consented to bend to the storm, to forswear the 6th Council General, and to accept the patriarchate. If John here describes his position accurately, he was confessing himself a hypocrite. In 713, on the deposition of Philippicus, his successor Anastasius II. was crowned by the patriarch John, when all the bishops and clergy proclaimed the restoration of the 6th Council General to its full honours.

John wrote a long letter to pope Constantine, still extant in Latin in the collection of the writings of Constantine. He apologises for not having written on his election; he had been prevented by the tyrant. Giving the account already cited of his promotion, he complains of the severity of Philippicus, his heterodoxy, and the dangers which the church had suffered; takes credit for not having abjured the Council of Chalcedon; professes his faith in two natural wills and two natural operations in Jesus Christ; adds that Philippicus had gained nothing by burning the imperial copy of the 6th Synod, because in the patriarchal palace he had kept carefully the same acts, subscribed by the bishops and emperor, and besides that, that there was the copy made by Paul, afterwards patriarch; prays the pope to pardon the past, and to send his synodical letters in token of mutual charity as he now sends his own; and protests that he will never have peace, nor will sleep ever close his eyes till he has seen the church of God preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. What reply the bishop of Rome made, we do not know; but the deacon Agatho, warden of the archives of the Great Church of Constantinople, protonotary and second chancellor of the patriarchal court, put John's letter at the end of the acts of the 6th General Council, with a note. In 715 or 714 the episcopate of John came to a close. Zonaras represents him as deposed; but Theophanes, a more trustworthy authority, says that he died. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* 320, *Patr. Graec.* cviii. p. 773; Const. Pap. *Epistol.* 3, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxix. p. 341; Niceph. Callist. *Enarratio, Patr. Graec.* cxlvii. p. 458.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (129), bishop of Cordylus in the second Pamphylia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. The name of the see appears in Mansi also under the forms Codrula, Cudrula, Crudula. (Mansi, xiii. 150, 371D, 396; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1032.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Coria; *vid.* of Cauria.

JOANNES (130), bishop of Corinth and metropolitan of Hellas, consecrated A.D. 595. Amongst the letters of pope Gregory I. there are two addressed in 595 to this bishop, giving him directions concerning the right ruling of God's flock, and warning him against simony (*Ep.* v. 52, 57). He is also mentioned in three circular letters of 595, 597, 599. (*Ep.* v. 58; viii. 5; ix. 68; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 162; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 115, 123, 130.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (131), bishop of Corycus on the coast of Cilicia. He was present at the sixth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 680, and also signed the canons of the "Quinsextine" synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi xi. 640, 651, 679, 1006; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 881.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (132), bishop of Cremona, present at the council held under Eusebius of Milan A.D. 451. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 97, p. 1084; *Ital. Sacra*, iv. 580.) [C. G.]

JOANNES (133), a bishop of Crete, addressed along with others by pope Gregory the Great in 597 and 599 (*Epp.* lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 5, lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 68; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 123, 130). The first letter reads Joanni Cretensi

Scoritano, which is probably an error of punctuation (*vid.* the bishop of Scodra). [C. H.]

JOANNES (134), bishop of Cronium, or Cronia, in Sicily, c. A.D. 680 (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 955.) Doubt has been thrown on the existence of such a place, at least as an episcopal see. (Piccolus, *De Antiq. Jure Siculae Eccles.* pt. i. cap. 5; Pirro, *Sic. Sac.* i. 509.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (135), bishop of Croton (Cotrone), mentioned in the *Fragmentum Damnationis Theodori* of pope Vigilius, A.D. 551 (Vigil. Pap. *Epp.* in *Pat. Lat.* lxix. 62 B; Mansi, ix. 60 D; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 551, xi.). The name Joannes however is by Migne and Mansi read Jordanes, and in Baronius his designation is Cortonensis. Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* ix. 384) and Cappelletti (xxi. 188) adopt him as John of Croton in succession to Flavianus. [C. H.]

JOANNES (136) I., bishop of Cucusus, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 389; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 452.) A second John of this see was present at the Trullan synod (Quinisext) A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 999.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, archbishop of Cyprus (Mansi, xi. 961; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 690, xii.), *vid.* of Nova Justinianopolis.

JOANNES (137), bishop of Cyrrhus (Cyrus), north-east of Antioch. During the usurpation of Basiliscus, A.D. 475–477, he assembled a synod in his city and anathematized Peter the Fuller, who had again seized the patriarchal throne of Antioch. (Mansi, vii. 1018, 1176; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 932.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (138) I., bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespontine province, 650, addressed in a letter by St. Maximus (*Epist.* vi.), demonstrating the incorporeality of the soul. To him also Maximus dedicated his "quaestiones in Gregorium" in the "liber Ambiguorum." (Migne, Patr. Graec. xci. 238, 116[a]; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 755.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (139), bishop of Dalda (Messen) in Lydia; present at the seventh general (second Nicene) council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 996 D, 1102, xiii. 143, 370 A, 390; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 892.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (140), bishop of Damascus, and metropolitan of the province Phoenicia Secunda. He signed his name as metropolitan to the protest of the Eastern bishops at the third general council of Ephesus (his predecessors Magnus and Philippus having simply used the title *Damascenus* at the previous oecumenical councils). He was afterwards sent as delegate with John of Antioch to the emperor. (Mansi, iv. 1270; *Synod. Adv. Trag. Iren.* capp. 23, 28 in Mansi, v. 791, 795: Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 835.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (141), bishop of Damascus, and metropolitan of the province Phoenicia Secunda. He signed the encyclical letter of his province, addressed to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 559; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 835.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (142), Nestorian bishop of Damascus, cir. 632. (Assem. *B. O.* iii. 107; Le Quien, ii. 1289.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (143), called DARENSIS, Monophysite bishop of Dara, a town about twelve miles from Nisibis. He was a contemporary of Dionysius Telmaharensis (patriarch 818–841 A.D.); although Abraham Ecchellensis assigns him to the 4th cent., and Cave places him between the 6th and 7th. See Barhebraeus, ii. 285, *apud* Assem. *B. O.* ii. 219. He must be deemed, therefore, beyond the period dealt with in the present work, and he is only noticed to correct the errors which have been made as to his date. [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (144), bishop of Dascyllium in Bithynia; present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Quinisext synod, A.D. 692. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 629; Mansi, xi. 211 A, 650, 677, 996.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (145), bishop of Decatera in Dalmatia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 374 A, 727; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 250.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (146), bishop of Derthona (Tortona) c. A.D. 557, or, according to others, 568. He is variously stated to have sat for two and for twelve years. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 853; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 670.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (147), bishop of Dertosa (Tortosa), signs the fourth and sixth councils of Toledo (A.D. 633, 638, Mansi, x. 642, 671). (*Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 85; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* &c. ii. 315, 348.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (148), Nestorian bishop of Destesana, martyred with St. Simeon Barsaboë under Sapor. (Assem. *B. O.* iii. 585; Le Quien, ii. 1213.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (149), bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, on the Calycadnus. He was present at the fourth general council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he signed the sixth session. (Mansi, vii. 144; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1021.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (150), bishop of Dora in Palestine, present at the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1174; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 579.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, of Drepanum, *vid.* of Helenopolis.

JOANNES (151), bishop of Dumium before A.D. 589. He subscribes the acts of the third council of Toledo. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238; *Esp. Sagr.* xxiii. 38.) [ST. MARTIN.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (152), a bishop in the East addressed by Gregory Nyssen. (*Ep.* 19 in *Pat. Gr.* xlvi. 1071.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (153), bishop of Ecelisina present at a council of Constantinople in 459 (Mansi, vii. 917; Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxxxv. 1619). This city, in Great Armenia, was variously written Celesene, Celezine, Celzene, Acilizene. It afterwards, under all John's known successors, bore the name of Justinianopolis. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 435.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (154), bishop of Egara before the year 683. He sent his vicar Samuel to represent him at the thirteenth council of Toledo (A.D. 683), and appeared in person at the fifteenth and sixteenth councils (688, 693). (Aguirre-Catalani, v. 287, 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 196.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (155), bishop of the Egyptian Meletians and one of the heads of the sect, mentioned with much respect by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxviii. 5). [C. H.]

JOANNES (156), one of the Egyptian bishops whom Leo the Great addressed, A.D. 460, on the occasion of the election of Timotheos Salofaciolus to the see of Alexandria in place of Timotheus Aelurus. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 73, 1437.) [C. G.]

JOANNES (157), bishop of Elepla from about 620 to 646. He signs the acts of the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633). [ISIDORUS; EPARCIUS.] Though his see is not named, he is identified by being the only suffragan bishop of St. Isidore at that time of the name of Joannes. (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 63; *Coleccion de Canones de la Eglesia Española*, ii. 315, 348, 360.) [F. D.]

JOANNES (158) I. II. III. IV. V., bishops of Elvira or Eliberi or Granada. Of these, only the names are known and the order of their succession. Joannes I. was the successor of Gregorius Baeticus, who was alive in A.D. 392, and was then a very old man. After him the order of succession was Valerius, Lusidius, Joannes II., Joannes III., Visus, Joannes IV., Joannes V., all undated. A Joannes bishop of Elvira subscribes the acts of the fifteenth council of Toledo in A.D. 688 (Mansi, xii. 21; *Tejada y Ramiro*, ii. 351), and Florez calls him Joannes V. (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 34; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xii. 138, 158.) [F. D.]

JOANNES (159) II., bishop of Ephesus, one of the metropolitans to whom the emperor Leo I. addressed his circular letter in 457 or 458 (Mansi, vii. 523; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 679). The Apostle John is reckoned as John I. [C. H.]

JOANNES (160) (called JOHN OF ASIA and JOHN OF EPHESUS), Monophysite bishop of Ephesus, born circ. A.D. 516, and still living in 585, a Syriac writer whose chief work was his *History of the Church*. In the extant portion of that work, he describes himself once as "John, who is called superintendent of the heathen (ܕܥܠ ܚܢ̈ܦܐ) and Breaker of Idols" (ii. 4), and twice as "John who is over the heathen, who was bishop of Ephesus" (ii. 41; iii. 15). Elsewhere he styles himself, "John bishop of Ephesus" (iv. 45), or simply, "John of Ephesus" (v. 1); and, lastly, "John of Asia, that is, John of Ephesus" (v. 7). From these references it is clear that John of Ephesus is the historian so often mentioned by Syriac writers as John bishop of Asia; "Asia" meaning the district of which Ephesus was the capital.

A statement of Evagrius (v. 24) appears to shew that our author was his kinsman. His words are: *καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενα δὲ τουτὶ Ἀγαθίῳ τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ἐμῷ τε πολίτῃ καὶ συγγενεῖ καθ' εἱρμὸν ἱστόρηται, μέχρι τῆς Χοσρόου τοῦ νέου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φυγῆς, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστάσεως.* The period thus indicated, viz. from the time of Justinian to the restoration of Chosroes the younger by the emperor Maurice, fairly synchronizes with John's history. Assemani, indeed, concluded from a passage in the Chronicon of Dionysius, that some other John was intended by Evagrius. The Jacobite patriarch names John of Asia as one of his authorities, in the following manner: "Now from Theodosius the Younger unto king Justinian [we have borrowed] from the holy John bishop of Asia; that is, unto the year 885" [A.D. 574]. Accordingly, Assemani supposed that John's narrative terminated with that year; but the Third Part of the work itself, since discovered, proves that it extended to at least A.D. 585 (see iv. 61).

Dr. Land in his monograph entitled, *Johann von Ephesus der erste syrische Kirchenhistoriker*, has discussed the question whether our author is to be identified with any one of his numerous namesakes who wrote during the same period; and has pronounced in the negative.

What we know of the personal history of John of Ephesus is gathered from the meagre extracts from the second part of his great work, which are preserved in the Chronicon of Dionysius; and from the extant third part, which is to some extent a biography of the writer. From Dionysius (*apud* Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* 83–90) we learn that John's birthplace was Amid in northern Mesopotamia. He stood high in the confidence of the emperor Justinian, by whom he was commissioned in A.D. 542 as "Teacher of the heathen" in the four provinces of Asia, Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia. John's success as a missionary was such that in four years seventy thousand persons adopted Christianity. The emperor supplied vessels, vestments, and books for ninety-six new churches, of which forty-one were reared at the cost of the converts, the rest built with imperial funds. In the third part of his history (ii. 44) John mentions that Deuterius was his fellow labourer in this good work during thirty-five years; and that he left him as his successor in Caria. Together they had built ninety-nine churches and twelve monasteries. Recurring to this subject (iii. 36–37) John tells how the work began among the mountains round Tralles. His chief monastery, Darira (ܕܪܝܪܐ), rose upon the site of a famous temple, which he had demolished.

In A.D. 546, John of Ephesus was charged with an enquiry into the secret practice of pagan rites by professing Christians. Members of all ranks in the state were inculpated: Phocas, prefect of the capital, being informed against, poisoned himself. John was appointed to instruct the accused in Christian doctrine; and an imperial edict prescribed conversion within three months! Theophanes informs us, further, that heathens and heretics were to be excluded from public office.

From the third part of John s history we learn that in the second year of Tiberius (A.D. 579), upon the rumour of a heathen plot to destroy the Christians of Baalbec, the emperor ordered an officer named Theophilus to suppress paganism in the East. Torture, crucifixion, the sword, wild beasts, were among the means employed.

Numbers were accused; the prisons teemed with victims of every rank; and a permanent inquisition was established for their trial.

As bishop of Ephesus or "Asia," John appears to have exercised supervision over all the Monophysite congregations of Asia Minor. His thirty years of influence at the court of Justinian, and his high personal qualities, gave him very considerable authority among his own party. He tells us himself (v. 1) that in the reign of Justin II. "John of Ephesus was dwelling in the royal city and controlling all the revenues of all the congregations of the Faithful there and in every place." And, in a chapter written in A.D. 581, he mentions his old intimacy with Tiberius at the court of Justin: "He and I were often together, and stood with the other courtiers before the serene Justin" (iii. 22). Hence it was, perhaps, that Barhebraeus supposed John to have succeeded Anthimus as "bishop of the Orthodox" at Constantinople (*Bibl. Or.* ii. 329). But his own writings prove that John of Ephesus was never recognized as patriarch; Theodosius of Alexandria, who found a protector in the empress Theodora, virtually held that position until his death in A.D. 567.

As his narrative testifies, John suffered grievously in the persecution instigated first by John Scholasticus, whom he calls John of Sirmin [Evagr. Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπὸ Σιρίμιος], and afterwards by Eutychius. Together with Paul of Aphrodisias and subsequently patriarch of Antioch, Stephen, bishop of Cyprus, and the bishop Elisha, John of Ephesus was imprisoned in the patriarch's palace. In the heated debates which followed, the four Monophysite bishops stoutly charged John of Sirmin with breach of the canons in annulling the orders of their clergy. And when the patriarch demanded of them "a union such as that between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch," they declared their willingness provided they might drive out the council of Chalcedon from the Church, as Cyril had driven out Nestorius. The weak and vacillating emperor, of whom John testifies that for six years he had been friendly to the "orthodox," and who was still sincerely anxious for peace, attempted to secure that end by drawing up a dogmatic formula, in the shape of an imperial edict, which he sent to the four captive bishops for revision. Their changes were admitted, but the "Nestorians and semi-Nestorians" of the court—so John puts it—scared the timid emperor into further alterations, of which the chief was an inserted clause, "that the customs of the church were to be maintained" (ܕܥܝ̈ܕܘܗ ܠܥܠ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܢܬܢܛܪܘܢ ܠܗ), which meant that the obnoxious council was still to be proclaimed from the Diptychs. Weary of the dispute, and probably not understanding its grounds, Justin now signed the document, and required the subscription of John of Ephesus and his companions. They declined, and thirty-three days were passed in constant wrangling between them and the patriarch. Meanwhile they were kept under close guard; the patriarch's creatures stripped them of everything; friends were denied admittance to their prison: and their personal followers were also confined in the dungeons of the palace. The misery of the four bishops was aggravated by the reproaches of the leading Monophysite laymen, who supposed that, but for their obstinacy, a compromise might be effected which would stop the persecution. The cunning patriarch was careful to encourage this belief. At last his victims gave way, the patriarch promising upon oath that the council of Chalcedon should be sacrificed. The four bishops twice communicated with him; but when they reminded him of his promise, he referred them to the pope; he could not, for their sakes, risk a schism from Rome. Our historian touchingly describes the sorrow of himself and his companions over this fraud; even their oppouents pitied them, until they once more faced them with galling taunts, which led to a second imprisonment (i. 17–25). The emperor made further fruitless attempts at conciliation. The upshot of a discussion before the senate (ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ) was that the four bishops boldly uttered their anathema "upon the whole heresy of the two natures," and cast off communion with their deceivers for ever. Thereupon they were sentenced to "banishment," and the sentence was at once carried out. They never saw each other again. John of Ephesus was confined in the hospital of Eubulus at Constantinople. Though helpless from gout, and exposed to the attacks of swarms of vermin, he was denied all assistance. As he lay in his filthy prison, it seemed to him that his feverish thirst was slaked and his misery comforted by a heavenly visitant, whose coming he describes with much pathos and simplicity. After a year, John was removed to an island, where he remained eighteen months, when the Caesar Tiberius ordered his release. For three years, however, he was under surveillance, until the patriarch died (A.D. 578). Before the outbreak of this persecution, John of Ephesus and Paul of Aphrodisias had argued publicly with Conon and Eugenius, the founders of the Cononites, nicknamed Tritheites, in the presence of the patriarch and his synod, by command of Justin (v. 3). Conon had vainly tried to win the support of John, who proved to him that he was a heretic, and afterwards wrote him a letter of warning (v. 1–12). Eutychius, who, upon the death of John of Sirmin, was restored to the patriarchal throne, was hardly more tolerant of Monophysites than its late occupant. Persecution was renewed, and John of Ephesus again met with disgraceful injustice. By another imprisonment Eutychius wrung from him the resignation of a property which Callinicus, a chief officer of the court, had bestowed, and which John had largely improved and converted into a monastery. After being further deprived of his right of receiving five loaves at the public distributions, for which he had paid three hundred darics, John was released.

Tiberius, the successor of Justin, though unwilling to persecute, was overcome by popular clamour. The mob of the capital groundlessly suspected their new emperor of Arian leanings (iii. 13, 26). An edict was therefore published ordering the arrest of Arians, Manicheans, etc. Under cover of this, the "orthodox" were once more harried and plundered. The first victim was our author, John of Ephesus (iii. 15), who had now lived many years in Constantinople, and had already endured so much cruel treat-

ment. He and his friends were incarcerated at Christmas in a miserable prison called the Cancellum (A.D. 578?); and after much fruitless argument were finally dismissed with orders to leave the city. After a time, persecution was checked by the emperor. But in 581 Eutychius again bestirred himself for the violent suppression of the hated sectaries (iii. 20, 21); and Tiberius, distracted by his wars, left the patriarch to deal with the "Διακρινόμενοι" as he chose. The next patriarch, John the Faster, was stedfast against persecuting Christians (v. 15, 21).

It is greatly to our historian's credit that, during the long and bitter strife which raged among the Monophysites themselves, in the matter of the double election of Theodore and Peter to succeed Theodosius as their patriarch of Alexandria, he maintained an honourable neutrality, standing equally aloof from Paulites and Jacobites, although his sympathies were with Theodore, the injured patriarch (iv. 9–48). John wrote his account of this pernicious quarrel in A.D. 583, the second year of Maurice; for he says that it had already lasted eight years (iv. 11), and that he is writing an outline of events from the year of Alexander 886 [A.D. 575] onwards (iv. 13). In his anxiety to heal the schism, John sent as many as ten epistles to "the blessed Jacob" [Baradaeus], protesting his own neutrality, and urging reconciliation between the two factions (iv. 46), and after Jacob's death (A.D. 581) his party made overtures to John of Ephesus, then living at the capital, to induce him to recognise Peter of Callinicus as patriarch of Antioch, in the room of Paul (iv. 45). In reply the historian rebuked them for violating the canons. John sums up his account of the schism by accusing both sides of an utter want of mutual charity, and an entire aversion to calm examination of the grounds of their quarrel. He adds that he has briefly recorded the main facts from the outset to the current year, 896 (A.D. 585); the latest date observable in his work.

The Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus originally consisted of three parts, of which the third only is known to be extant. The author states (part iii. bk. i. ch. 3) that he has already written a history (stories) of the church in two parts (ܦܠܓܘ̈ܢ) and twelve books, each divided into chapters, "beginning from the times of Julius Caesar, and the rest of the former kings of the Romans, and then in succession compiling and arranging the stories of the church, as far as to the sixth year of the reign of Justin II., son of the sister of Justinian." The third part contains six books, each preceded by an index of subjects, and arranged in chapters; so that the plan of the work was symmetrical. If, as Dr. Payne Smith assumes, the first part was a mere abridgment of Eusebius, its loss, as he says, is not much to be regretted. The disappearance of the second part is more unfortunate; as it would probably have furnished us with much important matter for the reign of Justinian. It brought the history down to the year A.D. 571. The third part continues it from that point to about A.D. 585, thus covering a period of about fourteen years, between the sixth year of Justin II. and the fourth of Maurice. It was called forth by the persecution above described, which broke out in the sixth or seventh year of Justin, and the writer makes many apologies in the course of his narrative for want of chronological order, occasional repetitions, and even inconsistencies of statement (see esp. i. 3; ii. 50); defects which he ascribes to the stress of untoward circumstances. "This," he says, "should be known to critics; many of these stories were penned in time of persecution . . . people conveyed away the papers inscribed with these chapters, and the other papers and writings, into divers places, and in some instances they remained hidden so long as two or three years in one place or another" (ii. 50). John had no memoranda of what he had already written, and he never found an opportunity for revision. With these drawbacks, the work possesses an interest which naturally belongs to original accounts. John of Ephesus was contemporary with most of the characters described in his book; he writes of what he himself saw and heard and of doings in which he was personally concerned. For thirty years, as we have seen, he was a trusted servant of Justinian; and Gibbon would probably have recognised in the second part of his history a valuable gauge of the servility and the malice of Procopius. And had Gibbon possessed the third part of John's work, he would hardly have surmised that "the sentiments of Justin II. were pure and benevolent," or believed that the four last years of that emperor "were passed in *tranquil* obscurity" (cf. iii. 1–6); had he read what John has to say of the worthless stepson of Belisarius he might have rated "the gallant Photius" less highly. From the same source he might have learned that it was the thoughtless improvidence of Tiberius which forced the unhappy Maurice to appear in the light of a grasping niggard (cf. iii. 11; v. 20). As regards chronology, Assemani, who did not love a Monophysite, accuses John of inaccuracy, asserting that he used a peculiar Greek era, making almost all Justinian's acts and his death, ten years later than the dates assigned by Evagrius, Theophanes, and Cedrenus. But in the third part of his history (v. 13) John gives the usual date for that emperor's death, viz., Nov. 14, 876 [565]. Of Theophanes Gibbon has said that he is "full of strange blunders" and "his chronology is loose and inaccurate;" his verdict in regard to John of Ephesus would have been very different.

In his record of the great controversy of his day, John's attitude is that of a man who is thoroughly convinced that his own party holds exclusive possession of the truth. The Monophysites are "the orthodox" (ܐܪܬܕܘܟܣܘ) "the faithful" (ܡܗܝܡ̈ܢܐ); their opponents are "Synodites," "Nestorians" or at least "half-Nestorians" (ܦܠܓܘܬ ܢܣܛܘܪ̈ܝܢܐ); the synod of Chalcedon is "the stumbling block and source of confusion of the whole church" (ܬܩܠܬܗ ܡܥܠܬܗ ܘܕܘܠܚܗ ܕܟܠܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ); "it sunders Christ our God into two natures after the Union, and teaches a Quaternity instead of the holy Trinity" (i. 10, 18); the four bishops taunt the patriarch with "the heresy of the two natures, and the blasphemies of the synod, and

of the Tome of Leo" (i. 18). At the same time, John does not labour to blacken the memory of his chief adversaries; the strong terms in which he speaks of the pride of power and savage tyranny of John Scholasticus are warranted or at least excused by facts (i. 5, 12, 37); and a Baronius can denounce John of Sirmin in language equally decided (*Eccl. Hist.* ad ann. 564). In regard to Eutychius, John protests his adherence to truth: "Although we declare ourselves opposed to the excellent patriarch Eutychius, yet from the truth we have not swerved in one thing out of a hundred; nor was it from eagerness to revile and ridicule, that we committed these things to writing" (iii. 22). His impartiality becomes manifest in his description of the great schism which rent asunder his own communion; unsparing in his censure of both factions, he refers their wicked and worse than heathenish rancour to the instigation of devils (iv. 19, 22, 39). Credulous John was, but credulity was a common attribute of his age. His stories about the great plague which raged in 544 and for many years following (Procop. ii. 22; Evag. iv. 29) are instances (Extracts in Dionysius). He assigns that calamity to the malice of demons, just as he accounts for Justin's mania by demoniacal possession. John fled before the plague from Palestine to his own country, and thence to Constantinople, but found no place uninfected. His marvels are probably what he heard from the lips of other panic-stricken fugitives.

A more serious objection might be founded upon his approval of the cruelties connected with the suppression of heathenism (iii. 34), and his intolerance of "heresy" other than his own. In 550 John of Ephesus dug up and burnt the bones of Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, the false prophets of Montanism (Extr. *ap.* Dionys.). Herein also the historian was not superior to the mistakes of his contemporaries. But the spirit of persecution is hardly the peculiar mark of any age, church, or sect; and one day the 19th century may itself be branded as the age in which a so-called freethought persecuted religion.

Apart from these blemishes we may recognise in John of Ephesus an historian who sincerely loved truth; a bishop who was upright and devoted, when too many others were cringing and corrupt; and a man whose piety rested upon a thorough knowledge of Scripture, and whose common sense and humane spirit loathed the frantic excesses of partisans.

His style, like that of most Syriac writers, is verbose and somewhat unwieldy; yet he does not lack the eloquence of simple truth and homely pathos.

The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus was first edited from the unique MS. in the British Museum, by Dr. Cureton (Oxford, 1853)—a splendid reproduction of the original; it has been translated into English by Dr. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), and into German by Schönfelder (München, 1862). These versions are of great assistance to the student, many chapters being defective in the original. The title of the work varies; the pages of the MS. are headed "Ecclesiastica of my lord John, bishop of the city of Ephesus;" at the beginning of the 3rd, 5th, and 6th books the title runs "Part Three of the Ecclesiastica (ܐܣܛܘܪܝܐ) concerning stories of the Church, &c."

The British Museum also possesses other MSS. containing extracts from John's history, and a work entitled *Lives of Eastern Saints*, published in Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. ii. See Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 1296; Rosen and Forshall, *Cat.* xlix. [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (161) III., Aug. 4, bishop of Ephesus, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 993 A, xiii. 133, 366 B, 379.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (162), last bishop of Epidaurus in Dalmatia, which was utterly destroyed by the Avars and Slavs in 639, after which, c. A.D. 650, John removed the see to Ragusa, of which he is reckoned the first bishop. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* vi. 36.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (163), bishop of Erizi in Caria; at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 651, 680; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 921.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (164), bishop of Errha, in the province of Arabia. His metropolitan, Constantinus bishop of Bostra, subscribed the sixth action of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, in his behalf. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 866.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (165), bishop of Etenne (Trisenna) in Pamphylia, present at the second Nicene Council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 997 A, 1104, xiii. 145, 370 C; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1004.) The name of the see is variously spelt in Mansi. [L. D.]

JOANNES (166), a missionary bishop to the Ethiopians, reported by John of Asia (Assem *Bibl. Or.* i. 359–362) to have been sent by the emperor Justin in 521 at the request of Aidog king of Ethiopia. On the difficulties of this subject see articles ELESBAAN, p. 72, and ETHIOPIAN CHURCH, p. 237. [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (167), a supposed bishop of Euboea, and perhaps of Chalcis, according to Le Quien, who, however, can assign only a proximate date, viz. before the eighth synod. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 214.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (168), Jacobite bishop of Euphemia in 541. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 324; Le Quien, ii. 1441.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (169), A.D. 603, bishop of Euria or Euroea in Epirus. Being compelled to retire from Euria by the barbarians, he took refuge in Corfu, and tried to assume episcopal jurisdiction over Cassiope, which was in the diocese of another bishop. But the metropolitan and Gregory the Great forbad this assumption, in spite of the consent of the emperor. (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 8, *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 1310; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 153; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 146; Ceillier, xi. 533.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES, of Faenza, *vid.* of Faventia.

JOANNES (170), the name of two supposed bishops of Faleriona (Falerone) in Picenum in the 6th century (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* iii. 661). On this town see Ughelli *Ital. Sac.* x. 91. [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (171), the name of three bishops of Faleria (Falere, Falaro) in Tuscany, a see removed to Civita Castellana in the 11th century (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* x. 91; Cappelletti, *Le Chies. d' Ital.* vi. 12, 69). One of them was present at the Roman synods of 595 and 601 (Mansi, ix. 1228, x. 488; Hefele, §§ 288, 289; cf. Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 114). The second was at the Roman synod of 679, under Agatho (Mansi, xi. 314, 776, one reading being "ecclesia Phalaritana," another "ecclesia Salernitana"). The third was at the Roman council of 743 (Mansi, xii. 367; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 743 xxv.; Hefele, § 364). [C. H.]

JOANNES (172), bishop of Faustinopolis, in the second Cappadocia; present both at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Quinisext synod A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 650, 677, 999; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 404.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (173), bishop of Faventia (Faenza), present at the Lateran synod under Stephen IV. in 769 (Mansi, xii. 715; Hefele, § 343). In Mansi the name of the see is Fentia. Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* ii. 491) does not reckon him, but Cappelletti does (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 246, 304). [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (174), bishop of Ferentino, near Anagni, c. 796. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vi. 401.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (175), bishop of Ferrara, 772, between Maurelius and Andrew II. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 26, 224).) For the earlier Johns of this series see under Vicohabentia. [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (176), bishop of Flavias in Cilicia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 144; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 900.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Foronovo or Vescovio, *vid.* of Vicosabina.

JOANNES (177), eighth bishop of Forum Julii (Fréjus) in Gams's *Series Episc.* (p. 551), about 521, but omitted from the *Gall. Christ.* (i. 423). (Mansi, viii. 337.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (178), bishop of Gabala, in Syria Prima. He took part in the proceedings of the council of Constantinople A.D. 536 (Mansi, *u.s.* 928, 936, 949, 976). Joannes seems to have been the author of an *In vitam et politiam Severi haeresiarchae*, the commencement of which was read at the council of Nice, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 183, 644; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 798.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (179), bishop of Gabala (Talaza) in Lydia; present at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787, where in the subscriptions he is called bishop of Abala or Tabala. (Mansi, xii. 996 D, 1102, xiii. 143, 370 A, 390; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 896.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (180), bishop of Gadara in Palestine, present at council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 943, where the reading is Gadira, vii. 141; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 597.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (181), a Gallic bishop, represented at the council of Arles, in 524. (Sirmond. *Concil. Gall.* i. 209; Mansi, viii. 627.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Gallipoli, *vid.* of Callipolis.

JOANNES (182), bishop of Gargara, in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, in A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 703.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (183), bishop of Gema, at the seventh synod, 787 (Mansi, xiii. 391). As the name corresponds in position with Joannes bishop of Etenna in other lists of the synod (cf. 735 E) Gema seems to be one of the numerous variations of Etenna. [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Genoa, *vid.* of Janua.

JOANNES (184), bishop of Germanicia in Commagene, one of the easterns who favoured Nestorius at the council of Ephesus in 431. (Mansi, v. 885; *Synod. adv. Trag. Iren.* c. 105). He did not accompany John of Antioch to Ephesus, but attended the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he signed the decrees as well as assented to Leo's tome (Mansi, vii. 27, 136; Leo. Mag. ep. 98 in *Patr. Lat.* liv. 963); at the eighth session he was compelled as a suspected person to pronounce a separate anathema on Nestorius (Mansi, vii. 193). There are extant two letters of Theodoret of Cyrus to him, in which a fuller correspondence is mentioned. (*Epp.* 133, 147, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxiii. 1221, 1275; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 940.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (185) BICLARENSIS, the author of a valuable chronicle of Hispano-Gothic affairs during the reigns of Leovigild and Recared, abbat of the monastery of Biclaro or Vallclara in Tarraconensis, and finally bishop of Gerona. All that we know of his life is derived (1) from the biography of him given by Isidore in the *de Viris Ill.* cap. xliv. (*Esp. Sagr.* v.); (2) from certain signatures to councils; (3) from one or two scattered phrases in his Chronicle.

(1) According to St. Isidore "Joannes Gerundensis Episcopus" was a Goth by birth, and born at Scalabis (Santarem) in Lusitania. About the age of eighteen or nineteen (cum esset adolescens) he went to Constantinople, there perfected himself in Greek and Latin learning, and returned to Spain after an absence of seventeen years, at a time when Arianism, under the guidance of Leovigild, was specially active. The king endeavoured to win him over, but finding him immoveable exiled him to Barcelona, where for *ten* years (see below) he suffered much persecution from the Arians of that town, of which we know UGNAS to have been the Arian bishop (C. Tol. III. Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. l. c.* ii. p. 226). Afterwards (*i.e.* after Leovigild's death in 586) he built the monastery of Biclaro in Tarraconensis, composing a Rule for his monks. "He added to the book of Chronicles (*i.e.* of Eusebius, Jerome and Victor Tunnunensis), from the first year of Justin the Younger to the eighth year of Maurice prince of the Romans and the fourth of king Recared, a truly useful history, well and elegantly composed, and he is said to be writing ('multa alia *scribere* dicitur,' according to Florez and Arevalo, others *scripsisse*) many other things which have not come to our knowledge."

(2) Among the signatures of the second council

of Saragossa (A.D. 592) is found plain "Joannes," without any bishopric attached, as is the case also with the other twelve signatures. That the Joannes of 592, however, is to be identified with the "Joannes peccator de Gerunda," whose signature appears among those of C. Barc. II. A.D. 599, is plain; first, from the comparative examination of the signatures of 592 with those of the famous conversion council of 589, and secondly, from the relative seniority of the Joannes of 592, and the "Joannes — de Gerunda" of 599 (conf. Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 356–360). Besides these two fairly established signatures of 592 and 599, the name Joannes appears in three somewhat doubtful documents; (*a*) the appendix to the Acts of C. Saragossa II., known as *de Fisco Barcinonensi, Era DCXXX.*, which, if genuine, throws a curious and valuable light on the powers of the bishops in the Gothic state (see, however, Dahn's objections, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. 397); (*b*) the *Decretum Gundemari*, of which a full discussion will be found under GUNTHIMAR; (*c*) the Acts of the Council of Egara, which are only found in one of the Council-MSS. (*Cod. Aemil.*), and certainly bear no convincing marks of genuineness (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 701).

(3) It is plain from his Chronicle that Joannes was still in Constantinople in the year 573. Under the seventh year of Justin and the fifth of Leovigild, he writes, "In regia urbe (Constantinople) mortalitas inguinalis plagae exardescit, in qua multa millia hominum *vidimus* defuisse." And from other evidence less direct it becomes extremely probable that he was there at least till the year 576. Such details as:— "(574) Hujus Tiberii Caesaris *die prima*, in Regia urbe inguinalis plaga sedata est," or after the victorious campaign of Justinian, "magister militum orientis," against Chosroes in 575, "exuviasque eorum pro triumpho Constantinopolim dirigit: xxiiii elephantos inter cetera, qui magnum spectaculum Romanis in urbe Regia exhibuerunt: praedae vero de manubiis Romanorum, Persarum multitudo ad nimiam vilitatem nummo publico venundatae sunt," which cannot be traced to any other known chronicles of the time, seem on the face of them to spring from personal knowledge, and to imply the reporter's residence at Constantinople during the time referred to.

The Dates of his Life.—Florez gives them as follows: his birth 540, his journey to Constantinople 558 or thereabouts, his return to Spain 575, his exile 575 or 576, the foundation of the monastery of Biclaro about 586, his appointment to the bishopric of Gerona 591, his appearance at C. Saragossa II. 592, at C. Barc. II. 599, at Toledo under Gunthimar 610, at Egara 614, and his death 621 or thereabouts. Our only evidence for the time of his death is deduced from San Ildefonso's statement about his successor Nonnitus (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. x.), who is said to have lived under Suinthila (621–631), and Sisenand (631–636), and who appears among the oldest bishops at C. Tol. iv. (633). The year 576 was chosen by Florez as that of Joannes' exile in order to fit the chronology of Isidore, according to whom Joannes was ten years at Barcelona, and it is of course not possible to protract the period of his exile beyond the year 586, the date of the death of Leovigild and the accession of Recared. In chronological matters, however, Isidore is never to be trusted implicitly, and, as Gams has already pointed out, we know of no persecution of the Catholics by Leovigild before 579, the date of the outbreak of Hermenigild's rebellion. Joannes was, in all probability, exiled in 580, when after the council of Arian bishops held at Toledo in that year, Leovigild made certain overtures to the Catholics, especially to their bishops and prominent men, whose varying success is described both by Joannes (A.D. ann. 580) and Isidore (*Hist. Goth. Esp. Sagr.* vi 491). Joannes resisted the "seductio" to which others, notably the bishop VINCENT of Saragossa, succumbed, and was then no doubt exiled to Barcelona, one of the western coast towns which, to judge from the conciliar data of the time, were, together with the newly filled Suevian sees, the strongholds of Gothic Arianism under Leovigild.

His *Chronicle* embraces twenty-three years from 567 to 589, both inclusive. Florez's conclusion that it was finished in the year 590 is upset by a careful scrutiny of the Chronicle itself. Görres (*Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, 1873, i. p. 95) has shewn it was written at earliest in the year 604. The last year of the emperor Maurice (d. 602) and that of Gregory the Great (d. 604) are both mentioned in the text under "Anno vi. Tib. Leovigildi an. xiv." and "Anno v. Mauric. Recaredi a. i." On the other hand it must have been written *before* the year 610, in or about which St. Isidore finished the *De Viris Illustribus*.

The Chronicle was intended, as we have already stated, and as Joannes informs us in his brief preface, to serve as a continuation to Victor Tunnunensis (the African chronicler so largely used by Isidore in his Chronicle and in the Histories), and to complete the series of chronicles bearing the names of Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, and Victor, which with Idatius, Orosius, and a few others (see analysis of Isidore's sources in the Histories, art. ISIDORE), formed the historical library of the literary Spaniard of his day. The Spanish era so common in Isidore, but which appears before Isidore in only two passages of Idatius, is not once mentioned by Joannes. In fact up to the reign of Recared, Joannes writes not merely from the Catholic, but it may almost be said from the East Roman standpoint. In spite of his Gothic descent, up to the year 589, there are but few traces in his work of any special patriotic interest in Spanish affairs, and none of any distinctively Gothic feeling. To him Constantinople is always the "urbs regia," whereas throughout the 7th century, unless within the actual boundaries of the East-Roman possessions, the title represented Toledo only to a native of the peninsula; and the Visigothic kingdom is still dependent on the *foedus* with Rome, now represented by the heir Byzantium, which made the foundation of the kingdom of Toulouse. [See art. WALJA.] This attitude indeed changes greatly with the accession of Recared, with whom a new order of things began for the Catholics, and in correspondence with facts should have changed earlier had Joannes' church feeling allowed it. For it was Leovigild who, towards the end of his successful reign, had finally done away with the remnants of nominal dependence on the empire left by Euric, as is abundantly proved by the history of his coinage

recently unravelled by the French scholar Alois Heiss (*Description des Monnaies des Rois Visigoths d'Espagne*, p. 80, Paris, 1874; conf. *Forschungen z. Deutsch. Gesch.* xiii. p. 635). To his political success, however, in extending the boundaries and reviving the prestige of the Gothic state, Recared was to add a social success, and by the relinquishment of Arianism, and the great act of the conversion council, was to bring about a fusion between Goths and Romans undreamt of by his predecessors. Thenceforward there is no further idea of dependence on the empire for the Gothic state; rather Goth and Roman alike are united in their efforts to dislodge the imperialists from their last foothold within the peninsula. From the reign of Recared to about the middle of the 7th century a national feeling existed in Spain, such as had never existed there before, and which was not to reappear there for hundreds of years. Of this change of view on the part of the Catholic subjects of the Gothic state, which we find fully developed in Isidore, Joannes' younger contemporary, Joannes' narrative of Recared's first three years is an early and excellent indication. His history of Leovigild, especially of the Hermenigild revolt, is marked by singular fairness and impartiality, the ability of the great Arian king having evidently excited in him an unwilling admiration. But the dry precision of narrative in which Leovigild's campaigns had been described, gives place to a very different tone with the accession of Recared. Leovigild's annexation of Gallicia and the campaign against the Franks which occupied his last years [see art. LEOVIGILD] are told without a word of comment, but Recared's successful repulse of the Frankish attack in 588 is thus made use of. "In this battle, therefore, the divine grace and the Catholic faith which king Recared and the Goths had faithfully received are known to have operated. For God gives the victory without difficulty to whom He will whether to few or to many. Thus the dux Claudius with scarcely 300 men is known to have put to flight almost 60,000 Franks and to have slain the greater part of them with the sword. Not without cause is God praised in our times for His operation in this battle, who in like manner in old times destroyed many thousands of Midianites by the hand of Gideon and his 300 men."

Joannes' account of the conversion council and his reflection on it have a special interest, as one of the two or three contemporary records by a keenly interested witness of the church's final triumph, her formal triumph at least, over Gothic Arianism. One other Teutonic nation, the Lombards, had still to make its submission, but Joannes, whose notices of Italian affairs are throughout vague and fragmentary, takes no notice of this in his triumphant review of the situation. It is mournfully characteristic of the later course of Gothic history that Joannes is not able to close his Chronicle with this paean of triumph and of peace. The last section of his history is taken up with the history of one of those intrigues of the Gothic nobles which typify the chronic weakness and disunion of the Hispano-Gothic state.

For an account of the exact position of the monastery of Biclaro as far as it has yet been made out, see *Esq. Sagr.* vi. 360, and the more recent *Esp. Sagr.* xliii. 52.

The editio princeps of Joannes Biclarensis is that by Canisius, published at Ingolstadt, 1600. For a list of others see Potthast, *Bibl. Hist.*; compare also Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* i. lib. iv. cap. v.; R. de Castro, *Bibl. Española*, ii. 288; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2) p. 59; Görres, *l. c.*; Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, i. p. 554. For a characteristically old-Spanish account of Joannes Biclarensis see Roig, *Historia de Gerona*, 1678, p. 262. [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (186), Nestorian bishop of Gondisapor (or Lapetha) cir. 630 (Le Quien. ii. 1182). A later John of this see became catholicos. [JOANNES (368).] [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Gordus *vid.* of Proconnesus.

JOANNES (187), bishop of Gortyna in Crete, to whom Gregory the Great addressed an epistle in the year 598. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 259; *Epist.* S. Gregor. Magn. ap. Migne, lxxvii. 909, and Grat. dist. 52, c. 1.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (188), bishop of Gothia, during the reign of Constantine Copronymus. After the death of Constantine he visited Constantinople, and on returning to his country he was seized by the Chazars. He managed to escape from them, and crossing the sea took up his residence at Amastris on the coast of Paphlagonia, where he died. He was represented at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. He is commemorated by the Greeks on June 26. (Basil, *Menol.* iii. 143; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 190; Mansi, xiii. 137; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1243.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (189), patriarch of Grado, appears to have succeeded Vitalianus, c. A.D. 766. In A.D. 802, he refused to consecrate to the bishopric of Olivola a Greek named Christophorus, who had been chosen to that see at the instance of John, duke of Venice. The duke led a fleet to Grado, took it, and put the patriarch to death by throwing him from the top of a tower. (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* 802, 10.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (190), patriarch of Grado, elected cir. 803 on the retirement of Fortunatus into France. [FORTUNATUS (27).] He was previously abbat of St. Servulus. After holding the see four years he was deposed by a synod. (Ughelli, v. 1096; Cappelletti, ix. 37, 102; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 806 x.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (191), bishop of Gummi in Byzacene, present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 215; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 176; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 648.) [H. W. P.]

JOANNES (192), Nestorian bishop of Haditha in the 8th century. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 431; Le Quien, ii. 1225.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (193), bishop of Hadriani or Hadrianopolis, a city of the Hellespont according to the Greek text of the council, but according to the Latin (which must here be right) in Bithynia; present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 626; Mansi, xi. 649.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (194), bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thracia, present at the fifth general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 175; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1173.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES bishop of Haran, *vid.* of Charrae: bishop of Haura, *vid.* of Syrian Jacobites: bishop of Hectorius, *vid.* of Stectorius.

JOANNES (195), bishop of Helenopolis (Drepanum) in Bithynia; present at the Quinisext synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 996; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 624.) [L. D.]

JOANNES of Heliopolis, *vid.* of Juliopolis.

JOANNES (196), bishop of Hephaestus in Egypt, in the province of Augustamnica Prima. He attended the Ephesine *Latrocinium*, A.D. 449 (Mansi, vi. 923 A, 933 B). He had previously taken part in the third general council at Ephesus. (Mansi, iv. 1219; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 547.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (197) I., bishop of Heraclea and metropolitan of Thracia, replies to the letter of Leo concerning the death of Proterius, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1107.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (198) II., bishop of Heraclea and metropolitan of Thracia. He had been elected emperor, but disqualified by being forced to enter orders. (Victor Tun. *Chron.* in the *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 952.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (199), bishop of Heraclea Ponti in the province of Honorias next Paphlagonia, present at the seventh general council (second Nicene), A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 997 A, 1104, xiii. 145, 370 D, 391; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 573.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (200), bishop of Heracliopolis (Pidachthoë) in lesser Armenia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 647, 673, 694; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 438.) [L.D.]

JOANNES (201) BEVERLACENSIS (ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY), bishop of Hexham and York in the 7th and 8th centuries, is said to have been born at Harpham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and to have been the child of noble parents. In early life he was under the charge of archbishop Theodore, who educated him and gave him his name of John (Stubbs, col. 1692; Lelandi *Coll.* iv. 100). After this he became one of the pupils of Hilda at Whitby (Bede, iv. 23; Wendover, i. 107; *Vita S. Beg.* 157), but not of Elfleda also, as some assert (Folcard, *V. S. Joh.* c. i.; Stubbs, 1962). John was claimed by the University of Oxford as an alumnus, his figure appearing as a Fellow in one of the old windows of the chapel at University College (Smith, *Annals*, 129), and in another window, at Salisbury cathedral, as the first Master of Arts at Oxford (Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 497). There was of course no university at Oxford at all at that time, and there is no authority therefore for the appropriation of John (Twyni *Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* 169; Caius, *de Antiq. Univ. Cant.* i. 106; Wood, *Antiq. Univ. Oxf.* i. 28; and *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* iv. 37–8).

John was a man of learning, and hence the zeal of the pedigree-makers of the University of Oxford in an after day to connect him with that place. As a preacher and an instructor, John had a great reputation and success. In the exposition of the Scriptures, in history, and in other subjects, he was a skilful student and teacher. He had generally a number of pupils under his charge. Among these at one time was Bede, whom he afterwards admitted to holy orders. Bede gives us the only authentic account of his master that we possess. (Folcard, c. 2; Stubbs, col. 1692; Bede, iv. 23, 29; v. 2, &c.)

The zeal and learning of John, and his connexion with Theodore, would stand him in good stead at the Northumbrian court. It was probably owing to king Aldfrid that John was made bishop of Hexham in A.D. 687, during the many changes of that time. There are some chronological speculations connected with this appointment, into which it is unnecessary to enter (cf. *Fasti Ebor.* i. 85–6). With Hexham John was already acquainted. He had lived for some time an ascetic life at a place called Herneshou, or Harneshalg (Erne = eagle), on the opposite bank of the Tyne, where he afterwards constructed a church in honour of St. Michael. This is, I believe, St. John's Lee, a beautifully wooded mound, across the river, and at a short distance from Hexham. It was here that St. John was afterwards accustomed to pass the season of Lent in solitude and prayer. The sick and the needy pursued him, and it was from among them that he picked out the deaf and dumb youth whom he is said to have cured (Beda, v. 2; Folcard, cap. 4, &c.).

John was bishop of Hexham eighteen years. In A.D. 705, on the death of Bosa, he was translated to York. We know, unfortunately, very little of what he did in Yorkshire. We hear of his diligence in visiting monasteries, attending to the poor, and consecrating churches. He seems also to have been a favourite with king Osred and his nobles. But throughout his life he never neglected his studies and his devotions. When he was in York, the church of St. Michael the archangel (probably the modern Belfrey church), which was close to his residence, was the place which he sought for secret intercession and prayer. Like his master, Theodore, he had always a little company of pupils under his charge. Among these, at various times, were Bede, St. Sigga, Bercthune and Herebald, abbats of Beverley and Tynemouth, and Wilfrid, who succeeded him in his bishopric (Folcard, c. 5, &c.). The following works are ascribed to John by Bale: *Pro Luca Exponendo*, lib. i.; *Homeliae Evangeliorum*, lib. i.; *ad Hyldam Abbatissam*, lib. i.; *ad Herebaldum Discipulum*, Epist. i.; *ad Audoenum et Bertinum*, Epist. ii. et alia (*Scrr. Brit.* cent. i. 89). Whether this ascription is accurate or not, I have no opportunity of discovering.

John seems to have been a quiet, amiable man, who, although practically in opposition to Wilfrid, still continued to keep himself clear of the heats of partisanship, and it was probably owing to his gentleness that the friends of Wilfrid did not parade his name for abuse or censure. John had also, like other prelates of his time, a leaning towards asceticism, and as his years increased the attachment became stronger. During his wanderings in the East Riding he observed a place called Inderawood, a land of wild forest and waters, interspersed with green pasture lands, to which a later age has given the name of Beverley, from the beavers, as it is said, which

then sported in the waters of the Hull. A little church was there already, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Fascinated by the beauty of the position, John became its owner. He added a choir to the church, and converted it into a house of monks, whilst, on the south side, he built a nunnery in honour of St. Martin, thus constructing what was called a twin monastery. He endowed the place as well, purchasing for it lands in Ridings, Welwick, Bilton, and Patrington. The neighbouring nobles assisted him, and Inderawood became, even in its founder's time, an important ecclesiastical centre. To this place, which had become dear to him, John retired in A.D. 718, resigning his see to his friend and pupil, Wilfrid II. Bercthune, another favourite scholar, was the abbat of Beverley. John stayed with him for the remainder of his life, intent upon his religious exercises, and dying there on May 7, 721, was buried in St. Peter's porch. (Bede, v. 6; Folcard, c. 13; Lel. *Coll.* iv. 100; Dugd. *Mon.* ii. 127; *Sanctuar. Dunelm. and Beverlac.* 98, &c.)

The church of Beverley adopted John as its patron saint—indeed he is generally called St. John of Beverley. His remains were placed above ground in a feretory of wood beautifully carved. In A.D. 1037 John was canonized by Benedict IX., and Elfric, archbishop of York, translated his body and deposited it in a shrine ornamented with precious metals and stones (Stubbs, col. 1700; Lelandi *Coll.* iv. 102). Exactly 150 years after this the minster of Beverley was destroyed by fire, which resulted in the construction of a new shrine and a fresh translation of John's remains in the year A.D. 1198. These were discovered in 1664 under a marble stone, at the entrance into the choir, with an inscription on a leaden plate, and they were again seen so late as 1736 (Dugdale, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 22; Thoresby, *Diary*, ii. 434; Wood, *Life*, ed. Bliss, 140; Poulson, *Beverlac.* 666, 681).

John was regarded as one of the principal saints in the north of England. A special sanctity seemed to belong to him during his life, and to have been still greater after his decease. His shrine is said to have possessed extraordinary curative powers, and a sweet oil to have flowed from his tomb (Archbp. Kempe's register *sub anno* 1443; *Fasti Ebor.* i. 90). In the 9th century Beverley was fortunate enough to find a conspicuous benefactor in Athelstan, who halted there on his way to Scotland, and made great promises of what he would do if victory attended his arms. When he returned in triumph, his promise was nobly kept. He is said to have founded at Beverley a college of secular canons, and to have endowed it with lands in Lockington and Brandesburton. He bestowed also upon the place the privilege of sanctuary, which became of great repute, as may be seen in one of the registers which has been preserved (published by the Surtees Soc.). A mythical portrait of Athelstan still exists at Beverley, holding in his hand his charter of franchise, with the words

"Als fre make I thee
As hert may theak,
Or eghe may see."

(*Mirac. S. Joh.* ed. M. R. 263–4; Lel. *Coll.* iv. 101–2; *Codex Dipl.* ii. 186; *Foedera*, viii. 369). The honours which Athelstan paid to Beverley were confirmed and added to by his successors. Edward the Confessor was a benefactor to the minster, and William I. and Stephen were prevented, it is alleged, by miraculous interposition from plundering the district, and the Conqueror became afterwards its friend (Folcard, *et app.* 264–9; Lel. *Coll.* iv. 102–3). John paid a visit to the place and increased its privileges (Poulson, *Beverlac.* 63, 537). Edward I. took St. John's banner with him to the Scottish war, to assist him to victory, and visited Beverley more than once to make his offerings at the shrine (*Liber Garderobæ*, 27; Triveti *Ann.* 321). Henry IV. also came to Beverley (*Foedera*, viii. 369), but it was in the time of his son that the minster obtained its highest distinction. The great victory of Agincourt was won on October 25, the day of the translation of St. John's remains, and the delighted conqueror ascribed his success to the saint's intercession. To shew his gratitude, he made a pilgrimage to Beverley with his queen, and it was by a special order of archbishop Chicheley that St. John's death-day, May 7, was to be observed for the future as a distinguished festival (*Foedera*, ix. 421; Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 176; Dugd. *Mon.* ii. 166; Poulson, 595; Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, ed. 1679, p. 70).

The chief and most trustworthy biographer of John is his pupil Bede, whose account (*H. E.* iv. 23, 29; v. 2, &c.) has been merely expanded by every subsequent writer. In the middle of the 11th century Aldred, archbishop of York, a great friend to Beverley, prevailed upon Folcard, a monk of Canterbury and afterwards of Thorney, to compose a Life of St. John, which he did in thirteen chapters. The style is pleasing enough, but in the matter there is little new. This Life is printed in the *Acta SS.* Boll. (7 Mai. ii, 168), and in the York historians, in the Rolls Series, i. 239, et seqq. In the same volume there are some other historical and liturgical pieces referring to John, but of trifling value. (See also Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 423–430.) [J. R.]

JOANNES (**202**), metropolitan, bishop of the Euphratesian Hierapolis (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 927). At the provincial synod held at Antioch circ. 445, John, as the successor of Panolbius, was directed to consecrate a new bishop for Perrha in the room of Athanasius bishop of Perrha. [ATHANASIUS (3).] (Mansi, vi. 465; Ceillier, x. 666.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES, of Himerium, *vid.* of Ammoria.

JOANNES (**203**), two bishops of Hirta, one a Jacobite, 617–650, the other, surnamed AZRAK or CAERULEUS, a Nestorian and a writer, cir. 726. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 425, 429, iii. 158, 182, 616; Le Quien, ii. 1171, 1172, 1585.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, (**204**) bishop of Hormuzd-Ardashir in Chuzistan, martyr in Persia under Sapor II. (Wright's *Syr. Mart.*, in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 431.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (**205**), surnamed Montanus, the first known bishop of Horta (Orte in Etruria), c. A.D. 330. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 734: Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vi. 26.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (206), bishop of Hydruntum (Otranto) in 680. (Mansi, xi. 299; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (207), bishop of Hyrcania in Lydia, who, with Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, was the cause of the synod assembled at Constantinople by Flavian, A.D. 448, on account of a dispute between them and their metropolitan, Florentius of Sardis (Mansi, vi. 652); at this synod he subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches. He subscribed the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 572; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 887.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (208), an Italian bishop, but of what see is unknown (Baronius, s.a. 519 ii.), one of five legates sent by Hormisdas bishop of Rome to Constantinople, to negotiate the reconciliation of East and West, A.D. 519, at the request of the emperor Justin I. (*Ep. Justin. ad Hormisd.* Labbe, iv. 1470). See HORMISDAS, GERMANUS (16), MAXENTIUS. (Labbe, iv. 1484, 1485, 1487, 1488, 1495, 1496, 1501, 1503, 1507, 1510, 1512, 1513, 1515, 1519, 1521, 1529.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (209), bishop of Iconium (Cogni), the metropolis of Lycaonia, consecrated cir. A.D. 375. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1069; Metaphr. *Addenda*, Nov. 23, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.* cxvi. 937.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (210), bishop of Ilium, proxy for his metropolitan, Euprepius of Cyzicus, at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 389; De Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 777.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Imerium, *vid.* of Ammoria; bishop of Interamna, *vid.* of Narnia.

JOANNES (211), ST., mentioned in the *Menaea* under Feb. 4, as bishop of Irenopolis, present at the first general council, A.D. 325. In the conciliar lists of the Nicene fathers (Mansi, ii. 694, 699) the bishop of Irenopolis in Cilicia is Narcissus. Le Quien in consequence assigns the Irenopolis of John to Isauria. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Feb. i. 466; Wiltsch, *Handbuch der kirchl. Geogr.* i. 203; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1029.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (212), bishop of Irenopolis in Cilicia, near the river Calycadnus. He was one of the Monophysite bishops removed by the emperor Justin in the year A.D. 518. (Assem. *Dissert. de Monophys.* in *Bibl. Or.* ii. 3; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 900.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, Italian bishops, *vid.* of Ancona and of Nepi.

JOANNES (213), bishop of Janua (Genoa) in 680. (Mansi, xi. 307; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 841; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 283, 417.) There is said to have been a John bishop of Genoa c. A.D. 742 or 752 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 282, 417; Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 815), but he is omitted by Ughelli. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (214), bishop of Jericho in A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 655.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (215) I., seventh bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 5, *Chron.* Ann. 111). Among six bishops enumerated in the *Chronicon* as sitting in about fourteen years, commencing in 111 after Justus, John stands fourth. Eusebius could ascertain nothing of them but their names and succession. See also Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxvi. 20, Boll. (*Acta SS.* Mai. iii. introd. p. vi.), Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* iii. 101), Clinton (*F. R.* ii. 556), Tillemont (*Mém.* ii. 189). Papebroch also treats of John as a saint, commemorated on June 7 (Boll. Jun. ii. 4). [C. H.]

JOANNES (216) II., bishop of Jerusalem from 386 to 417, in succession to Cyril; a prelate whom being known to us chiefly through the invectives of Jerome, it is particularly difficult to estimate. Imbued with that tendency of the Eastern church teachers which formed their chief difference from those of the Western church, he with difficulty brought himself to acquiesce in the condemnation of Origenism or to take any steps against Pelagius, with whom he was brought in contact at the close of his episcopacy. And the presence of Jerome and other immigrants from Italy, and the anti-Origenistic vehemence of Epiphanius of Salamis and Theophilus of Alexandria, made it impossible for him to escape the reproach of laxity and, indeed, at times of heresy.

He was born between the years 350 and 356 (Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxii. 8, ed. Vall.), and when a young man passed some time among the monks of Nitria in Egypt. There he, no doubt, imbibed his affection for Origen's teaching, and there he probably became acquainted with two persons who subsequently had much to do both with his own history and with that of the Orgienistic controversy, the monk Isidore (one of the Long Monks) and Rufinus. During the troublous times before the accession of Theodosius, when Arianism was in the ascendant, he declines, if we are to believe Jerome (*Cont. Joan. Jerus.* 4) to communicate with the orthodox bishops who were exiled by Valens. But no imputation of Arianism rests upon him. He was evidently esteemed very highly. He was a man of great eloquence (Jerome, *Cont. Joan. Jerus.* 41) and subtlety of mind, whom his flatterers did not scruple to compare with Chrysippus, Plato, and Demosthenes (*id.* 4); and he was little more than thirty years old (Jer. *Ep.* lxxxii. 8, ed. Vall.) when he was chosen to succeed Cyril in the bishopric of Jerusalem. It was a see of great importance, subject in certain respects to the metropolitan at Caesarea, but acting at times independently; of great wealth, being enriched, as Jerome says, by the wealth of the whole world (*Cont. Joan. Jerus.* 14); and of great interest on account of its holy places, which were visited by pilgrims from all parts. It had also a special interest from the settlements of distinguished persons from the West, which made it during his episcopate a focus of Christian and literary activity, and with two of which, that of Rufinus and Melania in the Mount of Olives, and that of Jerome and Paula at Bethlehem, he was destined to have close but dissimilar relations. Jerome accuses the bishop of making a gain of his bishopric and living in luxury (*Comm. in Joann.* c. 14 and *Ep.* lvii. 12); but this may be no more than the common

feeling of the monk against the bishop, embittered by momentary resentment. It is certain that the clergy of Jerusalem were attached to him. Rufinus, thought it a sufficient defence of his own faith to say that what he taught was that which was preached in the church of God at Jerusalem by the holy bishop John (Ruf. *Apol.* i. 13). But the most important testimony to him is that given by the pope Anastasius, in a letter to him in the year 401, a time when the adversaries of John, Pammachius and Marcella, had access to the pope, and only two or three years after Jerome's Philippic was composed, Anastasius speaks of the splendour of his holiness and of his divine virtues; his eminence and his praise, he says, are so conspicuous that he cannot find words equal to his merits. He accounts it an honour to have received praise from one of so serene and heavenly a disposition, the splendour of whose episcopate shines throughout the world. (This letter is given in Vallarsi's Rufinus, p. 408, 409; Migne's Patr. vol. xxi.) This testimony must be weighed against the adverse statements of Epiphanius and Jerome in their quarrel with him.

At the time of his becoming bishop of Jerusalem in 386, Rufinus had already been settled on the Mount of Olives some nine years, and Jerome and his friends were just entering on their work at Bethlehem. At first, while they were friends, he lived in impartial friendship with them both, seeking out especially that of Jerome ("nos suo arbitrio diligebat," Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxii. 11, ed. Vall.), and making use of Rufinus, whom he ordained, as a learned man, in business which required his special talents. But their peace was after some six years disturbed. A certain person named Aterbius (Jerome, *Cont. Ruf.* iii. 33), who by his officious insinuations and imputations of Origenistic heresy caused the first breach between Jerome and Rufinus, had, no doubt, some dealings with the bishop also; and it is probably through him that the suspicions of Epiphanius, the venerable bishop of Salamis, were aroused. When, therefore, Epiphanius came to Jerusalem in the year 394, the strife broke out. For an account of the origin and progress of the controversy, see EPIPHANIUS (1) and HIERONYMUS (2).

During the dispute between Jerome and Rufinus, John in no way intervened. He is thought by Zöckler (*Hieronymus*, p. 249) to have inclined rather to the side of Jerome. We certainly find Jerome, in a letter to Theophilus, in commendation of his encyclical (*Ep.* 86, ed. Vall.), pleading for his bishop. John had accepted a person who had come to Jerusalem from Alexandria, and who was under the ban of Theophilus, and thus had incurred the wrath of that fierce prelate which, in a similar matter, four years afterwards, proved fatal to St. Chrysostom; but Jerome represented that Theophilus had sent no letters condemnatory of this person, and that it would be a rash proceeding to condemn John for a supposed fault which was committed in ignorance. As regards Rufinus, John wrote a letter to the pope Anastasius, the exact tenor of which can be only dimly inferred from the pope's reply, which alone is extant. John would seem to have been less anxious to defend Rufinus than to secure that he should not himself be implicated in the charges thrown out against Rufinus by Jerome's friends at Rome. The pope, with the most fulsome expressions of esteem for John, bids him put all such fears away, and judge Rufinus for himself. He professes to know nothing about Origen, not even who he was, while yet he has condemned his opinions; and as to Rufinus, he only says that, if his translation of the works of Origen implies an acceptance of his opinions (a matter which he leaves to his own conscience) he must see where he can procure absolution. That John was not then in familiar communication with Rufinus, but that he was on those terms with Jerome, may be inferred from the fact that in his controversy with Rufinus, Jerome made use of this letter (*Cont. Ruf.* ii. 14), while Rufinus did not know of its existence, and, when he heard of it, treated it as an invention of Jerome (Jerome, *Cont. Ruf.* iii. 20). The reconciliation of John with the monks of Bethlehem is further attested by Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* i. 8), who had stayed for six months at Bethlehem, and who says that John had entrusted to Jerome and his brother the charge of the parish of Bethlehem.

Beyond this testimony of Sulpicius and a letter from Chrysostom to John in 404 (Migne's *Patr. Gr.* vol. lii.), which shews that he had taken Chrysostom's part, we hear nothing more of John for some twelve or thirteen years, when the Pelagian controversy brings him once more to view. Pelagius and Coelestius, having come to Palestine in the year 415 and proceeded to Jerusalem, were encountered by Orosius, the friend of Augustine, who had come to visit Jerome, and afterwards by the Gaulish bishops Heros and Lazarus. Orosius, who gives an account of these transactions in the first nine chapters of his *Liber de Arbitrii Libertate*, addressed himself to John, as did also Pelagius; but John was not willing to accept without inquiry the decrees of the council of Carthage, and resented their being pressed upon him by Orosius. The two parties were in secret conflict for some time, till John determined on holding a synod, to put an end to the strife, on July 28, 415. At this synod John was the only bishop present; the rest were presbyters and laymen. He shewed some consideration towards Pelagius, allowing him, though a layman, to take his place among the presbyters; and when there was a clamour against Pelagius for shewing disrespect for the name and authority of Augustine, John, by saying, "I am Augustine," undertook both to ensure respect to that great teacher, and not to allow his authority to be pressed too far against his antagonist. "If," cried Orosius, "you represent Augustine, follow Augustine's judgment." John thereupon asked him if he was ready to become the accuser of Pelagius, but Orosius declined this duty, saying that Pelagius had been condemned by the African bishops, whose decisions the bishop of Jerusalem ought to accept. The proceedings were somewhat confused from the necessity of employing an interpreter. In the end it was determined to send a letter to the pope Innocentius, and to abide by his judgment, and meanwhile John imposed silence upon both parties. But this satisfied neither. The opinions of Pelagius continued to be spread by private intercourse, and Augustine wrote to remonstrate with John against the

toleration of heresy. On the arrival of the Gaulish bishops Heros and Lazarus, another synod was held at Diospolis (416) under the presidency of Euzoius the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, in which John again took part. Augustine in his work against Julianus records the decision of this council, which was favourable to Pelagius, but considers that his acquittal was due to the uncertainties occasioned by the difference of language, which enabled Pelagius to express himself in seemingly orthodox words; and both in this work and in his letter to John he treats him as a brother bishop whom he holds in high esteem.

Meanwhile the more intemperate partisans of Pelagius resorted to open violence. The dialogue of Jerome against the Pelagians, though mild in its language compared with his other controversial works, incensed them to madness, and they proceeded to attack and burn the monasteries of Bethlehem. What the attitude of John at this time may have been cannot be affirmed with any certainty. That he was in any way an accomplice in such proceedings is incredible. Nothing of the sort appears from the letters of Jerome, though he speaks in a resigned manner of his losses. The only allusion to John, and that a doubtful one, in his writings at this time is contained in the preface to the fifth book of his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, where he says, "Hananiah the son of Azur fights against Jeremiah, and Shemaiah wishes the prophet to be sent to prison, and Zephaniah the priest assents to the words of the false prophets." But this allusion, if it be such, may only indicate a passing resentment against the conduct of John in the synod of Jerusalem. The words of Jerome to Augustine (*Ep.* 142), "Capta Jerusalem tenetur a Nebuchodonosor," are of a later date and can hardly apply to John. The complaints, however, of the ill-treatment of Jerome and of the Roman ladies at Bethlehem reached the ears of pope Innocent, and he thereupon wrote to John a letter (*In Jerome*, ep. 137, ed. Vall.) of sharp rebuke. He does not imply that John had been accessory to the violence used; but, considering that a bishop ought to be able to prevent such acts, or at least to relieve their consequences, he bids him take care that no further violence is done, lest the laws of the church should be put in force against him. It is right to say that the view here taken of these transactions, which agrees with that of Zöckler (*Hieronymus*, pp. 310–316), is contrary to that of Thierry (*St. Jerome*, book xii. ch. iii.), who looks upon John as a partisan of Pelagius, and as the enemy of Jerome to the end.

But John was now at the close of his career. It is possible that the letter of Innocentius never reached him, for it can hardly have been written, as Vallarsi shews (preface to Jerome, sub litt. cxxxv.–viii.), before the year 417, and John died (see Ceillier, vii. 497, &c.) on the 10th of January in that year. It is possible therefore that, after a troubled episcopate of thirty years and a life of from sixty to sixty-five years, failing health may have prevented his exercising full control in this last and most painful episode of his career.

Several works are attributed to him, as may be seen in Ceillier (vii. 97, &c.), and Gennadius (30) mentions a work which he wrote in his own defence; but no work of his has come down to us. His name must, therefore, always be viewed through the medium of other, mostly hostile, writers, and through the mists of controversy. An attempt was made by Wastel to attach to John several anonymous writings, a treatise on early monasticism, Comm. on Job and Matt., and Homilies. He also gives John the additional names of Nepos Sylvanus, and defends him by impugning the letters of Jerome and the treatise of Orosius. The work seems absolutely devoid of foundation, and no one has been convinced by it. (Wastelius, *Vindiciae*, &c., Brussels, 1643.)
[W. H. F.]

JOANNES (217) III., bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 513–524. He was the son of Marcianus, who was made by Elias presbyter of the Anastasis, and afterwards bishop of Sebaste. John's brother Antony was also ordained bishop of Ascalon, and John himself deacon of the Anastasis (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sab.* c. 37). On the banishment of Elias by Anastasius, John was forcibly thrust into his episcopal seat by Olympius the prefect of Palestine, on his engaging to receive Severus into communion and anathematize the decrees of the council of Chalcedon (*ibid.* c. 56). Such an engagement awoke the orthodox zeal of St. Sabas and the other fathers of the Desert, who successfully used their influence with the new-made bishop to prevent the fulfilment of the compact, which Olympius wanted sufficient firmness to enforce. Intelligence of the failure of his project having reached Constantinople, Anastasius in hot wrath recalled Olympius and despatched in his room a namesake of his own, one Anastasius, who, coveting the dignity enjoyed by Olympius, had offered to forfeit three hundred pounds of gold, if he failed to induce John to fulfil his agreement, A.D. 517. Not having much confidence in milder measures, Anastasius surprised the unsuspicious bishop, and threw him into the common prison, until he should fulfil his promise. This step delighted the populace of Jerusalem, who regarded John with abhorrence as having obtained Elias's seat by fraud. One of the leading men of Caesarea, Zacharias by name, gaining a secret interview with the imprisoned bishop, persuaded him to feign assent to Anastasius' requirements, and to promise him that if he would release him from prison, he would, on the following Sunday, publicly signify his agreement to the original conditions. Anastasius, believing John's professions, liberated him. The following Sunday a vast concourse assembled, including as many as ten thousand monks. Anastasius was present with his officials to receive the expected act of submission. All being assembled, John, having ascended the ambo, supported on either side by Theodosius and Sabas the leaders of the monastic party, was received with vociferous shouts, "Anathematize the heretics;" "Confirm the synod," which lasted for some hours. When at last silence was secured, John and his two companions pronounced a joint anathema on Nestorius, Eutyches, Soterichus of the Cappadocian Caesarea, and all who rejected the decrees of Chalcedon. Anastasius, though utterly unprepared for this open violation of the compact, was too much terrified at the vast and turbulent multitude, evidently prepared for any deed of violence, to venture on remonstrance, and hastily

made his escape to Caesarea. The emperor, driven to fury at hearing of this audacious contempt of his authority, declared his intention to punish with banishment the three who had thus mocked him (*ibid.* c. 57). Anastasius, however, had too much on his hands to pay much attention to the ecclesiastical disputes at Jerusalem, and John was allowed to go unpunished. The death of Anastasius in A.D. 518, and the succession of Justin, changed the whole complexion of affairs. Orthodoxy was now in the ascendant. The patriarch of Constantinople, John of Cappadocia, who had previously acquiesced in all Anastasius's measures, now, at the demand of the rabble, publicly anathematized Severus, and declared his acceptance of Chalcedon. The whole East followed the example of the capital, and became orthodox with the orthodox emperor. John could now, without fear of consequences, summon his synod to utter the same anathemas, and make the same profession of faith with his brother patriarch in the imperial city, and was rewarded for his compliance by being received into communion with the apostolical see by pope Hormisdas, at the written request of Justin (*ibid.* c. 60). John died 524 A.D., after an episcopate of eleven years, during the earlier part of which, while Elias was still alive, he was regarded by the orthodox as an intruder. (Theophan. *Chronogr.* p. 136; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* xvi. 721; Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre xxxi. ch. 27–28; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 185.) [E. V.]

JOANNES (218) IV., bishop of Jerusalem, succeeded Macarius at the close of 574 A.D. (Evagr. *H. E.* v. 16; Baronius, 561. i.). He had been brought up in a monastery of the Acoemetae. Nicephimus assigns 22 years to his episcopate; Theophanes only 20. He was still exercising his office when Evagrius was finishing his history, A.D. 593 (Evagr. *H. E.* vi. 24). The one event recorded of his episcopate is the discovery at Zafad, which is said to signify Joppa, of the seamless coat of Christ, and its solemn translation by him, assisted by Gregory of Antioch, and John the Faster of Constantinople, to Jerusalem, where it was deposited in the marble chest in which it had been found, in the same church in which the True Cross was adored. This event is placed by Fredegarius in his *Chronicon*, printed in the works of Gregory of Tours (p. 600), in the year 590 A.D. He erroneously names the bishop of Jerusalem Thomas, instead of John. (See Ruinart, *Annot. ad Glor. Martyr.* i. 8.) [E. V.]

JOANNES (219) V., bishop of Jerusalem. According to Theophanes (*Chronogr.*) John was appointed to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had then been without a bishop for sixty years, in 705 A.D., and exercised the episcopate for thirty years till 735 A.D. John of Damascus, in a letter to the archimandrite Jordanes, loads him with complimentary epithets, stating that he had been his disciple, and that no one knew him better than he, or drank more deeply into his spirit. He denies the assertion reflecting on John's orthodoxy, that he addressed the *Trisagion* to the Son alone, and not to the three Divine Persons severally. Papebroch (tom. iii. no. 156, Maii) expresses his opinion that John of Damascus was summoned by John to Jerusalem, and after receiving ordination, remained there some time in attendance upon him. A spurious invective epistle against Constantine Copronymus, ascribed to John of Damascus, also bears the name of John V.; but as John died 735 A.D., and the epistle cannot be placed before 754 A.D., it is impossible he should have been the author. Le Quien thinks it possible that another bishop named John may have succeeded John V. before Theodore. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 290.) [E. V.]

JOANNES (220), bishop of Juliopolis (Heliopolis, Basileum) in the province of Galatia Prima. (Mansi, xi. 996; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 476.) The name of the see in Mansi is Iliopolis. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Justiniana Prima, *vid.* of Prima Justiniana; bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia, *vid.* of Ecelisina.

JOANNES (221), bishop of Justinianopolis (formerly Anazarbus) in Cilicia, metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. In the reign of Justin I. the city was destroyed by an earthquake, and was rebuilt by that emperor, after whom it was then called Justinopolis (Evagr. iv. 8). But it was more commonly called Justinianopolis, probably because the work which the uncle commenced was completed by the nephew (Le Quien, ii. 887; Mansi, ix. 274–278, 286). He died before A.D. 536, as his successor Aetherius subscribed the acts of the council of Constantinople, which was held that year. (Mansi, ix. 391.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (222), bishop of "Justinianopolis or Barcusena civitas," at the council of Constantinople, 553 (Mansi, ix. 391). In another list (*ib.* 171) he occurs as bishop of Barcusi. This town is placed by Nilus Doxapatrius in his *Notitia Patriarchatuum* (*Pat. Gr.* cxxxii. 1089 B), as in the patriarchate of Antioch; but it appears unknown to Le Quien. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Justinopolis, *vid.* of Capodistria and of Justinianopolis.

JOANNES (223), ST., bishop of Juvavia (Salzburg), between Flobargisus and St. Virgilius (*Gesta Archiepisc. Salzb.* 2, Pertz, *Monum.* xiii. 6, 19; Potthast, *Bibl.* suppl. p. 398. Boniface on his return from his third visit to Rome, with the concurrence of duke Ottilo or Odilo, divided Bavaria into four districts (parochiae), and consecrated a bishop for each of them (739). To the first of these, that of Salzburg, he appointed John (Willibaldus, *Vita S. Bonifacii*, c. ix., Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 623). The arrangement received the ratification of pope Gregory III. in a letter written the same year (*Ep.* vii., Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 583). John has been called an Englishman, but there is no positive testimony on the point. The date of John's death is uncertain, but it must have happened in or previously to 745, as in that year his successor, St. Virgilius, was recommended for the see to duke Ottilo by Pippin, mayor of the palace. According to a few martyrologies he has the title of saint, and is commemorated June 10. (Hansizius, *Germania Sacra*, ii. 75–7; Rettberg, ii. 233.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (224), bishop of Lampsacus, present at the seventh general council A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 996 C, 1101, xiii. 144, 370 A, 390; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 774.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (225), bishop of Laodicea, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, represented at the fifth council, 553. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 795; Mansi, ix. 390.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (226), bishop of Laodicea Libani in the province of Phoenicia Secunda. He is mentioned by John of Damascus (*Patr. Graec.* xcv. 217; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 842), and probably lived early in the 8th century. [J. de S.]

JOANNES, of Lapetha, *vid.* of Gondisapor.

JOANNES (227), bishop of Lappa in Crete in the second half of the 7th century (Vital. Pap. *Epist.* 1, 2, 3 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxxvii. col. 999; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* II. 268). He was present at the sixth synod, 680. (Mansi, xi. 211 A, 642, 674.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (228), bishop of Larissa, and metropolitan (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 106). See HADRIANUS (4) for an account of his dispute with that bishop. For the dates see Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 102, 115, 123, 130. [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (229), bishop of the island of Lemnos, in the Aegean, present at the seventh general (second Nicene) council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 373, 391 Limbus; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 85.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Leontopolis, *vid.* of Callinicus and of Zalichus.

JOANNES (230), bishop of Leros, in the Aegean, at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 394; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 945.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Lesbos, *vid.* of Mitylene; bishop of Lissus, *vid.* of Scyllacium.

JOANNES (231), bishop of Lithoprosopus at the 7th synod, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 374 B, 387). A mountain named Lithoprosopus near Botrys on the Phoenician coast is mentioned by Cedrenus (*Hist. Compend.* t. i. p. 659, Bekker). Botrys was an episcopal city (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 827) and may be the one here intended, but Le Quien mentions neither this John under Botrys, nor any see of Lithoprosopus. [C. H.]

JOANNES (232), bishop of Lucca 780, died 803. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 502; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 796.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (233), bishop of Luceria (Lucera), was living A.D. 300, and was succeeded by St. Marcus, A.D. 302. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 454.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (234), one of the bishops in Macedonia addressed by pope Innocent I. on Dec. 13, 414. (*Ep.* 17 in *Patr. Lat.* xx. 527; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 25.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (235), bishop of Maeonia, in Lydia, subscribed the letter of his province to the emperor Leo A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 573; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 883.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Maestricht, *vid.* of Trajectum; bishop of Malaca, *vid.* "Melicitanus."

JOANNES (236), bishop of Maronea on the Aegean, in Thracia; present at the fifth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 391; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1197.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES, of Maronites, *vid.* of Antioch.

JOANNES (237), bishop of the Marsi (Ughelli *Ital. Sac.* i. 888). His name is found with that of Julian bishop of Cingulum in the Damnatio Theodori, August 551. (Mansi, ix. 60; Hefele, § 264; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 476.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (238), a bishop designated MELICITANUS, addressed by pope Hormisdas (*Ep.* lxiv.) in A.D. 519 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. 470; Jaffé, *Regesta*, 68, no. 537). The bishop and his see are unknown. Harduin suggests the reading Malacitanus as if he were bishop of Malaca (Malaga) in Spain, and Migne Militanus and Nilecopolitanus. [J. G.]

JOANNES (239), surnamed ARCHAPH, Meletian bishop of Memphis in Egypt. He is mentioned in the *Breviarium* of Meletius (Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 71, ed. Migne). In this document he is named simply John, as he is everywhere in Athanasius, except once in a letter from Alexander bishop of Thessalonica (*ib.* 65), where he is "Archaph (Ἀρχάφ) also called John." In the only place where he appears in Socrates (i. 30) he is "Archaab (Ἀρχαάβ) also called John." It was he who started the rumour in Egypt of the Meletian bishop Arsenius having been made away with by Athanasius (*Ap. c. Ar.* 65, 66). John subsequently made a complete submission, went to church, received the communion with the archbishop, and confessed his guilt (17). He also made his statement to the emperor, and Constantine sent an approving reply. John is next heard of at the council of Tyre in the summer of 335, when the chalice calumny was revived with aggravations. Socrates (i. 30) relates that John stole off in the confusion of the scene and escaped, what afterwards became of him is not said. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 585.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (240), second known bishop of Mentesa some years before 589. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262; Mansi, ix. 1001; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 247.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES, bishop of Messen, *vid.* of Dalda.

JOANNES (241), bishop of Messene, in the province of Hellas, present both at the Latrocinium of Ephesus," A.D. 449, and at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; he also signed a synodal letter to the emperor Leo A.D. 458. (Mansi, vi. 930; vii. 160, 612; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 197.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (242), bishop of Metropolis, in the province of Pisidia, one of those who signed the synodical letter of a council at Constantinople, A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1049; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1038.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (243), bishop of Mibiarca in Byzacene, subscribed the letter from the provincial council to Constantine, son of Heraclius, A.D. 641. (Mansi. x. 927, Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 225.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (244), bishop of Midaeum, in Phrygia Salutaris, present at the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 841.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (245), surnamed CAMILLUS and BONUS, bishop of Milan, c. A.D. 641 or 645, in succession to Fortis. For the sources of his life see Boll. *Acta SS.* i. 622. The tradition at Milan which makes him present at the Roman council of 649 is not supported by the subscriptions (Mansi, x. 865); he probably only accepted the decrees. In Ughelli his death is placed on Jan. 10, 679 after a pontificate of twenty-nine years, which some reduce to twenty years and others to ten. He was succeeded by Antonius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* IV. 67; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese Sacr. d'Ital.* xi. 132.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (246), bishop of Miletopolis, in the Hellespontine province, addressed by pope Hormisdas, A.D. 519. (Mansi, viii 471; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 780.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (247), bishop of Miletopolis, in the Hellespontine province, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 646, 676; Le Quien, i. 781.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Mindus, *vid.* of Myndus.

JOANNES (248), bishop of Mitylene (Castro), present at the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431; he calls himself bishop of Lesbos. (Mansi, v. 767; iv. 1305; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 955.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (249), bishop of Modena, c. 744. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 231.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (250) I., fifth bishop of Montpellier, or, as it was then called, Maguelonne; present at the council of Narbonne held in A.D. 788 or 791. (Mansi, xiii. 824; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 733.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (251), bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, known only from his mention in catalogues and Diptycha, occupied the see between Bassianus and Auxentius in the second half of the 5th century. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 892.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (252), bishop of Mosyna, in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the Trullan synod A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1006; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 823.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Mutina, *vid.* of Modena.

JOANNES (253) I., bishop of Myndus, near Halicarnassus in Caria, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 211 A, 651, 680; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 918.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (254) II., bishop of Myndus, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. Tha name of the town is otherwise written Mindus and Mybdus in Mansi. (Mansi, xii. 1105, xiii. 148, 371 A, 394.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (255), bishop of Myrina, near Cumae in the province of Asia, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 392; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 706.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Nablus, *vid.* of Neapolis in Palestine.

JOANNES (256), said to have been bishop of Narnia, in the latter part of the 5th century, on the authority of a letter of Pelagius bishop of Rome quoted by Gratian (*Decretum*, caus. vii. qu. i. c. 18). In Migne's edition of Gratian the whole canon in which it appears is noted as "caput incertum" (Patrol. clxxxvii. 754, n. 141). Mansi gives the quotation among the letters of Pelagius II. A.D. 578–590 (ix. 910); Berard, however, contends that the letter is of still later date, and that the John mentioned in the quotation is the bishop of that see, A.D. 963 (*Gratiani canones gen. ab apocr. discreti*, i. p. 2, 499). But Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* p. 86) notices the letter among those of Pelagius I. (A.D. 555–560), although he refers to Mansi. who assigns it to Pelagius II. As Interamna (Terni) was in ruins when Joannes is said to have been bishop of Narnia, he is supposed to have had charge of that see also. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 746, 1012.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (257) I., bishop of Neapolis (Naples) in Campania. On the authority of the *Chronicle of the Neapolitan Bishops* by Joannes Diaconus, Chiocarello places him cir. 388; and by the same authority he is stated to have transferred the body of St. Januarius from the neighbourhood of Puteoli to Naples (Chiocarello, *Antist. Neapol. Eccles.* p. 45; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr.* viii. 54; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 60). Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xix. 387, 522) places him c. 402–432; Ughelli makes him earlier. [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (258) II., called MEDIOCRIS, occupied this see for twenty years, c. 540–c. 559. (Ugh. vi. 49; Cappell. xix. 389, 522; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, pars i. in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 410, 411.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (259) III., between Paschasius and Caesarius, is placed by Ughelli from 616 to 635, and nearly the same by Cappelletti. (*Gesta Episcoporum Neapol.* pars i. 25, and note in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 414; Ugh. vi. 57; Cappell. xix. 398, 523.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (260), bishop of Neapolis (Nablus or Sichem) in Palestine; present at the synod of Jerusalem A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1174; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 650.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (261), bishop of Neapolis in Proconsular Africa, was present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 648; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 242.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (262) I., third bishop of Nemausus (Nismes), consecrated circ. A.D. 511. Gregory of Tours speaks very favourably of him. His name is said not to occur in the old catalogues of the bishops of Nismes. He was believed to have been buried in the church of St. Julian the martyr. (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 78; *Hist. générale de Languedoc*, i. 255; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 428.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (263) II., twelfth bishop between Vintericus and Christianus, perhaps cir. 813. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 430; *Hist. générale de Languedoc*, i. 475.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (264), bishop of Neocaesarea in the provincia Euphratensis, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 393; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 948.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (265), a bishop to whom in March 592, Gregory the Great gave the visitation of the church of Nepi, while its own bishop, Paul, was commissioned to take the visitation of the church of Naples. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 26 in Migne, lxxvii. 562, Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 1025; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 100.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (266), bishop of Nepi, present at the Roman synod of 743 under pope Zacharias. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364; Ugh. i. 1025; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, vi. 208.) Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 770 xvi.) places his death at Rome in 770. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (267), bishop of Nicaea or Nicopolis in Thrace, at the seventh synod, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 374 A, 387; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1169; Wiltsch, i. 172.) Nicaea, also called Nice (Νίκη), was where the council of 359 was held (Mansi, iii. 309), and not far from Hadrianople. It is believed to have been the same as Nicopolis. [J. de S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Nicia (Nice, Nizza) in Italy, *vid.* of Cemeneleon.

JOANNES (268) II., bishop of Nicomedia, one of the principal actors in the iconoclastic synod collected by the emperor Constantine Copronymus, A.D. 754. He was anathematized by name at the seventh session of the seventh general council. (Mansi, xiii. 400; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 591.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (269), bishop of Nicopolis in Lesser Armenia, present at the Latrocinium of Ephesus, A.D. 449. He attended the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, and subscribed the synodal letter of his province to the emperor Leo A.D. 458, and also the decree of Gennadius of Constantinople, A.D. 459. (Mansi, vi. 929, vii. 147, 589, 920; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 429.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Nicopolis in Thrace, *vid.* of Nicaea.

JOANNES (270), A.D. 516, bishop of Nicopolis and metropolitan of Epirus. He succeeded on the death of Alcyson. Determined to embrace the communion of Rome as a pledge of stability and the true faith, in consequence evidently of the mission which Hormisdas had sent to Constantinople, he sent a paper to the pope approving the four general councils, condemning the heretics, and especially Acacius. This proceeding greatly angered Dorotheus bishop of Thessalonica, who subjected John to a series of persecutions. The synod of Epirus, consisting of seven other bishops who had consecrated John, had written to the pope at the same time with details of their struggles for orthodoxy. The pope replied suitably to the metropolitan and his synod; he was the more pleased because in these disturbed days of the Eastern church applications for his communion had become rare, and he sent a profession of faith to be signed by those who desired alliance with the Roman see. In 517 Hormisdas wrote again to encourage him to perseverance in spite of all his troubles. Dorotheus, however, refused to leave him alone, and the same year there came letters from John to Rome saying that the persecution had become extremely bitter, Dorotheus having excited against him the civil and judicial powers, urgently imploring the pope's help, and asking that he might be allowed to make peace with Dorotheus, though a heretic, by sending him notice of his election according to ancient custom. Hormisdas wrote to the bishops Ennodius and Peregrinus, his legates in the East, telling them that John must on no account comply with the demands of Dorotheus; to John and his synod to the same effect; to Dorotheus, remonstrating strongly on his conduct, and to the emperor Anastasius to interest him on behalf of John. But the mission to the emperor was unsuccessful, and its failure was the signal for an outbreak of persecution against the orthodox throughout the East. In 518 the death of Anastasius, the succession of Justin, and the celebrated acclamations of Constantinople, restored peace to the church. [DOROTHEUS, BISHOP OF THESSALONICA.] (Hormisdae Pap. *Epist.* 7, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. col. 387, &c.; Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 516, xliii. &c.; Anastasii Biblioth. *Sanctus Hormisda*, *Patr. Lat.* cxxviii. col. 473; Ceillier, x. 616; Evagr. Scholast. *H. E.* iii. 31, *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi. part 2, col. 265; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 135.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (271), Jacobite bishop of Nikiusi, in Egypt. In 686 he was among the bishops present at the death of the Jacobite patriarch John Semnudaeus at Alexandria (Renaudot, *Pat. Alex. Jacob.* p. 176). The patriarch Simon, who succeeded in 714, made him director of monasteries on account of his skill in ecclesiastical law. A monk whom he ordered to be castigated for a gross offence died under the infliction, whereupon the rest of the bishops successfully petitioned the patriarch for John's removal from his see on the ground of his having caused death, and being no longer qualified to minister at the altar (182). John wrote an account of the *Chronicon Byzantinum*, which is described in two articles of the *Journal Asiatique* (1877 t. ii. p. 451, 1868 t. i. p. 245), by M. Totenberg, who thinks it useful for comparison with the *Chronicle* of John Malalas and John the monk of Antioch as printed in Müller (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. 536). The original was in Greek. It is now extant only in an Ethiopic version made in 1602. [G. T. S.]

JOANNES, bishop of Nisibis, *vid.* of Cadne; bishop of Nismes, *vid.* of Nemausus; bishop of Nola, *vid.* Joannes I. Talaia, of Alexandria.

JOANNES (272), bishop of Nomentum (La Mentana) in 800. The existence of this bishop rests on evidence somewhat indirect. He is not included in the series by Coletus (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* x. 146) and Cappelletti does not notice him (i. 560, 585), but Gams thinks he may be accepted (p. xiii.). See also Pielio Luigi Galletti, in his *Gabio Antica Citta' di Sabina* (1757, p. 60) and Marronus (*Eccles Sabinens.* p. 7). [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Norcia, *vid.* of Nursia; of Nova Claudiopolis, *vid.* of Andrapa.

JOANNES (273), bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, on the Hellespont, originally archbishop of Constantia (Salamis), in the island of Cyprus, but transferred to his new seat along with many of the inhabitants of the island, by the emperor Justinian II. on account of the attacks of the Saracens from Egypt. John was present at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692, the thirty-ninth canon of which confirms the ancient privileges accorded to the archbishops of Cyprus by the council of Ephesus; all the Hellespontine province was subjected to him, including the see of Cyzicus. This canon did not however continue to hold good for long; the church of Cyzicus recovered its metropolitan authority, and the archbishops returned to Cyprus. (Mansi, xi. 989; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1042, 1050.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (274), of Pannonia, bishop of Novas or Novae (Citta Nova distrutta) a fortress between Concordia and Treviso, on the Venetian mainland, and having the neighbouring island of Caprita or Caprulae (Caorle) in the lagunes under his episcopal charge. He was in the jurisdiction of the schismatic patriarch of Aquileia, and was expelled from his see in 598. (Greg. Magn. *Epp.* lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 10; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 126; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* v. 1335; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ix. 490, 507; Ceillier, xi. 513.) [JOANNES (120).] [C. H.]

JOANNES (275), bishop of Nursia (Norcia) in 680. (Mansi, xi. 303; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (276), bishop of Nyssa at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 391; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 393.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (277), bishop of Nyssa at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 642, 673; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 393.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (278), bishop of Nyssa at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 993 E, 1098, xiii. 142, 367 B, 386; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 393.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Oca, *vid.* of Valpuesta.

JOANNES (279), bishop of Odyssus in Moesia Inferior on the Euxine, at the synod of Constantinople A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1226.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (280), bishop of Olympus, a large town in Lycia, at Constantinople A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050, 493; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 977.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Orte, *vid.* of Horta; bishop of Orvieto, *vid.* of Urbevetanum; bishop of Osimo, *vid.* of Auximum; bishop of Otranto, *vid.* of Hydruntum.

JOANNES (281), bishop of Orisa at the seventh synod, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 367 C), mentioned in the Latin list but not in the Greek. The place is not known. Another reading makes it Onisa, and there is an Onisa or Onisia mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* iv. 20) as an island near Crete opposite the promontory and town of Itanus; but there is no other trace of this place having been episcopal, nor does it occur among the Cretan bishoprics in Le Quien (i. 256). [C. H.]

JOANNES (282), bishop of Oxoma (Osma), from 591 to c. 606. He is the first bishop of this see whose name has come down. His signature occurs amongst those of the (disputed) provincial synod at Toledo (A.D. 597). (*Esp. Sagr.* vi. 160, and vii. 288; Mansi, x. 478.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES, bishop of Pace, *vid.* of Pax Julia; bishop of Padua, *vid.* of Patavium.

JOANNES (283), bishop of Paestum (Pesto), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 866, 1163; Hefele, § 307; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 465; Cappelletti, xx. 334, 363.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (284), bishop of Palermo, received several letters from Gregory the Great at the end of the pope's life, 603. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xiii. indict. vi. 43; lib. xiv. indict. vii. 3, 5 in Migne, lxxvii. 1292, 1305, 1307; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 152, 153.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (285) I., bishop of Palmyra in the province of Phoenicia Secunda, represented at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, signed the letter to the emperor Leo in the year 457. (Mansi, vii. 170; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 845.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (286) II., bishop of Palmyra, exiled in the year 518 by the emperor Justin I., for his adherence to the Monophysite party. (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. p. 3, of the *Diss. de Monophys.*; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 846.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (287), bishop of Paltus in Syria, exiled to Petra by the emperor Anastasius, for his resistance to the Monophysite party, and was recalled by Justin, A.D. 518. (Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3; Vict. Tun. *Chron.* ad ann. 505; *Chron. Marcellini*, ad ann. 518; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 800.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (288) I., bishop of Pampeluna, A.D. 610. His signature occurs first among those of the disputed *Decretum Gundemari*, A.D. 610 (see GUNTHIMAR). The Joannes whose signature is found among those of the third council of Egara, 614, to which no names of sees are appended, is identified by Sandoval with the Joannes of Pampeluna of Gunthrimar's *Decretum*. (*Catalogo de los Obispos de Pamplona*, p. 7 b; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324, 342.) [ST. SATURNINUS.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (289), bishop of Panium (Theodosiopolis) in Thracia, at the seventh general council of Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 996 B, 1099; xiii. 142, 367 C, 387; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1120.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (290), called BORLESITA, Jacobite bishop of Paralus in Egypt in the time of Damianus the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, in the 6th century. (Renaudot, *Patr. Alex. Jacob.* p. 146; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 571.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (291), bishop of Parembole in Palestine (*Castra Saracenorum*), present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 137; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 769.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (292), bishop of Parentium (Parenzo), present at the synod of Marano, near Venice, c. 590. [ELIAS (19).] (Paulus Diaconus, *Gest. Lomb.* iii. 26, note *a* in *Pat. Lat.* xcv. 527 as to the reading.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (293), bishop of Parthicopolis, a town of uncertain position in Macedonia, represented at the council of Chalcedon. (Mansi, vi. 573, vii. 161; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 75.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (294), bishop of Patavium (Padua). He was elected c. A.D. 457, and probably held his see for twenty years. Padua having been destroyed by Attila, Joannes is said to have removed the seat of his bishopric to Fossa Clodia, but to have returned to Padua on its being rebuilt. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 329; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 487.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Pavia, *vid.* of Ticinum.

JOANNES (295), bishop of Pax Julia (Pace, Beja) from before 681 till after 693. He appears as "Joannes Pacensis" at the twelfth council of Toledo (A.D. 681), at the thirteenth (683), at the fifteenth (688), and at the sixteenth (693). (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287, 313, 333; Mansi, xi. 1039, 1075, xii. 21, 84; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 250; conf. Florez on the identification of the see, *l. c.* 221–235.) [APRINGIUS.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (296), bishop of Perath-Maishan in Persia, martyred under Sapor II. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (297), bishop of Perga, the metropolis of the second Pamphylia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 642, 672, 992; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1015.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (298), bishop of Pergamus before middle of the sixth century. (Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 715.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, of Pericome, *vid.* of Aureliopolis.

JOANNES (299), bishop of Persia. He was present at the council general of Nicaea, 325, the only one from Persia recorded in the list, his name appearing as "Joannes Persidis." (Mansi, ii. 694, 699; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1251; cf. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 5th ed. p. 104, note 5; Euseb. *Vita Constant.* iii. 7, iv. 8, 13; Baron. *Annal.* ad an. 325, ccix.; Ceillier, iii. 319.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (300), Nov. 1, bishop and martyr in Persia, with Jacobus Zelotes a presbyter, in the reign of Sapor. (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.*, Sirlet.; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JOANNES (301), bishop of Perugia, ordained Pelagius I. pope in 555. (*Liber Pontificalis*, Vita Pelagii I., ed. Vignol. i. p. 223; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* p. 82.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (302), bishop of Pessinus, the metropolis of Galatia Secunda at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 642, 671, 691; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 492.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (303), bishop of Petra, metropolitan of the province of Third Palestine, in A.D. 457. (Mansi, vii. 559; Le Quien, iii. 726.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (304), bishop of Petra in the province of Lazi, the only known bishop of this see, present at the Quinisext council of 692. (Mansi, xi. 1006; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1345.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (305), bishop of Phaenus in Palestine, present at the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1174; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 748.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (306), bishop of Phanagoria, on the eastern side of the Cimmerian Bosporus, in A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1327.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (307), bishop of Philadelphia in Arabia, south of Bostra. About the year 650 he was authorised by pope Martin I. to assume metropolitan authority over the whole Eastern church owing to the see of Antioch being occupied by a Monothelite, and that of Jerusalem being vacant. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxvii. 153; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 862; Ceillier, xi. 750.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (308), bishop of Philadelphia, in the province of Lydia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 647, 677; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 870.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (309), bishop of Phocaea, in the province of Asia, present at the Trullan synod (Quinisext), A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 993; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 735.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (310), bishop of Photice in Old Epirus, at the council of Chalcedon, 451. His subscription corruptly designates him as "Proticensis" and "Bruticensis." (Mansi, vii. 403; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 143.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, of Pidachthoe, *v.* of Heracliopolis.

JOANNES (311) I. bishop of Placentia (Piacenza), A.D. 503. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 15; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 197.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (312) II. was elected A.D. 595. (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. xi. *ep.* 19; Ughelli, ii. 248; Cappelletti, xv. 15.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (313) III., was bishop from 693 to 715. (Cappelletti, xv. 15; Ughelli, ii. 198.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (314) I., bishop of Pisa c. A.D 493. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xvi. 38.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (315) II., bishop of Pisa c. A.D. 743. He was probably surnamed JUSTINUS. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 401; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xvi. 40.) [JUSTINUS.] [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (316), elected bishop of Pistoria (Pistoia) in 700. (Troya, *Codice Diplom.* iii. p. 46, 249.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (317), bishop of Podalia, in Lycia, present at the synod of Constantinople A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 974.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (318), bishop of Poemanium in the province of the Hellespont, in 458 A.D. (Mansi, vii. 587; Le Quien, i. 769.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (319) I., twenty-fourth bishop of Poitiers, present at the council of Rheims, held in A.D. 625. (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 5; Mansi, x. 594; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1151.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (320) II., thirty-fifth bishop of Poitiers. Alcuin wrote an epitaph upon him. (Alcuin. *Opera*, ii. 214; Migne, Patr. Lat. ci. 750; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1155.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (321), bishop of Polemonium in Pontus Polemoniacus, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 946, vii. 122, 404, 605; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 515.) [F. A.]

JOANNES (322), bishop of Polybotum in Phrygia Salutaris, called "Thaumaturgus," from his reputed miracles, lived during the reign of Leo the Isaurian, (Sirlet. *Menol. Graec.* Dec. 5) His commemoration was on Feb. 13, according to the *Basilian Menology*, and on Dec. 5 according to the *Menol. Graecorum.* (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 843.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (323), bishop of Polymartium (Bomarzo), present at the Roman synod of 743. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (324), bishop of Pompeiopolis (Soli) in Cilicia. He was present at the Quinisextine synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1006; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 878.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (325), bishop of Portus Romanus (Porto). He signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, in 680, to the third council of Constantinople. He was selected as one of the deputies from this Roman synod to Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 210 D, 302, 641, 670, 687; Hefele, § 314, § 315; *Liber Pontificalis*, Vita Agathonis, ed. Vignol. p. 285, 291, 296.) See also *Liber Pontif.* Vita Sergii, p. 307; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, ii. 175. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (326), bishop of Portus Romanus (Porto) c. A.D. 797. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 499.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (327), bishop of Praenetus (Pronectus) on the Propontis, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 374 B, 397; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 622.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (328), bishop of Prima Justiniana in Illyria John was unanimously elected to the bishopric; whereupon Gregory, probably in 591 (lib. ii. ep. 22) wrote to the bishops of Illyria and to John, gave him the pall, and confirmed him as vicar of the Roman see. In the affair of John of Larissa and Adrian of Thebes [JOANNES BISHOP OF LARISSA], the bishop of Prima Justiniana shewed himself quite unworthy of this confidence; he confirmed the unjust decision of the bishop of Larissa without examining the witnesses. Gregory therefore wrote and deprived him of communion for a month, 592 (lib. iii. ep. 6). He is mentioned elsewhere in Gregory's letters. (*Epist.* ii. 23; viii. 5; ix. 68; xi. 47; xii. 30, *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii.; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 102, 130, 147; Le Quien, *Or Chr.* ii. 286; Ceillier, xi. 487.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (329), bishop of the island of Proconnesus in the Propontis, translated from the see of Gordus in Lydia (Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 36); present at the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1124; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 783.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (330), bishop of Psynchus in Egypt, at the council of Chalcedon, 451. (Mansi, vii. 51; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 615.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (331), bishop of Ptolemais (Acre) in Phoenicia, in A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1041, seq.; cf. also Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 816.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (332), bishop of Puteoli (Pozzuoli). His date, which was probably early, is not exactly known. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 318.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, of Ragusa, *vid.* of Epidaurus.

JOANNES (333) I., surnamed ANGELOPTES, bishop of Ravenna, either A.D. 418 or 430. He died c. A.D. 433. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 July, ii. 468; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 331; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 29.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (334) II., bishop of Ravenna, c. A.D. 452–477. In his time Ravenna was besieged and taken by Theodoric, king of the Goths, who afterwards fixed his residence there. He is stated by Ughelli and others to have been reprehended by Simplicius. But the letter of Simplicius was written A.D. 482, and seems to have been really addressed to Joannes III. of Ravenna. (*Acta SS.* 12 Jan. i. 727; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 333; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 37; *Mart. Rom.* Jan. 12.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (335) III., archbishop of Ravenna, 578–595. He was, as he himself says, brought up in the bosom of the church at Rome. Gregory the Great corresponded with him frequently, and tried to extend the influence of the Roman church by his means (*Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. 56, 57 in Migne, lxxvii. 650, 654; Paulus Diaconus, iii. 26, and note p. 106, in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878; *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 35, 46 in Migne lxxvii. 573, 583). A few years later, Gregory brought five charges against Joannes, to the general effect that he was presuming beyond his position (*Epist.* lib. v. indict. xiii. 15 in Migne, lxxvii. 735). See also Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* 98, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 342, Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 95, 100, 101, 110, 111. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (336) IV., archbishop of Ravenna. c. 606–612. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* cap. 104, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 345.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (337) V., archbishop of Ravenna, c. 613–632. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* cap. 105–107, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, pp. 346–348, and note, p. 346.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (338) VI., archbishop of Ravenna, c. 725, for about twenty years probably. He was sent into exile to Venice for one year by the people of Ravenna, and recalled by the exarch. He attended the synod of Gregory III. in 731.

(Mansi, xii. 299; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. ii. p. 43, 68; *Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium*, 12, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 396. Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* cap. 151–153, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, pp. 376, 377; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 69.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (339) VII., archbishop of Ravenna, c. 778–785. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* cap. 161–163, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, pp. 381–383.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (340), a very doubtful archbishop of Ravenna c. 789. (See note to Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* cap. 166, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 386.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (341) I., bishop of Rhegium (Reggio) in Calabria, present at the Lateran synod in 649. (Mansi, x. 867; Cappelletti, xxi. 156.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (342) II., bishop of the same see at the council of Constantinople in 680. (Mansi, xi. 210 D, 641, 670, 687; Cappelletti, xxi. 157.) Ughelli (ix. 324) considers this John the same as the preceding. In other places Ughelli (ii. 243) and Cappelletti (xv. 361) appear to make the later John bishop of the Lombard Reggio, Regium Lepidi. [C. H.]

JOANNES (343), bishop of Rhaedestus, at the seventh synod, 787. (Mansi, xii. 995, 1100, xiii. 142, 367 C, 387; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1129.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (344), bishop of Rhaesina (Theodosiopolis) in Osrhoene, present at the synod of Antioch, A.D. 444 or 445, and at the council of Tyre in 448 or 449. (Mansi, vii. 325, 210; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 981.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (345), bishop of Rhodes, the metropolis of the Cyclades, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449, when he voted for the decrees against Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, and for the orthodoxy of Eutyches (Mansi, vi. 914) and represented the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 431; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 924.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Rimini, *vid.* of Ariminum.

JOANNES (346) I., bishop of Rome after Hormisdas from Aug. 13, A.D. 523, to May 18, A.D. 526. He was the son of one Constantius, an Etruscan, and had been a Roman presbyter (Anastas. *Lib. Pont.*). The emperor Justin, having during the pontificate of Hormisdas restored the churches in the East to orthodoxy and communion with Rome, continued to evince his orthodox zeal by the persecution of heretics. Having already suppressed the Eutychians and Nestorians, he issued in 523 a severe edict against Manicheans, condemning them, wherever found, to banishment or death (*Cod. Justin.* leg. 12). Justin's edict had debarred also other heretics from public offices, but had excepted the Arian Goths because of his league with Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy. Soon afterwards, however, he proceeded against the Arians also, ordering all their churches to be consecrated anew for the use of Catholics. Theodoric, who, though an Arian, had hitherto granted free toleration to Catholics in his own dominions, remonstrated with the emperor by letter, but without effect. He therefore applied to the bishop of Rome, whom he sent for to Ravenna, and desired him to go in person to Constantinople to use his influence with the emperor, threatening that, unless toleration were conceded to Arians in the East, he would himself withhold it in future from Catholics in the West. An anonymous author of the time (*Anonym. Vales.* p. 59) adds that he also demanded that Arians who had been made to renounce their religion should be allowed to return to it; that the pope, though ready to undertake the other part of the commission, declined this; and that the king, incensed, ordered him to be conveyed at once to a vessel, and put to sea. However that might be, John went (A.D. 525), accompanied by five bishops and four senators. The unprecedented event of a visit in person of a bishop of Rome to Constantinople seems to have caused a great sensation there. He was received with the utmost respect by acclaiming crowds and by the emperor. Invited by the patriarch Epiphanius to celebrate Easter with him in the great church, he consented only on condition of being seated on a throne above that of the patriarch. He officiated in Latin, and according to the Latin rite. None were excluded from his communion except Timotheus patriarch of Alexandria (Theophan.; Marcellin. Com.). Anastasius (*Lib. Pontif.*) states that the emperor, though now in the eighth year of his reign, bowing to the ground before the vicar of St. Peter, solicited and obtained the honour of being crowned by him.

With regard to the result of the embassy, there is a concurrence of testimony that John both prayed for and obtained a cessation of Justin's measures against the Arians. Baronius indeed (and also Binius), anxious to vindicate a pope from the charge of tolerating heresy, insists that John really, like a second Regulus, dissuaded the emperor from the concessions demanded of him. The grounds alleged for this view are—(1) a letter from the pope himself to the bishops of Italy, supposed to have been written from prison after his return, in which he exhorts them to consecrate at once all Arian churches for Catholic use, and states that, when at Constantinople, he had done the same in the East with the emperor's concurrence; (2) a citation from Gregory Turonensis (*de Gloria Martyrum* c. 40); (3) the fact that John and his companions, on their return from Constantinople, were received with displeasure by Theodoric, and imprisoned; which, it is argued, would not have been the case, had they done what was required of them. But (1) the letter referred to is now considered spurious, and allowed to be so by Pagi and Du Pin; (2) Gregory of Tours is evidently vague and inaccurate; he does not seem even to be aware of the mission to Constantinople; (3) the imprisonment of John by Theodoric, though its cause is not known, may be otherwise accounted for. It might be due to the pope's refusal, alleged by the anonymous writer, to urge on the emperor the allowance of relapse to converted Arians; or, very probably, to suspicion of his implication in treasonable negotiations with the emperor, on the charge of which, just before his return,

Boethius, with his father-in-law Symmachus, had been imprisoned by the king. Against the supposition of Baronius, Pagi (*Critic.*) cites the following testimonies: "Justin, having heard the legation, promised that he would do all except that those who had been reconciled to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians" (*Anonym. Vales.*); "The venerable pope and the senators returned with glory, having obtained all they asked from Justin" (Anastasius)· "Justinus Augustus granted the whole petition, and restored to the heretics their churches, according to the wish of Theodoric the heretical king, lest Christians, and especially priests, should be put to the sword" (*Auctor. Chron. Veterum Pontificum*); "Having come to Augustus, they requested him with many tears to accept favourably the tenour of their embassy, however unjust,—and he, moved by their tears, granted what they asked, and left the Arians unmolested" (*Miscell.* lib. 15, ad an. vi. Justin).

Whatever the cause, it is undoubted that John and the other legates were on their return received with displeasure by Theodoric, and imprisoned at Ravenna, where the pope died on the 18th of May in the following year, 526. His body was removed thence, and buried in St. Peter's at Rome, on May 27, on which day he appears in the Roman Martyrology as a saint and martyr. See also *Fragm. Vales.* Greg. *Dial.* i. iii. c. 2.

Two spurious letters, one of which has been referred to, have been assigned to him. No genuine writings remain. [J. B—y.]

JOANNES (347) II. (called MERCURIUS), bishop of Rome after Boniface II., from Dec. 31, A.D. 532, to May 27, A.D. 335. He was the son of one Projectus, a Roman by birth, and had been a Roman presbyter (Anastas. *Lib. Pont.*). The canvassings and contests, usual at this period on the vacancy of the see, which had caused the intervention of the king Theodoric on the accession of Symmachus and of Felix, were such on this occasion as to delay the election for eleven weeks. Church funds had been expended on bribery, and even sacred vessels had been publicly sold for the purpose (*Ep. Athalaric. ad Joann. pap.*; Cassiodor. *Variar.* l. ix.; *Ep.* 15).

To check such abuses, the senate had in 530, after the election of the previous pope, passed a decree rendering void all promises and contracts made for securing votes in the election of a pope, and disfranchising all persons implicated in them; limiting also the sums that candidates might promise to distribute in charity after election, and ordering moneys expended in canvassing to be recoverable from the recipients or their heirs, and to be devoted to pious uses after payment of a third part to the informer. Athalaric, at the earnest instance of the "defensor ecclesiae," now confirmed this decree, and notified his having done so in a letter to the new pope, desiring him to inform the bishops of Italy (*Inter Epp. Joann. II.* Labb.; Cassiodor. *Variar.* ix.; *Ep.* 16). Baronius takes it for granted that it was at the pope's own instance that the defensor ecclesiae had moved the king to confirm the decree. But of this there is no evidence.

The most noteworthy incident of this pope's brief reign is a doctrinal decision of his, in which he appears at first sight to differ from one of his predecessors. Pope Hormisdas had in 522 written in strong condemnation of certain Scythian monks who had upheld the statement that "One of the Trinity (*Unus ex Trinitate*) suffered in the flesh." [See HORMISDAS.] His rejection of the phrase had at the time been construed so as to imply heresy (*Ep.* Maxent. *ad* Hormisd.), and now the *acoemetae*, or "Sleepless Monks," of Constantinople argued distinctly from it in favour of the Nestorian position that Mary was not truly and properly the mother of God; saying with reason that, if He who suffered in the flesh was not of the Trinity, neither was He who was born in the flesh. The emperor Justinian, supported by the patriarch Epiphanius, having condemned the position of the sleepless ones, they sent a deputation to Rome, urging the pope to support their deduction from the supposed doctrine of his predecessor, and quoting the text, "If I build again the things which I have destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." The emperor, having embodied his view of the true doctrine in an imperial edict, sent also an embassy of two bishops—Hypatius and Demetrius—to Rome with a letter requesting the pope to signify in writing to himself and the patriarch his acceptance of the doctrine of the edict, which he lays down as indubitably true, and assumes to be, as a matter of course, the doctrine of the Roman see (*Inter Epp.* Joann. II. Labb.).

But the edict was in fact a distinct assertion of the correctness of the phrase that had been contended for by the Scythian monks, and so much objected to by Hormisdas. Its words are, "The sufferings, as well as miracles, which Christ of His own accord endured in the flesh are of one and the same. For we do not know God the Word as one and Christ as another, but one and the same. For the Trinity remained after the incarnation of the one Word of God, who was of the Trinity; nor does the Holy Trinity admit the addition of a fourth person. We anathematize Nestorius the man-worshipper, and those who think with him, who confess not that our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and our God, incarnate, made man, and crucified, is ONE of the holy and consubstantial Trinity") Lex. Justin. *Cod.* 1, i. 6). In his letter he expresses himself thus:—"For we do not acknowledge God the Word to be one and Christ another, but one and the same, consubstantial with the Father according to His divinity, and one and the same consubstantial with us according to His humanity, passible in the flesh, and one and the same impassible in the Godhead."

John, having received both deputations, assembled the Roman clergy, who at first could come to no agreement. But afterwards, when Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, consulted by the Roman deacon Anatolius, had expressed his adhesion to the view that the Divinity itself might properly be said to have suffered in the flesh, and when this appeared to be the general view of the learned, a synod was convened by the pope, in which Justinian's confession of faith was accepted and confirmed. To this effect he wrote to the emperor (March 25, A.D. 534), saying, "We find that thou hast proposed an edict to the faithful out of thy love of the faith, and for removing the intention of heretics, according to the apostolic doctrine, with the

consent of our brethren and fellow bishops. Which edict, because it agrees with the apostolic doctrine, we confirm by our authority (Joann. II. *Ep.* ii.; Labb.). He also wrote to the Roman senators, laying down the true doctrine as the emperor had defined it, supporting it from Scripture and the Fathers, and warning them not to communicate with the "Sleepless Monks."

This case has been adduced (*e.g.* by Bower in his *Lives of the Popes*) as a glaring instance of two popes contradicting each other in definition of doctrine, and an argument against their infallibility. It is contended, on the other hand (as by Baronius), that Hormisdas never actually condemned the doctrine endorsed by John; that he only repudiated the use of the phrase which expressed it at the time when it was first put forward, as being then unnecessary, unauthorized, intended in a heretical sense, and likely to sow the seeds of heresy. And it is true that we do not find in the letters of Hormisdas any distinct condemnation of the phrase itself, however strongly he inveighed against its upholders, as troublesome and dangerous innovators. But the fact remains, whatever it is worth, that a doctrinal statement which one pope strongly discountenanced, as at any rate unnecessary and fraught with danger, was, twelve years afterwards, at the instance of an emperor, authoritatively propounded by another. The view expressed by Justinian and accepted by John has ever since been received as orthodox.

In 534 John was consulted by Caesarius of Arles with respect to Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez (*Regensis Ecclesiae*) in Gaul, who had been guilty of some incontinence. He wrote in reply three letters on the subject to Caesarius, to the bishops of Gaul, and to the clergy of Riez, directing the guilty bishop to be deposed and confined in a monastery, and a visitor to be appointed during the vacancy of the see.

A letter assigned to this pope by the Pseudo-Isidore, addressed to a bishop Valerius, on the relation of the Son to the Father, is spurious. All his genuine letters that are extant have been referred to above. He died on May 27, A.D. 535, and was buried in the basilica of St. Peter.

[J. B—y.]

JOANNES (348) III., bishop of Rome, after Pelagius, from July 18, 560, to July 12, 573, during nearly thirteen years; ordained after a vacancy of four months and seventeen days. He was the son of one Anastasius, a person of distinction at Rome (Anastas. *Lib. Pont.*). About this pope very little is recorded. There are only two incidents in which his name appears. Two bishops, Salonius of Ebredunum, and Sagittarius of Vapuncum, in Gaul, had been deposed by a synod held by order of king Guntram at Lyons, under the metropolitan Nicetius. The deposed prelates obtained the king's leave to appeal to Rome, and John III. ordered their restoration. The order was complied with; but, having been guilty of fresh misdemeanours, they were eventually deposed finally by another synod convened by Guntram, and their sees filled up (Gregor. Turon. *Hist.* l. v. cc. 20, 27). The second incident involving John III. is mentioned by Anastasius (*Lib. Pontif. in Vit. Joann. III.*), and by Paulus Diaconus (i. 5), to the effect that the exarch Narses, complained of by the Romans to the emperor, having retired to Naples, and there invited the Lombards to invade Italy, the pope went to him, and persuaded him to return to Rome. The whole story about Narses in this instance is indeed discredited by Baronius (*Ann.* 567, No. 8–12), but credited by Pagi and Muratori (cf. Gibbon, ch. xlv.).

[J. B—y.]

JOANNES (349) IV., bishop of Rome after Severinus, from December 24, 640, to October 11, 642, during less than two years. He was a Dalmatian, son of one Venantius, a learned man (*scholasticus*) and had been, when elected, deacon of Rome (Anastas. *Lib. Pont.*). The see having been vacant since Aug. 2, 640, the delay of his ordination was due to the imperial confirmation not having been previously obtained. During the interval a letter from the Scottish bishops and presbyters, addressed to Severinus, arrived at Rome, on the question of the computation of Easter. Bede gives extracts from the reply sent to the Scots, which condemns strongly their Easter usage, and also warns them against Pelagianism, which was reported to have crept in among them (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 19; *Diurn. Rom. Pontif.* tit. i.).

John's short reign was marked by his resolute opposition to the Monothelitic heresy, then maintained at Constantinople, and his apology for his predecessor Honorius, who was accused of having supported it. About the time of the death of the latter the emperor Heraclius had issued, at the instance of the patriarch Sergius, the profession of faith known as the *Ecthesis*, alleged to have been approved by the Eastern patriarchs, and proposed for general acceptance. It asserted the existence of one will only in Christ, and forbade the discussion in future of the question of one or two energies, or the assertion of either view. It came out too late for Honorius to express an opinion about it, but his successor Severinus, during his short reign of two months, appears to have condemned it; probably in synod. For in the profession of faith made afterwards by the popes they accept the decrees of Severinus, John, Theodorus, and Martin against "the new questions that had arisen in the royal city . . . professing, according to the motion of two natures, also two natural operations"; and condemn under anathema whatever these pontiffs had condemned, and receive what they had received. (*Lib. Diurn. Rom. Pontif.* c. 3, tit. vi.) John also lost no time in condemning the heresy of the Monothelites, for which purpose Theophanes states that he convened a synod of bishops at Rome (Theophan. *ad Ann. Heracl.* xx.). Pagi (*Critic.* ann. 640 ii.) argues that this must have been almost immediately after his accession, since Heraclius (who died Feb. 11, 641) alludes in a letter addressed to him to his having already written to Pyrrhus (patriarch of Constantinople after Sergius), condemning the *Ecthesis*. Such prompt action on John's part was probably a main cause why the emperor, in the letter referred to, tried to back out of his patronage of the *Ecthesis*, saying that he had nothing to do with its preparation, though the patriarch Sergius had persuaded him to authorise and sign it.

It appears that the patriarch Pyrrhus continued to press the doctrine contained in the *Ecthesis*, and sent letters to the West, alleging, against the reigning pope, the support of it by

Honorius. To meet this allegation, John wrote to the emperors Constantine and Heracleonas, who had succeeded their father Heraclius, a letter the main purport of which was to vindicate Honorius from the charge of heresy. His contention is that Honorius had not denied the co-existence of a divine and a human will in Christ, as God and man, but only that there were in him, as man, two contrary wills of the flesh and of the spirit; that Sergius having informed him that some taught two *contrary* wills in Christ, he had replied that the human nature assumed by our Lord was the original nature of Adam before his fall, in which the will was one, not the corrupted nature, such as we inherit, in which the flesh lusts against the spirit; that the whole argument of Honorius had reference to the "dispensation of Christ," not to His "supernal nature." As to the adequacy of this defence, see article on HONORIUS. On the real question at issue with the Monothelites John argues more successfully. "According to which nature," he says, "do they assert the one will of Christ? If according to His divine nature only, they deny Him to be perfect man with the Manicheans; if according to His human, they deny him to be perfect God with Photinus and Ebion. If they allege one will of both natures, then in confounding the natural wills they confound the natures; and to assert but one will of the Divinity and humanity, and one operation, is nothing else than to assert with the Eutychians the operation of one nature alone in Christ." He asserts also that the orthodox fathers, throughout the world, agreed in teaching, as two natures, so also two wills and operations in Christ. He concludes by requesting the emperors to restrain the propagators of the new heresy, and to cause the *Ecthesis*, which was now posted in public places, to be taken down and torn; that so, through their authority and the "apostolical perfection," it might be null and void for ever; thus would they be offering, at the beginning of their reign, a salutary sacrifice to the Lord; and thus might they obtain His blessing (Joan. iv. ep. ii. Labb.). The two emperors addressed, during their short and troubled reigns, are not known to have taken any action in consequence of this letter. Constans, their successor, is said by pope Theodore, the successor of John, in a letter to the patriarch Paulus, to have concurred with John; but the *Ecthesis*, as appears from the same letter, still remained posted in the city (Theodor. I. ep. i. Labb.).

Anastasius (*Lib. Pontific.*) records that this pope was diligent in collecting relics, in building, restoring, and adorning churches, and redeeming Christian captives "a gentibus" (meaning the Sclaves, who had now invaded Illyricum); and that he was buried in St. Peter's. Besides the letter to the emperors, another of his remains to Isaac, bishop of Syracuse, granting to monks the right of instituting, as well as presenting, the priests of their own churches (John iv. ep. iii. Labb.). Besides the authorities referred to above, there is allusion to John's defence of Honorius in the *Disputatio S. Maximi cum Pyrrho* (Baron. in append. tom. viii.; and Labb. *Concil.* t. vi. p. 1537). [J. B—y.]

JOANNES (350) V., bishop of Rome after Benedictus II., from the latt.r part of July 685 to Aug. 2, 686, during little more than a year, the see having been vacant two months and eighteen days; the son of one Cyriacus, and a native of Antioch in Syria (Anast. *Lib. Pont.*). He was the first pope who was consecrated at once after his election without waiting for the imperial confirmation, a mandate allowing this having been obtained from the emperor Constantine Pogonatus in the time of Benedict II. [BENEDICTUS II.] He had, as deacon, been one of the three representatives of pope Agatho at the sixth oecumenical council (681). There is an extant letter addressed to John from Justinian II. (who succeeded Constantine Pogonatus in September, 686). But this letter, being dated February 17, 687, could not have been received by John, who died before its date. It may be concluded to be that said by Anastasius (*In Vit.* Conon. *pap.*) to have been received by Conon who succeeded John, of which the account entirely agrees with its contents. It may have been prepared before the news of John's death had reached Constantinople, and his name left inadvertently in the superscription when it was dated and despatched. The only act recorded of this pope is his restraining in synod the abuse that had grown up of the archbishops of Calaris (*Cagliari*) in Sardinia ordaining bishops there independently of the Roman see. Citonatus of Cagliari had so ordained one Novellus, bishop of Turris Libissonis (*Porto di Torre*). [J. B—y.]

JOANNES (351) VI., bishop of Rome, after Sergius, from October 20, 701, to January 9, 705, during a little more than three years; a Greek by race; chosen after a vacancy of fifty days. (Anastas. *Lib. Pont.*) On his accession Apsimar (emperor under the name of Tiberius during the deposition and exile of Justinian II.) sent Theophylact, the exarch of Italy, from Sicily to Rome, apparently with some hostile intention. Against him the military of Italy assembled tumultuously before the gates of Rome; but the pope protected the exarch, closing the gates of the city against the insurgents, and sending a deputation of clergy to treat with them in their camp, and so allayed the sedition (Anastas.). Gisulphus, the Lombard duke of Beneventum, having invaded Campania, and taken a large number of prisoners, John VI. is said to have sent to him also an embassy of priests, to have redeemed all the captives, and induced the invader to retire (Anastas.; and Paul. Diac. *Gest. Longobard.* l. 6, c. 27).

This pope is principally memorable for his entertainment of the appeal to him of the English Wilfrid. Wilfrid had previously (679) appealed in person to pope Agatho against the synod held under archbishop Theodore and king Egfrid of Northumbria, in which he had been expelled from his diocese of York. He had been then honourably acquitted of all charges against him during the sittings of the sixth oecumenical council. Having at length (686) been restored by king Aldfrid, through the intervention of Theodore, to his entire see, he had been again (692) expelled from it by the king; and subsequently, though in the meantime supported by pope Sergius, been condemned in a synod held under archbishop Beorhtwald, who had succeeded Theodore, and required to confine himself to his

monastery of Ripon, relinquishing his other preferments. The charges against him had been his alleged exorbitant possessions, and his refusal to consent to the subdivision of his see. Wilfrid had declared to the synod his determination to appeal again to Rome, on which the king and archbishop had both said that his preference of Rome's judgment to their own alone justified his condemnation. After visiting the friendly king Ethelred of Mercia, who promised to send messengers or letters to Rome in his behalf, he made his third journey to Rome, being now seventy years of age. Archbishop Beorhtwald also sent representatives to oppose him. His case was heard in synod by John VI. (704), seventy assemblies of bishops in the course of four months being said to have met. During the proceedings the record of his previous appeal to pope Agatho during the sixth general council was read; from which it appeared that, having been absolved from all charges certain and uncertain, he had taken his place in the conclave of bishops, and signed the confession of faith in the name of the British churches. The reading of this record is said to have produced a great effect, the pope and all the bishops declaring that he who had been thus acquitted and honoured by Agatho, and who had been a bishop for nearly forty years, ought by no means to be condemned, but sent back with honour to his country. He would fain have spent the remainder of his days in Rome, but was not permitted. Though thus justified by pope John against the criminations of his accusers, he still did not obtain from him an order for restitution to his see. For the pope in his letters to kings Ethelred and Aldfrid states that, in the absence of the principal persons concerned in the dispute, the case could not be so far terminated at Rome. He therefore directs archbishop Beohrtwald to convene a synod at which these principal persons should be present, viz. Rosa, John, and Eadfrid, the holders respectively of the sees of York, Hexham, and Lindisfarne, into which the old diocese of Wilfrid had been divided. He hopes that the matter may be thus finally settled; but in case of its being necessary to appeal again to Rome, he requires all concerned to appear personally, on pain of the *ipso facto* deposition of any bishop who might refuse to come. The result was the synod under Beorhtwald, near the river Nidd, in which a compromise was at length effected, and peace restored. Baronius erroneously assigns this last appeal of Wilfrid to Rome, and the pope's letter, to the year 705, in the pontificate of John VII. Pagi (*Critic.*) establishes the date as given above The main authority for the facts is Eddius in his life of St. Wilfrid. See also Bede (*H. E.* v. 19). John VI. was buried on Jan. 10 in St. Peter's. [J. B—y.]

JOANNES (352) VII., bishop of Rome after John VI., from 1st March, 705 to 17th Oct. 707, for two years seven months and seventeen days, the see having been vacant for one month and eighteen days. Like his predecessor he was a Greek, his father's name being Plato. His reign was uneventful. Soon after his accession the emperor Justinian II. (having recovered the empire after his banishment) sent him by two metropolitan bishops the canons of the council called Quinisextum, or the Council in Trullo, with an earnest request that he would summon a Roman synod to confirm such parts of the canons as were approved, and reject the rest. They had, it is to be remembered, been rejected entirely by Pope Sergius, when sent to him by the emperor Justinian after the council in 692, as containing things adverse to the prerogatives and customs of the Roman see. John VII. returned them to the emperor unaltered. His inaction in the matter is attributed by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Vit. Pontif.*) to "timidity through human frailty;" but is commended by Binius and Baronius on the ground that his most dignified course was to ignore altogether the proceedings of the pseudo-synod in Trullo.

During his pontificate, Aripert, the Lombard king, is said to have restored to him papal patrimony in the Cottian Alps, which had been seized by the Lombards, and to have sent the instrument of donation engraved in letters of gold. Anastasius speaks of him as learned and eloquent, and describes his extensive works in decorating churches, adding that among the pictures with which he adorned them portraits of himself were to be found. From the scanty notices of him, which we derive from Anastasius, we may gather him to have been a man of taste and culture rather than of energetic action. He was buried on the 18th of October, A.D. 707, in St. Peter's, before the altar of the Oratory of the Blessed Virgin which he had himself constructed. [J. B—y.]

JOANNES (353), bishop of Rubum (Ruvo), A.D. 493 (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vii. 1032). Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 918) makes him Joannes II., and mentions (but without any approximation to a date) an earlier Joannes, who is not mentioned by Ughelli. [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Sabina, *vid.* of Forum-novum; of Salamis, *vid.* of Nova Justinianopolis.

JOANNES (354), bishop of Salerno in 680. (Mansi, xi. 314; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (355), the name of six bishops of Salona in Farlati's *Illyricum Sacrum*; viz.:—

I. 16th bishop (275–282 or 5) (i. 633).
II. 19th (298–300) (i. 706).
III. 21st (303–304) (i. 708).
IV. 29th (395–405) (ii. 46).
V. 31st (428–450) (ii. 91).
VI. Surnamed RAVENNAS, who became John I., first archbishop of Spalato from 650 to 680, when this city was built in succession to Salona which was destroyed in 639. [J. de S.]

JOANNES (356), bishop of St. Salonentia (*τῆς ἁγίας Σαλονεντιανῆς* or *Σαλονεντίας*), present at the seventh synod, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 139, 366 E). The see may be the same as one called in another list St. Saluntia (*τῆς ἁγίας Σαλουντιανῆς ἐκκλησίας*), which also sent a John to this synod (*ibid.* 387); but both the names seem unknown. [C. H.]

JOANNES, of Salzburg, *vid.* of Juvavia.

JOANNES (357) I., bishop of Saragossa before A.D. 540. His signature appears among those of the council of Barcelona (A.D. 540), and of the council of Lerida (546). (Gregory of Tours,

Hist. Franc. iii. 29, conf. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 120; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Española*, ii. 138, 686; *Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 126.) [VALERIUS.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (358) II., bishop of Saragossa from about 619 to about 631. He was the brother and predecessor of the famous Braulio of Saragossa, and succeeded Maximus the historian. A short life of him will be found in the *De Viris Ill.* of Ildefonsus (cap. vi. in *Pat. Lat.* xcvi. 201, and *Esp. Sagr.* v. 476). According to Ildefonsus he occupied the see twelve years, and flourished under Sisebut and Suinthila (*Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 141). He composed a treatise (not extant) on the calculation of Easter (Cave, i. 576). [VALERIUS.] [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (359), bishop of Sardis, addressed by Theodorus Studita (ep. 108 in *Pat. Gr.* xcix. 1367; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 863). It is not known whether he is the John bishop of Sardis who wrote the life of St. Nicephorus the martyr. (Boll. *Acta SS.* of Feb. ii. 285.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, bishop of Sassari, *vid.* of Torres.

JOANNES (360), archbishop of Scodra (Skutari), at the south of Dalmatia(?). His name is omitted in many lists of the bishops of this diocese, owing probably to a passage in Gregory the Great's epistle to Malchus bishop of Dalmatia, A.D. 591 (lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 38 in Migne, lxxvii. 492), in which Joannes seems to be referred to as a layman who had a dispute with bishop Stephanus of Scodra. But the superscription of another letter (*ibid.* p. 909; lib. viii. Indict. i. ep. 668), including, among other names, that of "Joanni Scoritano," caused Farlati to place Joannes between Stephanus and Constantius, with the approximate date, A.D. 598. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 275–278; Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* vii. 301–334; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 95, 130.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (361), bishop of Scopia (Skupi) in Dardania, signed, A.D. 493, an epistle of the Dardanian bishops to pope Gelasius. (Mansi, viii. 13; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 310.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (362), bishop of Scyllacium (Squillace), sent there in 592 by Gregory the Great. He had formerly been bishop of Lissus (Alessio) in Dalmatia, and was to return there if it became free from the invaders who had driven him out (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. epp. 37, 38; Migne, lxxvii. 575). In 592 Gregory committed to him the visitation of the vacant episcopal church of Crotona. In 598 he was reproved by Gregory the Great for having encroached on the rights of the neighbouring monastery of Castellum (lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 34; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 101, 125). [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (363), bishop of Scythopolis in Palestine, cir. A.D. 496–518. We are informed by Photius (cod. 231) that Sophronius patriarch of Jerusalem, in his synodical epistle to Honorius, mentioned John as having written in defence of the council of Chalcedon. Pope Agatho likewise in 680 speaks of him in his epistle to Constantine Pogonatus (Mansi, xi. 270 C) as one of the defenders of the catholic doctrine. Sophronius and Agatho both probably referred to a work of John against Severus quoted at the Lateran council of 649 (Mansi, x. 1107) and at the council of Constantinople in 680 (Mansi, xi. 438). As the passage read on the latter occasion mentioned the controversy between Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus (*q. v.*), the date of John's death must have been somewhat later than that given by Le Quien. Cave (i. 506) thinks he may be the same as JOANNES MAXENTIUS, who was a Scythian and an archimandrite. Le Quien (iii. 690) also is uncertain as to his identity with Joannes Scythopolitanus Scholasticus mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis in his Life of St. Saba. But this John was a layman and lived under bishop John's successor Theodosius. Our bishop was as early as the 9th century confounded by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Pat. Lat.* cxxix. 740) with another John Scholasticus of Scythopolis, who wrote a commentary on the pseudo-Dionysius (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 690). [J. de S.]

JOANNES (364), bishop of Sebaste, the metropolis of the first province of Lesser Armenia, present both at the "Latrocinium Ephesinum," A.D. 449, and at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; he also subscribed the letter to the emperor Leo A.D. 458. (Mansi, vi. 928; vii. 138, 589; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 424.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (365), bishop of Segni (Signia), present at the Roman synods under Gregory II. in 721 (Mansi, xii. 265; Hefele, § 330) and 743 under pope Zacharias. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (366), bishop of Seleucia, martyred under Sapor II. (Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 431.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (367), bishop of Seleucia on the Tigris, in or before 559, but whether over the orthodox there or as catholicos over the Nestorians is uncertain. (Le Quien, ii. 1118.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (368), son of Martha, catholicos of Seleucia, 679–681, and previously bishop of Gondisapor. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 422; Le Quien, ii. 1123, 1183.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, intrud. cathol. of Seleuc. *v.* 87.

JOANNES (369), bishop of Seleucia Trachea in Isauria, on the river Calycadnus about A.D. 446. He is mentioned with praise by Basil Seleuciensis in his life of Thecla (*Patr. Graec.* lxxxv.). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1014.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (370) I., bishop of Settae (Satta, Sitae, Sita), in the province of Lydia, present the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and at the Trullan synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 650, 677, 995.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (371) II., bishop of Settae (Satta, Sitae), in the province of Lydia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 996 D, 1101, xiii. 143, 370 A, 390; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 881.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Sichem, *vid.* of Neapolis.

JOANNES (372) I., bishop of Side, the metropolis of the first Pamphylia, mentioned by Socrates (*H. E.* vii. 27). He lived in the middle of the 4th century. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 997.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (373) II., bishop of Side, present at the sixth general council A.D. 680, and at the Trullan synod A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 641, 669, 687, 989.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (374) (Gio), Nestorian bishop of Sighaufu cir. 699–713. (Le Quien, ii. 1269.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (375), bishop of Silbium, in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the seventh general council (second Nicene), A.D. 787. The name of the see is also written Siblia, Sublium, Sybis, in Mansi. (Mansi, xii. 1108, xiii. 147, 371 B, 393; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 809.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (376), Nestorian bishop of Singara in the 8th century. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 497; Le Quien, ii. 1333.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (377), bishop of Sion, in the province of Asia, a town mentioned only in the acts of the councils, present at the Trullan synod (Quinisext), A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 993; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 722.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (378), bishop of Siscia (Sisseck) on the Save, in Pannonia, present at the synod of the "Provincia Salonitana" A.D. 530. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* v. 329.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (379) I., second bishop of Sisteron. (Dynamius, *Vita S. Marii*, c. 2, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 27; *Gall. Christ.* i. 474.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Sita (Mansi, xi. 650, 678), *vid.* of Settae; of Sombus, *vid.* of Combi.

JOANNES (380), bishop of Sora, c. A.D. 492–496, was written to by Gelasius I. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 156*.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (381), bishop of Sora, in Paphlagonia, present at the Trullan (Quinisext) synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1000; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 557.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Sorrento, *vid.* of Surrentum; bishop of Sosamus, *vid.* of Amastris.

JOANNES (382), a bishop in Spain, mentioned by pope Innocent I. (Innoc. ep. 3, cap. 3 in *Pat. Lat.* xx. 409; ep. 23 in Mansi, iii. 1063.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, of Spalato, *vid.* of Salona. [J. de S.]

JOANNES (383), reputed second bishop of Spoletum (Spoleto), c. A.D. 70. (Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* i. *167; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 329.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (384), bishop of Spoleto, present at the first, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth synods of pope Symmachus in March 499, Oct. 501, Nov. 502, 503, and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who adopts, with a slight alteration, the arrangements of Hefele (§ 220) (Mansi, viii. 235, 252, 268, 299, 315). He is reported by a doubtful tradition to have been killed by the soldiers of Totila. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iv. 338.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES, bishop of Squillace, *vid.* of Scyllacium; bishop of Stadia, *vid.* of Cnidus.

JOANNES (385), bishop of Stobi in Macedonia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 642, 673; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 76.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (386), bishop of Surrentum (Sorrento). Gregory the Great twice wrote letters to him, in 591 and 598 (lib. i. indict. ix. 54; lib. ix. indict. ii. 25 in Migne, lxxvii. 515, 964, Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* pp. 96, 127; Hefele, § 288, § 289; Mansi, ix. 1228). [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (387), bishop of Sycamazon in Palestine, at council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Mansi, iv. 1366, v. 530; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 657). He is also called variously *Αἰηνός*, *'Αϊδυνης*, *Αἰδυνις*, Janes, Azanus. (Mansi, iv. 1123, 1218, v. 590, 718, vii. 703.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (388), bishop of Synnada in Phrygia, the metropolis of the province of Phrygia Salutaris, some time between A.D. 715 and 740, a correspondent of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople. (S. German. *Epist.* 2 in *Patr. Graec.* xcviii. 155, &c.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 830; Ceillier, xii. 37.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (389), bishop of Syracuse. After he became bishop, Gregory wrote him many letters concerning church property and other matters from 595 to 603. (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 116–151; Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. v. indict. xiii. 18; lib. vi. indict. xiv. 18; lib. vii. indict. xv. 9; lib. ix. indict. ii. 12; lib. x. indict. iii. 47 in Migne, lxxvii. 137, 810, 863, 955, 1103; Boll. *Acta SS.* 23 Oct. x. 67.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (390) II., bishop of Syracuse. He seems to have lived between A.D. 700 and 768, and is said to have perished at sea. (Pirro, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 609.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of Talaza, *vid.* of Gabala.

JOANNES (391), two patriarchs of the Syrian Jacobites, one of whom ruled during 631–649; the other (previously bishop of Haura) died in 754. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 335, 479; Le Quien, ii. 1363, 1366, 1507.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (392) I., styled Saba (*senex*), head of the monastery of St. Matthew, ordained maphrian of the Syrian Jacobites, by a synod of six bishops meeting at Tagrit. His primacy lasted only one year and six months, during which he ordained three bishops. He died Jan. 2, A.D. 688 (Barhebraeus in Assem. *B. O.* ii. 429; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1537). He was author of an Anaphora or Liturgy, beginning ܚܘܒܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܕܠܘܬܟ ܘܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ܆ "Perfect love towards Thee and towards each other;" which is cited by Stephanus Edenensis, cap. vii. no. 19. [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (393), surnamed Bionita, maphrian of the Syrian Jacobites at Tagrit from 757, previously a monk of St. Matthew's. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 432; Le Quien, ii. 1539.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (394), bishop of Taphar in the district of the Homeritae in Abyssinia (Wiltsch. *Handb. der Kirchengeogr.* i. 443). The Homeritae had been converted to Christianity in the

sixteenth year of Justinian (Theophan. *Chronogr.* Patrol. Gr. cviii. 489), and begged the emperor to give them a bishop. They received Joannes, a παραμονάριος of Alexandria, a man of great piety. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 663.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (395) I., fourteenth archbishop of Tarentaise, perhaps towards the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (396), bishop of Tarentum, present at the synods of 595 and 601. These are two separate synods according to Hefele (§ 288, § 289); according to Jaffé (*Regesta Pont.* p. 114) there was only one synod, and that in 595. (Mansi, ix. 1228, x. 487.) [A.. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (397), bishop of Tarentum, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 866; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (398), bishop of Tarragona, presided at the councils of Tarragona and Gerona held on November 6, A.D. 516, and June 8, A.D. 517 (*Tejada y Ramiro*, ii. 115, 121). In the interval he visited Italy. He announced his arrival to pope Hormisdas, but was prevented from meeting him. The pope replied to some enquiries John addressed to him, and also sent a letter to all the bishops of Spain on the same points. A second letter which he wrote is undated, but was probably written at the same time as the first, and not, as Ceillier (x. 625) considers, in A.D. 519 after the end of the schism. (Hormisdas, *Epist.* xxiv. xxv.; li. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. 422, 423, 459; *Esp. Sag.* xxv. 58–71; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 1. 436.) [F. D.]

JOANNES (399), Jacobite bishop of Tarsus, living in 668. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 335; Le Quien, ii. 1465.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (400), the first known bishop of Tarvisium (Treviso), c. A.D. 320. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 467; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 602.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (401), bishop of Taurominium, present at the council of Nicaea in 787. (Hefele, § 347; Mansi, xii. 993 C, xiii. 139, 366 E, 383, 498; Pirro, *Sic. Sac.* 489.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (402), called BAR CYRIACUS, one of the earliest champions of Monophysitism, bishop of Tela Mauzalat, or Constantina in Mesopotamia. In 512 he, with five other episcopal followers of Severus, attended a synod at Sidon, which met to discuss their doctrines. He was one of fifty-five bishops who in A.D. 519 were banished by order of Justin. According to the life of Joannes, by Elias his personal follower, he was born at Callinicus, and died a martyr's death at the hands of Ephraim, A.D. 538, aged 55 (MSS. nos. dccccclx and dccccclxxviii. in Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.*). Another MS. dated A.D. 688, and published in Laud's *Anecd. Syr.* ii. 169, gives a life of Joannes of Tella by John of Ephesus. Joannes is commemorated as a martyr on Feb. 6 in a Jacobite kalendar. His "Canonical Resolutions" have been published by Lamy, *de Syrorum fide in re eucharistica*, Louvain, 1859. The work answers forty-eight questions put by a priest named Sergius. Several MSS. of the British Museum contain these canons; cf. nos. cclxxxvi. 5, b. dccclvii. 27, 18, dcccvii. 2. In Wright's *Cat.* no. dlvi. 3, is a confession of faith, in the shape of a letter to the monasteries round Tella: and no. mxxxv. states that 170,070 persons received ordination from Joannes. (Assem. *B. O.* i. 396; ii. 53–89; Bickell, *Consp. Syr.* 40; Ceillier, x. 643.) [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (403) I., bishop of Tergeste (Trieste) c. A.D. 731. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* viii. 681.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (404) II., bishop of Tergeste, c. 759, transferred to the patriarchate of Grado in 766 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 681; Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 319; Dandul, *Chronicon*, in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptores*, xii. p. 144; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* p. 202). According to the chronicle he was patriarch for thirty-six years. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (405), bishop of Termini in Sicily, in A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 303; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (406), bishop of Terracina, c. A.D. 440. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vi. 523.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES, of Theodosiopolis, *vid.* of Panium.

JOANNES (407), bishop of Thermae, in Sicily, A.D. 680. (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 955, referring to Marzo-Ferro, 1860.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (408) I., bishop of Thessalonica, mentioned in the letter of the Arian council of Philippopolis to the African church (Mansi, iii. 133). John was dead before the meeting of the council, A.D. 343, as Aetius is found (*ibid.* 38, 43) in the records of the council as bishop of Thessalonica at that time. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 29.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (409), bishop of Thessalonica, at the 6th general council, 680, as legate of the pope (Mansi, xi. 639, 670, 687; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 42). There is attributed to him a *Dialogue* between a Pagan and a Christian in favour of painting angels and spirits cited in the council of Nicaea, 787 (Mansi, xiii. 163). He composed likewise (1) an oration εἰς τὰς μυροφόρους γυναῖκας, arguing that there is no contradiction in the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection of Jesus. This has been printed among Chrysostom's works, in the editions of Savile (t. v. p. 740) and Migne (*Pat. Gr.* lix. 635), and by Combefis (*Auct. Nov.* t. i. p. 791) under the title *De Resurrectione Christi.* (2) An oration εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (Leo Allat. *De Symeonum Script.* p. 110; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* x. 285, Harles). (3) A *Hymn*, ὕμνος εἰς Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν παράδοξον ἀθλοφόρον Δημήτριον (Fabr. x. 219; Leo Allat. *De Sym.* 105). See also Cave, i. 597, and Le Quien, ii. 42. [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (410), bishop of Thurium (Turrio), present at the third and sixth synods under pope Symmachus in Oct. 501 and Oct. 504; Dahn. (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209, Mansi, viii. 253, 315; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* x. 173; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 282.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (411) I., bishop of Tiberias (Tabaria) in Palestine, took part in the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus, A.D. 449, but recanted his error at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 568; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 708.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (412) II., bishop of Tiberias in A.D. 518, present at the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1171; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 708.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (413), bishop of Tibur (Tivoli), in 743. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (414)—Aug. 27, bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), 801–813. (Cappelletti, xii. 407; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* 27 Aug. vi. 105.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (415), bishop of Tlo in Lycia, subscribed the canons of the Trullan synod A.D. 692, where, by an error of the transcribers, he is called "Episcopus Tlattae" for "Tloes." (Mansi, xi. 1001; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 980.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (416), bishop of Tomi (Constantiniana) in Lesser Scythia, between A.D. 432–448, mentioned by Marius Mercator (*Opusc. Transl.* iii. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xlviii. 1088. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1215.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Torcellum, *vid.* of Altinum.

JOANNES (417), bishop of Torres in Sardinia (afterwards merged in the see of Sassari), c. 778. (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 839.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (418), doubtful bishop of Tortona, c. 550. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 670.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES, of Tortosa, *vid.* of Dertosa.

JOANNES (419) I., bishop of Trajanopolis (Tranopolis) in Phrygia Pacatiana, A.D. 459. (Mansi, vii. 920; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 803.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (420) II., bishop of Trajanopolis, in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the synod of Constantinople A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, i. 810.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (421) ST., surnamed AGNUS, 25th or 26th bishop of Trajectum (Maestricht). The authorities for his history are late and legendary. His death is placed in 649, after an episcopate of twenty-six years (cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 363. sqq., *De S. Monone*, *Vita Theodardi* by Sigebertus Gemblacensis, c. ii. § 8, Patr. Lat. clx. 752). He is commemorated July 25, the day of his death, and appears in the later martyrologies. (*Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, i. 68–72, Liége, 1612; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 225; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 820.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, bishop of Trapeia (Mansi, x. 866), *vid.* of Tropaea.

JOANNES (422), bishop of Trapezopolis, in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 156; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 810.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (423) I., bishop of Trent, perhaps early in the 8th century. (Ughelli, *Sacra Italia*, v. 512, Rom. 1653; Potthast, *Bibl.* suppl. p. 423.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, of Treviso, *vid.* of Tarvisium; of Trieste, *vid.* of Tergeste.

JOANNES (424), bishop of Triocala, in Sicily, c. A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 993 D, xiii. 139, 366 E, 383; Pirro, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 490.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (425), bishop of Tripolis, in Lydia, in A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 573. Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 880.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, of Trisenna, *vid.* of Etenne.

JOANNES (426), bishop of Tropaea (Tropea), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, where his designation is Trapeianus and ἐπισκ. Τροπαίων. (Mansi, x. 866; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ix. 450; Hefele, § 307). [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (427), bishop of Tymbriadum in Pisidia, present at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 374 B, 396; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 106.) [L. D.]

JOANNES, bishop of Tyre, *vid.* of Apamea.

JOANNES (428), a bishop designated as Unnogoritanus (Οὐννογουρίου) at the Lateran council of 649. (Mansi, x. 867). [C. H.]

JOANNES (429), bishop of Urbevetanum (Orvieto, Urbs vetus), received a letter from Gregory the Great in 590. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 12 in Migne, lxxvii. 458; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 93.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (430), bishop of Valeria (Valera de Arriba), subscribes the acts of C. Tol. iii. (589). This is the first appearance of the see of Valera, which belonged to the province of Carthaginensis, disappeared with the Moorish invasion, and towards the end of the 12th century was merged, ogether with the ancient see of Eravica in the modern see of Cuença. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 202, 207.) [M. A. W.]

JOANNES (431), bishop of Valpuesta. His name occurs in a charter of Alphonso II., king of Oviedo, dated Dec. 21, A.D. 804. The king thereby confirms to the church of Valpuesta what had been acquired by that bishop or his predecessors. In a document dated the same day, and witnessed by four bishops and two abbats, Joannes recites how he came to Valpuesta, and rebuilt and endowed the church of Santa Maria. His name occurs again as witness to a document dated Dec. 30, A.D. 844. He must therefore have been bishop more than forty years. (*Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 84). The see of Valpuesta under this bishop succeeded Auca (Oca), and is now represented by Burgos. [F. D.]

JOANNES (432), bishop of Velitrae (Velletri) received two letters from Gregory the Great in 592 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 99, 102; Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 14, 50; Migne, lxxvii. 549, 591). He was present at the synods of 595 and 601. (Mansi, ix. 1228; x. 488.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (433) II., bishop of Velitrae, present at the Roman synod under Gregory II. in 721. (Mansi, xii. 264; Hefele, § 330.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (434), bishop of Venusium (Venosa), acceded, probably, c. A.D. 443. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 218.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES (435), a bishop of Verona, of uncertain date. It seems agreed that he succeeded St. Maurus. The Bollandist places him in the 4th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 6 Jun. i. 641; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 573; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 749; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. ii. 2.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNES of Vescovio, *vid.* of Foronovo.

JOANNES (436), bishop of Vicohabentia (Voghenza), cir. 462. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 518; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* iv. 19, 224; Rubeus, *Hist. Ravennal.*; lib. iv. p. 183, ed. 1572.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (437), bishop of Vicosabina or Sabina at the Lateran council of Rome in 649 (Mansi, x. 867; Ugh. i. 157). With respect to his see, which some make the same as Forumnovanum (Vescovio) and different from Nomentum, cf. Ughelli *Ital. Sac.* x. 103, i. 157; Marronus, *De Eccl. Sab.* 1758, p. 4; Cappelletti, i. 557, 585; Gams, p. xii. [C. H.]

JOANNES (438), bishop of Vintimilium (Vintimiglia), in A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 307; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (439) I., bishop of Viviers, probably sixteenth in succession, in the latter half of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 546; Gams, *Series Episc.* 656.) [S. A. B.]

JOANNES, of Voghenga, *v.* of Vicohabentia.

JOANNES (440), a Welsh bishop, who witnesses a grant by king Meurig about the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 405–6.) [J. G.]

JOANNES, bishop of York, *vid.* of Hexham.

JOANNES (441), bishop of Zagylis in Libya Secunda, on the sea coast. He is called "episcopus Magileos" by Liberatus. (*Breviarium*, cap. 18, *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 1027; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 636.) [J. de S.]

JOANNES (442), bishop of Zalichus, represented at the seventh synod, 787 (Mansi, xiii. 146; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 542). The city was also called Leontopolis. [C. H.]

JOANNES (443), bishop of Zoar in Palestine, in A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 577; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 743.) [J. de S.]

Clergy.

Vid. also monks, Nos. 491, 508, 530, 531, 532, and martyr, No. 542.

JOANNES (444) PRESBYTER, a shadowy personage of the sub-apostolic age, the reasons for belief in his existence being solely derived from an inference drawn by Eusebius from language used in a passage of Papias. In the middle of the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 25) had maintained on critical grounds that the author of the fourth Gospel and of the Catholic Epistle could not also have been the author of the Apocalypse. Dionysius takes for granted that the author of the Gospel was John the apostle, and he has no difficulty in conceding that the name of the author of the Apocalypse was also John, since the writer himself says so; but he urges that the writer never claims to be the apostle. He calls himself simply John, without adding that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved, or he who leaned on our Lord's breast, or the brother of James, or in any other way forcing us to identify him with the Son of Zebedee. Now there might easily have been more Johns than one. The Acts of the Apostles mention another John, namely, him whose surname was Mark. And there might have been many more; for, as in the days of Dionysius himself, the names Peter and Paul were borne by many of the children of the faithful, so it was to be believed that in earlier times many adopted the name of John from love and admiration of the apostle, and from a wish to be loved by our Lord as he was. Further, it is said that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each called John's. It will be observed that, except in the statement last made, Dionysius does not pretend to have found any actual trace of any John of the apostolic age besides John the apostle and John Mark. His argument does not proceed beyond this; that if we have good critical reasons for believing the authors of the Gospel and of the Apocalypse to be distinct, the fact that both bore the name of John does not force us to identify them, since there easily might have been more Johns than one. It was some three quarters of a century later that Eusebius found historic evidence for regarding as a fact what Dionysius had suggested as a possibility. He produces from the preface to the work of Papias an extract which we shall discuss at more length in the article on that father. What concerns us here is that Papias, speaking of the pains he had taken in collecting oral traditions of the apostolic times, says, "on any occasion when a person came in my way, who had been a follower of the elders, I would enquire about the discourses of the elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord say" (Lightfoot's translation). Eusebius points out that in this passage the name John occurs twice; the first time, occurring in a list of apostles, it no doubt represents John the apostle; the second time occurring in a different list, placed after the name of Aristion, and with the title elder prefixed, it must be held to represent a different person. Thus it is a mistake to describe Papias as a hearer of John the apostle; the John whose traditions he several times records is John the Elder, not John the apostle. We find thus, remarks Eusebius, that "the account of those is true who have stated that two persons in Asia had the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present time, bears the name

of John." "It is likely that the second (unless we allow that it was, as some would have it, the first) beheld the revelation which is ascribed to John" (*H. E.* iii. 39). Although Eusebius does not here name Dionysius of Alexandria, it is plain that he had in his mind that passage of his writings which he gives at length elsewhere. The ambiguous way in which he speaks of the Apocalypse agrees with his language elsewhere. It is easy to see that his personal inclination was to pronounce the book non-apostolical; but that he was kept in check by the weight of authority in its favour. We may conclude from the silence of Eusebius that the other passages in Papias where John was mentioned contained no decisive indications what John was intended.

Modern writers have not been unanimous in their judgment on this criticism of Eusebius. Several reject it, finding themselves able to understand Papias not as speaking of two Johns, but as mentioning one John twice over. So, for example, Milligan (*Journal Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1867); Riggenbach (*Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* xiii. 319); Zahn (*Stud. und Krit.* 1866, p. 650, *Acta Johannis*, 1880, p. cliv.). But a far more powerful array of critics is ranged on the other side, endorsing the conclusion of Eusebius; for example, Steitz (*Stud. und Krit.* 1868, p. 63); Lightfoot (*Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1875, p. 379); Westcott (*N. T. Canon.* p. 69); while less orthodox critics with one consent build their theories in confidence that John the Elder is as historical a person as Peter or Paul.

It is otherwise with ancient writers, for the argument of Eusebius seems to have made little impression at the time, and his successors seem to know only of one John, and go on speaking of Papias as the hearer of John the apostle. In this they followed Irenaeus, and it is an important fact in this controversy, that Irenaeus, who was very familiar with the work of Papias, of which he made large use, and whose Eastern origin ought to have made him acquainted with the traditions of the Asiatic church, shews no symptom of having heard of any John but the apostle, and describes Papias (V. 33, p. 333) as a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp. That Polycarp whom he thus counts as the contemporary of Papias was a hearer of John the apostle is stated explicitly by Irenaeus in his letter to Victor (Eus. *H. E.* v. 24; see also his letter to Florinus, v. 20). That Polycarp was made bishop of Smyrna by John the apostle is stated by Tertullian (*Praescrip.* v. 30), and was never doubted by subsequent writers. Polycrates in his appeal to the great lights of the church of Asia (Eus. v. 24), names John who leaned on our Lord's breast who sleeps at Ephesus, but says nothing about any second John buried there or elsewhere. The silence of Dionysius of Alexandria is positive proof that no tradition of a second John had reached him. If he knew and remembered the passage in Papias it did not occur to him to draw from it the same inference as Eusebius. Neither, though he mentions the two monuments at Ephesus, both bearing the name of John, does he say what would have been very much to his purpose, that he had heard that they were supposed to commemorate different persons; and in fact Jerome, who in his "catalogue" repeats the story, tells us that there were those who held that the same John was commemorated by both.[a] The Acts of Leucius, are notoriously the source whence the fathers, from the 4th century on, derived Johannine traditions. Zahn will scarcely make many converts to his opinion that Leucius was earlier than Papias, but we count it highly probable that Leucius was a full century earlier than Eusebius. And we can assert, with as much confidence as such a thing can be asserted of a book of which only fragments remain that Leucius made no mention of any John but the apostle. If at the time when Leucius put his stories together, any tradition had remained of a second John, this would surely have been among the Leucian names of the apostle's disciples, so many of which we are able to enumerate. Eusebius had not thought of his theory at the time of his earlier work, the *Chronicle*, in which he describes Papias as a disciple of the evangelist. So, too, Jerome is not self-consistent, speaking in one way, when he is immediately under the influence of Eusebius, and at other times following the older tradition. In the East the only trace of the theory of Eusebius is that the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) make John ordain another John, as bishop of Ephesus in succession to Timothy. The writers who used the work of Papias do not seem to suspect that any John but the apostle was the source of his information. One fragment (Gebhardt and Harnack, ed. 2, No. iii. p. 93) was preserved by Apollinarius, who describes Papias as a disciple of John; some authorities add "the Apostle," but in any case where John is mentioned without addition no other is meant. Anastasius of Sinai (Gebhardt, No. vi.) describes Papias as *ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσας* and No. vii. as *ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ φοιτητής*; Maximus confessor (No. ix.) describes him as *συνακμάσαντα τῷ θείῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ*. An anonymous but ancient note even makes Papias the scribe who wrote down the gospel from the apostle's dictation. In short, in his opinion on this point, Eusebius among ancient authorities stands completely alone, differing alike from his predecessors and his successors.

It by no means necessarily follows that Eusebius was wrong. If he has correctly interpreted the language of Papias, the authority of so ancient a witness outweighs that of any number of later writers. We can conceive either that there were two Johns in Asia, and that the latter's fame was so absorbed by the glory of his greater namesake, that all remembrance of him was lost; or else we may imagine that the second John, the source of apostolic traditions to the Asiatic churches, held so very high a place in their consideration that, though not really so, he passed in common fame as the apostle. On this second supposition it is unnecessary to believe that the real apostle visited Asia at all. A mistake such as that here supposed is believed by many to have been made in the case of the Philip who settled at Hierapolis, and whose daughters are celebrated in the church. Ecclesiastical tradition describes

[a] Zahn (*Acta Johannis*, p. cliv. sqq.) tries to make out a proof that one memorial church was erected outside the walls on the spot where John was buried; the other inside the walls on the site of the house where John had resided, and where he had celebrated his last communion.

him as Philip the apostle, yet St. Luke may give us a right to think that he was in reality only one of the seven (Acts vi.).

The supposition that John the apostle was never in Asia Minor has been embraced by Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*), Scholten (*Der Apostel Johannes in Kleinasien*) and others. But except that the recognition of the residence of a different John in Asia opens to us the possibility of a confusion their reasons for disbelief in the apostle's residence in Asia are so worthless that it would be a waste of space to discuss them. And there is an immense mass of patristic testimony that John the apostle lived to a great age and died in Asia in the reign of Trajan. Thus to confine ourselves to the second century, in addition to Irenaeus who speaks repeatedly on this point, and to Polycrates and Tertullian already mentioned, we have Clement of Alexandria, and Apollonius (Eus. v. 18) in a document which shews intimate knowledge of affairs at Ephesus. It is curious how extremes meet; for the view which most completely rejects the traditional account really conflicts the least with traditional opinions. Those who deny that the Apostle John was ever in Asia, abandon Eusebius's theory of two Johns in Asia, can lay no stress on the two Ephesine tombs, and are unable to solve any difficulties about the Johannine writings by dividing them between two Johns. If they hold that John the Elder was the author of the fourth Gospel, yet Papias leads us to regard this John as a personal disciple of our Lord, and the Gospel itself implies that he was an eyewitness of the things he relates, and that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved. Now there is no reason why it might not be as completely an open question among the most rigidly orthodox whether John the beloved disciple were identical with John the apostle, as it is whether James, our Lord's brother, was one of the twelve.

Considering next the other supposition, that both John the apostle and the elder taught in Asia, it is natural to enquire can we transfer to the second anything that is traditionally told of the first. Dionysius and Eusebius transfer to him the authorship of the Apocalypse, but those of the present day who divide the Johannine books between these two Johns unanimously give the Apocalypse to the first. St. Jerome too assigns to "the Elder" the two minor epistles, and this is a very natural inference from their inscription. Concerning that inscription it may be remarked that it is a modest one, if the writer could have claimed the dignity of apostle, but if not it seems arrogant that any one should designate himself as *the* elder at a time when there must have been elders in every city. There is also a great assumption of authority in the tone of the 3rd epistle. The writer sends his legates to the churches of the district, is angry if these legates are not respectfully received by the local authorities, and addresses these churches in a tone of command. It may be suggested as an explanation of this, that the writer knew himself to be the sole survivor in the district of the first Christian generation; and it agrees with this that Papias describes him as a disciple of our Lord, yet speaks of him in the present tense while he speaks of the apostles in the past. Yet this hypothesis is scarcely tenable if we give credence to what is told of the great age attained by the apostle John, who is said to have lived to the reign of Trajan. This hardly leaves room for any one who could claim to have heard our Lord to acquire celebrity after the apostle's decease. Further, it has often been noticed that no one who used the fourth Gospel only could know that there had been an apostle of the name of John. Even our Lord's forerunner, who in the other Gospels is called John the Baptist, in this is simply John, as if there were no need to distinguish him from any other. The apostle was perhaps the only man in the church who would never feel such need, therefore if he were the author of the Gospel, all is intelligible; but if the author were his disciple, is it conceivable that he should thus suppress the name of his great master and predecessor in labour in Asia; and if beside the apostle there were in our Lord's circle another John, is it to be explained that the writer should not have cared to distinguish them?

Thus the Eusebian interpretation of Papias is forced to stand on its own merits. It obtains no confirmation from independent testimony, nor has it the recommendation of giving a key to the solution of any perplexing problems. It is certainly possible that we with our more powerful instruments of criticism may be able to resolve a double star which had appeared to the early observers single. Yet considering how much closer and more favourably circumstanced they were, we have need to look well that the mistake is not our own. Reviewing then the Eusebian arguments, we find that one must be rejected, namely, that by calling his second John the elder, Papias meant to distinguish him from the apostle. This would be so if he had called the first John an apostle, but actually he calls him an elder. When he speaks one moment of the elders James, John, and Matthew, and the next moment of Aristion and John the elder, if we suppose him to have been careful in his use of language he must have been speaking of the same John. If we suppose, as do Lightfoot and others, that he uses the word elder in different senses in the two places, at least the word cannot be used the second time *to distinguish him* from those to whom it is applied the first time. If it is to distinguish him from anyone it is from Aristion, to whom, though also called a disciple of the Lord, this name is not applied. And here falls away Eusebius's second argument, that Papias by placing John after Aristion meant to assign to him a less honourable place, since John is given a title of dignity, which is refused to Aristion. Some light is thrown on the sense in which the word elder is applied to John by Papias in his preface by the fact that one of his traditions is told with the formula, "These things the elder used to say." This phrase must surely mean something more than that the authority cited was one of the many presbyters of the church. And we cannot help connecting with the phrase the fact revealed by the minor Johannine epistles, that there was some one in the Asiatic church who spoke of himself, and no doubt was habitually spoken of by others, as "the Elder."

Of the Eusebian arguments then the only one that remains is that Papias mentions the name

John twice over, and therefore may be presumed to speak of two Johns. This would follow if Papias were a careful and accurate writer; but can we be certain that he was? Can we be sure that he might not first enumerate John in his list of seven apostles, concerning whom he had been able to glean traditions, and a second time in his shorter list of men of the first Christian generation who had survived to his own day. If by such an inaccuracy Papias has misled any one, it may be said in his excuse that he did not write with the intention of puzzling posterity. He wrote for the men of his own day, to whom the facts were well known, and the idea of being misunderstood would no more occur to him than it would to us, if we spoke of one of our leading statesmen at one moment by his surname only, the next with the addition of his title or Christian name.

And Papias might plead that he had guarded himself against mistake by giving his second John the title of elder, for that he could not have imagined that any one would suppose him to have used the word elder twice in different senses in the same sentence. The second time it does not mean "one of the first generation of Christians," for Aristion to whom the title is refused was that; it does not mean one holding the office of presbyter, for then the phrase "*the* elder," would have no meaning. What remains but that the second John had the same right to the title as Andrew, Peter, and the rest to whom it is given in the beginning of the sentence?

The result at which we arrive is, that while we own the Eusebian interpretation of Papias to be a possible one, we are unable to see that it is the only possible one; and therefore while we are willing to receive the hypothesis of two Johns, if it will help to explain any difficulty, we do not think the evidence for it enough to make us regard it as a proved historical fact. And we frankly own that if it were not for deference to better judges, we should unite with Keim in relegating, though in a different way, this "Doppelgänger" of the apostle to the region of ghostland. [G. S.]

JOANNES (445), Aug. 18, presbyter. He and another named Crispus are said to have carefully buried the bodies of those who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, and afterwards to have been martyred themselves. (Ado, *Martyrol.*; Usuard, *Martyrol.*; *Acta Sanct.* August, iii. 545.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (446), presbyter of Nicomedia, an eyewitness of the sufferings and martyrdom of Basilius bishop of Amasea in Pontus, under the emperor Licinius, if the very legendary *Acta* now extant under his name (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 417) are genuine. The question of the martyrdom is discussed by Valesius (note on Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. 1) and Pagi (*Crit.* s. a. 316, viii.), who both decide for the fact while rejecting the *Acta* in their present form (cf. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 158 · Tillemont, v. 515–517). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (447), priest, addressed with another named Antiochus, by St. Athanasius, A.D. 371 or 372. (Athanasius, *Epist. ad Joann. et Antioch. Presb.* in *Opp.* pt. i. p. 763; Tillemont, viii. 246.) [J. W. S.]

JOANNES (448), deacon, Chrysostom's open enemy and first accuser at the synod of the Oak in 403. The first of his twenty-nine charges alleged that Chrysostom had ejected him for flogging his servant (τὸν οἰκεῖον παῖδα) Eulalius (Photius, cod. 59; Baron. ann. 403, xvii. renders "filium suum"). John must have been one of the two unnamed deacons who according to Palladius (*Dial.* cap. 18 in *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. 27) were ejected by Chrysostom for murder and adultery respectively, and afterwards accused Chrysostom at the instigation of Theophilus, who restored them upon Chrysostom's deposition. Tillemont (*Mém.* xi. 140) infers that the homicide was this John. [C. H.]

JOANNES (449), a deacon, who (according to the deacon John's ninth article of accusation against Chrysostom) was cited with two other deacons, Acacius and Edaphius, by Chrysostom before a full assembly of the clergy, and accused of having stolen his humerale or pallium (τὸ μαφόριον), with an insinuation that they had put it to some other use. (Phot. cod. 59; Baron. 403, xvii.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (450), a presbyter whom Chrysostom, mentions with great respect (τὸν κύριόν μου) in a letter to Alphius (ep. 21), probably A.D. 405. Stirred up by Alphius, and supplied by him with the means, John had undertaken a mission to the pagans of Phoenicia. In another letter the same year (ep. 55) Chrysostom speaks of him again with much warmth (ὁ ποθεινότατος καὶ γλυκύτατος), and expresses great joy in the undertaking. He was apparently of the neighbourhood of Apamea. (Ceillier, vii. 132; Tillem. xi. 303.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (451), a presbyter sent by Chrysostom from Cucusus in 405 to encourage the presbyters and monks who were preaching to the heathen in Phoenicia (Chrys. ep. 123). Tillemont (xi. 303) identifies him with the preceding. See also the following. [C. H.]

JOANNES (452), presbyter, who with Paulus a deacon was sent by Chrysostom, when he had been three years in exile, to Rome, with a letter to Innocent I. thanking him and imploring his further interposition (*Epist. to Innocent* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lii. 533). The letter could not have been written earlier than the close of A.D. 406 (*ib.* 529). From his letter to Cyriacus, Demetrius, and others (*Ep.* 148), which seems to have been written A.D. 405, we learn that John and Paul were preparing to set out on their journey at that date. It therefore would appear that they had been detained (*u. s.* 529, *Vit. Chrysost.* Migne, xlvii. 259). John and Paul were also the bearers of letters, A.D. 406, to Proba a lady at Rome (*Ep.* 168), to Juliana (*Ep.* 169) and to Italica (*Ep.* 170). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (453), oeconomus, apparently of the church of Cyrus in Euphratesia, addressed by Theodoret bishop of Cyrus. (Theod. ep. 146.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (454), presbyter, legate with the deacon Epictetus from pope Celestine to the council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, v. 267 B, 271 B, 272 E); *vid.* also Baronius ann. 431 clxxviii., 432 v. ix. xv. xix. and in the epistles of Celestine 22, 23, 24, in *Pat. Lat.* l. 538. [C. H.]

JOANNES (455), presbyter and defensor of the church of Constantinople, charged in the third session of the Council of Constantinople, held in 448 under the patriarch Flavian, to cite Eutyches. (Labbe, *Concil.* vi. 495; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 448, xxvii. xxviii.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (456), an ecclesiastic of Edessa, one of the accusers of Ibas in 448 (Mansi, vii. 211). There was among them likewise a deacon John (*ib.* 255). [C. H.]

JOANNES (457), a presbyter who was primicerius of the Alexandrian notarii at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 449. (Mansi, vi. 611 C, 614 A, 618 D.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (458), a presbyter, probably of Constantinople, who, accused of heresy, betook himself to Rome in A.D. 451 in company with Basilius, a brother presbyter similarly situated, in order to clear his character. Having condemned the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, they were both sent back by Leo the Great, with his recommendation to the favour of the archbishop Anatolius. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 87, 1054. See LEO and Tillemont, xv. 624.) [C. G.]

JOANNES (459), a deacon sent to inform pope Hilary of the occupation of the see of Narbonne by Hermes in 462. [HERMES.] (Hilar. Ep. 7 in *Pat. Lat.* lviii. 24.) [R. T. S.]

JOANNES (460), a "vir eruditus Antiochenus presbyter," who, according to Ado of Vienne, wrote against Faustus the semi-Pelagian bishop of Riez, and was, apparently, a contemporary of his (Adon. *Chron.* ann. 492 in Migne, *Patrol.* cxxiii. 107). Ado, however, gives no clue to his identification. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (461), surnamed GRAMMATICUS, a presbyter of Antioch mentioned in the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of Gennadius of Massilia (cap. 93, Migne, *Patrol.* lviii. 1115), who speaks of him as living when he wrote, c.A.D. 495, and as declaiming *extempore.* He was a native of Antioch, and had been a "grammaticus" or professor in some department of literature before his ordination to the presbyterate. Gennadius says that he wrote against those "qui in una tantum substantia asserunt adorandum Christum, nec acquiescunt duas in Christo confitendas naturas," who also maintained "unam in Filio Dei et hominis personam esse, non unam carnis et Verbi naturam." He likewise controverted some opinions which were thought to have been incautiously advanced by Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius, and calculated to encourage the followers of Timotheus Aelurus. Marcellinus Comes (*Chron.* in *Pat. Lat.* li. 933) copies the first portion of the account in Gennadius and places John under A.D. 486. Cave (i. 455) makes him to have flourished in 477. The learned presbyter John of Antioch, who, according to Odo of Vienne, wrote against Faustus of Riez [FAUSTUS (11)] is probably a different person [MAXENTIUS]. Our John is likewise to be distinguished from another Joannes Grammaticus surnamed also PHILOPONUS, who belonged to Alexandria and flourished later (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 486, i.). [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (462) COELIUS, a deacon of Rome opposed to the election of Symmachus as bishop of that city, A.D. 498, and apparently one of his accusers to Theoderic, then king of Italy (Anastas. *Vit. Symmach.* Migne, *Patrol.* cxxviii. 451). Sept. 18, A.D. 506, he addressed a "Professio" to Symmachus, in which he prayed his forgiveness. (Labbe, iv. 1401; Mansi, viii. 344; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 647.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (463), surnamed AEGEATES (ὁ Αἰγεάτης), a presbyter, cir. 483, called by Photius (cod. 55) a Nestorian, and the author of a work against the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Photius, who had read the treatise, which was in the same volume as a similar one by John Philoponus, calls the author an impious man, but commends the polish and smoothness of his diction as well as the perspicuity of his style. He was anathematized as a Nestorian cir. 520 by the clergy and abbats of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Syria Secunda (Mansi, viii. 512 A, here surnamed Aegeota), and again at the council of Constantinople in 680 (xi. 567, here coupled with Cyrus and both called τοὺς Αἰγεάτας). Photius (cod. 41) identifies him with the John who wrote a Eutychian ecclesiastical history from Theodosius II. to Zeno (*i.e.* cir. 428–483). This history is quoted by Theodorus Lector (*H. E.* lib. ii. § 31 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 199), who names the author John ὁ Διακρινόμενος (Segregatus, Haesitans), a name by which the followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus called themselves. It was also quoted at the seventh synod, 787, as the work of John Diacrinomenus (Mansi, xiii. 179). Fabricius thinks that Photius called John a Nestorian inadvertently instead of a Eutychian. Le Quien in his *Dissertationes Damascenae* prefixed to the works of John of Damascus elaborately argues that the historian John of Phot. cod. 41, John Haesitans or Diacrinomenus, was the same as John Rhetor [JOANNES (574)], and different from John Aegeates. Some hitherto unpublished fragments of his works and a dissertation upon him and Theodorus Lector will be found in *Rev. Archéol.* nouv. sér. t. xxvi. p. 271. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (464), a deacon who in 520 bore a letter from the four Eastern deputies at Rome to Fulgentius and other African bishops exiled in Sardinia. (Fulgent. ep. 17, cap. 1 in *Pat. Lat.* lxv. 452; Pagi, *Crit.* ann. 520, xiii.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (465), reader, one of the four deputies referred to in the preceding article. (Fulgent. ep. 16 fin., ep. 17 init.) [MAXENTIUS.] [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (466), presbyter, to whom, as well as to Venerius a deacon, Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe addressed his treatise *De Veritate Praedestinationis.* (*Pat. Lat.* lxv. 603.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (467), deacon of Rome, to whom are dedicated three treatises ascribed to Boetius. (*Pat. Lat.* lxiv. 1299 and note, *ib.* 1311, *ib.* 1337). Migne's editor identifies him with John I. bishop of Rome. Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 522, iii.) thinks that identification possible. [C. H.]

JOANNES (468), the name of two of the clergy of Rome who followed the party of Rusticus and Sebastianus against pope Vigilius. (Mansi, viii. 359 A; Baron. ann. 548 ii., 550 xxxiv.) [IMPORTUNUS (4).] [C. H.]

JOANNES (469), presbyter of the church of Rome. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. ep. 37 in Migne, lxxvii. 633.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (470), presbyter of Ravenna. Gregory the Great, A.D. 595, cannot allow him to be consecrated as metropolitan of Ravenna, on account of his ignorance of the Psalms. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. v. indict. xiii. 48 in Migne, lxxvii. 777.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (471), presbyter of Chalcedon accused of sharing in the heresy of the Marcianistae. See EUCHITES, vol. 2, p. 261. (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. iii. ind. xi. ep. 53, lib. vi. ind. xiv. epp. 15, 16, 17, *Patrol. Lat.* lxxvii. 803; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 105, 116.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (472), deacon of Naples. Gregory the Great, in a letter A.D. 600, says, that Joannes, one of the candidates chosen to be bishop, cannot be consecrated on account of the impurity of his life. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. 62 in Migne, lxxvii. 1114.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (473), subdeacon at Ravenna, addressed by Gregory the Great in the years 600, 602, 603 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 141, 147, 150). He was urged to arrange the settlement of a dispute between the metropolitan of Ravenna and another bishop. The pope also gave him charge in other letters over various ecclesiastical matters. This is possibly the same subdeacon who was ordered by Gregory to go to Genoa, whither many of the inhabitants and ecclesiastics of Milan had fled, and see whether Constantius had been rightly elected as archbishop of Milan on the death of Laurentius. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xiii. indict. vi. 17; lib. iii. indict. xi. 30 in Migne, lxxvii. 1272, 627.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (474), surnamed MARACUMENSIS and MAUROCOMITA, an Armenian, the friend of Comitas or Gomidas the catholicos, whom he desired to succeed. When ESDRAS of Nica, A.D. 632, was chosen catholicos, John was his chief opponent; though personally John was worsted in his attempts, his cause was successful, since his disciples destroyed the union that had been effected between the orthodox and Armenian churches. [ARMENIANS.] (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1387; Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* c. xiii.) [L. D.]

JOANNES (475), the name of four presbyters of Rome present at the third Lateran council in 601, viz. of the following churches—SS. John and Paul, St. Vitalis, St. Chrysogonus, St. Sylvester. (Mansi, x. 488, 489; *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. 1338.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (476), presbyter, correspondent of St. Maximus abbat of Chrysopolis in the 7th century. (S. Maxim. Abbat. *Epist.* 7, 8 in Patr. Graec. xci. §§ 243, 244, 248, 249; Ceillier, xi. 768.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (477), surnamed LURIO, subdeacon under pope Gregory II., in whose life by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 979) he is mentioned. [C. H.]

JOANNES (478), deacon of St. Sophia at Constantinople and treasurer of the empire, placed by the emperor Anastasius II. in command of a naval expedition which in 715 was sent to Phoenicia to destroy timber and stores which the Saracens were collecting for an attack on Constantinople. The armament mustered at Rhodes, where it mutinied and slew John. (Theoph. *Chronog.* ann. 707, p. 322 in *Pat. Gr.* cviii.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (479), archpresbyter of the church of St. Susanna at Rome, present at the Roman council of A.D. 745. (Mansi, xii. 380; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 745, xxii.; De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1870, pp. 89–112.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (480), clergy at the seventh synod, 787:

A presbyter (Mansi, xiii. 167, 174, 190).

A presbyter representing Nicetas, bishop of Colonia (142, 367 A, 386).

A presbyter representing the see of Stectorius in Phrygia Salutaris (147, 371 C; Le Quien, i. 850), and himself bishop-elect of Stectorius (Mansi, xii. 997 E, 1108).

A deacon representing the Roman see (1096).

A deacon representing the bishop of Phaselis (997 B, 1105, xiii. 146, 370 D, 394; Le Quien, i. 986). [C. H.]

Monks.

For others, *vid.* martyrs, Nos. 535, etc.

JOANNES (481), one of the five original disciples of Pachomius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 303 A, in *Vita Pacom.* cap. 3.) [I. G. S.]

JOANNES (482), monk, elder brother of Pachomius and his companion in the monastery of Tabenne. (*Acta Pacomii*, cap. 2, um. 9 in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 299.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (483), the head of a monastery named Chnum in Egypt, to whom the saint Pachomius (ep. iv.) wrote one of his letters of spiritual counsel in the mystical language which was believed to have been revealed to him by angels. (Jerome, vol. ii. 90, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

JOANNES (484), a young man who had embraced an ascetic life with a companion, Macarius. Basil wrote to them from his Pontine retirement, 358 A.D., to encourage them. (Basil. *Epist.* 18 [211].) [E. V.]

JOANNES (485), a monk, to whom is addressed the epistle of Ephraim the Syrian *On Patience.* (Ephr. *Opp.* p. 271, ed. Voss. 1603; Assem. *B. O.* i. 150.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (486), a coenobite in Egypt in the monastery of Paul, visited by Cassian and Germanus in their early travels about A.D. 390. (Cassian, *Collat.* xix. 2, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xlix. 1125.) [I. G. S.]

JOANNES (487), called ST. JOHN OF EGYPT and OF LYCOPOLIS, an anchorite of Lycopolis in the Thebaid, in the latter half of the 4th century. Tillemont says his reputation was only second to that of St. Antony. He was by trade a carpenter (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* c. 43), and at twenty-five years of age he retired into the wilderness. Here he attached himself to an old hermit as instructor (Cassian. *de Coen. Inst.* c. 23, 4-5), and after the old hermit's death he

retired to a mountain near Lycopolis (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 43; Rufinus, *Hist. Monach.* cap. 1 in *Pat. Lat.* xxi. 391). Here he lived for forty or forty-two years, dying at the age of ninety in A.D. 394 (Rufinus, *l. c.*; Tillemont, x. p. 720).

As the reward of his great sanctity the saint received, says Cassian, the gift of prophecy (*de Coen. Inst.* iv. 23; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 43), for which he became famous, being visited by crowds who came to consult him on their affairs, or to hear his predictions of the future (*Hist. Laus.* 47). His reputation for prophecy reached the court, and he foretold to the emperor Theodosius himself the success of his arms against Maximus, A.D. 388 (S. Aug. *de Civitate Dei*, v. c. 26). He was often consulted on important matters by the same emperor (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* c. 43), and eventually predicted the victory of that prince over Eugenius, and his death in the following year, A.D. 395. Many miracles are also related as performed by this saint (Rufinus, *ubi supra*, Palladius, *ubi supra*, St. Aug. *de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, ch. 17).

The year before his death in 394 he was visited by Palladius (who became, as he foretold, a bishop) and by Petronius, of which two visits we have full accounts in Palladius (*H. L.* 43–60) and in Rufinus (*l. c.*). [J. W. S.]

JOANNES (488), a monk brought forward against Chrysostom at the synod of the Oak in 403. [HERACLIDES (5).] (Phot. cod. 59 in *Pat. Gr.* ciii. 105 D, 108 B, C; Tillem. *Mém.* xi. 197.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (489), son of Aethrius (ὁ τοῦ Αἰθρίου), called by Baronius (ann. 406, xxi.) JOANNES AETHRIUS. Palladius (*Dial.* cap. 20, in *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. 72) enumerates him among the presbyters who supported Chrysostom and were exiled in consequence. [C. H.]

JOANNES (490), surnamed COLOBUS, CURTUS, and PARVUS, a monk of Scete, apparently early in the 5th century. Anecdotes of him and sayings attributed to him may be seen in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* of Cotelier (*Eccl. Gr. Mon.* i. 468 sq.) and in Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum.* (*Pat. Lat.* lxxiii. 867, 894, 916, 917, 934, 948, 958, 970; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 39.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (491), priest and archimandrite, no doubt of Syria, who with two others, Maximus and Thalassius, express to Cyril their zeal against the Nestorians. Cyril sends them his treatise on the *Incarnation.* (*Synod. Adv. Tragoed. Iren.* cap. 208 in Mansi, v. 995; Tillem. xiv. 619.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (492), archimandrite addressed in 450 by Theodoret (ep. 137). [C. H.]

JOANNES (493), an archimandrite of Constantinople, who addressed the emperor Marcian in 451 and sat in the fourth session of the council of Chalcedon. (Labbe, iv. 512 D.) [C. G.]

JOANNES (494) CALYBITA (ὁ Καλυβίτης), monk, a native of Constantinople. He entered the monastery of the Acoemetae. Here the only temptation that overcame him was a longing to see his home and his parents, and even this he accomplished without breaking his vow; for with the consent of the superior he proceeded to the house and built for himself, outside the gate, a hut (καλύβη) where he lived as a mendicant until his death (Basil. *Menol.* Jan. 15). Bolland (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1029) places him in the 5th century. [C. H.]

JOANNES (495), a Syrian anchorite of the fifth century, a disciple of Limnaeus (*Act. Sanct.* Febr. iii. 291). (Theodoret, *Religios. Hist.* 23 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 1455; *Act. Sanct.* Febr. iii. 379.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (496), a schismatic monk, follower of Severus of Antioch, with whom he was anathematized at the council of Tyre, A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1078 C.) [I. G. S.]

JOANNES (497), a monk, deputed with another monk Sergius from the lesser archimandrites of Syria Secunda in 517 to the emperor Anastasius to complain of Severus patriarch of Antioch. (*Relatio Minorum Archimand.* in Mansi, viii. 426 A; Baron. ann. 517, lii. lvi.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (498), July 21, solitary in Palestine in the reign of Justin. (Basil. *Menol.*; see also the *Rom. Mart.* and Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 164.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (499) APAMEENSIS, an orthodox ascetic, lived circ. 6th century in one of the numerous monasteries on the Orontes in Coele-Syria. Ebedjesu, Cat. 47, says: "Johannes of Apamea composed three volumes, also letters on spiritual regimen, on the passions, and on the perfect state." The codices *Nitr. Vatic.* xvii. xix. contain certain discourses on the mind and its powers, and the rules of the ascetic life; and further twenty "Heads of Instruction" (Syr. *rishé d'ulfono*). Some of the subjects are—the nature of human weakness; how to bear adversity; what work is pleasing to God; how friend should behave to friend, and by what means true friendship is proven. There are also five epistles. No. 1 treats of the Trinity and the Incarnation; No. 5, addressed to Leontius, of spiritual communion with God in the present life (Assemani, *B. O.* i. 430–2, iii. i. 50). Some of his works, including fragments and letters, are among the Syriac MSS. of the British Museum (*Catal. Cod. MSS. Or. in B. M.* pt. i. 129, 5 n.). [C. J. B.]

JOANNES MAXENTIUS. [MAXENTIUS.]

JOANNES (500), a Scythian monk, one of four deputies who were sent from the East to Rome in 519. (Fulgent. epp. 16, 17 in *Pat. Lat.* lxv. 443 A, 451 C, D; Justinian. *ep ad Hormisd.* Labbe, iv. 1516.) [MAXENTIUS.] [T W. D.]

JOANNES (501), archimandrite of the Nova Laura in Palestine, A.D. 532. (Cyrill. Scythop. *Sab. Vit.* 36, ap. Coteler. *Eccl. Gr. Monum.* iii. 273; Baron. *s. a.* 532, viii.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (502), called RECLUSUS, a British hermit near Caen, connected with a miracle, related by Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Confessorum*, c. 23, ap. Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxi. 847, giving the date A.D. 400, 5 May). Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* xi. c. 22) places his death A.D. 537, and his feast June 27, from the *Gallician Martyrology.* (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 320.) [J. G.]

JOANNES (503), ST., founder and first abbat of the monastery of Reomaus, or Reomus (Reomé, afterwards known as Moûtier-St.-Jean) in the diocese of Langres. His life was written by an anonymous monk of the monastery, who from internal evidence lived in the next generation (§ 10). It was published by Mabillon from a MS. of St. Germain des Prés (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 633, Paris, 1668). For a criticism of its style and worth see the *Hist. Litt. de la France* (iii. 285), whose authors believe that it was known to Gregory of Tours (cf. the *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxvii. with the corresponding passage in the *Vita*). In the year 659, about one hundred and twenty years after John's death, Jonas, the author of a life of St. Columban, wrote another life of St. John (*Acta SS.* 28 Jan. ii. 856). Mabillon has thought it only necessary to publish the added book on the miracles (*ibid.* p. 637), which alone finds place among Jonas's works in Migne's Patrologia Latina (lxxxvii. 1083).

St. John was born in the territory of Langres and early established a monastery on the banks of the stream Reomaus, which with a brief interruption he ruled till his death, which is placed in Jan. 23, 539.

For the subsequent history of the monastery see *Gall. Christ.* iv. 658. [S. A. B.]

JOANNES (504), surnamed CLIMACUS, and SCHOLASTICUS, and SINAITA, abbat of mount Sinai. According to Cave (i. 534) he flourished cir. 564. At the age of sixteen he entered the monastery of Mount Sinai. On the death of his abbat he embraced the life of an anchoret, but being elected abbat of Mount Sinai at the age of 75, he felt it his duty to give up his solitary life, and unwillingly undertook the charge. At the entreaty of John abbat of Raïthu, he now composed his works, the *Scala Paradisi* and the *Liber ad Pastorem*; from the title (κλῖμαξ) of the first of these the saint gained his distinguishing name of Climacus (Climakos). It contains his experiences in the spiritual life, with advice and instructions for the attainment of a higher degree of holiness, and is dedicated to the abbat of Raïthu, who afterwards wrote a commentary upon it. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxxviii. 1211–1248.) After having for some time presided over the monastery he returned into solitude, appointing his brother Georgius as his successor. He died at an advanced age about the beginning of the 7th century, and is commemorated on Mar. 30. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 834; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxviii. 631–1210; Surius, *de Probatis Sanct. Historiis*, Mar. 30.) [I. G. S.]

JOANNES (505), in the 6th century, monk of Raïthu, near the Red Sea, some leagues from Mount Sinai, to whom the "Scala Paradisi" of John Climacus was dedicated. He afterwards wrote a commentary upon the saint's works, which is still extant. (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxviii. 631, 1211; Ceillier, xi. 677, 691.) [I. S. G.]

JOANNES (506), called PENARENSIS, Mar. 19, a native of Syria, who, migrating to Italy, founded at the "urbs Penarensis" (probably Parana) a monastery, which he governed as abbat for forty years. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Notker., Wandalb.; *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 30.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (507) SABA (Syr. sobo qdisho = a senex sanctus), a native of Nineveh, fl. in the 6th century, and was an orthodox monk of Dilaïta or Daliatha (Arab. al-daliato), a small town of Mesopotamia, on the western bank of the Euphrates. His day in the Syrian kalendar is March 15. His works are thirty discourses and forty-eight epistles, of which Syriac and Arabic MSS. exist in the Roman libraries. They were collected by his brother Joannes, to whom for the most part they are addressed. Though abounding in digressions, the style is marked by feeling and persuasive eloquence. To the discourses is prefixed a letter to his brother, stating that their aim was to console him for the writer's absence. They are headed thus:—"On the divine gifts and spiritual solaces vouchsafed to monks for their comfort and delight, and on spiritual contemplation, and the knowledge of mysteries and thoughts, also on the struggle with evil spirits, on prudence, and the practice of the virtues." (Assem. *Bib. Or.* i. 433–444, iii. i. 103, 4; Bickell, *Consp. Syr.* p. 26.) [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (508), surnamed MONASTERIENSIS, May 5, presbyter and solitary at Chinon in the 6th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 50.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (509), called of BETH-RABBAN or BETHNARSI, disciple and successor of Jacobus, the founder of the monastery of Bêth-Haba, flourished in the 6th century. After six months of rule he left that house, and lived as an anchorite near Dakuka, on a mountain in the district of Garmai, where Rabban Ezekiel's monastery was afterwards established. Jesujab, when still bishop of Nineveh, wrote a letter to the brethren of Beth-Haba, in which he stated that Joannes had been a monk full seventy years before his departure from their house; thirty years he had lived as a solitary, forty with Jacobus as a coenobite. Joannes was for some time in the monastery of Bêth-rabbân, which was subject to the same abbat as Beth-Haba. Ebedjesu (*ap.* Assem. *Bibl. Or.* III. i. 72) states that he wrote a commentary on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Job, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Proverbs, also certain tracts against Magi, Jews, and heretics. He was further the author of prayers for rogation days, a prayer on the death of Chosroes I. (died A.D. 579), and another on a plague which befel Nisibis, besides paracletic addresses for each order in the church (*i.e.* metrical discourses read in the office of the dead), a book of questions relating to the Old and New Testaments, psalms, hymns, and chants. One of his hymns may be read in the *Mosul Breviary*, p. 61. It occurs also in a MS. of the British Museum (Wright, *Cat.* p. 135).

Rosen and Forshall (*Cat. MSS.* xii. 3 n.) mention another hymn of Joannes. Cf. also Lelong, *Bibl. Sacr.* ii. 794. [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (510), a monk in the monastery of St. Mark at Spoleto, brother of Eleutherius, abbat of the same house. A story is told of him to shew how a soul on the point of departure sometimes recognises the one with which it is on a moral level, and which will be its companion for eternity. (Greg. Mag. *Dial.* iv. 35 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 376.) [EUMORPHIUS.] [C. H.]

JOANNES (511), abbat of the monastery of St. Lucia in Syracuse, addressed by Gregory the Great. (Greg. Magn. *Epp.* lib. iii. ind. xi. ep. 3; lib. vii. ind. xv. 39 in Migne, lxxvii. 898.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (512), abbat, bearer of letters from Gregory the Great in 593 to Theodelinda, the Lombard queen. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iv. indict. xii. 4 in Migne, lxxvii. 671.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (513), abbat of Regium, addressed by Gregory the Great in 595 (lib. v. ind. xiii. ep. 50 and note, in Migne, lxxvii.). [C. H.]

JOANNES (514), a monk who had returned from what Gregory the Great called "Histricorum Schisma" to the bosom of the church. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. vi. indict. xiv. 39, 47; Migne, lxxvii. 829, 833.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (515), abbat of a monastery near Cagliari in Sardinia. Gregory, in a letter to Januarius the bishop, A.D. 600, directed that he should be ordained. This is possibly the same Sardinian Joannes who had a controversy with the abbess Desideria in 602. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xi. indict. iv. 25; lib. xiii. indict. vi. 4 in Migne, lxxvii. 1137, 1257.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (516), abbat of Mount Sinai addressed by Pope Gregory the Great in 600. (Greg. Magn. *Epp.* lib. xi. ind. iv. ep. 1 in Migne, lxxvii.) Gregory's editor Goussainville is inclined to identify him with John Climacus. [JOANNES (504).] [C. H.]

JOANNES (517), apparently a monk, addressed as "religiosus" in 600 by pope Gregory the Great. (Greg. Magn. *Epp.* lib. xi. ind. iv. ep. 27 in Migne, lxxvii.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (518), a monk in Gregory the Great's own monastery in Rome, of whom Gregory gives an account in his *Dialogues.* (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* iv. 47 in Migne, lxxvii. 409.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (519), the name of several anchorites and others in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, mentioned by John Moschus in his *Pratum Spirituale* (*Pat. Gr.* lxxxvii. pt. 3; *Pat. Lat.* lxxiv.); viz.—

i. an aged anchorite in the monastery of Eustorgius in the Jordan wilderness, cir. 500 (*Prat.* cap. 1). He afterwards founded a church in the cave of Sapsas near the brook Cherith.

ii. of Ptolemais (Acre) in Phoenicia (*Prat.* 56). He resided as a disciple and attendant of a certain aged man of eminence in the street Παράσημα or Caparisma of that city, and his great virtue was scrupulous obedience. John after his master's death attained to a similar eminence and was reported to possess miraculous powers of healing.

iii. soldier of Alexandria, mentioned by Palladius abbat of the monastery of Thelazomenum at Alexandria (*Prat.* 73).

iv. monk of the monastery of St. Theodosius at Scopulus near Seleucia, gifted with the power of casting out demons (*Prat.* 83).

v. surnamed HUMILIS, anchorite in Cilicia (*Prat.* 87).

vi. surnamed of PETRA, an anchorite in Egypt, visited by John Moschus and his companion Sophronius (*Prat.* 113).

vii. anchorite of Oasis, once a reader in the great church of Constantinople, ransomed from the enemy (*Prat.* 112). [LEO.]

viii. anchorite and presbyter of the monastery of the eunuchs in the Jordan wilderness who related anecdotes of the anchorites Sisinnius, Callinicus, and Sergius (*Prat.* 136–138).

ix. surnamed the PERSIAN, a monk in Egypt who visited Rome and narrated an anecdote of Gregory the Great (*Prat.* 151).

x. surnamed CILIX, hegumen of the laura of Raithu near the Red Sea. John Moschus records his six admonitions to his monks (*Prat.* 115). See also *Prat.* 177.

xi. surnamed RUTILUS, anchorite (*Prat.* 179).

xii. surnamed MOABITA (*Prat.* 179).

xiii. anchorite of Sochus, whose story was told to Joannes Moschus by Dionysius presbyter of the church of the Ascalonites (*Prat.* 180, 182; Mansi, xiii. 194 E).

xiv. surnamed EUNUCHUS, anchorite near Alexandria, visited by John Moschus while residing in the Nonus (ἐν τῷ Ἐννάτῳ) at that city (*Prat.* 184). [C. H.]

JOANNES (520), surnamed MOSCHUS and EUCRATAS (also EVERATAS and EVIRATUS, corruptions of Eucratas as Fabricius remarks), a monk, author of *Pratum Spirituale*, cir. A.D. 620. The materials of his life are to be collected from his book (which exhibits no historical arrangement), a brief notice by Photius (*cod.* 199) and a Greek Vatican manuscript of which Migne has printed a Latin version entitled *Elogium Auctoris.* This document extends the chronological material, but the editor states nothing as to its age and authority. It purports to have been composed while the laura of St. Sabas in Palestine was standing.

Photius states that Moschus commenced the recluse life in the monastery of St. Theodosius. The date may have been about 575. In the *Pratum* Moschus is found at two monasteries named after two Theodosii, near Antioch and Jerusalem respectively. The one intended by Photius is a laura founded about 451 by the younger St. Theodosius at a short distance east of Jerusalem (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 683). The *Pratum* (cap. 92) shews Moschus at this spot, described as "in the desert of the holy city," Gregory being the archimandrite. In the reign of Tiberius (*Prat.* 112) John Moschus departed with a companion, Sophronius Sophista (said to have been afterwards patriarch of Jerusalem), for Egypt and Oasis. This circumstance, which is unnoticed by Photius, is assigned by the *Elogium* to the beginning of the reign of Tiberius (*i.e.* 578), and Moschus is stated to have been sent by his superior on monastic business. This absence was perhaps a temporary one, and Moschus's more protracted wanderings in Egypt may be assigned to a much later day. His Palestine life extended over above a quarter of a century, and Sophronius Sophista is frequently mentioned as his companion, once with a remark that it was "before he renounced the

world." The monastic communities of which he speaks are usually designated by the word λαύρα. From many of them he received visitors, who related to him anecdotes of their most eminent members. At others Moschus is himself a visitor or a resident. Photius states that he began monastic life at St. Theodosius, he afterwards resided with the monks of the Jordan desert and in the new laura of St. Sabas. The *Pratum* will fill up this outline. The laura of Pharon (Φαρών, Φαρῶν, Φαρᾶ, Pharan in the Latin version) was his residence for ten years (40). The situation of it appears as within burying distance of Jerusalem (42), as well as near the laura of Calamon and the laura of the Towers of Jordan (40). The laura of Calamon (τοῦ Καλαμῶνος), where Moschus visited, was near Jordan (157, 163). Another ten years (67) he resided at the laura of Aeliotae (τῶν Αἰλιωτῶν). This also was near Jordan (134), and was still under the rule of its founder Antonius (66). Moschus was at Jerusalem at the consecration of the patriarch Amos (149), probably therefore A.D. 594 (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 246); he records having ascended from "holy Gethsemane" to the "holy mount of Olives" (187). He was a resident at the laura of St. Sabas, called new laura (3,128) near the Dead Sea (53), and a few miles east of St. Theodosius (Bolland. *u. s.*). He visited the μονή of the eunuchs near "holy Jordan" (135–137), the xenodochium of the fathers at Ascalon (189), and Scythopolis (50). That he held the office of a κανόναρχος is an inadvertent statement of Fabricius, citing *Prat.* 50, where it is a narrator, not Moschus, who called himself by the title.

From the wilderness of Jordan and the New Laura, says Photius, John went to Antioch and its neighbourhood. The *Elogium* states that he removed thither from the New Laura, when the Persians attacked the Romans in consequence of the murder of the emperor Maurice and his children. The murder occurred on Nov. 27, 602, and in 603 Chosroes declared war against Phocas. The *Pratum* shews Moschus at Antioch or Theopolis (88, 89); likewise at the neighbouring city Seleucia while Theodorus was bishop (79); but as this bishop is not otherwise known we get no date (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 780). He visited the μοναστήριον (also μονή) of the elder St. Theodosius, on the Rhosicus Scopulus, a mountain promontory between Rhosus in the gulf of Issus and Seleucia (80–86, 95, 99). At a village six miles from Rhosus, in the seventh indiction (*i.e.* some time between Sept. 1, 604, and Aug. 31, 605), he heard the story of JOANNES HUMILIS.

From those parts, says Photius, he went to Alexandria and Oasis and the neighbouring deserts. This was his principal visit to Egypt, the only one noticed by Photius, and the most prominent one in the *Elogium*, which states his reason for leaving Syria to have been the invasion of the empire by the Persians. This allusion helps to decide the period, which must have been when Chosroes overran north Syria in and after 605 (as detailed by Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, 501, 502). At Alexandria Moschus remained eight years (as the Latin version renders χρόνους ὀκτώ, *Prat.* 13 *fin.*) in the μοναστήριον of Palladius (69–73). The names of monastic localities in and about Alexandria occur in *Prat.* 60, 105, 110, 111, 145, 146, 162, 177, 184, 195. There are recorded also visits to the Thebaid cities of Antinous and Lycus (44, 143, 161), to the laura of Raythu (115, 116, 119), which was on the Red Sea shore (120, 121), and to Mount Sinai (122, 123). Photius states that from Egypt Moschus went to Rome, touching at some islands on his voyage, and that at Rome he composed his book. What drove him from Egypt appears in the *Elogium*. The holy places had fallen into the hands of the enemy and the subjects of the empire were terror-stricken. This statement again assists the chronology; for as the Persians obtained possession of Jerusalem in 615, and in 616 advanced from Palestine and took Alexandria (Rawl. 503, 504), the rumour of their approach would cause the retirement of Moschus in one of those years. The *Pratum* (185) records a visit to Samos. The *Elogium* relates how on his deathbed at Rome he delivered his book to Sophronius, with a request that he might be buried if possible at Mount Sinai, or else at the laura of St. Theodosius. Sophronius and twelve fellow-disciples sailed with the body to Palestine, but hearing at Ascalon that Sinai was beset by Arabs, they took it up to Jerusalem (in the beginning of the eighth indiction, *i.e.* cir. Sept. 1, 620), and buried it in the cemetery of St. Theodosius.

The work of Moschus consists of anecdotes and sayings collected by him in the various monasteries he had visited. The persons thus introduced are usually eminent anchorites, and of his own time, as he states in his dedicatory address to Sophronius; but some whose stories were related to him belonged to an earlier period, as *e.g.* John of Sapsas [JOANNES (519) i.]. The work is now distributed in 219 chapters, but it was originally comprised, says Photius, in 304 narrations (διηγήματα). The discrepancy may be due in a measure to arrangement, as some chapters (*e.g.* 5, 55, 92, 95, 105) contain two or even three distinct narrations, introduced by the very word διήγημα in the verbal form. Moschus (*To Sophron.*) compares the character of his worthies to various flowers in a spring meadow, and names his work accordingly Λειμών (*Pratum*). It has borne other titles; in the time of Photius some called it Νέον Παραδείσιον (*Hortulus Novus*), and since then it has been named *Viridarium*, Νέος Παράδεισος (*Novus Paradisus*), and Λειμωνάριον. The present title, *Pratum Spirituale*, appears to have originated with the first Latin translator, said by Possevinus to have been Ambrosius Camaldulensis (ob. 1439), who translated numerous works of the Greek fathers (Oudin. iii. 2437). The *Pratum* in this version forms liber x. of Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum* (1615), which Migne reprinted in 1850 (*Pat. Lat.* lxxiv.), prefixing to the *Pratum* the *Elogium Auctoris* already described. In 1624 an incomplete Greek text made its appearance, accompanying the Latin, furnished by Fronto Ducaeus in the second volume of the *Auctarium* to the fourth edition of La Bigne's *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*. In La Bigne's edition of 1654 it stands in vol. xiii. p. 1057. In 1681 Cotelier (*Eccles. Gr. Mon.* ii. 341) supplied more of the Greek and gave an independent Latin translation of some parts. In 1860 Migne (*Pat. Gr.* lxxxvii. 2814) reprinted the Greek as thus augmented, leaving a gap of only three chapters (121, 122, 132), retaining

the Latin of Ambrosius throughout. Other bibliographical particulars, including an account of the Italian and French versions, will be found in Fabricius (*Bib. Gr.* x. 124, ed. Harles). The authorship of the *Pratum* used sometimes to be attributed to Sophronius, in whose name it is cited by John of Damascus (*De Imagin.* orat. i. 328, ii. 344, iii. 352 in *Pat. Gr.* xciv. 1279, 1315, 1335), and likewise in actio iv. of the seventh synod in 787 (Mansi, xiii. 59). John Moschus and his book are treated by Cave (i. 581) and more fully by Ceillier (xi. 700). An analysis of the *Pratum* for illustrations of church discipline will be found in Dupin (Engl. translation, 1722, t. ii. p. 11). [C. H.]

JOANNES (521), the 2nd abbat of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, as recorded in the latest chronology of that monastery (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, pp. 2, 127; Thorn, ap. Twysden, c. 1766). He is probably to be identified with the Joannes mentioned by Bede in his *Chronicon* (*Monum. Hist. Br.* 96) as sent with Augustine and Mellitus to Britain, and the fact of his being abbat may possibly rest upon a true local tradition, although it is not mentioned by Bede. Elmham gives an account of the free election of Joannes, according to the decree of Augustine, that the abbat should be chosen from among the monks of the house, of his benediction by archbishop Laurentius, and his friendship with king Ethelbert. He is mentioned as abbat in the bull of pope Boniface IV., in which the rights of St. Augustine's are confirmed, and which can scarcely be regarded as genuine (Elmham, 129–131; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 67, 68). The date of abbat John's death is fixed by the Canterbury writers in 618; Elmham gives his epitaph, stating that he was buried in the church or chapel of St. Mary, and in abbat Wido's time translated to a place behind the altar of St. Gregory (Elmham, p. 147). See also *Mon. Angl.* i. 120. [S.]

JOANNES (522), a monk of Antioch, cir. 620, author of an *Historia Chronica ab Adamo*, which at one time enjoyed much reputation. Hody in his *Prolegomena* to the *Chronographia* of John Malalas, mentions several authors who partly made use of the work. Constantine Porphyrogenitus has extracts from it in his *Collectanea de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (pp. 779–883, ed. Paris, 1635). See also Cave, i. 577; Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* vii. 446 n. ed. Harles. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (523), a solitary on an island visited by Ansoaldus, defensor of the church of Poictiers, on his voyage home from Sicily at the time of the death of Dagobert king of the Franks (A.D. 638). See Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iv. 34, in *Pat. Lat.* cxxxix. 791. [C. H.]

JOANNES (524), monk of the monastery of St. Theodosius, legate of pope Martin I. in 649 to John bishop of Philadelphia. (Martin, *ep.* 5, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxvii. 102 A.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (525), called ARCHICANTATOR or the PRECENTOR. He belonged to the church of St. Peter at Rome, and was likewise abbat of the monastery of St. Martin in that city. He was brought to England in 678 by Benedict Biscop with the leave of pope Agatho. The desire of Benedict was to elevate in every possible way the aesthetic tone of his countrymen, whilst Agatho, in addition to this, was glad to have an agent in England on whom he could thoroughly rely for information and support. When John came to Wearmouth he gave oral instruction in singing and reading to the choir, and committed to writing for their use the yearly scheme of the festivals as observed at Rome. In Bede's time this was preserved in the library at Wearmouth, having been copied far and wide, as many came to profit by John's teaching, and skilled musicians flocked from the Northumbrian monasteries to listen to the famous stranger. He gave lessons also in other places, and was welcomed wherever he went.

John was commissioned by Agatho, before he returned to Rome, to make strict inquiry into the orthodoxy of the English church. He brought with him for his assistance a copy of the decrees of the Lateran synod (649) of Martin I., of which he allowed a scribe at Wearmouth to take a copy. In September, A.D. 680, he took these decrees with him to a council of the English church summoned by archbishop Theodore to Hatfield, where he acted as papal commissary, and where the document was formally read and approved. A copy of the acts of the council was placed in his hands for transmission to Rome, whither, as his work in England was done, he soon bent his steps.

He began his homeward journey in A.D. 681. In France he was struck with sickness and died, so near to Tours that his friends were able to convey his body to the monastery of his own patron, St. Martin, then, and for a long while before, a place of renown. John had halted there as he came to England in A.D. 678, and had promised the brethren, in answer to their most earnest entreaties, that he would sojourn with them for a time as he returned. John's body was honourably interred at Tours, and the missive which he was bearing was carried on to Rome, and gladdened the pope's heart with the news that England had kept the faith. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 18, v. 24; *Vitae Abbatum*, c. 5, in Smith's Bede, Appendix, No. xii.; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 143–151.) [J. R.]

JOANNES (526), a monk of Zyga toward the close of the 7th century. He took part in a public disputation with Anastasius Sinaita at Alexandria. He was a Monophysite and a Theodosian. (Anast. *Viae Dux*, c. 10, Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxix. 165–180.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (527) STYLITES, a person to whom Jacobus Edessenus (d. A.D. 710) addressed certain epistles in answer to questions growing out of his studies (Wright's *Cat.* p. 595). Two were published by Prof. Wright in *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* 1867, p. 430; a third by Schroeter in *Zeitschr. d. morg. Gesellsch.* 1870, p. 261. See Assem. *B. O.* i. 486. Wright's *Cat.* p. 988 describes a letter of the Stylite to Daniel, priest of an Arab tribe, on Gen. xlix. 10. The writer shews his learning, by quotations from Eusebius, Andronicus, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex., Hippolytus, Ephraim, Jacobus of Edessa, &c. The same MS. contains four letters from Georgius bishop of the Arabs to Joannes, dated A.D. 714, 716, and 718. (Different from Joannes Stylites, fl. 830; see *B. O.* iii. pt. i. 256–308.) [C. J. B.]

JOANNES (528), monk and presbyter of Euboea, cir. 744, author of a sermon on the conception of the Holy Virgin, and of another on the Infants of Bethlehem. The former alone is mentioned by the earlier bibliographers (Lambecius, *Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* v. 22, viii. 380; Ballerini, *Syllog. Monum.* i. 36; *Pat. Gr.* xcvi. 1451; Mai, *Auct. Class.* x. 570). Leo Allatius, in his *Prolegomena* to the works of John of Damascus, edited by Le Quien, believed the author to have afterwards become bishop of Euboea (*Pat. Gr.* xciv. 171, 178). This opinion is given in Cave, and it was on the same ground probably that Le Quien placed a John among his bishops of Euboea. [JOANNES (167).] [C. H.]

JOANNES (529) DAMASCENUS (ST. JOHN, OF DAMASCUS, Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός, surnamed also Μανσούρ and Χρυσοῤῥόας), monk.

(1) *Life.*—Our chief authority for the life of this doctor of the Eastern church, is the account drawn up by John patriarch of Jerusalem, which will be found prefixed to most editions of his works. The writer has sometimes been assumed to be John IV. (as in an able article in the *Revue Belge*, tom. xii. p. 6); but this patriarch died before John of Damascus, in 735. The general tone of the narrative points to a time considerably later, when the iconoclastic storm had passed away, and there was a danger of the history of Damascenus being forgotten, preserved as it was only in rude and scattered Arabic accounts:—ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἐσχεδιασμένον ἀγροικιστί . . . διαλέκτῳ καὶ γράμμασι τοῖς Ἀραβικοῖς (§ iii.). Hence Le Quien considers the author to be the John of Jerusalem who flourished in the latter part of the 10th century, and who is said to have been burnt alive by the Saracens for treasonable correspondence with the emperor Nicephorus Phocas. This Life is briefly characterised by Neander as fabulous, and in one striking incident which it relates does certainly tax very largely the credulity of the reader. But with this exception, and after allowance has been made for its generally rhetorical and inflated style, there seems no reason for discrediting it in its main outlines. It will accordingly be followed, in the present article, with the aid of such checks as the writings themselves may supply.

The Christian family from which John of Damascus was sprung was one of distinction in that city, and was known by the Arabic surname of Mansour. It has been supposed that this was a term of opprobrium, applied personally to John by his enemies. Thus, in the sixth session of the seventh general council at Nicaea, 787, at which the decisions of the Iconoclastic synod in 754 were revoked, a reference was made to their own champion as stigmatised under this name by Copronymus:—ὃς παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑβριστικῶς Μανσοὺρ προσηγόρευται. But the truth probably was, as Theophanes relates (*Chronographia*, ed. Migne, p. 841), that the emperor perverted the name Mansour, "ransomed," to Mamzer, "bastard;" a Hebrew word retained in the Vulgate of Deut. xxiii. 2. Such perversions were common. Thus John was miscalled by one adversary Jannes for Joannes; by another, Sarabaita (cf. Gieseler, tr. by Davidson, ii. p. 12) for Sabaita; while he himself nicknamed the Iconoclastic bishops ἐπισκότους for ἐπισκόπους. The name of Μανσούρ or Mansûr was, in fact, a familiar one among the Arabs, as a glance at the index to Weil's *Geschichte der Khalifen* will shew, and an Al-Mansour, the illustrious founder of Bagdad, ascended the throne of the Caliphs at the very time that the synod, condemnatory of John Mansour, was sitting at Constantinople. If we conclude, then, that this was a family name, and that John was so called after his grandfather (παππικῷ ὀνόματι, Theoph. *ubi sup.*), and not after his father (as Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. p. 97), it is probable that his father was the Sergius, son of Mansour, who is also mentioned by Theophanes as an ἀνὴρ Χριστιανικώτατος, and as being λογοθέτης, or treasurer, to the caliph Abdulmelek (A.D. 685–705). Since the surrender of Damascus to Abu Obeidah in 634, the Saracens had rapidly extended their conquests along the shores of the Mediterranean. About the year 699, in particular, some portions of Sicily had been overrun by them, and captives from the island, by their own desire, settled in Damascus. There is therefore nothing improbable in what John of Jerusalem tells us, that among the captives brought back into Damascus for death or slavery, there was, on one occasion, an Italian monk, possibly from the opposite shores of Calabria, named Cosmas:—κόσμιος τὴν ὄψιν, κοσμιώτερος τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν Κοσμᾶς (§ 8). His grave and reverend bearing impressed even his captors; while the bitter grief he expressed, not at the prospect of death, but at the loss of the stores of learning he had painfully amassed, with no intellectual heir to succeed him, made no less an impression on Sergius. Ever ready, at his own cost, to purchase the liberty of Christian slaves, Sergius took a special interest in the captive now before him. For here was just such a man as he had long been desiring to find as an instructor for his son. Hastening to the caliph he begged the life of Cosmas, and installed him, to his unbounded delight (ἵππος ἦν εὐθὺς δεσμὸν ἀποῤῥήξας, κ.τ.λ., § 10), as tutor to two pupils,—his own son, and a youth whom he had adopted, a native of Jerusalem, also named Cosmas. It will be observed that no date has been assigned for John's birth, nor does it seem possible to fix any with precision. The year 676 has been named, but this would make him at least twenty-three years old when he became the pupil of Cosmas, if we assume the events just related to have happened in 699 at the earliest. All that can be said with any certainty is, that he was born before the end of the century. Passing over the glowing account given by the biographer of the progress made by the two young men in their studies—a comparison with Diophantus giving an interesting glimpse of the early days of algebra—we come to the time when Cosmas, having taught them all he knew, begs permission to end his days in a monastery. This was reluctantly granted; and the young Mansour, having finished his education, was sent for to court. Here he reached a yet higher office than his father had held; being made πρωτοσύμβουλος, or vizir, to the reigning caliph. As Yezid II. (719–723) is known to have played the part of an Iconoclast himself, at the instigation, it is said, of some Jewish adviser (Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* t. xii. p. 134), he is scarcely likely to have been the one to promote to high office a Christian of such opposite sentiments as John. Perhaps, therefore,

we should fix upon his successor, Hidjam (723–742). Whichever it were, now ensued the events which have made the name of John of Damascus chiefly memorable. Leo the Isaurian ascended the Byzantine throne in 717. In 726, turning his attention from military to ecclesiastical affairs, this emperor issued his first edict against image-worship. The adoration of images and paintings in Christian churches was hereby forbidden, but their destruction was not as yet enjoined. But after an interval of four years, a second and much more stringent edict appeared, commanding all such statues and pictures to be destroyed or effaced. What the emperor's motives may have been, is a point that has been much disputed (Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ed. Bohn, v. p. 280). But the interesting discovery, some twenty years ago, of a long letter written by Leo to the caliph Omar II.[a] narrows the question in some degree; as showing that Leo began his reign by holding the established opinions of the church, and maintaining them so strenuously as to deserve (like our own Henry VIII. under somewhat similar circumstances) the title of Defender of the Faith. The change may have been due to a conviction, more strongly impressed upon him every year, that Christianity, as it then was, must be purified if it was to contend successfully against the vigorous growth of Islam. Whatever may have prompted him to such a course, these edicts raised a storm that lasted through the rest of his own reign, and through the still longer one of his son and successor Constantine. Of the three chief opponents whom he had to encounter, his own patriarch Germanus, pope Gregory II., and Damascenus, the last was the most active and intrepid. The edict of 730 was followed by two controversial addresses, in quick succession, from his pen, in which the cause of image-worship was upheld. A third is extant, but its genuineness is disputed. The courage of Damascenus, in sending forth these missives, is extolled by his biographer (§ 3); but a modern historian, with more reason, thinks his boldness the less surprising, "considering that he was secure either in Damascus or in his monastery, and a subject of the Saracenic kingdom" (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* ed. 1854, ii. p. 166). His antagonist being thus out of his reach, Leo is said to have had recourse to stratagem. Getting possession of a letter in John's own handwriting, he set his notaries to work to forge one in the same characters, purporting to be addressed to himself. In this the writer was made to apprise him of the unguarded state of Damascus, and to offer the emperor his aid in surprising it. The epistle so concocted was sent to the caliph by Leo, with an accompanying letter from himself, duly exposing this treasonable offer on the part of a Saracenic subject. The result was according to his expectation. John was sent for to the presence of his sovereign; his protestations of innocence were unheeded; and his right hand was ordered to be then and there struck off. Such is the account; and if it has seemed to the reader unlikely that Leo would stoop to such duplicity, or that the caliph, if he believed the story, would be content with cutting off his councillor's hand instead of his head, the sequel will not be more acceptable to him. For it relates, in brief, how the sufferer, after a night spent in earnest prayer to the Virgin for the restoration of that hand which had laboured so strenuously in her defence, found his prayer answered, and the missing limb restored to him whole as the other. A mark of suture was all that remained, when morning came, to shew where the executioner's knife had passed. The caliph, on hearing the wonderful news, sent for his late minister, and questioned him strictly; and then, unable to resist the evidence before him, avowed his full conviction of the latter's innocence, and would fain have reinstated him in his former office.

Such is the story, and it is idle to attempt to rationalise it, as Lebeau and others have done. It is thoroughly in keeping with the age and party to which Damascenus belonged.

In what follows, we feel on surer ground. Nothing in the records we have of John of Damascus is more certain than that he was, in his latter years, an inmate of a monastery. When, therefore, his biographer tells us that, in consequence of what has been just related, he craved permission to retire from the world, and to that end disposed of all his possessions among his relatives and the poor, there is nothing improbable in his account. Nor, if we allow for some rhetorical colouring, need we discredit altogether the stories told us of the reception Damascenus met with, and the hardships he endured as a novice. The convent chosen by him was the old Laura[b] of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, the same to which his tutor, Cosmas, had retired in years gone by. At first, none of the monks was willing to take so formidable a pupil in charge. One after another declined the task. But in the end an aged monk was found to undertake the office, and the severity of his discipline was only to be matched by his disciple's unfaltering obedience. Silence, such as Pythagoras enjoined on his neophytes; an entire abstinence from writing (a hard condition for the author of the famous circular letters); a renunciation of all secular learning—μὴ τὸ παραπᾶν φθέγξῃ τι τῶν τῆς ἔξω παιδείας (§ xxiv.); such were some of the injunctions imposed. On one occasion, as practical test of obedience, he was ordered to journey to Damascus, carrying a load of baskets of convent manufacture, and there, in the streets he had once trodden as a high officer of state, to risk the jeers and ill-usage of the crowd by demanding for these baskets an exorbitant price. On another occasion, for the offence of inditing a funeral hymn for the brother of a deceased fellow monk, he was driven from the cell of his spiritual director, loaded with reproaches, and only re-admitted after a penance

[a] There was published, in 1856, a French translation, by the Archimandrite Chahnazarian, of an Armenian history of the conquests of the Arabs from A.D. 661 to 771, written by a varabed or doctor of the Armenian church, named Ghévond, a contemporary of the latter events he records. According to him, Omar II. had written to Leo IV. (who ascended the throne in the same year with himself) a letter of enquiry respecting various points of the Christian faith; and the emperor's reply occupies pp. 42–97 of Chahnazarian's translation.

[b] A description of the Mar Saba, or Monastery of St. Sabas, in its present condition, will be found in Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine* (1878), I. p. 302. It stands on the side of a ravine, overlooking the Dead Sea, about ten miles south-east of Jerusalem.

so humiliating as to strike even the rest of the inmates with consternation. When the blade had been sufficiently tempered by such probation, the old monk was warned in a dream to prolong the discipline no further. The flow of such precious streams of sacred learning and song must be no longer checked, for the strains of John of Damascus would surpass even the song of Moses and the minstrelsy of Miriam. Thus at length was he left free to pursue his beloved studies. Now were composed the hymns with which, in the minds of many, his name is most of all identified. As a fellow worker in this task he had his adoptive brother, the younger Cosmas, who was an inmate of the same monastery, until made bishop of Maiuma in Palestine. At some time previous to A.D. 735, John himself was ordained to the priesthood, by his friend and namesake, John patriarch of Jerusalem. The date depends on our accepting the statement of Theophanes, before referred to, that this patriarch died in the above-mentioned year. His ordination does not appear to have withdrawn him to any great extent from the cloister. At times, indeed, he was occupied in preaching abroad. His extant homilies were delivered in various places, and some passages in them seem to indicate that the preacher had now arrived at old age:—γεγηρακότα λόγον . . . . ὁπλίζοντες (*Homil.* ii. *in Dormit. B. V. Mariae*, § 1). But it was chiefly in quiet study that his declining years were passed. Interpreting, as his biographer tells us, the "double honour," of which a good presbyter is declared worthy, to mean a double obligation to humility, obedience, and discipline of mind and body, he set himself, as such a mental discipline, the task of revising and correcting his multifarious works. It is instructive to notice how a flowery exuberance of style, κάλλος ἀνθηρὸν ἄγαν (§ 36), is spoken of as one of the faults corrected, by a writer whose own tendency is so much in that direction. The same brilliant fault, if such we may call it, was that which earned for him his other surname of Chrysorroas, the "golden-flowing." This, at least, is the statement of Theophanes: ὁ καλῶς ἐπικληθεὶς Χρυσοῤῥόας, διὰ τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔν τε λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ χρυσαυγῆ χάριν. Yet surely there was an allusion also in the name to that famed river of Damascus, the scriptural Abana, the Greek Chrysorroas, which is the very life-blood of the city. It may have been owing to this repeated revision of his works that some of them—the *Dialectica* more especially —are found in such various forms in different manuscripts. Death came upon him while occupied in these pursuits, but in what year is uncertain. There can be little doubt that he was alive in 754, when the Copronymian synod was held. If the conjecture of Petavius, to be afterwards noticed, as to the date of the *Canon Paschalis*, be correct, he was alive in 759. On the other hand, it is probable that he was dead in 767, when the seventh general council reversed the decrees of the previous one. That he did not suffer martyrdom, but died peacefully in his convent, may be inferred from the statement of Joannes Phocas in the 12th century, that his sepulchre was still to be seen there, near the tomb of St. Sabas himself. For some reason unknown to us, his remains were subsequently removed to Constantinople. Such at least is the conclusion to be drawn from a passage in Georgius Pachymeres, which testifies to the saint's body being there in the 14th century, and to its being made the subject of an ordeal, to which the partisans of Arsenius challenged those of his rival Josephus (*Historia Andronici*, lib. i. cap. xiii.). In the Greek church his commemoration-day is the 4th December; in some Menologies the 29th November. In the Latin church it is May 6.

(2) *Works.*—In enumerating the works of Damascenus, it will be convenient to follow the order in which they stand in Migne's edition (Paris, 1864), as being the most complete hitherto published. This contains a reprint of Le Quien's edition of 1712, extending to p. 856 of vol. iii., while the remainder is occupied by various pieces of more or less doubtful genuineness, such as the *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, some of which Le Quien had expressed the hope of being able to publish in a supplementary volume (*Praef. Gen.* § xxi). First in importance must be placed:—

I. *Fons Scientiae* (vol. i. pp. 521–1228). Under this heading is included a group of three works, each complete in itself, but combining to form a cyclopaedia of Christian theology; the *Capita Philosophica*, *de Haeresibus Liber*, and *de Fide Orthodoxa*. It is addressed, in a prefatory letter, to Cosmas bishop of Maiuma, and would therefore appear to have been written, or at least finally arranged in its present form, not earlier than A.D. 743, that being the received date of Cosmas's consecration. The title of Πηγὴ γνώσεως, or Well-spring of Knowledge, is given to the trilogy by the author himself, at the end of cap. ii. of the *Capita Philosophica*, in which he says that he designs to trace in outline (ἐνυπογράψασθαι) an epitome of knowledge of every kind: διὸ ΠΗΓΗ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ὀνομαζέσθω. And that he intended the three component parts to stand in their present order is plain from the same letter, in which he says that he will first set before the reader what is best in Greek philosophy (τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν τὰ κάλλιστα), then the follies of divers heresies (τῶν θεοστυγῶν αἱρέσεων τὰ φληναφήματα), and lastly, the destroyer of error, and banisher of falsehood, divine truth. His purpose is thus so to clear and strengthen the intellectual vision of the disciple, that, after seeing through and detecting what is false, it may recognise and repose in the true.

(1) His own title for the first of these portions is Κεφάλαια Φιλοσοφικά, from which it might be thought that he did not intend to limit the scope of it to dialectic alone. And this accords with what he says towards the end of cap. iii. about *beginning* with the logical division of philosophy, "which is rather an instrument (ὄργανον) of philosophy, than itself a division of it." But the common title by which the work is known, *De Dialectica*, gives a sufficiently accurate description of it. It is, in fact, a series of short chapters on the Categories of Aristotle, along with the *Quinque voces*, or universals, of Porphyry's Isagoge. The variations between the MSS. in which it is found, some giving sixty-eight chapters, and others an abridgment in fifteen chapters only, seem to point to interpolations by other hands, and may account in some degree for the inconsistencies that have

been pointed out (Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, ii. p. 557 n.). Besides the interest which this treatise possesses, as shewing what knowledge of the Organon was to be found in Syria in the middle of the eighth century, and the comparative indebtedness of Arabs to Christians, or Christians to Arabs (Sedillot, *Des savants Arabes*, 1871), it throws light on many terms of theological controversy then employed. The Monophysite discussions, in particular, betray their presence in the author's mind by the way in which he comments (c. xxx) on οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, and the like; while the term μονοθελήτης is said to have been of his coinage (Robertson, *Hist. of the Chr. Ch.* vol. ii. p. 41). In mastering Aristotle, or as much of him as was then known, he no doubt felt that he was wresting a powerful weapon from the hands of opponents, Nestorian or others. To their use of the authority of this "thirteenth apostle" he can refer slightingly enough: εἰ μή που τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν ἅγιον 'Αριστοτέλην ἡμῖν, ὡς τρισκαιδέκατον ἀπόστολον, εἰσαγάγοιτε (*c. Jacobitas*, cap. 10).

(2) The second work of this group is the *De Haeresibus Compendium* (περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐν συντομίᾳ). In his letter to Cosmas, Damascenus had disavowed all claim to originality in the treatises he was dedicating to him: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμὸν μέν, ὡς ἔφην, οὐδέν (p. 525); and in none of the three is this more conspicuous than in the *De Haeresibus Liber*. The writer professes indeed to be giving the contents of the seven "tomi," or sections, of the *Anacephalaeosis* of Epiphanius. He begins, accordingly, with the four conditions of life mentioned by St. Paul (*Col.* iii. 11), those of the Greek, Jew, Barbarian, and Scythian—as the fruitful parents of all succeeding heresies, and goes regularly on to the last heresy recorded by Epiphanius, that of the Massalians, the eightieth in order (p. 729). After this, comes a detailed account of the opinions of the Massalians, taken chiefly from Timotheus Presbyter (Cotelerii *Eccles. Gr. Monum.* iii. 400), and then some twenty-three heresies more, ending with that of the Aposchistae or Doxarii. There is some uncertainty as to the exact number, from the doubts entertained of the genuineness of one or two in the list. But counting the Nestorians as the eighty-first (p. 737), and including the doubtful ones, there are a hundred and three in all. Damascenus himself states the number to be exactly one hundred (ἐπεὶ πᾶσαί εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ρ', p. 777); but the additional ones may have been inserted by himself in some later revision. Of the last twenty-three, the most interesting is the account given of the Mohammedans, whom he calls Ishmaelites, in accordance with the etymology given for the word Saracens, as if Σάρρας κενοί, that is, descendants of the Hagar who was sent *empty* away by *Sarah*. This, and the short notice (p. 773) of the Christianocategori, or Iconoclasts of his own time, are probably all that is strictly original in this part of the work. His other authorities, besides Timotheus Presbyter, seem to have been Theodoret and Sophronius (*circ.* 640). Like Epiphanius, he concludes his account of errors with a profession of the true faith; and the book ends, like one of his Odes, with a Θεοτόκιον, or ascription of praise and worship to the Virgin Mother.

(3) *De Fide Orthodoxa* (Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως). This is in many respects the most important of Damascenus's works. It is not only the first complete body of divinity that has come down to us, but it has helped to modify very largely, by virtue of its being so, the theology of the West. It became known in Europe, through a Latin version made by Burgundio of Pisa, as early as the time of Eugenius III. (1145–1153). The statement is thus made very probable, that Peter Lombard had this Latin translation before him, when preparing his Book of the Sentences. So that we have here, without adverting to Aquinas later on, a visible connecting link between Eastern and Western scholasticism. In fact, the very division into four books, which the *De Fide* now presents, is believed to have been due to transcribers, who wished to make it harmonise more in outward form with the familiar work of Lombardus. This division, it will be observed, breaks the connexion between at least two consecutive chapters, the 43rd and 44th (on God's Providence and Foreknowledge), and was not contemplated by the author himself, as is shewn by all the earlier MSS. These exhibit only a division into 100 chapters; a number possibly meant to correspond with that at which he had fixed the list of heresies. The first book, comprising chs. i.–xiv., treats of the nature and attributes of God, and the persons of the Holy Trinity. The second (chs. xv.–xliii.) is on the creation, the physical universe, paradise, man, his faculties and passions. The third (chs. xliv.–lxxiii.) is on the incarnation, the nature and personality of Christ, and other topics more or less connected with Monophysite and Monothelete controversies; ending with the descent into hell. The contents of the fourth (chs. lxxiv.–c.) are somewhat miscellaneous. The previous order of subjects is proceeded with to the end of ch. lxxv.; after which, as if the resurrection and ascension had brought him in some sort to the end of his theme, he turns back to treat of various incidental matters—faith, baptism, image-worship, Holy Scripture, the Sabbath, and the like—ending once more with the resurrection. It is difficult to trace any real sequence of subject in these concluding chapters; among which, for instance, the Sabbath, virginity, circumcision, antichrist, are discussed in this order; and the most natural conclusion seems to be, that in re-writing and expanding, the original outline had become disturbed. The three Cappadocian doctors, especially Nazianzen, are his chief guides. The writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite are also often referred to, and in particular the *De Divin. Nominibus*. In many cases the words are adopted, without any formal citation, as in the passage about Christ walking on the waters (cap. ii. *sub fin.*; *De Div. Nom.* cap. ii.). Want of space precludes any detailed analysis. He begins with a statement of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, in which God has revealed to man all that is necessary for his salvation. This, as Langen points out, *Joh. von Damaskus*, p. 271, is partly supplemented, partly contradicted, by the statement elsewhere (*De Imag.* I. xxiii.; II. xvi.), to the effect that the gospel was at first diffused orally; and that thus, besides the written form in which it is now embodied, there was an unwritten tradition, from

which the church derives her authority for such rites as the threefold immersion in baptism, praying towards the East, veneration of images, and the like. In treating of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, his language is in contrast with that found in the doubtful *Barlaam and Joasaph*, though he uses a form of the word προβολή, to which Athanasius had objected. His theory of God's predestination, as depending on His foreknowledge of man's co-operation (I. xxx.), is widely removed from that of Augustine. In bk. ii. ch. iv., and still more plainly at the very end of the work, he discusses the nature of that "fire" which will consume the wicked; pronouncing it to be not material, as earthly fire is, but "such as God knows," οὐχ ὑλικὸν οἷον τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλ' οἷον ἂν εἰδείη ὁ Θεός (p. 1228). In the *Dialogus c. Manichaeos* (§ 36, p. 1541), his language on this subject is yet more explicit. The absence of any reference to original sin has been pointed out as a grave defect in such a work (Tribbechov, *de Doctorib.* p. 281). As sacraments properly so called, or mysteries instituted by Christ, he recognises only two—Baptism (completed in confirmation) and the Holy Eucharist. About the other sacred rites, raised to that dignity from the time of Peter Lombard, he is either silent, or speaks with the indefiniteness of the Pseudo-Dionysius. In his treatment of the Eucharist, he teaches that the bread and wine are changed, through the invocation of the Holy Ghost, into the body and blood of Christ (IV. xiii.), but says nothing as to the manner of that change. There is thus, as Waterland pointed out (*Works*, ed. 1843, V. p. 205), no support given to the later doctrine of Transubstantiation. The virginity of the Mother of the Lord (IV. xiv.), and the position held by her; the veneration due to the Cross and to the holy icons (IV. xv.); the canon of Scripture (IV. xvii.), and others, are subjects handled by him in turn, of which a bare enumeration must suffice. In the way of secular knowledge, the detailed account of the heavenly bodies in bk. ii. ch. viii., recalls what his biographer had recorded of the progress made by him in astronomy. In the account of paradise (bk. ii. ch. ix.) he interprets the four rivers to be the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. Many controversial topics, such as the additions to the Trisagion, the twofold nature and will of Christ, and the like, need only be alluded to here, as they form the subject of separate treatises to be noticed later on.

II. *De Imaginibus Orationes III.* (πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας: vol. i. pp. 1232–1420). The occasion which called forth these addresses has been spoken of already. After issuing his first edict in 727, Leo had a conference with the old patriarch Germanus, in the hope of bringing him over to his views. But finding him inflexible, and observing the mischief that divided opinions were fast beginning to produce, he issued in 730 his second and more stringent edict; forbidding now, not merely the idolatrous worship, but even the very use, of images in churches. On this Germanus resigned his office, and his *syncellus*, or secretary, Anastasius, was, with but a fortnight's delay, appointed in his stead. At some time after the issuing of the first edict, but before the appearance of the second, probably as soon as the news of what the emperor had done reached Damascus, John drew up his first protest (*Oratio I.*) in the form of a Λόγος ἀπολογητικός, or Defence of the Sacred Images, for circulation among the Christians of the empire. That it was before the resignation of Germanus became known, seems clear from the reference made to the patriarch as τῷ καλῷ ποιμένι τῆς λογικῆς Χριστοῦ ποίμνης (cap. 3); terms which would hardly have been applied to the imperial nominee, Anastasius. The second address (*Oratio II.*) must have been written after 730, for in it the writer speaks of Germanus as now deposed:—καὶ νῦν ὁ μακάριος Γερμανὸς . . . . ἐρραπίσθη καὶ ἐξόριστος γέγονε (cap. 12). The immediate cause of this second address, as he declares it at the outset, was the want of perspicuity in the first:—διὰ τὸ μὴ πάνυ εὐδιάγνωστον τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν πρῶτον εἶναι. With many, perhaps, who were more within reach of the emperor's power than Damascenus himself was, the difficulty experienced may have been, not so much in understanding the meaning of his arguments, as in deciding what practical course to take. The third (*Oratio III.*) is not much more than a repetition of what had been said before in the two previous ones. It must have followed quickly upon the heels of the second; for no anathema is as yet pronounced in it on the offending emperor; and we know that this was not long delayed, when the deposition of Germanus became public. Damascenus throughout prays that the necessity for such a step may be averted. After citing the words of St. Paul (*Galat.* i. 8), and significantly inserting the name of *king*—"But though we, or an angel from heaven, or a king, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you"—"shut your ears," he winds up with, "for I shrink as yet from saying what the divine apostle said: *Let him be accursed*" (*Or.* iii. cap. 3, p. 1321). The genuineness of this third oration was disputed by Hody, on the ground of a later author (as he considered him), the chronicler Malelas, being cited among the authorities at the end. But the great uncertainty as to the date of that writer makes this only a weak argument. At the end of each address, Damascenus gives a series of extracts from earlier Christian writers in support of his views. It is a significant circumstance that the first passage thus cited in all three is taken from the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite: a proof of the influence exercised on these speculations by the mystic symbolism there found. As the arguments employed by Damascenus have been summed up by Neander (*ubi sup.* pp. 286–290), they may be very briefly noticed here. He urges, that the prohibitions against idolatry, in the Old Testament, could have no force as applied to Christians; since they stood on higher ground, and were bidden to walk by the spirit, and not by the letter. If Solomon was directed to adorn the walls of the temple in Jerusalem with figures of living creatures, with flowers and fruit, how much more fitting was it to adorn the walls of Christian temples with figures of the saints! And if an opponent should reply, that the images of Christ and the Virgin Mother were sufficient for this purpose, was not this to dishonour His chosen servants, and to disparage

that human nature which Christ had exalted by His Incarnation? In this, in truth, lay the difference between the old dispensation and the new. Under the old, no temple was dedicated to God in any man's name; no man's death was any other than an occasion of mourning. But now the memory of the saints was held in honour, so that the "mourning for a Jacob" was changed into the "rejoicing for a Stephen" (*Or.* i. cap. 21). Yet it was no *divine* honour, no *latria*, that was paid to these images by the faithful. To say so was a calumny: *εἰ ὡς θεοῖς ἐλατρεύομεν, ὄντως ἠσεβοῦμεν* (*Or.* ii. cap. 5). The image was but as a mirror, in which they could see, as "through a glass, darkly," the reflection of Him whom alone they worshipped: *καὶ εἰκὼν δὲ ἔσοπτρόν ἐστι καὶ αἴνιγμα, ἁρμόζον τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν παχύτητι* (*Or.* iii. cap. 2). It may be noticed in passing that the text on which so much stress is laid by Romanists, *adorate scabellum pedum ejus* (Ps. xcviii. 5), is quoted by Damascenus (*Or.* i. cap. 27; iii. cap. 34), but without any special prominence.

III. *De Recta Sententia Liber* (Λίβελλος περὶ *ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος*, vol. i. pp. 1421–1432). This is a formal profession of faith, followed by an abjuration of certain heresies. The occasion of it would not be very obvious, but for another title, preserved by Leo Allatius: *ἴσον λιβέλλου ὑπαγορευθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἐπιδοθὲν δὲ παρὰ Ἠλία ἐπισκόπου Πέτρῳ μητροπολίτῃ Δαμασκοῦ*. From this it would appear to be a profession of faith, drawn up by Damascenus, for the use of some (Maronite) bishop named Elias, to be recited by the latter, on his reception into the orthodox church by Peter, metropolitan of Damascus. The convert swears, among other things, to have no communion with the Maronites (§ 8), which shews that these refugees were already regarded as heretical (Hardwick, *Hist. of the Chr. Church*, ed. 1861, p. 77 n). Agreeably with this, we find in another work of Damascenus the term *Μαρωνίζειν* applied to the crime of altering the *Τρισάγιον*:—*καὶ ἡμεῖς Μαρωνίσομεν* (al. *παροινήσομεν*), *προσθέμενοι τῷ Τρισαγίῳ τὴν σταύρωσιν*. *De Hymno Trisag. Epist.* § 5. The mention of the last heresy (§ 7), as one "which had then been raised against the holy church of Christ," is thought by Le Quien to point to those called *Christianocategori* in the *De Haeresib. Liber*, that is, the Iconoclasts of Damascenus's own time. But the expression seems a very general one.

IV. *Contra Jacobitas* (vol. i. pp. 1436–1501). The Greek text of this piece is incomplete; one leaf of the Vatican MS., from which Le Quien reprinted it, being wanting. The deficiency (p. 1483) is partly remedied by a Latin version from an Arabic MS. of the same treatise. The title states it to be written by Damascenus in the name of Peter bishop of Damascus, to the so-called Jacobite bishop of Daraea (*τοῦ Δαραίας*, a safe emendation for *Τουδαραίας*: Daras, or Daraea, being, according to Le Quien, a town some six miles from Damascus). The object desired was the conversion of the latter to the orthodox faith. There is thus a certain correspondence between this piece and the one preceding; and had the name of the Jacobite bishop been Elias, it would have seemed highly probable that he was the one for whom Damascenus performed the counter office of inditing the *De recta Sententia Liber*. But the expression in § 1, where the metropolitan is made to speak of himself as smitten with anxiety for a kinsman and namesake (*πόθῳ τοῦ ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας βαλλόμενος*), appears to indicate one bearing the name of Peter like himself. The Jacobites being Syrian Monophysites (Guericke, *ubi sup.* p. 370), the arguments are upon the twofold nature of Christ.

V. *Dialogus contra Manichaeos* (vol. i. pp. 1505–1584). This is in the form of a dialogue between *Orthodoxus* and *Manichaeus*. Its genuineness was doubted by Billius, a former editor of Damascenus's works, on the ground that the writer speaks of the fire, with which the wicked will be tormented, as not material fire, but the unquenchable flame of sinful desire, ever raging, ever baffled: *ἡ κόλασις ἐκείνη οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ πῦρ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς κακίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ πῦρ ἀστοχίας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας* (§ 36, p. 1541). But, though Damascenus might be led into some extreme in this direction, to avoid unnecessary offence to the anti-materialist principles of his opponent, there is no contradiction between the view taken above, and that set forth in the closing chapter of the *De Fide*. And as if to set all doubt at rest, the canon appointed for the saint's commemoration-day in the Greek church (Dec. 4th), records his having combated the doctrines of the Manichaeans. Damascenus was not alone among the early teachers of the church, in holding this view, as may be seen from a glance at the authors named by Sixtus Senensis (*Biblioth.*, 1610, pp. 338, 376). Not only this, but several others of the topics under discussion, have a fresh interest for us at the present day, when the question of the Manichee is being repeated: "If God is good, why does he punish the wicked in the future state, and not rather annihilate him?" (§ 45, p. 1548). The theory of an antecedent and a consequent will in God (§ 79, p. 1577), by which His foreknowledge is vindicated from the charge of being a cause of evil, is also worth attention.

VI. *Disputatio Christiani et Saraceni* (vol. i. pp. 1585–1597, with which should be joined the dialogue under the same title in the *Addenda*, vol. iii. pp. 1336–1348). For the first of these Le Quien had no Greek text, and was obliged to adapt to the Latin version, in which form alone the *Dialogue* was known to him, detached passages of Greek, drawn from the writings of Theodorus Abucara, a disciple of Damascenus. The *Dialogue* as now given in a Greek dress, from a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, is shorter than the original of the Latin version would appear to have been, beginning with the question at the commencement of § 7 of the latter. But both end alike, with the Saracen's defeat. A short dialogue by Abucara himself, on the same subject, is printed by Le Quien at the end of the first *Disputatio* (vol. i. p. 1596). The objections of a Mohammedan to the doctrine of the Incarnation are met (iii. 1340), and the alternative put to him, whether the Word of God (of which the Koran itself speaks) was created or uncreated. If he should reply uncreated, then the Word was God; if created, then there must have been a time when God was without a Word (*ib.* 1341). Damascenus had used the same argument before (*De Haeres.* vol. i. p. 768); and had also retorted upon the

Mohammedans their own idolatry at the Χαβαθάν, or Kaaba, and the glaring fictions in the writings of their prophet.

VII. *De Draconibus et Strygibus* (Περὶ δρακόντων and Περὶ στρυγγῶν, vol. i. pp. 1600–1604). These appear to be two short fragments from some larger work. They were sent to Le Quien by Montfaucon, from a MS. of no great antiquity; but their genuineness has not been questioned. The author is combating popular superstitions about dragons and vampires; a novel aspect in which to contemplate Damascenus. His subject might remind us of Sir Thomas Browne's chapters on "popular and received tenets concerning animals;" but the method of treatment, it need not be said, is very different. As to the dragons, he argues that no doubt there are such creatures, but they are neither more nor less than huge snakes. In illustration of this, he cites Dion Cassius's account of the one that met Regulus and his army in Africa, 120 feet long. As to the notion that they were in a special degree a mark for thunderbolts (ὅτι ὑπὸ τῆς βροντῆς διώκεται ὁ δράκων), the lightning strikes all alike. And this gives him an occasion to speak of the phenomena of lightning and thunder. The *Stryges* or *Stryngae* (Στρύγγαι), also called *Geludes*, were imaginary beings, supposed to appear in female form, and strangle children, or suck their blood (τὴν οἰκονομίαν, their "inside"). The line of argument taken in reply must strike us as a singular one. It is, that none but Christ could enter in this way through closed doors; and to affirm such stories as these would be to make a wretched sorceress, a μάγος γυνὴ καὶ αἰσχρά, do as much as Christ.

VIII. *De Sancta Trinitate* (vol. ii. pp. 9–17). A short catechism, in the form of question and answer, on the Holy Trinity. The twofold nature and incarnation of the Second Person are the points chiefly discussed. Damascenus has handled the same subject more at large in the third book of the *De Fide*. One passage deserves notice as indirectly illustrating Philipp. ii. 5 (οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο κ.τ.λ.), namely, that before Christ's incarnation He was known to the angels only; but after that, to mankind as well, and thus His glory was increased by His humiliation (§ 4, p. 15).

IX. *De Hymno Trisagio Epistola* (vol. ii. pp. 21–61). This is a letter addressed to the archimandrite Jordanes on the subject of the *Tersanctus*. Damascenus had been informed by letter from the abbat Sergius, that Anastasius, abbat of the monastery of St. Euthymius, had brought forward some passages from the Fathers, which seemed to countenance the innovation of Peter Fullo, in ascribing the *Tersanctus* to Christ alone. Worse than this, Anastasius had claimed Damascenus himself as an authority for this view. Shocked at such a discovery, Damascenus writes to the archimandrite to disclaim such an imputation, and to reiterate the arguments for the thrice-repeated Doxology being applicable to none other than the whole three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. The original *Trisagion* or *Tersanctus*, consisted simply of the words in Isai. vi. 3, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts" (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 15, ed. 1564, f. 136). The Monophysite party strove to procure the addition to this of the formula ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, or ὃς ἐσταυρώθη. Peter Gnapheus, or Fullo, was particularly active in trying to carry this measure at Antioch, where he was reinstated patriarch in 485. Hence Damascenus speaks in this letter of the mischief he had been the means of introducing: τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Κναφέως κακῶς ἐπεισφρήσασαν λύμην (p. 24). The importance attached to the subject was shewn by the popular tumults occasioned by it in Constantinople, and by the fact that the anathema of Felix II., issued against Acacius in 484 as a result of his attempted compromise, was the final act by which the communion between the Eastern and Western churches was broken off. (Gieseler, ii. 91.)

X. *De Sacris Jejuniis* (vol. ii. pp. 64–77).—This is a letter to a monk named Cometas, on the subject of the Lenten fast. It had come to Cometas's ears that his correspondent approved of the lengthened fast of eight weeks before Easter, instead of seven, and he writes to ask for an explanation (§ 2). Damascenus replies that this is not the case, but that the peace of the church should not be disturbed by such trifles, as he evidently considers this to be. Those who advocated eight weeks had a certain reason on their side; for as the Saturday and Sunday in each week had to be deducted, there would be left the exact number of forty days. Some of Damascenus's remarks are conceived in a true spirit of Christian charity, and accord well with the passage he quotes from St. Paul (Rom. xiv. 3).—On the varying duration of the Lent fast at different periods, and the uncertainty as to the origin of the very name *Quadragesima*, see Bingham, *Antiqq.* bk. xxi. ch. i.

XI. *De Octo Spiritibus Nequitiae*, and *de Virtute et Vitio* (vol. ii. pp. 80–97).—Of these two short pieces, the first is a letter to some monk, whose name is not given, and the second a kind of appendix to it. It is possible that the two may have been originally portions of one connected whole, as the latter begins abruptly (p. 85) without any form of address, while towards the end (p. 97) the resumption of the second person (εἰ βούλει δέ, κ.τ.λ.) seems to betoken the continuation of a letter. In the first portion, a summary is given of the eight vices by which a monk is chiefly liable to be beset:—gluttony, evil concupiscence, covetousness, and the rest; together with the means by which they may be overcome. Damascenus, in writing this, seems to have had the institutes of Joannes Cassianus before his eyes. The title of that which follows, reminds us of the doubtful treatise ascribed to Aristotle, *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*. In this, Damascenus classifies virtues and vices according to the twofold nature of man. Long lists of both are given; the number in the Latin translation, it may be observed, not coinciding with that in the Greek. The old prejudice against the use of the bath is noticeable in the reckoning of ἀλουσία (p. 88) among the corporeal virtues. A French essayist makes the obvious remark on this, that Damascenus would not have been likely to oppose the canonisation of an Elizabeth of Hungary. (Perrier, *Jean Damascène, sa Vie et ses Écrits*, 1862, p. 14.)

XII. *De Institutione Elementari* (Εἰσαγωγὴ δογμάτων στοιχειώδης, vol. ii. pp. 100–112). This treatise, though ending abruptly, as if incomplete, would form a useful introduction to the study of Damascenus. It was written at an earlier period than the works composing the *Fons Scientiae*,

and bears somewhat the same relation to the polemical tracts against Monophysites, Monotheletes, and Nestorians that follow, as the *Capita Philosophica* does to the *De Haeresibus Liber*. It is addressed to John bishop of Laodicea, and begins with definitions of the terms most used in controversy with the Monophysites. The latter made φύσις, ὑπόστασις, and ἄτομον to be synonymous. Damascenus here distinguishes them, as the synod of Chalcedon had done (cf. Gieseler, *ubi sup.* p. 87 n.).

XIII. *De Natura Composita contra Acephalos* (vol. ii. pp. 112–125).—The title shews this to be similar in subject to No. iv. noticed above. The Acephali, or "headless," were the extreme Monophysite party in Egypt, so called as having separated from their patriarch, Peter Mongus, of Alexandria, who had subscribed the Henoticon. (Guericke, *ubi sup.* p. 362).

XIV. *De Duabus in Christo Voluntatibus* (vol. ii. pp. 128–185).—The long secondary title of this piece shews that the two natures, as well as the two wills, of Christ are treated of; and hence it may be looked on as directed against Monophysite, as well as Monothelete, doctrines. It has already been mentioned that the term *Monothelete* is said to have been first used by Damascenus. In this treatise he enunciates clearly the position of the Catholic or Dyothelete body, namely, that in Christ the Divine will operated *through* the human, as through an instrument (ἡ θεία ἐνήργει αὐτοῦ θέλησις κ.τ.λ. § 42). We may observe also how he builds on the preparatory teaching given in the *Institutio elementaris*. Taking up, for example, the definition of ἰδιώματα, or properties, there laid down, he argues that Christ could not be perfect God, unless He had all the *idiomata* of Godhead, Divine will included; nor perfect man, unless He had all the *idiomata* of man, human will included; whence the co-existence of two wills in Christ must follow.

XV. *Adversus Nestorianos* (vol. ii. pp. 188–224).—As the preceding treatises were chiefly written to prove the true humanity of Christ, so this was written to establish His divinity, and by consequence, the title of the Blessed Virgin to be called Θεοτόκος, or Mother of God. It was the reiteration of this epithet by theologians in Constantinople that had provoked the spirit of Nestorius himself (*circ.* 430). Damascenus contends that whilst the term *Christipara*, by which Nestorians sought to replace it, was true and appropriate in itself, it did not express the whole truth, and therefore the other ought to be all the more insisted on (§ 43). He appeals to the Nicene Creed, which he cites at length (§ 35) in support of his views. In one passage (§ 2, p. 190) he uses a comparison which might make one think he had before his mind's eye the manufacture of sword-blades, for which his city became so famous. As a sword, he says, which has the nature of iron, acquires the nature of fire when heated in the forge, without losing that of iron, so Christ took by His Incarnation that human flesh subsisting (ἐνυπόστατον) which He bore without losing His divinity.

XVI. *Fragmenta* (vol. ii. pp. 225–245).

(1) A section found in one MS. at the end of the *De duabus Voluntatibus*. It is against the Monophysite argument, that, if man consisted of two natures, body and soul, and if Christ was God and man, He therefore must consist of three natures: Godhead, soul, and body. It begins with an invective against the monk Severus, who became patriarch of Alexandria, and whose Monophysite agitation at Constantinople had stirred up popular tumults (Guericke, *ut sup.* p. 363). The subscription at the end (p. 228) calls the author John *Mandar*, and his work Πάνδεκτος. The title of the work may perhaps have reference to the encyclopaedic nature of the *De Fide*, where the same argument is treated (bk. iii. cap. 16). The name *Mandar* is probably a corruption of *Mansour*, and may be compared with the form *Makur*, said to be found in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, and explained in the catalogue as Μακάριος (*Cat. of the MSS.* vol. iii. pp. 628–9).

(2–9) Fragments of no importance; the last two being from a catena on St. Luke iii. 13.

(10) Detached passages on the months, as reckoned by various nations. The word γάρ at the beginning shews it to be a fragment of some larger work.

(11) *Canon Paschalis*, a table to find Easter. This was printed from the *Computus* of Isaacus Argyrus (circ. 1373). Isaac refers the composition of it to A.D. 765, but this is not certain. Petavius thinks the occasion of it might have been the dissensions in the nineteenth year of Copronymus's reign (A.D. 759), as to the true date of the festival.

(12) *Quid est Homo?* A fragment of a letter, the text of which is very corrupt. It begins by defining man as a ζῶον λογικόν, κ. τ. λ., and then speaks of the four humours, their place and effects in the body. It ends in the middle of a sentence.

XVII. *De his qui in Fide dormierunt* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων. Vol. ii. pp. 248–277). The genuineness of this treatise has been disputed. The subject is the benefit which the departed may receive from the prayers of the living. It might have been expected, therefore, that the dispute as to authorship would be affected by the nature of the subject; and that Romanists would chiefly be found on one side, Protestants on the other. But in the present case, we find writers like Suarez, Bellarmine, and Le Quien himself, deciding against the genuineness of the work; partly on the ground of the "enormes fabulae" which it contains, and partly because it does not accord with Damascenus's avowed opinions as we find them in the *De Fide*. The "fabulae" referred to are such as those we find in § 9 of the deliverance from Hades of Falconilla, by the prayers of Thecla; or in § 16 of the like deliverance of the emperor Trajan by the intercession of pope Gregory; or in § 10 of the oracular skull which Macarius used to consult. As Vossius says (*De Histor. Gr.* lib. ii. c. 24), we must regard Damascenus as "in plerisque credulus," unless we reject the treatise as spurious. No doubt the latter is the right alternative. We find no reference to this treatise in the *Supplement. Tert. Partis* of Aquinas, where we might most have expected it. Its teaching contravenes that which we find as the acknowledged teaching of Damascenus in the *De Fide* (bk. ii. c. 4): namely, that as the angels, after their fall, had no place of repentance, neither have men after death. The style, it may be added, is not like that of the undis-

puted works. The way of citing authors, which in Damascenus does occasionally savour of grandiloquence, is altogether overdone (as in the case of St. Chrysostom, § 6). The introduction, moreover, of a long passage in very poor iambics (p. 257), seems unworthy of the reputed author.

XVIII. *De Confessione, necnon Potestate Ligandi et Solvendi* (vol. ii. pp. 284–304). This piece was printed by Le Quien from a copy sent him by Dr. Thomas Gale, with a Latin translation also by him. It is in the form of a letter, in reply to some one who had written to enquire what right monks, not being in priestly orders, had to hear confessions and grant absolution. By the ninth paragraph, however, the writer uses the plural, "brethren," as though forgetting his special correspondent. Le Quien doubts the genuineness of the letter, on the ground that Damascenus makes one of the heretical tenets of the Messalians to be their professing to give absolution without priestly authority—ἄνευ ἱερέως αὐθεντείας (vol. i. p. 733). As to the prevalence of the practice itself, there seems to be no doubt. John, patriarch of Antioch (circ. 1090) testifies to its having prevailed for 400 years before his time, and says that the iconoclastic persecutions drove people, in retaliation, to pay this honour to monks.

XIX. *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum* (vol. ii. pp. 309–344). A λόγος ἀποδεικτικός, or demonstration, against the emperor Constantine Copronymus (for his sobriquet of Caballinus, see the *Dict. of Biogr. and Mythol.*), on behalf of the holy images. It is generally admitted not to be the work of Damascenus. The writer speaks of Germanus (§ 20) as his own bishop (τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ποιμένος ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ), when relating the incident which gained the emperor his disgraceful surname of Copronymus. This, it is argued, would befit a monk of Constantinople, but not of Damascus or Jerusalem. The style also is unlike that of Damascenus, and inferior to it, exhibiting barbarous compound words, specimens of which are given by Le Quien. That it was written after 754 is shown by the allusion to the synod held in that year, and to the emperor's compliant patriarch, Constantine (754–766), whom he miscalls *phatriarch* ("Φῖ nota foetoris"), § 15, in keeping with a fashion that has been before referred to.

XX. *Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem* (vol. ii. pp. 345–385). As Theophilus was emperor of Constantinople from 829 to 842, it is obvious that this letter was written by some one who lived nearly a century after the time of Damascenus. Its subject, a defence of image-worship, probably caused it to be inserted among his writings. It is thought by some to be the address mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetus as drawn up in the joint name of the three Eastern patriarchs—Christopher of Alexandria, Job of Antioch, and Basil of Jerusalem. The traditional account of our Lord's personal appearance (§ 3), and other passages in this letter, are interesting; but as the author is manifestly not Damascenus, they do not further concern us.

XXI. *De Azymis* (vol. ii. pp. 387–396). Two short pieces are given under this title, the first being an abstract of the second. Their subject is, the question whether Christ instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with leavened or unleavened bread. Whoever may have written the brief introduction, it is plain that the bulk of the tract is not Damascenus's, but the work of some Meletius: καὶ Μελέτιος δέ τις . . . γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὑτωσί. The writer contends that leavened bread must have been used, for one reason, because unleavened bread was not properly bread at all, as lacking the elements of leaven and salt, which answer mystically to soul and mind. He uses some words of interest to the lexicographer, such as κουλλίκιον (p. 389), which he says was the children's way of pronouncing κολλύριον (or κολλίκιον?) a cake of unleavened bread.

XXII. *De Corpore et Sanguine Christi* (vol. ii. pp. 401–412). This consists of an introductory letter, followed by a κεφάλαιον, or summary, on the same subject. Le Quien, who maintains it not to be the work of John of Damascus, has given the title as found in one Paris MS., which, if admitted, would dispose of the question at once. That represents the author to be *Peter* Mansour, and not John: τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πέτρου τοῦ Μανσοὺρ πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν ἐπίσκοπον Δοάρων. What Peter it might be, supposing the title to be correct, is not agreed. One reason for thinking it not to be Damascenus's, is the dignified tone with which the letter begins: σημαίνομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγάπῃ, κ. τ. λ., a style befitting one bishop, when writing to another, but unlike the tone of humility, almost of deprecation, with which Damascenus generally commences. But the real point at issue is, whether the opinion here held as to the corruptibility of Christ's Body could possibly have been held by the author of the *De Fide*. The writer holds that Christ instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist before His resurrection, because up to that time His Body was capable of a certain corruption; but "the Body incorruptible through the resurrection is not broken, nor eaten, nor drunk; *nor does the incorruptible Body possess blood*" (§ 2. p. 408). This, it is urged, is clean contrary to what we read in the *De Fide*, bk. iv. c. 1: ὡς αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡ παθοῦσα καὶ ἀναστᾶσα (ubi legend. ἡ αὐτή?). Waterland (*ubi sup.* p. 200), endeavours to fasten it upon Damascenus, thinking that the external evidences for it outweigh "the slight suspicions drawn from the internal characters."

XXIII. *Fragmenta Dubia* (vol. ii. pp. 412–418). Two short passages, found in some MSS. as interpolations in Bk. iii. c. 3, and Bk. iii. c. 7, of the *De Fide*. Le Quien thinks they may be the glosses of some annotator.

XXIV. *Expositio Fidei* (vol. ii. pp. 417–438). A treatise of which the original Greek is not to be found. The present Latin translation was made from an Arabic version existing in MS. in Paris. From its similarity of tone and manner to acknowledged works of Damascenus, especially the *De Recta Sententia*, no doubt is entertained as to its authorship. The Arabic translator would seem, however, to have added something of his own in the passage: "Enimvero non convenit naturam divinam geniturae expertem esse, ulliusve perfectionis. *Quo enim pacto, qui genitura destitutus sit, perfectus fuerit?*" (§ 3). This savours more of the Mohammedan, than of the author of the chapter *De Virginitate*. The language in which evil is spoken of (§ 5), as a

defect closely resembles that used by Dionysius on the same subject.

At the end of the *Expositio Fidei* Le Quien prints a short fragment, in a Latin version, taken from the same Arabic manuscript as the above. It belongs to one of the Iconoclastic addresses, though not corresponding very closely to any of the extant ones.

XXV. *Loci Selecti in Epistolas S. Pauli* (vol. ii. pp. 441–1033). According to the title, *ἐκ τῆς καθολοῦ ἑρμηνείας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκλογαὶ ἐκλεγεῖσαι*, the selected passages are taken from the various homilies of St. Chrysostom. The majority of them are so; but on some of the epistles—those to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians—the commentary given is not from that father. It might thus seem as if Damascenus had felt the greater value of Chrysostom's homilies on Romans and Corinthians, as compared with those written by him on the other epistles. In what is not from Chrysostom, Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria are said to be the authors from whom most is taken. But in some passages, the comment must be either Damascenus's own, or at any rate that of some writer subsequent to the rise of Nestorianism. Thus, as Le Quien points out, the note on Col. ii. 9 (p. 893), respecting the indwelling of the Godhead in Christ, expressly denies it to be merely *σχετικήν*, a term used by that party. In its present form, the commentary is arranged in short paragraphs following the detached portions of the text to which they refer. Their shortness, as compared with the long dissertations of St. Chrysostom, makes it probable that in the first instance they were written opposite the text in some MS.; a later transcriber breaking them up for arrangement in their present order. A close scrutiny of the text of the epistle might bring to light some various readings of interest (one such, noticed in passing, is *χορηγοῦν* for *ἐπιχορηγούμενον*, Col. ii. 19); especially as the MS. from which Le Quien printed the work is of respectable antiquity, being, as he conjectures, of about 800 A.D.

XXVI. *Sacra Parallela* (*Ἱερὰ παράλληλα*, vol. ii. p. 1040–vol. iii. p. 441) and *Parallela Rupefucaldina* (vol. iii. 441–544). The general nature of these works may be easily described. They consist of detached sentences from Holy Writ, followed by illustrative passages, from other parts of Scripture or from the fathers, arranged in an alphabetical order, for which some leading word in the sentence is a guide. Thus, under *λοιδορία* will be quoted Prov. x. 19, *οἱ ἐκφέροντες λοιδορίας, κ.τ.λ.* Sometimes the general sense of a passage is gathered up into one word, not actually occurring in that passage, as 1 Tim. vi. 3–6 is classed under *οἱ λογομαχοῦντες*. For convenience of finding what is wanted, there is an alphabetical index at the beginning, and at the end of the group under each letter are *παραπομπαί*, or cross-references, as a further guide. The author tells us in his preface that he had arranged the work at first, not in alphabetical sequence, but in three books, according to the general subject of each: the first being on God and the Holy Trinity; the second on human affairs; and the third specially on virtues and vices (p. 1041). But though the plan of the work is thus easy to describe, its actual contents present many difficulties. As originally conceived by Damascenus, the design seems to have been, to limit the collection to sentences from Holy Writ, moral, gnomic, and didactic (*ὅσα ἠθικῶς ἢ γνωμικῶς ἢ παραινετικῶς, ib.*), and to an anthology of illustrative passages from the fathers of the church (*τὰ περὶ τούτων σποράδην κείμενα ἀποφθέγματα ἠνθολόγηνται*). His intended title is also given by him (p. 1044) as simply *τὰ ἱερά*. This design has been altered and encroached upon, by himself at a later time, or by others, in various ways. In a short prologue which stands before the preface (p. 1039), and which reads more like the statement of one who had made an epitome of Damascenus's own work, the selection is limited to virtues and vices (*παραλλήλους θέντες τὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ τὰς ἀντιζύγους . . . αὐτῶν κακίας*). Moreover, in a kind of postscript to it, and in a similar one found at the end of the longer preface (p. 1044), it is mentioned that extracts from Philo and Josephus have been inserted; a thing plainly contrary to the author's original intention. In fact, in the list of authors quoted throughout the *Parallela*, drawn up by Fabricius, we find the names of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and most of the chief classical authors of Greece. It should be said, however, that by far the greatest number of quotations is taken from Chrysostom, the two Gregories (of Nazianzus and Nyssa), and Basil. We may thus perhaps be right in concluding, that a collection of this kind has been treated as common property, and that the student or transcriber has added or omitted as he thought fit. This will explain the differences found in the *Parallela Rupefucaldina*, so called as being taken from a MS. given by cardinal Rochefoucauld to the Jesuits' college at Clermont; in which are passages written apparently by one living a century earlier than Damascenus, that is, under the reign of Heraclius (611–641). Such at any rate is the interpretation put by Le Quien upon the writer's comment on Ezek. xii. 2, where he says that such an affliction as befel Israel in the carrying away of their holy things, had now fallen on Christendom; for that the destructive factions of the blue and green (on which see Gibbon, ch. xl.) had ended in the Holy Cross and the church of the resurrection falling into the hands of the infidel (vol. iii. p. 472). This, and a similar allusion (p. 474, under Hosea iv. 1–3), is understood by the editor to refer to the invasion of Syria by Chosroes in the beginning of Heraclius's reign, when the True Cross, as was said, was carried away into Persia. And hence he considers the *Parall. Rupefucaldina*, while in the main Damascenus's own work, to have been interpolated by some one from an older writer, living in the time of Heraclius. On account of its being substantially the same work, only portions of the *Parall. Rupefucald.* are printed by Le Quien, to serve as specimens.

XXVII. *Homiliae* (vol. iii. pp. 545–816). These are thirteen in number, counting two fragments. The genuineness of all of them is contested by Oudin (*de Script. Eccles. Comment.* i. p. 1780). They are:—

(1) *Hom. in Transfigurationem Domini.* Delivered on the festival of the Transfiguration, in the church erected on Mount Tabor in memory of that event. The words of the Psalmist: "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name," are made prophetic of the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, which Hermon overlooked, and of His glorification

on the western mountain (§ 3). The language is exuberant, but often striking. What can be more beautiful than the brief comment on Christ's leading the disciples *apart* to pray: *μήτηρ γὰρ τῆς προσευχῆς ἡ ἡσυχία* (§ 10)? He disclaims, indeed, all desire to set before his hearers a discourse "luxuriant with the arts of Grecian eloquence" (§ 5); but the very luxuriance of his diction reminds us that the orator is Chrysorrhoas; or, if not he, one closely imitating his style.

(2) *In Ficum arefactam.* On the withered fig-tree. In the title, the author is termed "Priest of the holy church of the Resurrection;" whence, if Damascenus be indeed the one meant, we may suppose it was delivered by him when an inmate of the monastery near Jerusalem. There is not the same impetuosity of language as in the preceding, though the difference of subject might in part account for that.

(3) *In sanctam Parasceven.* A sermon for Good Friday. Some former editors had assigned this to St. Chrysostom; and as such it is included in the edition of Sir Henry Savile. It is noticeable as containing a proverb, or what appears to be such, of which no explanation has been found. Speaking of the scrupulous care of the Jews not to enter the Praetorium, lest they should be disqualified for eating the passover, he adds:—"They are cautious not to be defiled, when they are already defiled; *προβάτῳ τὸ πρόβατον λύοντες*" (§ 4).

(4) *In Sabbatum sanctum.* For Holy Saturday. This is the longest of the homilies, and in other respects an important one. After speaking of the associations of the day (§ 3), the preacher takes occasion from the pause and suspension, as it were, of Christ's work, then commemorated, to pass in review the mysteries of God's existence, of man's creation, of the fall, of the Incarnation. This takes him over ground on which his footsteps are familiar to us; and we have passages about the divine Hypostases (§ 4), and the will and energy of Christ (§ 12) that sound like echoes of the *De Fide.* In the exuberant flow of words there is much that resembles the first homily, especially where he is describing the works of creation (§ 5) with the firmament *τῶν μεταρσίων τε καὶ ἀβυσσίων ὑδάτων μεταίχμιον*, and the blazing sun, *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς διπλοδρόμον ἐργάτην*. His language on the *μεταποίησις* in the Holy Eucharist (§ 35) is also noticeable.

(4*) *In Annuntiationem B. V. Mariae.* This is given in a Latin version only, made from an Arabic translation of the original. The Greek text is not to be found. Being very imperfect, it has been reckoned as one of the two fragments at the beginning of this list.

(5) *In Annuntiationem B. V. Mariae.* An oration, unique of its kind among those ascribed to Damascenus; almost every sentence beginning with the word of salutation, *Χαῖρε*, Hail! The repetition becomes yet more wearisome, when, through one long section, every sentence begins with *Χαῖρε ὅτι τέτοκας*, and afterwards *Χαῖρε ὅτι γεγέννηκας*. There are three distinct historical allusions in it (p. 657), which may help to fix the date. The preacher pours forth his gratitude to the Virgin, because through her (1) they worshipped the holy images, (2) the Roman empire was at peace, (3) the barbarian dog Ishmael (*i.e.* the Saracen) was cut down with the sword This plainly indicates a time of peace, or success in war, and would not suit the latter part of Damascenus's life. Hence, Le Quien would place it near the beginning of Leo's reign, when Hidjam had ascended the throne of the Khalifs (*circ.* 723). But it might be an equally fair inference to conclude, with Oudin, that it is the work of some writer a century later than Damascenus.

(6, 7) *In Nativitatem B. V. Mariae.*—Le Quien makes no question about the genuineness of these two homilies. Oudin thinks the occasion of them a proof that they cannot be the work of Damascenus, since the festival in honour of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin was not instituted till a century later. The profusion of quotations from scripture is noticeable in these, as in others of the present series, and the ingenuity with which an allegorical meaning is extracted from passages in the Old Testament is often striking. But to a western mind there is something almost painfully overstrained in the endless repetition of such images as: *Ὢ ζεῦγος λογικῶν τρυγόνων Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ Ἄννα* (p. 669), or the ever-varying allusions to the unbroken virginity of the mother of the Lord. At § 7 of the second homily (p. 689), begins a succession of *Χαῖρε* sentences, like those in No. 5.

(8–10) *In Dormitionem B. V. Mariae.* The authorship of these three homilies is doubtful. Cave (*Script. Eccl.* i. 625) argues that the second, at any rate, cannot be the work of Damascenus, since there is a mention in it of Euthymius's History (§ 18, p. 748). Combefis is of the same opinion. Fabricius replies, that the objection is not valid, since the Euthymius quoted is not the one who lived under Alexius, but an earlier writer who died A.D. 473. A long extract from this "Euthymiac History," whose ever it may be, is given towards the end of the second homily; relating how the empress Pulcheria (414–453), being anxious to learn what was the last resting-place of the Blessed Virgin, sent to Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, to enquire; and was informed by him of the accepted tradition, which is then set forth. A translation of part of this will be found in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 269, where is also given an account of the rise and development of the *cultus* of the Virgin Mary. A detailed account of the same will further be found in Gieseler (*ubi sup.* ii. p. 813, n.) The first homily is in a more temperate and self-restrained style than the second; in which the preacher (§ 4) imagines himself transported to the scene of the Assumption, and portrays, in long detail, the objects with which his eyes or his thoughts were occupied. Even here, he cannot leave out a passing allusion to the *δύο φύσεις* and *δύο ἐνεργείας* with which men's minds had been so absorbed. One passage (p. 733) recalls the writer of the *Hom. in Ficum arefactam;* namely, where he compares the reception of the incarnate son of God into the womb of the Virgin, to the reception of fire by straw, glorifying, not consuming, it (cf. p. 577). He is careful, at the same time, to guard against being supposed to pay divine honour to the Virgin: *οὐ Θεὸν ταύτην φημίζοντες· ἄπαγε, τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τερθρείας τὰ τοιαῦτα μυθεύματα* (*Hom.* ii. § 16, p. 744). The third homily, like the first, is short and of little importance compared to the second.

(11) *Laudatio S. Joannis Chrysostomi.* An

encomium upon St. Chrysostom. If the author were really John of Damascus, he might be thought to allude to his own surname of Chrysorroas, when he says at the beginning that those who would attempt to set forth the praises of the "golden-mouthed" should pour forth a golden stream of oratory (λόγον προφέρειν χρυσόρροον). With an inveterate reminiscence of the controversies of the time, he commends St. Chrysostom (§ 3) for upholding the true doctrine of the Hypostases, and the distinctions of will in Christ. The special references to the saint's history begin with § 8. We are there told of his birth of a good family at Antioch, of his baptism about the age of eighteen (an earlier age than that commonly given, but agreeing with the date of A.D. 354 assigned for his birth by Cave), his being ordained Reader at the age of thirty, and so on, much as we find in the ordinary accounts of his life. (*Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* i. p. 518). The style is highly ornate and figurative. In one passage, for instance, after relating Chrysostom's removal from Antioch to the capital, he adds, καὶ τὴν θυγάτερα τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως νυμφεύεται. And we have to recall the words of Ps. xlv. 13, to see the meaning to be, that Chrysostom left his father's house and his own people of Antioch, to espouse this "king's daughter," the imperial church of Constantinople.

(12) *Laudatio S. Barbarae Martyris.* It would be difficult to believe that this is really the work of Damascenus. The "enormes fabulae" which discredited a previous treatise (xvii.) are as nothing compared to what we find here. It reads, in fact, more like a Greek version of one of the *Legenda aurea* than anything else. Langen, however, *Johannes von Damaskus*, p. 238, is inclined to accept the panegyric as one really delivered by him. The inserted φησίν, with which the narrative begins, may imply that Damascenus is only repeating the account left by another. St. Barbara is represented as the only daughter of a provincial governor named Dioscorus, in the reign of Maximianus II., A.D. 305–311. To guard her beauty from danger, she was kept immured in a lofty tower (§ 7), where, though her father was an idolater, she grew in every Christian grace. By and by, being required to choose among the suitors for her hand, she sternly refused them all, as already espoused to Christ. On this, her father's affection changes to fury. He pursues her with a drawn sword: at the critical moment, a rocky mountain-side, less stony-hearted than himself, opens its breast to receive and shelter her from his fury. But, nothing daunted, he crosses the mountain, to find her on the other side (§ 10). She is dragged back again; and details of her various tortures, and miraculous deliverances, till at length she falls beneath her father's sword (§ 17), fill the rest of the panegyric. She and St. Juliana repose side by side, and the ruthless parent, on his return, is consumed by lightning. The scene is said to have been near Euchaita (?) in Paphlagonia.

(13) A fragment found in a catena on St. Luke, i. 35, being apparently an extract, with some alterations, from the first homily on the Nativity (Migne, vol. iii. p. 664).

XXVIII. *Precationes tres* (vol. iii. pp. 816–7). Three prayers, for use before the Holy Eucharist, taken from a Greek horologium. The word πολλῶν in the second, if not corrupt, is a noticeable one.

XXIX. *Carmina* (vol. iii. 817–856) and *Hymni* (iii. pp. 1364–1408). Under these two headings are included the canons, or prose hymns, as well as the metrical ones. The first of the two groups, including all those printed by Le Quien, contain the following: (1) Three hymns in iambic metre, on the *Theogonia*, or Birth of Christ, the *Theophania*, or Epiphany, and the *Pentecost*, of which the authorship of the last is a little uncertain; (2) four canons, on *Easter*, the *Ascension*, the *Transfiguration*, and the *Annunciation;* and (3) a prayer in anacreontics. The second group, containing the additional ones printed by Migne, includes (1) a canon on the passing of the Virgin Mary; (2) stanzas (*Idiomela*) from the funeral office; and (3) six canons found by Cardinal Mai in a MS. in the Vatican, chiefly filled with portions of Homer, Hesiod, and the like, and published by him in the *Spicilegium Romanum*. Their titles are: *In S. Basilium*, *In S. Chrysostomum*, *In S. Nicolaum*, *In S. Petrum*, *In S. Georgium*, and *In S. Blasium*. We have thus preserved to us, in all, four pieces in classical metres; one set of verses on no fixed pattern, known as *Idiomela;* and eleven canons or hymns in rhythmical prose. The number might, it is certain, be largely increased. Those in iambic metre are acrostichal; that is to say, at the beginning of each stands a quaternion of elegiacs, summing up the contents of the piece; and the iambic verses then begin, each in turn, with the letters composing the words of these capitulary lines. The device was no doubt found convenient for recitation by memory. There is much room for critical emendation in the hymns. In the second, for example, on the Epiphany (p. 825), the verse that should begin with φ, to correspond with that letter in θεοφεγγέϊ, really begins with the word Θλᾶν; the one that should begin with ξ, to answer to the ξ in Φλέξας, begins with the word Προφήτης, and so on. It need not be said that the iambics would not stand the test of classical rules. They scan, indeed, rather arithmetically than metrically. Even if we allowed accent to take the place of quantity, it would be difficult to perceive the rhythm in many cases. Still, the text is in a manifestly imperfect state; the line last referred to, for instance, being Προφήτης ἐγκάτοις φλοιδόμενος (p. 829). Of the canons, some are acrostichal, as the one on the Transfiguration (p. 848); others not. In the six discovered by Mai, the acrostichal sequence is very broken and irregular, that on St. George being the most complete. An account of the construction of the canon, with its nine odes, each ode made up of *troparia*, or rhythmical verses on the pattern of one preceding, called the *Hirmos*—will be found in Dr. Neale's *Hymns of the Eastern Church* (1870), p. 35. In the same work are given translations of some of these hymns of Damascenus.

XXX. *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* (vol. iii. pp. 859–1240).—Of all the works ascribed to John of Damascus, none has enjoyed a greater celebrity than this. Such, at least, is the impression conveyed by the vast number of MSS. in which it or some portion of it is to be found, no less than

by the numerous versions of it in oriental and European languages. The Greek text was first published by Boissonade in the *Anecdota Gr.* (Paris, 1832), but without the elaborate apparatus of introduction and commentary that he had designed. An old Latin version of it had appeared in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. The question of its genuineness, which Boissonade forbore to enter upon, in deference to an expected edition by Schmidt and Kopitar, has never been satisfactorily settled. Leo Allatius concludes it, on a review of the whole matter, to be Damascenus's; influenced chiefly by the evident partiality of the writer for Gregory of Nazianzus and other admitted teachers of Damascenus, and partly by the prominence given to the subject of image-worship. The balance of modern criticism is also in its favour. On the other hand, if the reading καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ be sustained (p. 1028, cf. Allatii *Proleg.* vol. i. p. 154), such a doctrine as to the procession of the Holy Spirit would not accord with the known teaching of Damascenus. One form of the title describes it as "a profitable history, brought from the interior of the land of the Aethiopians, called India, to the Holy City, through the monk John," &c. The author's name is thus somewhat indefinitely given, and various other persons have been suggested who might properly answer to that description. The outline of the story is very briefly this:—A king of Aethiopia, or India (for the names are used interchangeably), named Abenner, is a severe represser of the growth of Christianity and especially of monasticism in his neighbourhood. After a time he has the blessing he had long coveted, a son and heir. The child is named Josaphat or Joasaph, and after the astrologers have been consulted at his birth, he is guarded with the most jealous care by his father, that all bad influences, Christianity above all, may be kept from him. The description of the secluded state in which he is kept, yet with every imaginable enjoyment within these limits, reminds us of the parallel description in the encomium on St. Barbara. All is in vain. The youth's curiosity is awakened. He gains a reluctant permission to ride beyond the limits of the royal demesne. On one of these excursions he meets by chance with a cripple and a blind man; on another, with a man in the last stage of old age and infirmity. The answers given by his attendants, when he questions them about these strange and sorrowful sights, leave him but ill at ease and anxious for better counsel. In due time a monk, named Barlaam, in obedience to a divine vision (p. 895) makes his way to India, and in the guise of a merchant procures admission to the palace, and to speech with the young prince. Their conversations, in which Barlaam instructs his disciple in the Christian faith, are related with the utmost prolixity; but at length Joasaph receives baptism at the hands of his teacher (p. 1033). Barlaam now takes his departure, and his son's conversion having been disclosed to the king by a courtier named Zardan, the latter is overwhelmed with vexation and sorrow. By the advice of his priests and counsellors he tries expedient after expedient to overthrow the constancy of the prince in his new faith, but all to no purpose. The very agents set to work upon him become converts. As a last resource, by the advice of Araches (p. 1173), he abandons all further attempts at compulsion, and proposes to divide the kingdom with his son, in the hope that worldly cares and concerns of state may wean him from the Christian religion. The partition is made, but with far different results. Joasaph, like another Solomon, so prospers that all men flock to his kingdom; and Abenner, unable any longer to resist conviction, writes to him to confess himself too a disciple of the faith he had so long persecuted. The old king thus dies a Christian (p. 1196); and Joasaph, abdicating his share of the sovereignty, starts on a journey in quest of Barlaam. After two years of weary wandering he finds him in a cave in the desert, and there abides with him till his death. The bodies of the two are afterwards discovered reposing together, unchanged by decay, and in the odour of sanctity. The remarkable similarity of many features in this story to those in the *Lalita Vistara*, the legendary Life of Buddha, was pointed out by Max Müller in an article on the Migration of Fables (*Contemp. Rev.*, July, 1870), and had been previously traced out in detail, with the aid of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire's *Le Bouddha et sa religion*, by Dr. Liebrecht, in Ebert's *Jahrbuch für röm. und engl. Literatur*, 1860, ii. pp. 314–334. The credit of a still earlier notice of the parallel thus presented is due, as Max Müller reminds us, to M. Laboolaye. A discussion of the subject will also be found in Zotenberg and Meyer's edition of Gui de Cambrai's early metrical version of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* (in the *Biblioth. des litter. Vereins*, Stuttg., 1864, lxxv. p. 311 sqq.), and in Dr. Langen's *Johannes von Damaskus*, p. 251 sqq. The resemblance between the two stories is so striking in many respects, especially in what is related of the excursions of Joasaph, as compared with the famous Drives of Buddha, that it would be hard to disprove the relationship between them. In fact, some such connection seems rather implied than not, in the wording of the title given above. If we accept the hypothesis, some explanation still seems wanting of the Jewish cast of the proper names employed. That the names of SS. Barlaam and Josaphat should be found both in the Greek Menaea and the Roman Martyrology, is a circumstance which will give rise to some instructive reflections, if the view of Max Müller and others as to the Buddhist origin of the story be adopted.

XXXI. *S. Artemii Passio* (vol. iii. pp. 1252–1320).—This is stated in the title to be drawn from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius (A.D. 358–425) and some others, by the monk John. The piece was first published by Mai, in the *Spicileg. Romanum.* As nothing was previously known to be extant of the History of Philostorgius, beyond the fragments of it preserved by Photius, and as he has been charged, on the strength of those passages, with misrepresenting facts in favour of Arianism, the present treatise not only increases our knowledge of Philostorgius's writings, but also vindicates him to some degree from the charge of heresy; that is to say, if any reliance can be placed on the *S. Artemii Passio*, as really representing Philostorgius. In itself, it is a composition of much the same nature as the *Laudatio S. Bar-*

barae. After a confused and disjointed account of the events which led to the accession of Julian (361–363), Artemius is introduced as a friend of Constantius (§ 9), and a devout Christian. Of his parentage nothing is known, saving that he was of noble birth. Being ordered to sacrifice to the idols by Julian (§ 40), he refuses, and a series of altercations ensues between him and the emperor, in one of which some oracular verses of Apollo are quoted (§ 46). The way in which Julian is made to state his own views is not uninteresting. After various fruitless attempts to coerce or win over Artemius to his own party, the emperor becomes so enraged at finding an oracle of Apollo in Daphne (a suburb of Antioch) destroyed by lightning, that he orders Artemius to be crushed to death between two masses of rock (§ 60). Even this fails to kill the martyr, who emerges and walks about the city, testifying against the emperor, though so battered and bruised as not to look like a human being. Finally, after his faith has been sufficiently proved, he suffers death at the hands of the executioner on Friday, Oct. 20 (§ 67).

XXXII. *Joannis orthodoxi Disputatio cum Manichaeo* (vol. iii. pp. 1320–1336).—It is uncertain whether this is the work of Damascenus. There is little resemblance between it and the previous *Dialogus contra Manichaeos* (no. V.). It was first printed by Mai in the *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum* (IV. ii. 104).

XXXIII. *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* (vol. iii. pp. 1336–1348).—See above, no. VI.

XXXIV. *Adversus Iconoclastas* (vol. iii. pp. 1348–1361).—In some MSS. this declamation is assigned to John patriarch of Jerusalem, and there appears little or no reason to ascribe it to Damascenus. In § 3 there seems to be a manifest allusion to the Copronymian synod of 754; and if so, it could not have been written by that John, patriarch of Jerusalem, who ordained Damascenus and whose death is fixed in 735.

XXXV. *Canon et Hymni* (vol. iii. pp. 1364–1408).—See above, no. XXIX.

XXXVI. *Fragmenta in S. Mattheum* (vol. iii. pp. 1408–1413).—Taken from the Catenae of Nicetas Serron. The most noticeable passage is one on the Transfiguration (p. 1408), the language of which is very similar to that found in the Homily on the Transfiguration (p. 552). By help of this latter, indeed, the text may be easily amended; as φωτὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ταυτίζεται, for instance, should plainly be φωτὶ γὰρ ἀΰλῳ, κ.τ.λ.

On a review of the works of Damascenus as detailed above, the first reflection that arises is that we have not as yet the materials from which to form a just estimate of his character and ability; or rather the materials are there, but so unsifted as to be of little service. At present, the image before us is partly of iron and partly of clay; and the first requisite would be to decide, as exactly as possible, what the writings are that shall bear his name. This is a task not likely soon to be accomplished. Great as are the merits of Le Quien's edition, and great as was the advance made in it beyond all predecessors, it will still be evident that it includes many pieces that have no pretence whatever to be considered the works of John of Damascus. On the other hand, it is equally certain that many genuine compositions still remain in manuscript. Lists of such may be found in Fabricius, and in the letter of Allatius concerning his contributions to the projected edition of Aubert (Migne, vol. i. p. 113). It will plainly make a great difference in the judgment we form, to know for certain whether the *Laudatio S. Barbarae*, for example, be or be not the production of Damascenus. For the present, therefore, any estimate of his position must only be tentative. But after every reservation has been made, no one can doubt that he was, in the language of Waterland, "a very considerable man, and worthy of better times;" "the father of the modern Greeks, and their great oracle" (*Works*, v. 197). In fact, even this expression only does him half justice. For he has been a spiritual father of the Latin church almost as truly as of the Greek. His unique position, at the point of divergence of East and West, helped to give him this importance. Though communion was suspended between the two great divisions of the church in the very year (677) after that assigned to his birth, the final separation did not take place till after his death. Both sides can thus appeal to him as an authority. His writings reflect the transitional character of his age. He was not only, like his great contemporary Bede, a storer up of the doctrinal teachings of the past, he was a creative spirit for the future. In systematizing Christian theology, and applying to it the logical methods of Aristotle, he showed how the lines of orthodoxy were to be defined, and where they were to be guarded against the heretics of his own or previous times. Through Lombardus and Aquinas he may fairly be claimed as the progenitor of the scholastic systems of the West. As a champion of image worship, he was fighting on what we may consider the wrong side; but he fought resolutely and well; and many of his arguments are weighed respectfully by Neander. While defending what others thought idolatrous in his own church, he could clearly see and expose the idolatry of Mahometans, as shown in their devotions at the Kaaba; and he is deservedly placed by Maracci at the head of writers against that false religion. But it is perhaps as a Christian poet that his name will in our time be chiefly held in honour. One well fitted to pronounce an opinion, has assigned him "the double honour of being the last but one of the Fathers of the Eastern church, and the greatest of her poets." (Neale, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, 1870, p. 90.) His noble canon for Easter Day is still yearly heard amid circumstances that lend an unsurpassed impressiveness to it in the Greek Church; and the echoes of it are prolonged by ourselves, whenever the strain is raised: "'Tis the day of Resurrection; Earth, tell it out abroad." It is no small glory to a Christian singer that his words should be heard, not only at such a season, but also in the last solemn office, when those of his own faith are laid in the grave. (See the *Euchologium*, ed. Goar, 1647, p. 532.)

Bibliography.—An old Latin version of the *De Fide*, by Burgundio of Pisa, had been used by Aquinas, as before mentioned; but the first printed edition of any separate Latin version of Damascenus was that of the *De Fide*, by Jacobus Faber of Etaples, in 1507. The first edition of the Greek text was that of the same work, together with the *De iis qui in fide dormierunt*,

at Verona, in 1531. In 1546 the first approach was made to an edition of the collected works, in a Latin dress, by Gravius of Bayeux. This was published at Cologne. In 1548, an edition appeared at Basle, with the Greek text of the two pieces in the Veronese edition printed opposite the Latin. A new Latin version was made by Billius, and an improved edition, with his translation, appeared at Paris in 1577. Both these editions were reprinted more than once. In 1636, Jean Aubert was requested to prepare a new and corrected edition. For this purpose, he had the benefit of Leo Allatius's collections. But Aubert died before accomplishing his task, and the work was at length taken up by the learned Dominican Michael Le Quien, whose edition in 2 vols. fol. appeared at Paris in 1712. This was reprinted at Venice in 1748, in the same form, and forms the basis of the edition in the Abbé Migne's *Patrologia*. The prolegomena are excellent, but in any future edition it would be very desirable that the works should be sifted and grouped together in a better order.

Authorities.—The principal of these have been mentioned in the course of the article. Le Quien's edition is indispensable. Next in usefulness has been found a series of two articles in the *Revue Belge et Étrangère* (tom. xii. 1861, pp. 1, 117), by Félix Nève. These are specially valuable for the light thrown on the position taken by Damascenus against the Mohammedans, and the influence he exercised in preserving Greek learning in Syria. The excellent monograph of Dr. Joseph Langen, *Johannes von Damaskus* (Gotha, 1879) was not met with till the present article was in type; but a few insertions, suggested by it, have been made. It gives by far the fullest and most careful analysis of the prose works of Damascenus that has yet appeared. The hymns are left untouched. A Dutch version of some of these is given in Grundlehner's *Johannes Damascenus*, Utrecht, 1876. An essay by J. G. Renoux on the *Dialectic* (Paris, 8vo. 1863) is also worth consulting. The writer regrets that he has not been able to procure a sight of C. J. Lénström's *de Expositione Fidei orthodoxae*, Upsal. 1839. An estimate of the place to be assigned to Damascenus in the history of music will be found in the *Résume Philosophique*, prefixed to tom. i. of the *Biographie univ. des Musiciens* by M. Fétis, 1837, p. lxx. The *Biblioth. Graeca* of Fabricius, and the collections of Ceillier, and of Rohrbacher and Chantrel, need only be alluded to by name. [J. H. L.]

JOANNES (530), subdeacon and abbat, bearer of a letter from pope Paul I. to Pippin king of the Franks, A.D. 764. (Paul. ep. 7 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxix. 1148 B; Mansi, xii. 605 A.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (531), presbyter, hegumenus, and anchorite, addressed by the patriarch Tarasius, 787. (Mansi, xiii. 472.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (532), the name of several monks at the seventh synod, 787, viz. :—

i. The presbyter and syncellus of Theodore patriarch of Antioch and of Elias patriarch of Jerusalem, his colleague Thomas representing Politianus pope of Alexandria. Ignatius in his life of Tarasius (cap. v. § 19) makes this distinction, which is not observed in Mansi (xii. 993 A, xiii. 134, 366, 379). The passages in Ignatius will be found in *Boll. Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 580 F, 584 C, 585 A, and notes. John resided at Constantinople.

ii. Vicarii, *viz.*, of Nicephorus bishop of Dyrrachium (Mansi, xii. 993 B), of bishop Procopius (xiii. 138), of Stephen hegumenus of Bonisa (155), of Strategius hegumenus (*ib.*), of the bishop of Patrae (366 D).

iii. Presbyter of St. Sergius of Germia (xiii. 154).

iv. Hegumeni of Chenolaccus (xiii. 151), Lacca (*ib.*), Pagurium (*ib.*), Coelada (154), St. Salvator (*ib.*), Zoticus (*ib.*), St. Mary Deipara of Ruda (155), St. Theodorus martyr (155). [C. H.]

JOANNES (533), monk of Jerusalem, who first excited a question respecting the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost. (Einhard. *Annal.* ann. 809, in *Pat. Lat.* civ. 472; the same statement occurs in various other annalists, *vid.* Bouquet, v. 58 D, 257 A, 333 D, 356 A; Baron. ann. 809, lii.) [C. H.]

Martyrs, arranged in order of commemoration.

For other martyrs see bishops Nos. 41, 74, 189, 204, 296, 366, 384; Clergy, No. 445.

JOANNES (534), the name of two martyrs under Sapor II., recorded without a commemoration day in the *Ancient Syrian Martyrology* of Wright. (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (535), abbat of Monagria, martyr for images mentioned in the Acta of St. Stephen the younger, as quoted by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 766, xx.). [C. H.]

JOANNES (536), January 15, a solitary of Mount Sinai, martyred by the Saracens towards the end of the 4th century. (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Cal. Byzant.*; St. Nili *de Caede Monach. Montis Sinae Narrat.* in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxix. 590, &c.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 953.) [G. S.]

JOANNES (537), Jan. 31, physician and martyr in the persecution of Diocletian with Cyrus of Alexandria (*Cal. Byzant.* Jan. 31; Daniel, *Codex Liturg.* iv. 252). In Daniel the date is A.D. 292. Their natalis or certamen is assigned to Jan. 31 (in Sirlet. *Menol. Graec.* it is Jan. 30). Their invention and translation were observed on June 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, iv. 261). More may be seen in Baron. *A. E.* ann. 414, xx.; Pagi, 414, xiii.; Mai, *Spicil. Rom.* iv. 230 sq.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 31 Jan. ii. 1081. [C. H.]

JOANNES (538), March 20, one of twenty martyrs of the New Laura of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, slain in 797 by the Ethiopians. He was the hegumeniarch of the laura. (Sirlet. *Menol. Graec.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 255; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 166, 171, 172, §§ 34, 42.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (539), April 27, hegumenus of the monastery of the Cathari, a monastery at Constantinople (Ducange, *Cpol. Chr.* lib. iv. p. 107, ed. 1729). His history is discussed by Henschen (Boll. *Acta SS.* 27 Apr. iii. 495). Before his

ordination to the priesthood he attended the seventh synod, 787, with his preceptor. On the recommendation of the emperor Nicephorus, 803, he became archimandrite of the monastery of the Cathari, which he ruled in peace for ten years when by order of Leo Armenus in 813, he was dragged from his monastery and banished first to Pentadactylium near the Maeander in Asia Minor and afterwards to Criotaurus in Bithynia. His sufferings ceased for awhile under the emperor Michael, but in the reign of Theophilus he was banished to the island of Aphusia or Aphrusia (probably in the Euxine), where after two years and a half he died, cir. A.D. 832. The geography is dealt with in Henschen's notes. [C. H.]

JOANNES, abbat of St. Gall. [JOANNES (123).]

JOANNES (540), May 24, count, martyr in the reign of Antoninus. (Basil. *Menol.*) [MELETIUS.] [C. H.]

JOANNES (541), called PSYCHAITA, May 25, monk in the laura of Psychaïtas (τοῦ Ψυχαΐτου) (Basil. *Menol.*). The name of the monastery is discussed in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 100. [C. H.]

JOANNES (542), June 23, a presbyter, said to have been beheaded at Rome by command of the emperor Julian. (Ado, *Martyrol.*; Usuard. *Martyrol.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta Sanct.* June, iv. 482–485.) [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (543), June 26, master of the household (praepositus) of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine the Great, martyr under Julian, with his brother Paulus her primicerius, commemorated at Rome. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 362. ccll.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 159.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, June 28, *vid.* Jan. 31.

JOANNES (544), July 27, Aug. 4. (*Menol. Gr.* Sirlet.) Oct. 23 (Basil. *Menol.*). [EPHESUS, SEVEN SLEEPERS OF.]

JOANNES, Aug. 18. [JOANNES (455).]

JOANNES (545), Aug. 27, martyr at Tomi with the tribune Marcellinus and others. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JOANNES (546), Sept. 7, martyr at Nicomedia under Diocletian and Maximian. (*Mart.* Usuard, Adon.; *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 12.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (547), Sept. 16, son of Marcianus, martyred with him in the reign of Diocletian. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 303, cxiii.; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JOANNES (548), Sept. 20, a martyr in Palestine, an Egyptian (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* cap. 13). commemorated on Sept. 20 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 147; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 309, xx.). The Syriac version of the *Mart. Pal.* (Cureton's transl. pp. 48, 85) does not mention him. [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (549), Sept. 27, martyr at Cordova with his brother Adulfus. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Rom.*) [C. H.]

JOANNES (550), Nov. 28, exlegatarius, martyr for images at the same period as Stephen the younger under the Iconomachi. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

JOANNES (551), Dec. 21, martyr with Festus in Tuscia. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, *Rom.*) [C. H.]

Miscellaneous.

JOANNES (552), reputed one of lxx. disciples. [MENAS.]

JOANNES (553), an official at Edhra in Syria, who changed a Pagan temple there into a church dedicated to the martyr St. George [GEORGIUS (43)] in the ninth year of Constantius and Constans, *i.e.* A.D. 346. (Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* 8627, cf. Hogg on St. George in *Trans. R. Soc. Lit.* vi. 270, vii. 106; *Greek Christ. Inscr.* in *Contemp. Rev.* June 1880.) [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (554), July 30, a soldier in the reign of Julian, who when sent to persecute the Christians executed his orders in pretence only, favoured the escape of the Christians, and finally became one himself. (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 148.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (555), a Priscillianist. In one of the later processes at Trèves following the execution of Priscillian and his chief associates, 386, he is named with Tertullus and Potamius as having given evidence against his party. They were punished only by temporary banishment within Gaul, "quia ante quaestionem se et socios prodidissent" (Sulp. Sev. ii. 51). [M. B. C.]

JOANNES (556), a native of Samosata in the 4th century, son of a woman named Callinice. He and his brother Paul were brought up by their mother as Manicheans or Gnostics. Paul and John laboured together in that region to spread some such opinions. The rise of the PAULICIANS in that neighbourhood led afterwards to an association of this sect with them. (Photius, *c. Manich.* lib. i. 2, 16; Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* § 21 in *Pat. Gr.* civ. 1273.) [M. B. C.]

JOANNES (557), a civil officer of high rank under the emperors Theodosius I. and Honorius. In 394 he was tribune and notary, and was sent by Ambrose of Milan to intercede with Theodosius for such of the followers of the defeated usurper Eugenius as had taken refuge in churches (Paulin. *Vit. Ambr.* § 31 in *Pat. Lat.* xiv. 38). In 404 he was count of the treasures, and greatly interested himself in the defence of Chrysostom (Pallad. *Dial.* cap. 3 in *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. 14). In 408 he was tribune, and at the siege of Rome by Alaric was one of the ambassadors sent out to that prince as an old acquaintance and πρόξενος (Zos. v. 40). In 412 John was prefect of Italy (*Cod. Theod.* III. viii. 3; XIII. xi. 12) and still held that office when Paulinus wrote his Life of Ambrose (Paulin. *u. s.*) [JOVIUS; JOANNES (561)]. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (558), a count whom Chrysostom was accused (in the eleventh charge of the deacon John at the synod of the Oak, A.D. 403) of having denounced in a sedition of the troops. (Phot. cod. 59; Baron. 403, xvii.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (559), circ. A.D. 420. A Phrygian officer who was rumoured to have caused the death of his brother Aemilius by a plot. (Synes. Ptolem. Episc. epp. 2 and 44, *Patr. Graec.* lxvi. 1324 and 1365; Ceillier, viii. 30.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (560), count of the sacred bounties to the emperor Theodosius the Younger. There are two edicts addressed to him in that capacity, published in the *Codex*. He first appropriates the moneys formerly paid to the Jewish patriarchs to the Imperial treasury. The patriarchate itself having expired (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. viii. 29; *Cod. Just.* I. ix. 17, May 30, A.D. 429); the second relates to purely civil matters (*Cod. Theod.* vii. viii. 15, April 24, A.D. 430). He was sent in 431 to the council of Ephesus, and arrived in its sixth session. For the part taken by him see CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, JOHN OF ANTIOCH, NESTORIUS. (Mansi, iv. 1395, 1397, 1434; Baron. *Ann.* ad ann. 431, cxxviii. &c.; Facundus Hermiens. *Def. Tri. Cap.* vii. 4 in *Pat. Lat.* lxvii. 691.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (561), surnamed PRIMICERIUS, usurping emperor of the West, from Sept. 423 to May or June 425, as reckoned by Clinton (*F. R.* i. 606). His short tenure of power is related by Socrates (vii. 22, 23), Olympiodorus (in Photius, cod. 80, *Pat. Gr.* ciii. 277), Cassiodorus (*Hist. Trip.* xi. 18), Philostorgius (*H. E.* xii. 13), Theophanes (*Chronog.* A. C. 415), and by the western chroniclers Prosper and Idatius (Bouquet, i. 616, 629). Gibbon's account compiled from these authorities will be found in vol. iv. p. 172 of Smith's edition. Valesius in his note on Socrates (*l. c.*) identifies this John with the tribune and notary above. [JOANNES (557).]

In the *Theodosian Code* (lib. xvi. tit. ii. 47) there is an edict dated Aquileia, Oct. 8, 425, addressed to Bassus, re-establishing a privilege of the church which "the tyrant of our time" had suppressed, viz. the right of the clergy to be tried by their bishops, instead of by the secular courts. This "tyrant" (*i.e.* usurper), designated as "infaustus praesumptor" is unnamed, but the commentary of Gothofred which is followed by Baronius (ann. 423, iii.) and Fleury (lib. xxiv. cap. 33) identifies him with the usurper John the Primicerius, who, as it is inferred from the evidence of this law, issued edicts in opposition to the church during his brief tenure of power, and must consequently have been an Arian. [C. H.]

JOANNES (562), surnamed MEDICUS, the syncellus or domesticus of Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria. (Mansi, iv. 1393 B; Baron. ann. 431, cxxiv.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (563), a decurio or senator, possibly of Alexandria, agent for the emperor Marcian at the council of Chalcedon (Labbe, iv. 535 C; Tillemont, xv. 671, 775-6), afterwards sent by Marcian into Egypt, A.D. 454, in order to secure the adherence of the monks to the council of Chalcedon (Labbe, iv. 856 C). Leo the Great mentions him as a "vir spectabilis," and of praiseworthy orthodoxy (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 141, 1296, Migne). His mission does not seem to have obtained much success. [C. G.]

JOANNES (564) PHILOPONUS, a "grammaticus" of Alexandria; a distinguished philosopher, a voluminous writer (Suidas, *s. v.* Ἰωάννης Τρ.), and one of the leaders of the Tritheites of the 6th century (Sophron. *Ep. Synodic. Co. Const* A.D. 680; Act. xi. in Mansi, xi. 501; Leont Byzant. *De Sect.* Act. v. in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. i. 1232. From his great industry he acquired the surname of Philoponus, which his theological opponents changed to Mataeponus.

He was a native of Alexandria (Niceph. *u. s.*), and a pupil of Ammonius the son of Hermeas, a celebrated teacher in that city (Io. Philop. Εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας Ἀριστοτέλους; Lambecius, *Comm. Biblioth. Caes. Vindob.* vii. 143. Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 331). His earliest known appearance as an author was in his περὶ ἀϊδιότητος, a reply to the Ἐπιχειρήματα ιη' κατὰ Χριστιανῶν of Proclus, surnamed Diadochus. It discovers great dialectic ability as well as great learning, the quotations which it contains covering the whole range of the literature of his own and previous times (Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* ed. Harles, x. 652-654), and is said by Suidas not only to have been a complete refutation of the great Neo-Platonist, but also to have convicted him of gross ignorance (*s. v.* Πρόκλος).

Apparently about the same time he was engaged in a controversy with Severus, the deposed bishop of Antioch (Suidas, *s. v.* Ἰωάν. Galland. *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xii. 376; Cureton, *Fragments*, 212, 245, seq.). Nothing of his remains however unless it be his Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκεφάλους κεφάλαια ιζ', which is still in MS. (Lambecius, *u. s.* iv. 474). To the same period may be assigned a treatise *De Universali et Particulari*, addressed to Sergius, then a presbyter, but afterwards the successor of Severus at Antioch, which is described by Assemani in his catalogue of the Syriac MSS. which he brought from the East (*Bibl. Or.* i. 613).

Sergius was ordained patriarch of Antioch by the Monophysites c. A.D. 540, and at his request Philoponus wrote a work which he entitled Διαιτητής, *Arbiter*, the Umpire, and dedicated it to him. Nicephorus speaks of this as a "most powerful work" (λόγος δεινότατος), and says that it was dedicated to Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople (*H. E. u. s.*), but Quercius has shewn, that he, like others, has confounded the two patriarchs of the same name (*u. s.* 1413). The Διαιτητής is an attempt to shew that the doctrine which Philoponus and his followers held upon the subject of the union of the two natures in the person of our Lord was dialectically necessary. The argument is admirably condensed by Prof. Dorner in his *History of the Developement of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (Clark's transl. ii. 1. 416). It consisted of ten chapters, a short quotation from the fourth of which, and apparently the whole of the seventh, may be read in the *De Haeresibus* of Joannes Damascenus (*H.* 83, in *Patr. Gr.* xciv. 745). Nearly the whole work, the only parts wanting being portions of the first and second chapters, exists among the Syriac MS. in the British Museum (Wright, *Catal.* ii. 587). The same collection also contains some fragments of it (*ib.* i. 114, 388), and the whole work appears to be preserved in the Vatican (Assem. *Biblioth. Apostol. Vatic. Cod. MSS.* iii. 250) as well as a compendium, and two apologies for it (*ib.* 251).

Philoponus also wrote another treatise at the request of his friend the patriarch of Antioch, which in the edition published by Gallandius is entitled Περὶ κοσμοποιΐας λόγοι ζ', *De Mundi Creatione*, l. vii. (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xii. 473), but in that of Corderius, Vienna, 1623, Τῶν εἰς τὴν Μωυσέως κοσμογονίαν ἐξηγητικῶν λόγοι ζ', *Commentarii in Mosaicam Cosmogoniam*, l. vii. and is referred to by Photius, who also confounds the patriarchs under the titles of Εἰς τὴν κτίσιν, *De Universi Creatione* (xxxviii.), and Εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον, *In Hexaemeron* (xliii. ccxl.). Cave, as well as others, have supposed that the *Hexaemeron* of Georgius Pisides was written in reply to this work (*Hist. Liter.* i. 563), relying on a statement of Nicephorus (*H. E.* xviii. 48[a]). But Quercius has shewn that to be a mistake of the historian, and also that both the poem of Georgius and the Treatise of Philoponus were written with the same object in view, the vindication of the Mosaic cosmogony (*Praef. de Geo. Pisid. ejusd. Script. u. s.* 1174, 1178; *Monit. de Hexaemer. Geor. Pisid. u. s.* 1435).

At what period Philoponus distinctly avowed what is known as Tritheism (Eulog. *Patr. Alex. Orat.* Phot. ccxxx. ed. Schott. p. 879) does not clearly appear. But it must have been before the middle of the sixth century as Mar Abas, "Primas Orientis," who died A.D. 552, was one of his converts to that doctrine (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 411; Quercius, *u. s,* 1421). Notwithstanding this however, if not because of it, the emperor Justinian sent one of his officers named Stephanus to Alexandria to summon Philoponus to Constantinople "in causâ fidei." The Grammaticus did not obey the summons but wrote to the emperor a letter, the substance, though unfortunately not the text, of which is briefly given both by the Assemans (*u. s.* iii. 252) and Cardinal Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* iii. 739), excusing himself on the plea of age and infirmity. In this letter he also urged Justinian to issue an edict prohibiting the discussion of the "two natures." If there is any connection between this letter and the summons which evoked it, and the edict published by Mai (*Scr. Vet. Coll. Nov.* vii. 1, 292), it must have been written before A.D. 551, as the edict mentions Zoilus as patriarch of Alexandria who was deposed in that year. Assemani also notices a treatise which Philoponus addressed to Justinian, *De Divisione differentia et numero*, which was probably written in defence of his Tritheism (*Bibl. Or.* i. 413 = *Catal. u. s.* 252).

On the death of Joannes Ascusnaghes, the founder of the Tritheites, Athanasius who had embraced his opinions, sent his *Demonstrationes* to Philoponus at Alexandria. The Grammaticus then wrote a treatise on the subject and sent it to his friend at Constantinople. The Alexandrians, hearing of this, condemned both Philoponus and his book. The Monophysites finding that this publication brought them into great disrepute appealed to the emperor Justin II., who had married Sophia, a granddaughter of the empress Theodora, and was known to be favourable to their party. He complied with their request, and the matter was committed to Joannes Scholasticus who had succeeded Eutychius, on his refusal to subscribe the Julianist edict of Justinian, A.D. 565 [EUTYCHIUS 18] (Greg. Bar. Hebr.; Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 328).

At the disputation, Conon who represented the Tritheites [CONON (4)] and Eugenius [EUGENIUS (14)] were required to condemn Philoponus, but they refused (Phot. *Biblioth.* xxiv.). The Grammaticus was condemned by John however (Wright, *u. s.* ii. 705), and it was probably then that the emperor issued an edict which though otherwise tolerant is severely elaborate in its repudiation of Tritheism (Evagrius, *H. E.* v. 4).

We hear nothing more of Philoponus until A.D. 568, when John the patriarch of Constantinople having delivered a catechetical discourse on the "Holy and consubstantial Trinity" (. . . περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος) he published a treatise (βιβλιδάριον) in reply to it. Photius is unsparing in his criticism both of the style and the argument of this work, and charges the author with having perverted the authorities whom he quotes in it (*Biblioth.* lxxv.). By this time Philoponus must have been a very old man, but as he was a contemporary of Georgius Pisides (Niceph. *H.E.* xviii. 48, Querc. *u. s.*), who flourished under the emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610, 641—GEORGIUS 54) he appears to have been surviving some years afterwards. Quercius however shews good reason for regarding the date of A.D. 617, which appears in his *In quatuor priores libros Physicorum* to be an error (*u. s.* 1412, 1413), though Clinton would retain it (*F. R.* ii. 164). And it is not likely that the author of such a work as the κατὰ Πρόκλου so early as A.D. 529 could have written the *Commentary* some ninety years afterwards.

During the lifetime of Philoponus the Tritheites appear to have continued to be united under his leadership (Tim. Presb. *Recept. Haer.* in *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. i. 62), but after his decease they became divided, because of the opinions which he had maintained on the subject of the resurrection-body, both in his writings against the heathen, and in a special work which he wrote on this subject. This last was in several books, of which Photius speaks in no respectful terms (*Bibl.* xxi. xxiii.) though it found great favour not only with that section of the Monophysites which persevered in their adherence to Philoponus, but also with Eutychius the Catholic patriarch of Constantinople (Jo. of Eph. *u. s.* 147; EUTYCHIUS 18). When the division took place among the Tritheites those who still followed their leader were distinguished as Philoponiaci, and, from the fact that Athanasius was prominent amongst them, also as Athanasiani (Schonfelder, *Die Tritheiten*, app. to his German translation of John of Ephesus, 269, 274, 297), while their opponents were called Cononitae, after Conon of Tarsus, who had written a refutation of the Περὶ ἀναστάσεως. Both parties charged each other with being Sadducaei, Gentiles, Valentiniani, Marcionitae, Manichaei and Origenistae," while the Philoponiaci also charged the Cononitae with being Hermogenistae (Tim. Presb. *u. s.* Nicetas Choniat. *Thesaur.* ix. in *Pat. Gr.* cxl. 46; Niceph. *H. E.* xviii. 47[b]).

Besides the works already mentioned, Philo-

[a] The lines quoted by Nicephorus are from Geo. Pisid. *Contr. Sever.* v. 583, et. seq. *u. s.* 1661.

[b] On the discrepancy between the exposition of the doctrine of Philoponus given by Nicephorus and that given by Timotheus and Quercius, n. in Geo. Pisid. *Hexaemeron*, l. 1481, p. 1546, 1547.

ponus also wrote—(1) *Contra Andream disc.* iv. (Wright, *u. s.* ii. 917). This Andreas may have been the Julianist "inclusus" whom Gregory I. speaks of in his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Thessalonica (Ep. ix. 69; July, A.D. 601, Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif. Rom.* 145), and against whom Eusebius also wrote [EUSEBIUS (86)]. (2) Κατὰ τῆς σπουδῆς Ἰαμβλίχου ἣν ἐπέγραψε περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, *Adversus Jamblichi opus quod de Simulacris inscripsit.* The work of Jamblichus, which is no longer extant, was written to prove that the idols were divine. We only know the reply from what Photius says of it (*Biblioth.* ccxv.) (3) Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα, *De Paschate Disputatio,* the latest and best edition of which is that of Gallandius (*u. s.* 471). It is a treatise on the Last Supper of our Lord with His disciples, and appears to be the Βιβλίον ἀνώνυμον which Photius describes in his *Bibliotheca* (cxv. Fabricius, *u. s.* x. 642). (4) Κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς τετάρτης συνόδου, *Adversus sacram et oecumenicam quartam Synodum.* This we only know from Photius (*Bibl.* lv.). It is one of the πλεῖστα συγγράματα δυσχερῆ δὲ καὶ δυσεξέλεγκτα κατὰ τῆς συνόδου, which Nicephorus ascribes to him (xviii. 45), and is probably that which is quoted in the sentences from the Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Καλχηδόνι συνόδου καὶ τοῦ τόμου τοῦ ἁγίου Λέοντος of Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch [EPHRAIM 6), which were read at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680 (Act. x. Mansi, xi. 435; *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. ii. 2099). (5) *Quaestiones* addressed to Christophorus and others, which were replied to by Georgius, bishop of Tacritum, Tacrit, in the province of Mesopotamia, c. A.D. 580 (Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* i. 465). (6) *Tractatus de differentia quae manere creditur in Christo post unionem* (Assem. iii. 252.) Nicephorus also speaks of his having written against heresies (xviii. 4). The *De Fide Orthodoxa* of Nicetas archdeacon and Chartophylax of the Great Church at Constantinople, described by Lambecius as *Contra Joannem Philoponum,* was written in reply to another Joannes of a much later date, whom Nicetas himself speaks of as Joannes Itala (*Com. d. Bibl.* Caes. iii. 410; Kollar's note.)

For a list of the numerous non-theological works of Philoponus we must refer our readers to Fabricius (*Biblioth.* ed. Harles, x. 642–652) and Clinton (*Fast. Rom.* ii. 331–333; Ritter, *Hist. de la Philos. Chrétienne,* ii. 457).

[T. W. D.]

JOANNES (565) SCYTHOPOLITA, a scholasticus of Scythopolis in Palestine. Photius had read a work of his in twelve books *Against Separatists from the church* or *Against Eutyches and Dioscorus,* written at the request of a patriarch Julianus, who was probably Julian patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 471–476 (Phot. cod. 95, in *Pat. Gr.* ciii. 339 *n*). The author whom he opposed concealed his name, but gave his work the title *Against Nestorius,* craftily designed to allure the unwary. Photius thinks he may have been Basilius Cilix [BASILIUS OF CILICIA], who afterwards wrote against John a dramatic *Dialogue* worthy of his religion; Photius (cod. 107) had read this. John of Scythopolis was also the author of παραθέσεις or commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius, which had a wide circulation for some centuries. Among the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum there is a Syriac translation of Dionysius, with an introduction and notes by Phocas bar Sergius of Edessa, a writer of the 8th century. The notes are in great part a translation of the παραθέσεις (Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.* pt. ii. p. 493). Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the 9th century met with a copy of these commentaries at Constantinople, and sent a Latin version of them to the emperor Charles the Bald, together with the *Scholia* of the confessor Maximus on the same author, but these he was careful to distinguish from those of John by a cross. Anastasius in his letter to Charles (ep. 2 in *Pat. Lat.* cxxix. 740) states that the commentaries are reputed to be those of John bishop of Scythopolis. This version is no longer extant. The παραθέσεις are also distinguished from the *Scholia* of Maximus in several MSS. which were seen by archbishop Usher (*Bibl. Theol. MSS.* quoted by Cave, i. 506; *Dissert. de Pseud.-Dionys.* in Usher's *Works,* xii. 504, ed. Elrington; Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* vii. 9, ed. Harles; De Rubeis, *Dissert. ad Opp. Dionys.* in *Pat. Gr.* iii. 66, 67). In the printed editions of the Areopagite both works are so confused that they can be distinguished only, if at all, by their contents, *e.g.* where there are clear traces of the author or the work described by Photius, as in *De Coelesti Hierarchia,* cap. 7; *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia,* cap. 7 (Le Quien, *Dissert Damasc.* ii. in *Pat. Gr.* xciv. 281–284; De Rubeis, *u. s.* 65). The *scholia* on Dionysius which Joannes Cyparissiota (A.D. 1360) ascribes to Dionysius Alexandrinus (*Theol. Symb.* decas i. cap. i. and dec. ii. cap. 2 in *Pat. Gr.* clii. 746, 761) are those of John (Cave, i. 506). Cave confuses this scholasticus of Scythopolis with John Maxentius, to whom he therefore ascribes the commentaries on Dionysius [MAXENTIUS].

[T. W. D.]

JOANNES (566), a familiar friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epp.* lib. ii. ep. 5 in *Pat. Lat.* lviii. 480.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (567), a distinguished professor of the classic learning in southern Gaul, in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris and the Gothic domination. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epp.* lib. viii. ep. 2 in *Pat. Lat.* lviii. 599.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (568), a scholasticus of Scythopolis in Palestine. In 520 Sabas on visiting that city was met by this John in company with Theodosius, who had recently succeeded John the bishop of Scythopolis. Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vit. Sab.* § 61 in Coteler. *Eccl. Gr. Monum.* iii. 327), relating an incident which then occurred, speaks of John as a certain scholasticus at Scythopolis, the son of Expelleutas, an excellent and enlightened man. The date is conclusive as to John being a different person from John bishop of Scythopolis (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 690; De Rubeis, *Dissert. ad Opp. Dionys.* in *Pat. Gr.* iii. 69) [JOANNES (363)]. The description of him by Cyril, besides the date, seem to prove that he was also different from the Joannes Scythopolita of Photius. [T. W. D.]

JOANNES (569) RHETOR, of Antioch, historian, cited as an authority in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius for certain facts. Evagrius (iv. 5) states that John concluded his history by a pathetic description (τραγῳδῶς) of the destruction of Antioch. This event occurred in 526 and

John Rhetor is reckoned to have been flourishing about that period. (Cave, i. 508; Hodius, *Proleg.* to John Malalas, p. xxx. § 7.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (570), one of a body of senators addressed in 534 by pope John II. on the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ. (Mansi, viii. 803; *Pat. Lat.* lxvi. 20; Baron. ann. 534, xxiv.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (571), chancellor of Cassiodorus, who addresses him in indiction xii. *i.e.* 534, upon his appointment, explaining in much detail the duties of the office. (Cassiod. *Var.* lib. xi. ep. 6.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (572), patricius, addressed by pope Pelagius I. (Pelag. *Epp. Frag.* in *Pat. Lat.* lxix. 411); another fragment (*ibid.* 416) is addressed to a Joannes who is styled "comes patrimonii." [C. H.]

JOANNES (573), son of Androgynus of Amasaea, stated to have been born through the prayers of Eutychius patriarch of Constantinople, while in exile there. (*Vit. Eutych.* cap. vi. §§ 44, 46 in Boll. *Acta SS.* 6 Apr. i. 559 note, 560; Baron. ann. 564, xx.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (574), surnamed ASCUNAGHES or ASCOSNAGUS, founder of the sect of the Tritheïtes in the 6th century. He was the disciple and subsequently the successor of Samuel Peter Syrus, who taught Greek learning at Constantinople. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 325; *Dissert. de Monoph.* num. iv. in *B. O.* ii.) [MONOPHYSITES, JOANNES (564) PHILOPONUS.] [C. H.]

JOANNES (575), a Monophysite confessor at Constantinople in the reign of Justin II., in conjunction with two others, Peter and Eudaemon, all of them described as of consular rank, John being also called a consul. (John of Ephes. *H. E.* ii. 11, in R. P. Smith's transl. pp. 107–110.) [JULIANA.] [G. T. S.]

JOANNES (576), an historian mentioned by Evagrius (*H. E.* v. 24), who couples him with Agathias Rhetor, saying that they treated of the period from the end of Justinian to the flight of the younger Chosroes to the Romans (*i.e.* from cir. 560 to 591), but had not published their histories. Speaking of John, Evagrius uses the expression, ἐμῷ τε πολίτῃ καὶ συγγενεῖ. C. B. Hase in his edition of Leo Diaconus (Paris, 1819, fol.) included (p. 169) a fragment of John's history from a Vatican manuscript which he had discovered, and in his preface (p. xiii.) discusses the author. He thinks that a large portion of John's work, and in its original form, survives in Theophylact Simocatta. As the "fellow citizen" and relative of Evagrius, John has been reckoned by some as belonging to Antioch, where Evagrius appears to have resided. But it is more usual to regard him as a native of Epiphania in Syria, which was the birthplace of Evagrius; and of this opinion is Valesius (in his note on the passage of Evagrius), Cave (i. 546), and Hase who designates him "scholasticus et expraefectus Epiphaniensis." He has been also confused, as Hase remarks, with John Malalas. [C. H.]

JOANNES, prince. [HERMENIGILD.]

JOANNES (577), ex-consul, patrician, and quaestor, addressed by pope Gregory the Great in 591. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 31 in Migne, lxxvii. 483.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (578), notary under Gregory the Great in 592. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 49; lib. iii. indict. xi. 36 in Migne, lxxvii. 590, 632.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (579), the builder of a monastery in Pesaro (Pisaurum), in which bishop Felix had placed his throne, and allowed public masses to be celebrated, for which Gregory the Great remonstrated with him, A.D. 596. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. vi. indict. xiv. 46 in Migne, lxxvii. 832.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (580), agrimensor in the time of Gregory the Great. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. vii. indict. xv. 39 in Migne, lxxvii. 898.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (581), praefectus urbis (Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 176) in the time of Gregory the Great (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. 6, 7 in Migne, lxxvii. 1070, 1071). He was the last praefect of the city that is known for nearly two centuries. (Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, ii. 51.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (582), Praepositus Italiae (or praefectus. Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 176). In 599 Gregory wrote to him to complain of wrongs done to the church at Naples. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. 21 in Migne, lxxvii. 1080.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (583), vicarius of Italy in the time of Gregory the Great, as Carl Hegel conjectures. (Greg. Magn. lib. ix. indict. ii. 35 in Migne, lxxvii. 970; Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 65, 178.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (584), "vir clarissimus palatinus," at Naples, in the time of Gregory the Great. (Greg. Magn. lib. x. indict. iii. 26 in Migne, lxxvii. 1084; Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 178.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (585), tribune at Siponto in the time of Gregory the Great. (Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 182; Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xi. indict. iv. 24 in Migne, lxxvii. 1135.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (586), defensor, commissioned by pope Gregory the Great in 603 (lib. xiii. ind. vi. epp. 45, 46, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii.; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 152). [C. H.]

JOANNES (587) (surnamed LEMIGIUS), sixth exarch of Ravenna, between Smaragdus and Eleutherus), c. 612–616. He was killed, together with some of his officials, during a revolt at Ravenna. (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. i. 239; Ersch und Gruber, *Encycl.* xxxix. i. p. 318; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.* ii. 116; Rubeus, *Hist. Rav.* lib. iv. p. 167, ed. 1572.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (588), sacellarius of Peter a pretor of Numidia. He was one of the accusers of the abbat St. Maximus in 657, Baronius (ann. 657, iv.) gives the documents in full from the Vatican MSS. [C. H.]

JOANNES (589), the name of a primicerius, and likewise of a consiliarius at Rome, having charge of the see at the time of the election of pope John IV. in 640. (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 19.) [C. H.]

JOANNES (590), called THE CHAMBERLAIN, correspondent of Maximus abbat of Chrysopolis in the 7th century. John would probably be at one time head chamberlain to the emperor Heraclius. (St. Maxim. Abbat. *Epist.* 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 27, 43, 44, 45 in Patr. Graec. xci. § 220, &c.; Ceillier, xi. 767.) [W. M. S.]

JOANNES (591) (surnamed PLATYN), 13th exarch of Ravenna, between Theodore II. and Theophylact (687–702). (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 170, 171; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. i. 301, 305). Rubeus (*Hist. Rav.* lib. iv. p. 179, ed. 1572) gives him the surnames Platon and Platina. [A. H D. A.]

JOANNES (592), first defensor, mentioned by Anastasius in his account of pope Constantine (num. 171, *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 948; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 709, ii.). [C. H.]

JOANNES (593) (surnamed RIZOCOPUS), 15th exarch of Ravenna, between Theophylact and Eutychius. The pope Constantine was sent for by the emperor Justinian. On his way to Constantinople he met John at Naples (A.D. 710), who had come no doubt by way of Sicily. The new exarch went to Rome, and, in the absence of the pope, for reasons unknown, killed his treasurer, vicedominus, and other persons. He then went on to Ravenna, where he lost his life in an insurrection, c. 711. The rebellion is remarkable as being the occasion of one of the earliest leagues of Italian cities (in the Middle Ages). (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Vignol. ii. 5; Agnellus in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, c. 139, p. 369; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.* ii. pp. 194–198.). Rubeus (*Hist. Rav.* lib. iv. p. 185, ed. 1572) gives the surname as Tyzocopus. [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNES (594), a Syrian, the father of Gregory III., as stated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of that pope (num. 190, *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 1024). [C. H.]

JOANNES (595), silentiarius of the emperor Constantine Copronymus, envoy to pope Stephen II. in 752. (Anast. Biblioth. *Vit. Steph. II.* num. 232 in *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 1087.) [C. H.]

JOANNES, Irish saint. [EOIN.]

JOANNICIUS (1), secretary of Theodore exarch of Ravenna. In his youth he attracted the attention of Theodore by his learning. The exarch took him into his own palace, and after three years was ordered to send him to the court at Constantinople. For some unknown reason he returned to Ravenna while Damian was archbishop (692–708). He must have been a leader in the seditions against Justinian II., for when the patrician Theodore was sent by Justinian to carry out his revenge upon Ravenna, Joannicius was taken among other chief men of the city, and carried with Felix the archbishop to Constantinople. When he was called into Justinian's presence (c. 711) the emperor ordered reeds to be thrust under the nails of all his fingers and commanded him to write. Joannicius wrote, not with ink, but with his own blood, "Deus in adjutorium meum contende," and other words (Agnellus, cap. 141), and addressed the emperor, "Quid, moriture, agis? Periet audacia tua." Then Justinian ordered him forth to punishment. Justinian himself died in 711. The whole story is found in the history of Theodore, Damian, Felix, archbishops of Ravenna by Agnellus, who was a descendant of Joannicius. (Agnelli *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878, c. 120, 125, 137, 140, 141, 146.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOANNICIUS (2), bishop of Abellinum (Avellino), said to have succeeded Sylverius c. A.D. 535, and to have died A.D. 556. (Zigarelli, *Cattedra di Avellino*, p. 47; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* viii. 192; Cappelletti, xix. 160, 188.) [R. S. G.]

JOANNITAE (Ἰωαννῖται), a designation given to the friends and supporters of Chrysostom, after their exclusion from St. Sophia's. (Soc. *H. E.* vi. 18; Soz. *H.E.* viii. 21.) [CHRYSOSTOM, Vol. I. p. 529 *a*.] [T. W. D.]

JOATHAS, May 22. Martyr under Maximian, and patron saint of the church of Bellunum. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Mai. v. 142.) [G. T. S.]

JOBIANUS. [JOVIANUS.]

JOBINUS. [JOVINUS.]

JOBIUS (1) (Ἰώβ, Ἰώβιος, JOB), an orthodox presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople (Labbe, iv. 212 A). He appears at the council of Constantinople in 448 as subscribing the deposition of Eutyches by the hand of his deacon Andreas (Labbe, iv. 232 A). Theodoret wrote to him during his deposition by the Latrocinium, A.D. 449, expressing his joy on hearing that in his old age he was contending for the faith (Theod. *Epist.* 127). He is addressed by Leo I., in common with the other orthodox archimandrites in 450 (Leo Mag. Ep. lxxi. p. 1012). He appears also among the orthodox archimandrites who addressed an anti-Eutychian petition to the emperor Marcian in 451, and who were summoned to sit in the fourth session of the council of Chalcedon (Labbe, iv. 517 D). [FAUSTUS (28).] [C. G.]

JOBIUS (2) (Ἰώβιος, JOVIUS), bishop of Nebe or Nevis, in Arabia, at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 168 C; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 863.) [J. de S.]

JOBIUS (3) (Ἰώβιος), monk in the East and theological writer, probably living in the time of Justinian (A.D. 527–565), but his personal history is unknown. Cave thinks he flourished A.D. 530. He wrote against the Eutychian Severus, bishop of Antioch, but the work is lost. He wrote another work upon the incarnation, which is also lost, but very numerous fragments of it are preserved in Photius's treatise upon the same subject. (Phot. *Cod.* 222, init.; Ceillier, xi. 185 n.) [J. G.]

JOCUNDIANUS. [JUCUNDIANUS.]

JOCUNDUS. [JUCUNDUS.]

JODOCUS, Breton saint. [JUDOCUS.]

JOEVINUS, of Leon. [IOAVA.]

JOHAS, one of the Egyptian bishops to whom the pope Leo I. writes, A.D. 460. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 73, 1437.) [C. G.]

JOINGERUS, bishop. [ISENGERUS.]

JOLLATHAN, Irish bishop. [ILLADHAN.]

JONADAB, Nestorian bishop of Hazza and Arbela in the province of Adiabene in the reign of Chosroes II. of Persia. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1229; Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 416, 491.) [C. H.]

JONAS (1), bishop of Circesium in the province of Osrhoëne, said on the authority of Hebed-Jesu Sobensis, to have been present at the first Nicene council, A.D. 325. His name is not found in the lists of the council. (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 170, iii. 588; Mansi, ii. 692; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 978.) [L. D.]

JONAS (2), Mar. 29, monk and martyr in Persia, in the reign of Constantine the Great. (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 770.) [C. H.]

JONAS (3), bishop of Parthicopolis, a town of uncertain position in Macedonia, signed the letter of the council of Sardica to the churches, A.D. 344. (Mansi, iii. 42, 47; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 75.) [L. D.]

JONAS (4), Feb. 11, monk and gardener in the Egyptian monastery of Muchonse, which was under the government of Pachomius, in the 4th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 520.) [C. H.]

JONAS (5), bishop of Labda in Proconsular Africa, was banished to Corsica by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 55; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 194.) [R. S. G.]

JONAS (6), abbat and author of the 7th century, was born at Sigusia (Suza) in Liguria, as we learn from a passage in his *Vita Attalae* (cap. vi. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 117, Venice, 1733) about the close of the 6th century. An expression in the *prologus* to the *Vita S. Columbani* (§ 4, Mabillon, *ibid.* p. 4), has led some to suppose that he was of Irish extraction (Cave, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 580), but the phrase more probably alludes to his having been educated by Irish monks (Mabillon, *ibid.* note; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 262–3). Our knowledge of his life is derived from scattered hints in his writings. About 618 he entered the monastery of Bobbio between Genoa and Milan, where Attala had three years before succeeded St. Columban, the founder and first abbat. Here he was instructed, and perhaps acted as secretary to Attala and Bertulfus who succeeded Attala in 627. In this year he accompanied the new abbat to Rome, where he obtained from Pope Honorius immunity for his monastery from episcopal jurisdiction (*Vita Bertulfi*, § 4 sqq., Mabillon, p. 151). An obscure allusion to three years' journeyings by sea (*Vita Columbani*, § 2, Mabillon, p. 3) perhaps gave rise to the idea that he visited Ireland to collect materials for the early life of Columban, an idea unsupported by evidence and implicitly contradicted by the tone in which he speaks of that country (cf. Lanigan, *ibid.*). About 640 he left Bobbio, and three years later, after visiting Luxeuil, undertook the life of St. Columban and his successors, while probably sojourning at Evoriac (now Farmoutier) in the diocese of Meaux. This was the monastery of St. Burgundofara, whose life he also wrote. In 659 he was a few days at Réomé in the diocese of Langres on his way to Châlons-sur-Saône to accomplish some mission imposed upon him by the young king Clotaire III. and the queen-mother Balthildis (*Vita S. Joannis*, praef., Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 856). He is thought to have been still living in 665, but the date of his death is unknown. That he was an abbat appears from his own assertion (*Vita S. Joannis*, ibid.) and from the testimony of his contemporary Raimbertus (*Vita S. Walarici*, § 9, Mabillon, *ibid.* ii. 73), but of what monastery is doubtful. The authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* think it was Elnone, St. Amandus's foundation, and consequently must identify him with St. Jonatus of Marchiennes. But though he undoubtedly visited Elnone the dates are against his identity with Jonatus, which would prolong his life till about 690. Wattenbach places him at Bobbio (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 93) and others at Luxeuil (Cave, i. 580), but it is not clear that the catalogues of either of these monasteries admit of the insertion of his name at this period. Cave erroneously gives two abbats of the name, ascribing, however, the life of John of Réomé to both of them (i. 580, 591). Short accounts of his life may be found in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 603–4; Ceillier, xi. 737; Abel, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit*, vii. 75–76; Fabricius, cited Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxvii. 1009; Cave, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 580; Hardy, *Descriptive Cat. of Brit. Hist.* i. part i. p. 210.

His Works.—These consist of biographies of St. Columbanus, Eustasius and Attala, his successors at Luxeuil and Bobbio respectively, of Bertulfus the 3rd abbat of Bobbio, and of St. Burgundofara and Joannes of Réomé. The first four are extremely valuable. Though he arrived at Bobbio three years after Columban's death, he was intimate with many who had known him well, and protests that he relates only what he had heard from credible witnesses. Attala, Eustasius and Bertulfus, he had known personally. St. Fara's life is little else than an account of the miracles supposed to have occurred at Evoriac during her rule, while in that of St. John of Réomé, who died about 120 years earlier, he merely retouched an older biography, adding an account of his miracles in the form of a dialogue [JOANNES, abbat of Réomé]. Surius published four of these lives, Columban's on Nov. 29, Attala's on March 10, Eustasius's Mar. 29, and Bertulfus's Aug. 19, but imperfectly and with alterations of the text. The Bollandists give those of Attala and Eustasius correctly from original MSS. (*Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 43–5, iii. 786–90). Mabillon in his 2nd saec. gave all in the order of their deaths except that of John of Réomé, in whose case he had preferred the work of the earlier writer, and gave only the book of miracles from Jonas (saec. i. 612 sqq.). From Mabillon is taken the edition of Jonas' works in the *Patrologia Latina* (lxxxvii. 1011–87). The life of Columban has been translated by Abel (*Geschichtschreiber*, ibid. 77–95) and Arnauld d'Andilly.

In the literary dearth of the 7th century Jonas is a writer of some importance, and obtained a considerable reputation. His contemporary Raimbertus speaks of him as "vir magnus, eloquentia plenus et dictandi peritus, polito et

limato satis sermone" (*Vita S. Walarici*, § 9, Mabillon, *ibid.* ii. 73). Bede incorporates the lives of Columban and his successors into his ecclesiastical history, while Flodoard turned Columban's life into hexameters (lib. xiv. c. 18, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxxv. 870). This *eloquentia* which delighted the 7th century, and which Wattenbach traces to an education by Italian grammarians, consists in an artificial and bombastic style repugnant to good taste, and not unfrequently obscuring the sense. But notwithstanding this drawback, and some errors of chronology and history, his works are of great value, especially for the history of the great Irish missionary and his followers. For estimates of them and an account of the editions &c., see *Hist. Litt.* iii. 604–8; Ceillier, xi. 737; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 92, ii. 368; Hardy, *Descriptive Catal.* i. 1, 210–1; Abel, *ibid.* pp. 75–6; Fabricius, *ibid.*

[S. A. B.]

JONAS (7), monk of Fontenelle in the first half of the 8th century, was the author of the life of St. Wulframnus the bishop of Sens who after his mission in Friesland retired to Fontenelle and died there in 720 (not 710 as Cave erroneously states, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 623; cf. *Gall. Christ.* xii. 10). Jonas, who undertook the task at the bidding of his abbat St. Bainus, and apparently on the occasion of the translation of the saint's body eight years after his death, must have known Wulframnus personally. Critics pronounce that the life, as we have it, has been altered and interpolated to a great extent. Surius published it in this condition (Mart. 20). The Bollandists thought it unworthy of a place in their collection, and contented themselves with extracts (*Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 143 n. 2). Mabillon, after some hesitation, published it in full, but with the addition of brackets and notes to indicate the probable alterations and additions (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pars i. 340–8, Venice, 1734). Mabillon also inclines to see in Jonas the monk of Fontenelle, who wrote the life of St. Condedus, a recluse in a neighbouring isle, which he published from a MS. of that monastery (*ibid.* saec. ii. 826–9). The Bollandists, however, ascribe it to Aigradus on the authority of words used by him in his life of St. Ansbertus (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 345 n. 16), but, according to the editors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, erroneously. The latter consider that the style favours the authorship of Jonas (iv. 35, 55–7), though other evidence is wanting. [S. A. B.]

JONAS (8), Jacobite bishop of Beth-Nuhadra, from before 759 to 773. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 111 and *Dissert. de Monoph.* num. ix. in *B. O.* ii.; Le Quien, ii. 1591.) [C. H.]

JONAS (9), Jacobite bishop of Gulmarga, before 790. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 432 and *Dissert. de Monoph.* num. ix.; Le Quien, ii. 1581.)

[C. H.]

JONAS (10)—Sept. 22, presbyter and monk, mentioned in the acts of his two sons Theodorus and Theophanes, confessors for images. He ended his days in the new Laura of St. Sabas in Palestine. The Basilian menology places him under the above day, on which also the prophet Jonah was commemorated. The Bollandist Suysken, following other martyrologies, assigns him Sept. 21 (*Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 270), and believes him to have died about the beginning of the 9th century [JONIUS]. [C. H.]

JONATUS (JONAS), ST., first abbat of Marchiennes, about three leagues from Douay, in the latter half of the 7th century. This monastery was founded by St. Amandus on land of Adalbaldus, the husband of St. Rictrudis, probably about the year 643, though in the *Annales Marchianenses* an interpolated entry, in 13th-century handwriting according to the note in Pertz, puts it as early as 610 (*Monum. Germ.* xviii. 610). St. Amandus entrusted the government of his foundation to Jonatus, who was then a monk at the monastery of Elnone (St. Amand), about three leagues from Marchiennes. A few years later, perhaps in 652, he succeeded Ursus at St. Amand, and held the two abbacies together until the following year, when St. Amandus, quitting his see, resumed the charge of the latter. Thereupon Jonatus retired to Marchiennes, which he ruled till his death, about the year 690. During his abbacy St. Rictrudis, with her two daughters, retired to Marchiennes, and thenceforth apparently it became a monastery for both sexes (*Vita S. Rictrudis*, Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 944). There is no authoritative information as to his life, but the Bollandists publish extracts from two sets of nine *lectiones*, ascribed to the monk Hucbald, circ. A.D. 930 (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, vi. 220; Ceillier, *Hist. Générale des Auteurs Sacrés*, xii. 802), as bearing on his history. The authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* (iii. 603–4) and others would identify Jonatus with the abbat Jonas, who wrote the life of St. Columban amongst other works, but the conjecture has not met with general acceptance [JONAS (6)].

After Jonatus's death Marchiennes became wholly or principally a nunnery, and so remained till about 1024, when the nuns were expelled and monks restored. Jonatus is commemorated Aug. 1, the supposed date of his birth, and April 8, that of his elevation, but his name does not appear in the more ancient martyrologies. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 70–5; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 393.)

[S. A. B.]

JONILLA, martyr at Langres. [JUNILLA.]

JONIUS, Aug. 5, presbyter and martyr in Gaul, cir. 287. The tradition is contained in the *Acta Breviora* printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 13). In the *Roman Martyrology* of Baronius the name is Jonas and the day Sept. 22, where there is evidently a confusion with Jonas of St. Sabas [JONAS (10)]. [C. H.]

JORDANES, bishop of Abila (Belinas) in the province Phoenicia Secunda, took part in the synod of Antioch, A.D. 445, and was represented at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 843.)

[J. de S.]

JORDANES, bishop of Cotrona. [JOANNES (132).]

JORDANIS (JORNANDES has been till recent times the more commonly used form of the name But the MS. evidence is against it. It is possible that Grimm's hypothesis that Jornandes

was the Gothic name, which on his becoming an ecclesiastic was changed to Jordanis, is true (Wattenbach, p. 62), historian of the Goths (and probably bishop of Crotona, in Brutium) in the middle of the 6th century.

I. *Authorities.*—Köpke, *Deutsche Forschungen. Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen.* Berlin, 1859. Bessel, *Art. Gothen*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encycl.* 75, 1862, pp. 101–16. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 1877, pp. 55–67. From the works of these three authors a full survey of the whole question may be derived. Their information is based upon important earlier works, especially Cassell, *Magyarische Alterthümer*, 1848, and Shirren, *De ratione quae inter Jordanem et Cassiodorium intercedat commentatio*, Dorpat, 1858. See also von Sybel, *De Fontibus Libri Jordanis*, &c., Berlin, 1838, and the same author in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, 1859, ii. p. 511; Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 171, &c.; Ebert, *Geschichte der Christlich Lateinischen Literatur*, Dahn, 1875; *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 243–60, for Jordanis' use of words of constitutional importance; *Anekdoton Holderi*, Hermann Usener, Bonn, 1877; and for other authorities, Wattenbach, p. 55.

II. *Writings.*—The only works of Jordanis of which we have certain knowledge are the *De breviatione chronicorum* (more commonly but wrongly called *De regnorum successione*) and the *De Getarum origine et rebus gestis.* It has been conjectured (see below) that he also compiled a work on geography, which is quoted by the Cosmographus Ravennatensis, and which being largely borrowed from Cassiodorius, senator, was in part worked up into the *De Getarum origine.*

(1) The *De breviatione chronicorum* (Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* i. 222–42) is a compendium of the history of the world. The work is of little value, and only important as indicating the strong feeling of the Goth Jordanis that the power of the Roman empire was to last to the end of time. It also shews what authorities Jordanis had probably come in contact with, independently of those quoted in the work of Cassiodorius, which is a matter of importance in the investigation of the problem of his *History of the Goths.*

The relation of the *De breviatione* to the *De Getarum origine* appears to be as follows. Jordanis was engaged on the *De breviatione*, when his friend Castalius urged him to compress what he knew of the larger work of Cassiodorius into a smaller history of the Goths. He broke off his chronicle, which he was then writing in the twenty-fourth year of Justinian (April 550–551) at the point which he had then reached, probably the captivity of Vitigis in 539. He at once began to work upon the Gothic history, and completed it probably in the year 551, or at the beginning of 552. He then again worked at the chronicle, continued it up to a somewhat later date than the History, and completed it in 552. The Chronicle was dedicated to Vigilius, probably the pope (see below), and sent to him with the History (cf. the dedication, Muratori, i. p. 222).

(2) The *De Getarum origine et rebus gestis.*—This is one of the most important works written during the period of the Teutonic settlements in Western Europe, and its contents and purpose deserve a careful investigation. In amount of matter it may be equal to about twenty pages of this Dictionary. Its contents are most conveniently arranged under four heads (cf. Ebert, p. 532).

1 (cap. i. 13). The work opens with a geographical account of the world and in particular of Northern Europe and the island "Scandza." Jordanis then identifies the Goths with the Scythians, whose country he describes, and praises their learning and their bravery. He then recounts their wars with the Egyptians and the Amazons, and, identifying the Goths with the Getae, describes the deeds of Telephus and Tomyris. Cyrus, Xerxes, and Alexander the Great are mentioned, as also Caesar and Tiberius. With the 18th chapter he suddenly passes to the devastation of the banks of the Danube by the Goths and their victory over the Romans. At this point, having brought the Goths in contact with the Romans, he breaks off his record to give fuller details about the royal Gothic race of the Amali.

2 (cap. 14–23). He carries the genealogy of the Amali down to Mathasuentha, the granddaughter of Theodoric and widow of Vitigis, who just before the time Jordanis was writing had married, as he tells us, Germanus, brother of Justinian. He then returns to the Goths and their movement into Moesia and Thracia. Claiming for the emperor Maximus a Gothic father he thus raises the Goths to high honour. The deeds of Ostrogotha are then related, the victory over the Gepidae, the expeditions to Asia Minor, and Geberich's conquest of the Vandals. After Geberich came Hermanaric conqueror of the Heneti and many other tribes.

3 (cap. 24–47). In the third division of the history Jordanis begins with an account of the Huns, of their victory over the Goths, and of the death of Hermanaric. He traces the separation of the Visigoths from the Ostrogoths, and follows their history. He gives a short account of Alaric's invasion of Italy, and following the Visigothic history he introduces the history of Attila's invasion of Gaul and defeat. The battle of Châlons is described at considerable length. At the close of the section he gives an account of the subjugation of Italy by Odoacer and the deposition of Augustulus.

4 (cap. 48–60). Jordanis now returns to the Ostrogoths, once more mentions the defeat of Hermanaric, and this leads him to speak of the death of Attila. He describes the movement of the Ostrogoths into Pannonia, the reign of Theodemir and the birth of Theoderic. The history of the dealings of Theoderic with Zeno, of his entrance into Italy and his victory over Odoacer are given. The outline of the fortunes of the Goths in Italy is related very briefly, and the work closes with the captivity of Vitigis, and another mention of the marriage of Mathasuentha with Germanus.

The words of Jordanis himself in the dedication of the *De Getarum origine*, or History of the Goths—as it may be more convenient to call it—are the best introduction to the discussion of the problems connected with the work itself.

"Volentem me . . . oram tranquilli literis stringere . . . in altum, frater Castali, laxare vela compellis, relictoque opusculo quod intra manus habeo, id est, de abbreviatione chronicorum, suades, ut nostris verbis duodecim senatoris

volumina *de origine actibusque Getarum*, ab olim adusque nunc per generationes regesque descendentia in uno et hoc parvo libello coartem, dura satis imperia . . . . Super omne autem pondus, quod nec facultas eorumdem librorum nobis datur, quatenus ejus sensui inserviamus. Sed ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem dispensatoris ejus beneficio libros ipsos antehoc relegi. Quorum quamvis verba non recolo, sensus tamen et res actas credo me integre tenere. Ad quos et ex nonnullis historiis Graecis ac Latinis addidi convenientia, initium finemque et plura in medio mea dictione permiscens."[a]

The impression which Jordanis wished to be derived from these words appears to be that he had written an abstract of what he could retain from memory, of a three days' reading of the History of the Goths by Cassiodorius, that he had added extracts of his own from Latin and Greek writers, which he had in his own hand, and that the beginning and middle and end of the work were his own composition. With a view to the examination of these statements, it will be well first to consider the relation of the two works of Jordanis to one another, especially with reference to his use of authorities in them. And this investigation will throw light on the connexion between the work of Jordanis, and the lost twelve books of Gothic History by Cassiodorius. It may fairly be assumed that the Chronicle was nearly completed before the History was begun, though this assumption is not absolutely necessary to the general conclusion—What is practically made probable by the comparison of the works is that the greater number of the authorities quoted in the *History* were not in the hands of Jordanis at all. We may first notice that, in giving an account in the history of events mentioned in the Chronicle (see Köpke, 62, 63, where several passages are carefully compared), Jordanis several times introduces new and important matter which he would probably have used, if he had had access to it, in writing the Chronicle. The most conspicuous instance of this is in the case of the account of the Huns. In the Chronicle there is no mention of the early history of the Huns, and of Attila only what Marcellinus Comes gives is related. But in the *De Getarum origine* the statements about the Huns, their invasion of Western Europe, and the battle of Châlons, occupy a fifth part of the whole work. Further, Jordanis quotes in his history a great many new authorities of whom there is no mention, and from whom there are no extracts in the Chronicle. He quotes, or occasionally misquotes, Tacitus, Strabo, Mela, Dio Chrysostomus, Trogus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Dexippus and others, (see Von Sybel, *De Fontibus Libri Jordanis*).

And when, leaving the special comparison of the History with the Chronicle, we consider the nature of the quotation in the History, there appears every reason to think that Jordanis did not use his materials at first hand. He quotes, for instance (cap. 2), from Livy a passage which is clearly borrowed from Tacitus. He twice quotes Claudius Ptolemaeus in describing the island and people of Scandza, but there is nothing given by Jordanis which corresponds with what Ptolemaeus says, and it is clear that he knew his name only, and not his writings. There is other evidence of this kind, which shews that Jordanis in his History was not himself in contact with many of his authorities, though he is sufficiently near the original in many of his quotations to warrant the supposition that he had hastily copied, or in part tried to remember the quotations made by another writer. On the other hand, he never once mentions in the History Marcellinus Comes, whom (next after Cassiodorius) he uses most largely, and on whose work the last chapter of the History is entirely based. The most probable conclusion to be drawn would seem to be that Jordanis had before him when writing the History, Orosius and Marcellinus Comes, as before in the case of the Chronicle, and that far the greater part of the remainder of the work is based on Cassiodorius, consisting partly of extracts actually copied, and partly of fragmentary recollections of parts of the work which he had not copied. As we know Jordanis to have copied authorities without acknowledging them in several cases, there seems no difficulty in assuming that he had copied extracts from the work of Cassiodorius, on which he himself acknowledges that his History is based. And this is far more likely than that he trusted to his memory, as he seems to imply, for all which he gives from Cassiodorius. The learned apparatus of authorities would then naturally be ascribed to Cassiodorius. For it would seem impossible that a writer such as Jordanis clearly was (he calls himself "agrammatus") could have come in contact with, and been able to use adequately the number of authorities mentioned in his History. His many misquotations may be, in some cases, due to a mere desire to use, in a showy manner, names of authorities whom he had heard or seen, or occasionally to a misunderstanding or confusion of a quotation made by Cassiodorius himself. The belief that the *De Getarum origine* consists mainly of extracts from the History of Cassiodorius, unskilfully woven together by Jordanis, is borne out by its fragmentary and confused character. In several cases the extracts seem to have been fitted into their wrong places (Bessell, 102, 114). There are many gaps, omissions, and unnecessary repetitions. Thus in cap. 9 the following passage occurs: "quos Getas jam superiori loco Gothos esse probavimus Orosio Paulo dicente." But in the 5th chapter, where the Getae are mentioned, no such proof is forthcoming. (Compare also cap. 17 and cap. 4, and see Köpke, 72.) The work is in fact a mosaic of fragments fitted together, rather than a continuous history. This, indeed, Jordanis himself to a certain extent acknowledges when he says in his preface, "addidi convenientia initium finemque et plura in medio mea dictione permiscens." It might certainly have been supposed from these words that the preface at least was the composition of Jordanis himself. But the most convincing evidence of the writer's want of originality has been shewn by the discovery made by Von Sybel with reference to this preface (Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, vii. 288). It is to a great extent a literal

[a] To this should be added the words at the end of the History. "Haec qui legis scito me majorum secutum scripta, ex eorum latissimis pratis paucos flores collegisse unde inquirenti pro captu ingenii mei coronam contexam."

copy of the introduction by Rufinus to his translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The comparison of the two works will shew the plagiarism of Jordanis in its clearest light.

RUFINUS.	JORDANIS.
Volentem me parvo sub vectum navigio oram tranquilli littoris stringere et minutos de Graecorum *stagnis pisciculos legere, in altum frater* Heracli *laxare vela compellis relictoque opere quod* in transferendis homiliis Adamantii senis habebam *suades ut nostra voce* quindecim *volumina*, etc. . . .	*Volentem me parvo subvectum navigio oram tranquilli litoris stringere et minutos de* piscorum, ut quidam ait *stagnis pisciculos legere in altum frater* Castali *laxare vela compellis relictoque opusculo quod* intra manus habeo id est de breviatione chronicorum *suades ut nostris verbis* duodecim Senatoris *volumina*, etc. . .
Tum deinde *nec illud aspicis, quod tenuis mihi spiritus est ad implendam ejus tam magnificam dicendi tubam. Super omnes autem* difficultates est, etc. . . .	*Dura satis imperia et tanquam ab eo qui pondus hujus operis scire nolet imposita. Nec illud aspicis quod tenuis mihi spiritus est ad implendam ejus tam magnificam dicendi tubum; super omne autem* pondus, etc. . .
Dura satis imperia, et tanquam ab eo qui pondus operis hujus scire nolit imposita.	

(See Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, i. 24.

It will be well now to consider how far the statements of Jordanis as to his relation to Cassiodorius receive confirmation from what we know of the works or life of Cassiodorius himself. Certain passages of the *De Getarum Origine*, as Köpke has shewn, correspond with what Cassiodorius says in the *Variae* (*e. g. Variae*, xii. 22, 24, and Jordanis, 29; see Köpke, 68–70). The amount of verbal similarity extends in these cases only to a few words here and there; but there are other indications no less marked of the hand of Cassiodorius. In the eleventh chapter of the history, Jordanis relates the nature of the instruction given by Diceneus to the Goths—"Qui . . . omnem paene philosophiam eos instruxit; erat enim hujus rei magister peritus. Nam *ethicam* eos erudiens barbaricos mores compescuit; *physicam* tradens naturaliter propriis legibus vivere fecit . . .; *logicam* instruens eos rationis supra ceteras gentes fecit expertos; *practicen* ostendens, in bonis actibus conversari suasit; *theoricen* demonstrans signorum duodecim et per ea planetarum cursus omnemque *astronomiam* contemplari edocuit," &c. This enumeration of the sciences of ethics, physics, logic, and astronomy corresponds with much that we know of the learning and writings of Cassiodorius. And the distinction between practice and theory is actually given in similar terms in the "De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum" of Cassiodorius, cap. ii. *De Arte Rhetorica* (Migne, lxx. 1157).

The authorities already mentioned, who are quoted by Jordanis, were, most of them, undoubtedly known to Cassiodorius. There is no question whatever that Cassiodorius had a very real and solid acquaintance with Latin literature. The writings of the chief grammarians, chroniclers, and church historians were familiar ground to him. Hence there is little difficulty in ascribing to him all the knowledge which seems to shine through the erratic and unlearned representation of it which Jordanis provides.

Among the authorities which Jordanis quotes special notice may here be taken of three only:—

(*a*) In cap. 15, in speaking of the emperor Maximus, he says: "Ut dicit Symmachus in quinto suae historiae libro." This work is lost, but there can be hardly any doubt that it was the work of Symmachus, the father-in-law of Boethius, with whom Cassiodorius would be well acquainted, and not the work of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, author of the *Relationes*. This is proved almost beyond question since the discovery of the *Anekdoton Holderi*. Cassiodorius himself, in this document, says of Symmachus: "Parentesque suos imitatus historicum quoque Romanam septem libris edidit" (see *Anekdoton Holderi*, Usener. Bonn. 1877, p. 4, and p. 29).

(*b*) One lost authority, Ablavius, is spoken of by Jordanis (cap. 4) in the following terms: "Quod et Ablavius, descriptor Gothorum gentis egregius, verissima attestatur historia." He is quoted also in chapters 14 and 23. Many conjectures have been made about him. Von Sybel supposed from the words which precede the passage quoted above ("quemodmodum et in priscis eorum carminibus paene historico rita in Commune recolitur"), that he had collected the sagas of the Goths. This, however, seems hardly to be borne out by the context. The derivation of Hemli from ἕλη, which Jordanis (cap. 23) ascribes to Ablavius, has given rise to the supposition that he was a Byzantine writer. In any case he was probably one of the authorities of Cassiodorius, and not used as an original source by Jordanis (Köpke, 82; Wattenbach, 57).

(*c*) It has been shewn by Waitz (*Gott. Nachr.* 1865, 97 ff.), that the annals of Ravenna were used as an authority in several passages of the History of Jordanis (*e. g.* in chap. 57, in the account of the war between Theoderic and Odoacer, and in the end of cap. 45, p. 163, ed. Closs.). It has been proved that Cassiodorius made considerable use of these annals in his *Chronicon*, hence the assumption that the use in the *De Getarum Origine* of the annals of Ravenna is that of Cassiodorius, and not that of Jordanis, is a natural one (Holder-Egger, "Die Ravennaten-Annalen," in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, i. pp. 296–298, Han. 1876). If the general view of the *History of the Goths* by Jordanis here taken (which was first propounded by Schirren, and afterwards worked out by Köpke, Bessel, and others) be true, the standard of Jordanis as a historian is but low. He does not acknowledge several authorities whom he largely uses, and he displays an array of authorities as if quoted by himself, of whom he personally knows nothing except at second-hand. At the same time it must be remembered that Jordanis does not claim originality for himself, except under the clause in the preface ("initium finemque et plura in medio mea dictione permiscens"). A few words in the preface, even after the exposure of the source from which it is borrowed, remain his own. Some lines in the last two chapters are certainly original. And though we have certain evidence that his *Chronicon* was

based on other writers, yet in the one or two passages where he seems to quote from it in the History may be reasonably admitted under "dictio mea." But this phrase receives considerable extension if a theory suggested by Bessel be accepted. On eight occasions in the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, Jordanis is quoted as cosmographus in the following or similar terms: "Testatus mihi Jordanis cosmographus," &c. Seven out of these eight passages are found in Jordanis's *History of the Goths*. Bessel thinks it not improbable that on the first occasion when Jordanis saw the Gothic history of Cassiodorius, he made extracts simply for the purpose of a geographical work, which work is the one that the cosmographer of Ravenna quotes. Then when he saw the work for a second and hasty perusal ("ad triduanam lectionem . . . antehoc relegi") he made extracts of a more general kind, picking out the history of Attila and other matters that seemed to him most interesting. This theory will explain the large amount of geographical matter that is found in the sixty chapters of the history. It also extends the application of "dictio mea" to those passages, especially in the opening chapters of the work, which may be supposed to be borrowed from the geographical compilation of Jordanis himself. Yet at the same time the substratum of the whole work must still be ascribed to Cassiodorius, so that in any case the ultimate verdict on Jordanis is not one which allows him much individuality as a historian.

The question now arises whether it is possible to disentangle the real work of Cassiodorius from the setting in which Jordanis has placed it. That many passages in Jordanis bear the stamp of the solid original work of Cassiodorius; that many of the authorities named by Jordanis would be probably familiar to Cassiodiorius, can, as we have seen, be shewn. But a complete separation of the work of Cassiodorius from the rest can from the very circumstances of the case hardly be possible. Köpke (pp. 74–76) has attempted to indicate the places where Jordanis breaks off from or returns to the extracts from Cassiodorius with phrases such as "unde digressi sumus," or "ut ad nostrum propositum redeamus." In this way he separates off from the main part of the book that which he considers to be the framework fitted together by Jordanis out of quotations from Virgil and Marcellinus Comes, or here and there words of his own. This, however, does not supply us with any means for getting at the passages which may be considered to be pure unaltered extracts from Cassiodorius himself. For, indeed, it is impossible to do so. There is enough of obvious mistakes or misquotation throughout the book to make it certain that we cannot attain to this. Yet of this much we may be tolerably sure, that though the work has passed through the hands of Jordanis, and though many parts of the extracts bear the traces of his treatment and colouring, yet enough remains of the lost work to enable us to feel certain of close contact with the mind and words of Cassiodorius, and, to a certain extent, to understand the purpose before him in his great work.

Before considering the object of the twelve books of Cassiodorius' Gothic history, so far as we can gather that object from the reproduction which Jordanis has given us, notice should be taken of any information which can be obtained about the work from outside sources. The history of the Goths (called probably *De Origine Actuque Geticae Gentis*) was arranged by Cassiodorius in twelve parts after the manner of his church history (*Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*), and the state papers (called *Variae sc. Epistolae*), both of which are in twelve parts. It was certainly completed before 534, the year of the death of Athalaric (see the quotation, *Variae*, ix. 25, below). It has been supposed by Köpke and others that the work was completed just before Athalaric's death, about 533, and that the words in Jordanis (cap. 59) "cetera in pace et tranquillitate passessa," which follow statements about the reign of Athalaric and his mother, mark the close of the last extract made from Cassiodorius.

Since the discovery of the *Anekdoton Holderi*, however, it has become practically certain that the Gothic History was composed some years before 533. Cassiodorius says of himself in the *Anekdoton*, "Scripsit, praecipiente Theodoricho rege, historiam Gothicam, originem eorum et loca moresque xii. libris annuntians." Now the *Anekdoton* was written in 522. The Gothic History was, therefore, written probably not later than 521. The difference made in our estimate of the work of Jordanis by the change of date for the close of the extracts from Cassiodorius is very small. He gives but very little information for the years between 521 and 533, and it is but a very few additional lines which are thus carried to his credit as possibly his own original composition (*Anekdoton Holderi*, Usener, p. 4, p. 74, Bonn, 1877). In any case, however, his words, "ab olim adusque nunc," about the History of Cassiodorius cannot be exactly true. Jordanis was writing about the year 552, and the work of Cassiodorius was probably ended more than thirty years before.

In two passages of the *Variae* Cassiodorius takes notice of his Gothic History. In the introduction he puts into the mouth of a friend the following words, "Duodecim libris Gothorum historiam defloratis prosperitatibus condidisti." But by far the most important passage, of which nearly every word is helpful in shewing the purpose of his work, is in the ninth book of the *Variae* (25), where Cassiodorius gives a description of his History in a letter addressed nominally by the king Athalaric to the senate in 534, when on the occasion of Cassiodorius being made praetorian prefect: "Tetendit se etiam in antiquam prosapiam nostram, lectione discens quod vix majorum notitia cana retinebat. Iste reges Gothorum longa oblivione celatos latibulo vetustatis eduxit. Iste Amalos cum generis sui claritate restituit, evidenter ostendens in decimam septimam progeniem nos habere regalem. Originem Gothicam historiam fecit esse Romanam, colligens quasi in unam coronam germen floridum, quod per librorum campos passim fuerat ante dispersum. Perpendite quantum vos in nostra laude delixerit, qui vestri Principis nationem docuit ab antiquitate mirabilem, ut sicut fuistis a majoribus vestris semper nobiles aestimati, ita vobis regum antiqua progenies imperaret."

These words, which are undoubtedly those of Cassiodorius himself, clearly shew that the

primary object of his book was not literary, but political. He saw the growing antagonism between Goths and Romans, and he was a daily witness of Theoderic's efforts to lessen that antagonism. He saw the king trying to combine the old and the new elements, and to form a kingdom in which Roman and Goth could live side by side with mutual respect for one another. He determined to assist by his writing his master's plans. His aim in his literary work was the same as that of Theoderic in his political work. He would try to draw the Goths and Romans together by shewing them that the two nations were alike honourable both for the antiquity of their race and for the glory of their history. He would tell the Goths of the greatness of the Roman empire, with whom they fought in ancient days, and he would shew the Romans that the kingly family of the Amali was as noble as that of any Roman house. No one was better fitted than Cassiodorius to write a history of the Goths. His real knowledge of ancient writers, his constant opportunities of converse with the king and the Gothic nobles, his personal share and that of his father in all the later or contemporary events, provided him with ample material for his work of different kinds. What the history as a whole was like, and how the twelve books were arranged, we have now no power of knowing. But with reference to the earlier part of the work we can clearly see from Jordanis how the political theory of Cassiodorius was worked out. He adopted the belief, which many of the writers whose works he knew had helped, that the Getae and the Goths were the same nation. Further than this he accepted the identity of the Goths with the Scythians, a theory which had been stated by several Greek writers. Thus the Goths were brought into contact or conflict with the great nations of antiquity, and even the Amazons appear as Gothic women. These theories were of the greatest value to him, and he doubtless used every available record or tradition to make them real and living. Yet even with all the notices which he could collect from Greek or Roman authorities, and with all the stories and sagas that he heard at the court of Ravenna, his stock of accurate information about the early history of the Goths cannot have been large. It must also always be remembered that the very theory of the history with which Cassiodorius wrote his book shews that much of his writings must be accepted with reserve. His main purpose was to write in the interests of a certain nation and a certain family. Thus his connexion with and reverence for Theoderic led him to glorify the royal stock of the Amali. The Balthi, therefore, whatever their real position may have been, could for Cassiodorius be only "secunda nobilitas" as compared with the "prima nobilitas" of the Amali. Hence it is clear that all such theories as that of an under-kingship or a second grade of nobility when based on passages of Jordanis alone must be considered as at least precarious.

Thirty years after the last Roman statesman had written his Gothic history to teach his countrymen that they might without shame respect and honour the ancient race of the Goths, the Gothic bishop, in his adaptation of the work, shewed that he rested his hopes of the future quite as much on the Roman empire as on the Gothic race itself. However little individuality as a historian Jordanis may have had, at least it lay with him to choose and adapt his extracts from Cassiodorius in accordance with his own feelings, and there is enough of himself in his work to enable us to catch something of the spirit in which he wrote. For him the end of the great struggle between Goths and Romans had come, as he seems to imply in his words in the fourteenth chapter: "qualiter autem aut quomodo Amalorum regnum destructum est, loco suo, si Dominus juvaverit, edocebimus."

For him the war between Totila and Belisarius, or Narses, which was yet going on while he wrote, had no supreme interest. The race of the Amali, with which he was connected, and on which all his hopes were centred, had ceased to rule the Goths. His desires for the future rested rather on the union of the brother of the emperor with the granddaughter of Theoderic than on the issue of a struggle which he probably and rightly thought hopeless. His Catholic sympathies, rejecting the idea of an Arian ruler, and his family pride, alike contributed to this result. Three times in the course of his work he alludes to the marriage of Mathasuentha, widow of Vitigis (with whom she had been brought in captivity to Constantinople) to Germanus, brother of the emperor Justinian (cap. 14, 48, 60). In the last passage he tells how Germanus had died, leaving an infant son: "Item Germanus: in quo conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amala stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generis Domino praestante promittit. Hucusque Getarum origo ac Amalorum nobilitas et virorum fortium facta ac laudanda progenies. Laudabiliori principi cessis et fortiori duci manus dedit, cujus fama nullit seculis, nullis silebitur aetatibus, sed victor ac triumphator Justinianus imperator et consul Belisarius Vandalici, Africani, Geticique dicentur." We see here elsewhere what the spirit of a Gothic ecclesiastic in the 6th century was.

The work of Jordanis is the first since Tacitus which attempts to treat the history of the Teutonic nations from their side. The manner in which this is done is full of interest. The eternity of the empire had impressed itself on the mind of Jordanis. The idea, therefore, that the Goths were equally learned and equally ancient with the Romans must have been an assistance and support to him (or others like him), when Theoderic was visibly ruling almost as a miniature emperor in Italy. But the thought of a union between the imperial family and the Amali must have been one which would reconcile, and alone satisfactorily reconcile, his hopes for the great family to which he himself belonged, and his belief in the church and empire of Rome. This traditional belief in the empire and the church was destined never to be altogether broken in Italy. And after two centuries of struggles between rival principles in church and state the next Italian ecclesiastic who attained importance as a historian, Paulus Diaconus, himself, like Jordanis, of Teutonic race, was able to witness the return of imperial power of old Rome, and to have personal and friendly intercourse with the new Teutonic emperor himself. To Jordanis the first Teutonic historian of a Teutonic race such a possibility was unknown, and he could only fix fruitless hopes on a union of the

Greek and the Goth, to solve his difficulties. For the spirit of the age and times which we thus seem to gather from Jordanis's work we owe him a debt of gratitude in the first place, and in the second place for his preservation, if only in a broken form, of fragments from the greatest work of Theoderic's great secretary.

Editions.—For a complete list of editions see Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*, 1862, p. 102. The most important editions of the history of the Goths are as follows:—

(1) Together with Paulus Diaconus, Conv. Pentinger. Aug. Vind. 1515. (2) With Procopius, ex rec. Beati Rhenani Basil. 1531. (3) In *Cassiod. Opera*, ex cod. Pith. Fornerii, Paris, 1583. (4) Ed. B. Vulcanius in *Gothic. et Langob. rerum H.* Lug. Bat. 1597 and 1618. (5) Gruteri, in *Hist. Aug. SS. Lat. Minores*, 1611. (6) In *Bibl. Patr. Max.* Lug. 1677. (7) In *Cassiod. Opera*, c. P. Gavetii notis. Rothomagni, 1679, and Venetiis 1729. (8) Muratori, *Scriptores Rev. Ital.* i. 187–241. Medial. 1723. (9) Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, lxix. Appendix to works of Cassiodorius. (10) Jordanis, *De Getarum Origine et Rebus Gestis*, ed. C. A. Closs. Stuttg. 1861.

An edition is promised as part of the *Monumenta Germaniae*, among the *Auctores Antiquissimi*, under the superintendence of Prof. Mommsen. The two works of Jordanis are undertaken by Mommsen himself. *Neues Archiv. D. G. F. ältere Deutschen Geschichtskunde*, ii. 5.

III. *Life.*—Jordanis tells us that his grandfather was notary to Candac, chief of the Alani in Moesia, and that he himself was a notary before he became an ecclesiastic. The words "ante conversionem meam" opposed to "notarius fui," no doubt imply that he entered a monastery. He says that he was of the Gothic race, and he was apparently connected with the royal family of the Amali. We know from his own writings no more of him, and nothing further can be absolutely certain. But a discovery, first made by Cassel, has led to an extremely important conjecture about the identity of Jordanis, which is so much confirmed in various ways that it may be considered as at least of very high probability.[b] The name of one Jordanes Crotonensis, bishop of Crotona (now Cotrone) in Bruttium, is found, with the names of several other bishops, appended to a document sometimes called the Damnatio Theodori, issued by pope Vigilius in August 551 at Constantinople. If this should be our Jordanis, it becomes exceedingly probable that the Vigilius already mentioned, to whom the Chronicle of Jordanis is dedicated and sent, along with the History of the Goths, is Vigilius the pope. In order to discuss the question it will be well to notice shortly the occasions on which pope Vigilius and Jordanes, bishop of Cotrona, were probably thrown together. Vigilius was pope from 537 to 555. He had been made pope by the influence of Belisarius at Rome, at the request of the empress Theodora. After the issue of the Three Chapters by Justinian, which Vigilius apparently dared not sign when in Italy, the pope was summoned to Constantinople, which he reached on Christmas Day in 547. He was retained at Constantinople, or in the neighbourhood, for seven years, till the end of 554, when he at last obtained permission from Justinian to return to Italy. During his stay at Constantinople he was much persecuted by the emperor and his party, who tried to force him against his will to sign a confession of faith in accordance with their views. He was bold enough to excommunicate the bishop of Caesarea, and then fearing the emperor's wrath, he took sanctuary in the basilica of St. Peter, in Constantinople. The praetor then came to drag him forth by the feet or beard, or in any way he could; but he held tight to the altar, and upset it, and nearly pulled it on to himself, which so shocked the people and the soldiers that the praetor found it necessary to desist. It was while he was in this church with his companions, and, among others, several Italian bishops, that he issued (Aug. 551) the document in which the name of Jordanes, bishop of Cotrona, is found. He at length came out of the church with a promise of safety, but again, in fear of the emperor, he fled to the church of St. Euphemia, at Chalcedon. He refused to be present at the second council of Constantinople, which was held in 553, and he published a constitution of his own on the subject of the discussions of that council. For doing this his name was erased from the diptychs. He was allowed to return to Italy in 554, and died at Syracuse, on his way home, in 555. Now we have seen that on internal grounds the History and the Chronicle were both completed about the year 552, in which case Jordanis the historian, if he is the same person as the bishop of Cotrona, must have been in or near Constantinople at that time. There are several reasons which make this exceedingly probable. One of the chief arguments (see Ebert, 535) against the connexion here imagined between Jordanis and the pope, is based on the supposed too great familiarity of the expressions of Jordanis in his dedication of the Chronicle to Vigilius, if he were really addressing a pope. He speaks of the History of the Goths, which he sends to Vigilius with the Chronicle, in the following words:—"jungens ei Aliud volumen . . . . quatenus diversarum gentium calamitate comperta, ab omni aerumna liberum te fieri cupias et ad Deum convertas, qui est vera libertas. Legens ergo utrosque libellos scito quod diligenti mundum semper necessitas imminet . . . Estoque toto corde diligens Deum et proximum," etc. . . . It is true that Jordanis addresses Vigilius as "frater;" but he calls him "magnifice" and "nobilissime frater." And when the circumstances of the case are considered, when it is remembered that Vigilius was appointed by Theodora because she hoped he would be unorthodox, and what a far from dignified position he held as pope, the words of Jordanis do not seem very strange. The close relations into which their troubles had brought them, together with some deficiency, perhaps, on the part of the Goth Jordanis of knowledge as to the appropriate manner in which a Roman bishop should be addressed in writing, are sufficient to explain his language. There are several considerations now to be noticed, which make the theory under discussion a probable one:—

(*a*) We know from Jordanis directly that he

[b] The idea that Jordanis was an archbishop of Ravenna has long been known to be groundless. See Muratori, *Scriptores*, i. 189.

was an ecclesiastic, and the knowledge of Origen's work on the Romans, which he shews in the preface, makes this indirectly probable. Hence there is no reason for supposing that he was not a bishop.

(*b*) The calamities and troubles which he speaks of in his address to Vigilius, certainly coincide remarkably with what we know of the pope of that name.

(*c*) The words which he uses in the introduction to the History in speaking to his friend Castalius, "si quid parum dictum est, et tu, ut vicinus genti, commemorans, adde," would have a special appropriateness if we may suppose Castalius to have been living at Cotrona, the home of Jordanis, because the town was not actually in possession of the Goths though in close contact with them.

(*d*) As we have seen, pope Vigilius fled to Chalcedon probably at the end of 551, and if Jordanis was with him, the special acquaintance which he appeared to have with the place ("Chalcedonam . . . quae *hodieque* quamvis regiae urbis vicinitate congaudeat, signa tamen suarum ruinarum aliquanta ad indicium retinet posteritatis," cap. 20) would be explained.

(*e*) Lastly, there are several considerations which make it exceedingly probable that he wrote his work at Constantinople. His almost complete ignorance of the later and contemporary events in Italy is thus explained. In the same way his detailed aquaintance, shewn in several passages, with the affairs of the empire is accounted for. And the remarkable words he uses at the close of the history have new light thrown upon them: "Nec me quis in favorem gentis praedictae quasi ex ipsa trahentem originem, aliqua addidisse credat, quam quae legi aut comperi. Nec sic tamen cuncta, quae de ipsis scribuntur aut referuntur, complexus sum, nec tantum ad eorum laudem quantum ad ejus laudem qui vicit, exponens." This passage is one which certainly might have been composed in the neighbourhood of the imperial court, and by one who wished to protect himself against the charge of writing in favour of the enemies of the empire.

The way in which the History came to be composed as it was seems now to become remarkably clear if we adopt, as we almost safely may, this view of the personality of Jordanis. As bishop of Cotrona, in Bruttium, he lived not far from the monastery in Bruttium (monasterium Vivariense) to which Cassiodorius had retired after his active life as a statesman was over. It was here that he first saw the twelve books of the Gothic history. It was here, again, that he was allowed by the steward of Cassiodorius a second perusal of the work. When he was with the pope in Constantinople he was suddenly called upon to write his Gothic history, and, as he tells us, he had to make the best of what materials he had at hand or could remember. The *De Getarum origine et rebus gestis* as we have it now is the result. [A. H. D. A.]

JORDANUS (1), twelfth bishop of Siena, subscribed to a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761 to the abbat John. (Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* 195; Ughelli, iii. 530; Cappelletti, xvii. 402, 557.) [A. H. D. A.]

JORDANUS (2), seventh bishop of Signia (Segni), present at the Lateran synod under Stephen IV. in 769. He is mentioned with Andrew bishop of Praeneste by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of this pope (num. 287 in *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 1159). (Mansi, xii. 715; Hefele, § 343; Ugh. i. 1235; Cappell. vi. 618, 638. [A. H. D. A.]

JORNANDES, historian. [JORDANIS.]

JOSACHUS (JOZACHUS), Nestorian bishop of Ahwaz or Huz, cir. 500, by whom Cavades king of Persia and his daughter were healed. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1192; Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 409.) [C. H.]

JOSAPHAT. [BARLAAM.]

JOSEC I., fifth catholicos of Armenia, between Gregory II. and Pharnesec (or fourth omitting Gregory). In the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniis* and in the appended Greek catalogue (Combefis, *Novum Auct.* t. ii. p. 271 sq.) he is called Ἰουσήκ. The *Historia Armena* (Galanus, cap. 5) names him Hesychius. The form of his name given by St. Martin (*Mém. sur l'Armén.* i. 437) is Housig, and in the *Historiens de l'Arménie* translated by Langlois (t. i. p. 221 et freq.) it is Iousig. Moses of Khorene (lib. iii. capp. 11, 14), the *Historia Armena*, and the catalogue assign him six years, and St. Martin computes his dates as A.D. 330–336, those of the contemporary king of Armenia, Diran II., being A.D. 325–341. The anonymous *Life of Nerses* in the *Historiens de l'Arménie* (Langl. t. ii. p. 21) calls him the grandson of Verthanes, but Faustus of Byzantium (lib. iii. cap. 12 in Langlois) makes him the son. In both these works Josec appears as a young man, and through Verthanes he was descended from Gregory the Illuminator. If his dates are rightly computed by St. Martin, Josec I. cannot be identified with ISAACIUS. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 1374) assumes that identification, but he does not investigate the dates. Josec I. died by martyrdom under king Diran, as related by Moses and Faustus, but the legends introduce Julian's name in a manner which clearly implies an anachronism. [C. H.]

JOSEC II., eighth catholicos of Armenia (or seventh omitting Gregory II.) between Nerses and Zaven (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1375). In the Greek catalogue mentioned in the preceding article he is named Ἰουσήκ, second of the name, with three years to his pontificate. The *Historia Armena* (cap. 7) assigns him four years and names him Isaac, of the race of Alpianus, bishop of Harch. Faustus of Byzantium, in the version of Langlois (lib. iii. cap. 17), names him Schahag, as does St. Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 437). From Faustus (vi. 2) it appears that the family descended from bishop Albin or Albianus of the village of Manavazguerd, this place being in the province of Hark'h (St. Martin, *l. c.*). St. Martin calculates his dates as A.D. 374–378, the contemporary king of Armenia being Bab (370–377). At the time of his election there was no one of the line of Gregory the Illuminator eligible. Faustus relates (iii. 17) that after Josec's installation he administered to the church of Armenia with great zeal, but that no heed was paid to his counsels. The king and high nobility, says Faustus, abandoned the Lord

and his commandments and fearlessly returned to all the sins of former days. This description must mean that they relapsed into idolatry. A general impiety also pervaded all classes from the lowest to the highest. The catalogue remarks that Josec II. and his two successors were but titular catholici, as they were prohibited from ordaining by the archbishop of Caesarea. This prohibition may have arisen from the circumstance that these three catholici were not of the line of Gregory, but from the inferior stock of bishop Albin. [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (husband of the B. V. M.), APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF (Boll. *Acta SS.* 19 Mart. iii. 4; see also Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* index, s. v.). On the Arabic history of Joseph see GOSPELS APOCRYPHAL, t. ii. p. 706, and Fabr. *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* ii. 309. [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS ARIMATHAEUS, APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF (Boll. *Acta SS.* 17 Mart. ii. 507; Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* i. 270). This work relates the legendary mission of Joseph to Britain. The honour of having freed Ireland from venomous reptiles has been transferred by some from St. Patrick to Joseph. (Usher, *Eccl. Ant. Brit.* c. 16, *Opp.* v. 37, vi. 300, 551, ed. Elrington.) [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS AND ASENATH, APOCRYPHAL BOOK OF, a work known from very early times and attributed to St. Ephraim the Syrian. Moses of Agel translated it into Syriac (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 1047; Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 286). It was found in Armenian, by M. Brosset (*Journ. Asiatique*, 4 sér. t. xv. 1850, p. 85). [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (1), fourteenth bishop of Jerusalem, between Ephraim and Judas, the last but one of the bishops of the circumcision (Euseb. *Chron.* sub. ann. 124 and *H. E.* iv. 5). In Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle* he is called Joses, and in Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. 20) Ἰωσῆς. The Patriarch Nicephorus (*Pat. Gr.* t. c. p. 1035) and Georgius Syncellus (*Chronog.* t. i. p. 661, ed. Bonn) assign him two years. For this bishop in modern investigations, see the *Patriarchs of Jerusalem* by Papebroch (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. introd. pp. ix. x.); Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* iii. 144), Clinton (*F. R.* ii. 556). The period assigned to these early bishops of Jerusalem by Nicephorus can be but approximately correct, and all that can be safely said in the case of Joseph is that he was bishop somewhere about A.D. 132 or 133. [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (2), catholicos of Armenia (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1079). The *Historia Armena* (Galanus, cap. 8) places him twelfth, between Sourmag and Chyut, assigning him two years. He appears as taking a prominent part in public affairs during the two years 450, 451, but his tenure of office must have been longer. The *Narratio* (u. inf.) gives him at least twelve years. Saint Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 437) places him between Mesrob and Melidé, giving his dates as A.D. 441–452, but these figures do not represent his place in the series accurately. Moses of Khorene (lib. iii. cap. 67 in Langlois, *Histor. de l'Arm.*) states that Mesrob at the close of his life nominated him his successor, though only with the rank of deputy. From another source it appears that Joseph owed his nomination to Isaac the Great (*Narrat. de Reb. Arm.* in Combefis, *Nov. Auct.* t. ii. p. 274; the appended catalogue does not name Joseph). The explanation of these various statements is that the king of Persia, of which Armenia had been a province since the conquest of 428, desired that Sormac, who had ruled the Armenian church during the last year of the life of Isaac the Great, should continue catholicos for life, and when he died, six years later, Joseph was installed in the full title (*Hist. Armen.* by John the catholicos, p. 49 in Saint Martin's tr.). The Persian king contemporary with Joseph was Isdigerd II., and the governor of Armenia was an Armenian Christian Vasag, prince of the Siounians (442–452). Joseph was one of the band of Armenian scholars who had been trained under Mesrob and Isaac the Great, and afterwards in the Schools of Athens and Constantinople [MESROBES]. He returned to Armenia probably about A.D. 434. Before his elevation he was a priest of Hoghotzim in the canton of Vaiotz-dzor (Vale of Val, *i. e.* Woe) in the province of Sunik or Sisistan (Saint Martin, *l. c.*). His patriarchate occurred at a most critical period, when Isdigerd II. was bending all his efforts to supplant the Christianity of Armenia by the Zoroastrian religion. A full contemporary account of this matter will be found in Elisha Vartabed's *History of Vartan*, which has been translated from the Armenian by Neumann and Langlois [ELISHA (1)]. Through his Vizier Mihr-Nerses Isdigerd issued a proclamation to the Armenians, which is one of the most valuable ancient Zoroastrian documents we possess. A reply to it was issued in 450 by a synod of seventeen bishops held at Ardashad. The name of Joseph bishop of Ararat, heads the subscriptions (Neum. 13, 14, 87), the province of Ararat, one of the fifteen into which Armenia was divided, being evidently his own immediate diocese. This seems Joseph's first appearance in these events. The reply is given in full by Elisha; for the spirit of it see art. ISDIGERD II. Exasperated by that bold manifesto, the king ordered the leading Armenian princes to appear before him, and they, depositing a confession of their faith with Joseph, obeyed (Neum. 21). In the royal capital on the feast of Easter, 450, they were summoned into the king's presence, and peremptorily ordered to adore the sun on its rising the next day. Finding Isdigerd inexorable, they feigned compliance, and Isdigerd accepting the act as a formal submission of their country, sent them home accompanied by a band of magi, who, supported by a large military force, were to instruct the Armenians in the Zoroastrian religion and laws. On the appearance of this armed mission the bishops went among their flocks exhorting them to resistance. The people were resolved, and a Holy League was formed. On behalf of his distressed country Joseph wrote an appeal to the emperor Theodosius II., but shortly afterwards, July 28, 450, Theodosius died, and Marcian his successor would not help (Neum. 36, 37). The Armenian Christians nevertheless assembled in arms, 60,000 in number, and among them were Joseph, Leontius the priest, many other priests and a multitude of deacons (51). On June 2, 451, at the Dekhmud a tributary of the Araxes (St. Martin, i. 41),

led by their prince Vartan, they were disastrously defeated (Neum. 51). A fortress where the priests had taken refuge also fell. Joseph and Leontius were about to be put to death, when they asked to be sent to the king, having hopes of making terms for their people. They were sent, but would not waver in their stedfastness (63, 66). Thus much Elisha relates of Joseph in his seventh chapter, his last as Neumann believes. In an eighth chapter added by Langlois in 1867, and in another Armenian writer, Lazarus of Barb (cap. 48 in Langlois, ii. 315), it is stated that in the sixth year of Isdigerd (*i. e.* in 455), and on the 25th of the month hroditz, the patriarch Joseph, Sahag bishop of Reschdouni, the priests Arsenius, Leontius, Mousché, and the deacon Kadchadch were executed in the province of Abar, near Révan, a village of the Moks. Lazarus (*l. c.*) records his dying words. On the position of Abar see Langlois (t. ii. p. 186, note 1), and Neumann (p. 77, note 18). [LEONTIUS.] [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (3), bishop of Heliopolis in the province of Phoenicia Secunda, present at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451 (Harduin, *Concilia*, ii. 59 A), subscribes the synodal letter of the council to Leo the Great (where his see appears as Iliopolis). (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1104.) [C. G.]

JOSEPHUS (4), fifteenth bishop of Acheruntia (Acerenza), A.D. 429, between Asideus and Justus. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 13; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xx. 420, 450.) [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (5), a physician who having earned the favour of Chosroes Anushirwan, by the royal influence became patriarch of the Nestorians, A.D. 552. He enacted twenty-three canons in his second year of office; but was deposed in the third, because of the capricious tyranny which he exercised over priests and bishops alike. Fear of the king prevented the election of a successor, until after the death of Josephus, which occurred A.D. 567.

Elias Damascenus relates that, on the request of a synod, Josephus confirmed the canons of the Eastern and Western fathers, and published them in a single volume, with certain additions of his own. At this synod the order of the sees was determined, Nisibis obtaining the second place. Josephus also drew up a list of the patriarchs or bishops of Seleucia from the earliest times to his own day. After his deposition he seems to have consoled himself by forging letters in the name of St. Jacobus Nisibenus and St. Efrem, addressed to Papas, a former bishop of Seleucia, who, like himself, had been deposed by his suffragans. Further, a synodical letter of the "Western Patriarchs," admitting the privileges claimed by the Catholicus of Seleucia, is ascribed to the hand of Josephus. These privileges were independence of the patriarchal see of Antioch, and accountability to Christ alone. In support of this epistle, Barhebr. gives a fragment of another, which he says was written by the "Western fathers" on occasion of a strife about the privileges of Seleucia, which arose in the primacy of Papas. This fragment quotes freely from the synodical epistle. Barhebraeus adds the authority of the patriarchs Timotheus (A.D. 780) and Dadjesu (fl. A.D. 450). Timotheus assigns this second epistle to the patriarchs Caius of Rome, Peter of Alexandria, Paul of Antioch, Flavian of Ephesus, and Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Gregory Thaumaturgus. But these personages were not contemporaries. The probable truth is that the patriarch of Antioch and his suffragans admonished the subjects of the archbishop of Seleucia, that their spiritual head was not to be lightly accused as Papas had been, nor indeed to be tried at all by his inferiors; and this is all that Dadjesu's testimony, supposing it to be genuine, implies. In fact, this second epistle was another forgery by Josephus, as is clear from its invoking the other patriarchs in a matter which concerned none but the patriarch of Antioch. Further, the Arabico-Nicene canon 38 rules, concerning the archbishop of Seleucia, "Henceforth be it permitted him to appoint metropolitans," so that he did not previously enjoy that right; and canon 40 forbids synods of the Persian bishops, lest they should enact canons without consulting the patriarch of Antioch, "albeit their lord (*i.e.* the archbishop of Seleucia) has attained unto the rank of patriarch." That the synodical epistle is spurious, appears from the words, "And his throne comes next after the four patriarchs of the world"; the title "patriarch" and the number "four" being taken from the Arabico-Nicene canons, which in truth suggested both of these forgeries.

From the acts of the Eastern martyrs and from Sozomen, it is evident that the bishop of Seleucia had always been primate of Assyria and Babylonia, subject, however, to Antioch. But no ancient Syriac, Latin, or Greek writer, has recorded that the other patriarchs bestowed the patriarchal dignity upon the see of Seleucia, or exempted it from the jurisdiction of Antioch. That is plainly a Nestorian fiction, accepted by the Jacobites, because their Mafriani (of whom Barhebraeus was one) claimed to be the successors of the bishopric of Seleucia. The primacy of this see was expressly asserted at the synod held by Isaacus and Maruthas, A.D. 410. [ISAACUS (4).] (Assem. *B. O.* III. pt. i. 432–435, II. 398, 413, III. i. 51–60; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1117; Badger, *Nestorians*, i. p. 137; Bickell, *Consp. Syr.* p. 60 [4].) [C. J. B.]

JOSEPHUS (6) (Ἰόσηππος), bishop of Nicomedia, under whose name Le Quien found a manuscript fragment of a sermon delivered "in the persecutions." Le Quien assigns it to a period subsequent to the fifth synod (A.D. 553). (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 590.) [L. D.]

JOSEPHUS (7), third bishop of Freising in Bavaria. The date of his election is not positively known, but was probably in 748 or 749, as there is extant a deed of grant dated in February of the latter year, and in his episcopate. Of his life we know very little, except what may be gleaned from the numerous deeds of gift in favour of his churches. These documents may be found in Meichelbeck's *Historia Frisingensis*, tom. i. pp. 48–60, pars altera, pp. 26–32. Josephus is mentioned honourably by Arnoldus in his *Miracula S. Emmerammi* (i. 5, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxli. 1002). According to three somewhat late catalogues, he died on Jan. 17, 764. This is not improbable, as Aribo is known from documents to have been sitting in 765. For his history see, besides the sources above

alluded to, Meichelbeck's *Geschichte der Stadt Freising*, by Baumgärtner, Freising, 1854; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 258; Roth, *Kozroh's Renner über die ältesten Urkunden des Bisthums Freising*, i. 1–3, and *Verzeichniss der Freisinger Urkunden*, pp. 3, 4.
[S. A. B.]

JOSEPHUS (8), bishop of Padua, c. 765. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* v. 428; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 489.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOSEPHUS (9), bishop of Derthona (Tortona), present at the Lateran synod under Stephen IV. in 769. (Mansi, xii. 715; Ughelli, iv. 628; Cappelletti, xiii. 672, 693; Hefele, § 343.)
[A. H. D. A.]

JOSEPHUS (10), twenty-first bishop of Avignon, is said to have sat from A.D. 765 to 794. (Anastasius, *Vita Stephani III.*, Bouquet, v. 459 n.; *Gall. Christ.* i. 802.) [S. A. B.]

JOSEPHUS (11), Nestorian metropolitan bishop of Maru, A.D. 778, who apostatised to the Mahometans. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 433, 495, iii. pt. i. 207: Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1262.) [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (12), bishop of Attalia in Lydia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 144; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 888.)
[L. D.]

JOSEPHUS (13), patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites 789–791. (Le Quien, ii. 1370.)
[C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (14), maphrian of the Syrian Jacobites in the 8th century. (Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1539.) [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (15), twenty-second bishop of Le-Mans towards the close of the 8th century. His crimes and cruelty to his clergy became so notorious that a council of bishops degraded him, and he was handed over to the archbishop of Tours, to whom he was related by birth, and by him sentenced to a penitential imprisonment in a cell called Condeda in the district of Tours, where he died. He was in possession of the see for nearly nine years. (*Gesta Pontificum Cenoman.* c. xx.; Mabill. *Vet. Analect.* p. 291, Paris, 1723; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 356.) [S. A. B.]

JOSEPHUS (16), Nestorian metropolitan bishop of Elamitis or Gondisapor, cir. 800. (Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1183.) [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (17) I., forty-fourth archbishop of Tours, is first mentioned in a decree dated in 802 of Charles the Great (Bouquet, *Recueil*, v. 767). He was a friend of Alcuin, who during his episcopate was abbat of St. Martin's (*Ep.* xxiv., Bouquet, *ib.* 619; *Vita Alcuini*, 29, 31, Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 343). See also Bouquet, and *ib.* vi. 447.

The year of his death is unknown, but he is said to have sat twenty-three years and nearly six months (Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, p. 214). [S. A. B.]

JOSEPHUS (18), catholicos of Armenia (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1393). The *Historia Armena* (Galanus, cap. 18, p. 269), assigning him eleven years between George I. and David II., describes him as of Arakadzodn, and adds that he was of the metropolitan city of St. Gregory. He does not appear in the Greek catalogue (in Combefis. *Bibl. Nov. Auct.* ii. 271), which ends before his period. Saint-Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 439) puts his dates as A.D. 795–806, and gives him the surname of Garidj or Scorpion. [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (19), according to his Jewish designation, יוסף בן מתתיה הכהן (Joseph, the son of Mattatjah [Matthias] the priest), or, as at a later period he called himself after the Flavian emperors, FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. Few characters in Jewish history have provoked such unanimous condemnation, alike by Jews and Christians, with perhaps the solitary exception of the latest Jewish writer on the subject (Hamburger, *Real-Encycl.* section ii. p. 505), who holds that the stedfast adherence of Josephus to Judaism, and his able literary defence of its tenets, form sufficient ground, not only for pardoning his "supposed" wrongs to his nation, but for this solemn verdict of Jewish posterity: "He hath made his peace with us!" Whether or not the view which he presented of his religion and people was really so full and satisfactory, will appear in the sequel. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the part which he played in the closing drama of Jewish national history, and, still more, the information which we owe to him concerning certain parts of Jewish history, and the state, manners, and views of his contemporaries,[a] entitle him to our most careful notice. Accordingly, we propose first to give a sketch of his *Life*; then, to analyse his *Writings*; and lastly, to examine the *import and bearing of his views relatively to Theology*. Under this latter particular we shall have to treat of *his relation to Philo and to Rabbinism*, of *his views as to the Canon*, of *his interpretation of Holy Scripture*, of *his ideas about the Messiah*, and of *his alleged testimony to Jesus Christ*.

I. *The Life of Josephus.*—It was a stirring time when Josephus was born in Jerusalem, in the first year of the emperor Caligula (16th March, A.D. 37 to the same date 38), or rather, to be as precise as possible, some time between the 13th September, A.D. 37 and the 16th March, 38.[b] Up to that period the infant Church had been at least tolerated, though not without persecutions, in the city which had crucified the Lord; and it had struck its roots downwards and grown in strength. But matters could not long continue so, and the success of the Gospel, especially among that section which in official circles may have been regarded as the most dangerous class for proselytism, soon led to a general persecution. Whatever system of chronology we may adopt[c]—in the present instance

[a] It is, however, an exaggeration to assert, as some have done, that without him no history of New Testament times could have been written.

[b] Comp. *Jos. Ant.* xx., 11, 3, where he synchronises the fifty-sixth year of his own life with the thirteenth of the reign of Domitian, which commenced on the 13th of September. See Wieseler, *Chronologie d. Apostol. Zeitalters*, p. 98. See, however, also the remarks, *ib.* p. 71, note, according to which Josephus may have been born somewhat later.

[c] Anger (*de Tempor. in Actis Apost. ratione*) dates it conjecturally A.D 37, Wieseler (*u. s.*) A.D. 39, the conversion of St. Paul being in each case put a year after St. Stephen's martyrdom.

more or less conjecturally—it must have been close on the date when Josephus was born that St. Stephen obtained the first martyr's crown, and "the church at Jerusalem" was in great measure "scattered abroad" (Acts viii. 1–4). It was probably a year afterwards that Saul of Tarsus was arrested on his way to Damascus by the vision of the Lord, and became the disciple and apostle of Him Whom he had persecuted with such bitter zeal. The high-priestly office was in those days in the hands of the Sadducean party, to which the aristocracy of the capital generally belonged. The actual occupant of the sacred office was Theophilus (A.D. 37–41; comp. Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, 3), the son of Annas (A.D. 6–15), and the brother-in-law of Caiaphas (A.D. 18–36), both so infamous from their connexion with the betrayal of our Lord.[d] With this high-priestly family, of which not less than eight members filled the highest office between the years 6 and 65 after Christ,[e] Josephus was at least distantly connected, as in after life he owed his position, in great measure, to their friendship and support.

For, Matthias, the father of Josephus,[f] belonged, like the high priestly family, to the first of the twenty-four "courses" into which the priesthood was arranged. On his mother's side he claimed descent from the Asmoneans, one of his female ancestors having been a daughter of Jonathan, the brother of Judas the Maccabee, and the first high priest of that family. His early education was in accordance with his station. We can readily believe that, with his talents, he made rapid progress in such knowledge as was imparted to the Jewish youth of that time. In this he must have been greatly aided by his father, of whose reputation he speaks in as high terms as of his social standing. But when Josephus would have us believe that at the age of fourteen he was so distinguished,[g] that the high priests and leading men of Jerusalem constantly resorted to him for deeper information on legal questions, we must regard it either as a gross exaggeration, or else as a peculiar mode of representing a very natural occurrence. It is quite likely that learned visitors to his father's house may have taken pleasure in putting questions to a clever lad, since this is entirely in accordance with Jewish habits. But the absurdity of supposing that leading men in a city so full of learned Rabbis, as Jerusalem at that time, would seek information from a boy, is only fully measured when we remember that, according to the ordinary Jewish educational arrangements, higher study—that of the Talmud—was merely begun at the age of fifteen.[h] For similar reasons we must take a like view of his magniloquent assertion, that at the age of sixteen he had made himself fully acquainted with the varying and special tenets of the three great Jewish parties: the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.[i] It was natural and necessary that a youth, circumstanced as he was, should have learned Greek, though he owns his deficiencies in this respect, attributing them not unjustly to the national prejudice, which excluded everything un-Jewish from education (*Ant.* xx. 11, 2). Josephus seems never to have quite overcome this defect; and even at Rome, when translating into Greek his *History of the Jewish War*—as probably in his other literary labours—he had to avail himself of the help of those who had full command of the Greek language (*Ag. Apion*, i. 9).

But the enquiries, or else the ambition, of Josephus could not be satisfied through the ordinary channels of Jewish religious information. Whether, as he puts it, from a desire for deeper knowledge, or from the irresistible religious impulse of the times (*Hausrath*), or from the ambition of becoming a Jewish saint-leader, or from all these motives combining unconsciously to himself, certain it is, that at the age of sixteen he left the Jewish capital, with its attractions, to resort to the retreats of that mysterious sect, the Essenes. It may well have been, that the strange rites which they practised, the mystic doctrines and the higher fellowship with God which they professed, and the peculiar asceticism by which they aimed at purification of the soul through mortification of the body—all so thoroughly Oriental—had their attractions for the imagination of an Eastern youth just springing into manhood. Josephus must have well known the terrible decay among the aristocratic circles of Jerusalem. The almost incredible venality, covetousness, and corruption of the higher classes, the hypocrisy and hollowness of his Sadducean friends, the utter emptiness of Pharisaical profession—in short, the moral ruin of the people, which alike had caused, and resulted from their rejection of the One only exhibition of ideal Israel in the Person of the Lord Jesus, was patent to every observer. Those refined canon-law subtleties which wholly

[d] The high priests between Annas and Caiaphas were: *Ishmael*, the son of Phabi (A.D. 15–16), *Eleazar*, a son of Annas (A.D. 16–17), and *Simon*, the son of Camithos (A.D. 17–18). Comp. *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 2, 2. Between Caiaphas and Theophilos we have to insert Jonathan, a son of Annas (A.D. 36–37). Comp. *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, 3; 5, 3.

[e] Annas, Caiaphas, five sons of Annas, and Matthias, a grandson of Annas and son of Theophilos.

[f] From Josephus's *Life* Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* vol. vi. 3rd ed. p. 700, note) infers that Matthias was born when his father, Josephus the elder, was in his seventy-sixth year. Salvador (*Gesch. d. Römerherrschaft in Jud.* transl. by Eichler, vol. ii. p. 35) makes Matthias sixty years old when Josephus was born, a gross and gratuitous improbability, since he was alive during the siege of Jerusalem.

[g] Paret (in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* vol. vii. p. 24) and others suggest that in this account of himself Josephus may have had in view Luke ii. 46, 47. This is not impossible. But it was reserved for a Professor of Theology (Hausrath, *Neutestam. Zeitgesch.* 2nd ed. vol. iii. p. 439, note 4) to suggest, that the passage in the Gospel may have been borrowed from Josephus! In general Hausrath's account of Josephus, as indeed much else in his book, is greatly exaggerated, and contains many mistakes, all being apparently sacrificed to pictorialness, no matter whether the picture be true to history or not.

[h] Comp. *Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ*, p. 136.

[i] Even Schürer (*Lehrb. d. Neutestam. Zeitgesch.* p. 20), like most other writers, makes Josephus pass through the *Academies* of the Pharisees, Sadducees (!), and Essenes. Ewald even infers from it the existence of an Essene Academy in Jerusalem! But Josephus only speaks of having made himself acquainted with these sects, and there is not an allusion to those imaginary academies.

engrossed the learned Rabbis of Jerusalem, when, to use their own illustration, mountains were pulverised by being rubbed against each other (*Sanh.* 24. a), yielding, however, only the smallest *residuum* of precious ore,[j] could not have fascinated a mind like that of Josephus. In the rank and file of the Pharisaical party, especially among its more extreme section, there were, indeed, many thoroughly, even terribly, in earnest. But their general ignorance, bigotry, and narrow fanaticism must have repelled a Sadducean aristocrat—not to speak of the acknowledged fact, that many, even of those who were sincere, combined the utmost punctiliousness in outward observances with very real and gross sin and crime, while a large proportion of the party were neither more nor less than interested hypocrites. (Comp. here especially the description of the seven kinds of Pharisees in *Jer. Ber.* ix. 7, which is much more full than either *Sotah* iii. 11, or *Sotah* 22 b). If there were, therefore, religious reality in any party, a youth like Josephus would naturally look for it among the unworldly, self-denying Essenes, who had left the society of men, and cast aside their petty strifes to seek holiness and closer fellowship with God, far from Jerusalem and all the haunts of busy life. Accordingly, we find him during the next three years (from his sixteenth to his nineteenth year) in that community, sharing their rites, learning such of their doctrines as were imparted to novices, and conforming to their mode of life. Probably then, or else afterwards, he placed himself under the guidance of one Banus,[k] much noted for the strictness of his asceticism, which was manifested by a dress made of the bark and integuments of trees, by a diet of herbs, and by frequent ablutions. Josephus was, no doubt, keenly observant of all that passed in this holy community, and its influence upon him was permanent. In times of need he would claim what the initiated among them had professed in their ecstatic state: inspired dreams, visions, prophecies, and mystic interpretations of dark predictions (comp. for example, *Jewish War*, ii. 8, 12; iii. 8, 3, 9; iv. 6, 3; vi. 5, 4; *Life*, 42). Certain fundamental doctrines of the Essenes he held all his life long. Among these we may specially mention his ascription of all the evil that beset the soul to its dwelling in the body[l] (*Ag. Apion*, ii. 24), from which it would therefore be freed by death (*Jewish War*, vii. 8, 7; comp. with ii. 8, 11); and his strong views on what, for want of a better term, we may designate as Predestinarianism (in passages too numerous for quotation). On the whole, therefore, we may take it that, barring the rationalistic Judaism of his later life, and his sympathies with what of Philo's teaching he knew, could understand, or was capable of receiving, Essenism retained its hold upon him all his days, and that his ideal of Judaism would have been what he had learned and witnessed among that party. And this disposes of the controversy whether Josephus should be classed with the Pharisees or with the Essenes. (Comp. the discussion in Gerlach, *Weissag. d. A. Testam. in d. Schriften d. Fl. Josephus*, pp. 1–19, where, however, the Essene aspect is too much pressed.)

On his return to Jerusalem, we find Josephus among the Pharisees. This step, although inconsistent, morally speaking, was natural on his part. In all ages, men to whom ambition or need has dictated a policy, have at least outwardly connected themselves with the party that commanded power, however secretly differing from their views. And at that time any one who wished popular influence or support must have belonged to the Pharisees—that is, to them as a party, without necessarily implying acceptance of all their tenets, or practice of their observances beyond what was convenient or absolutely requisite. Although we have no special information on the subject, we infer that the next seven years were spent by Josephus in attending to the ordinary duties of the priesthood, and in strengthening his connexion with the aristocratic party. But the monotonous routine of such a life must have daily become more irksome. An impulse had seized him, even stronger than that so common—we had almost said, so characteristic of, and so irresistible—to the Jew, of breaking through his narrow bounds, and exploring the great world beyond, with its unknown potentialities and possibilities. In his own Jerusalem he had come to know the proud foreigner who ruled the world from the mighty city on the Tiber. He must also have learned how much could be achieved in Rome by servility, intrigue, and cunning. The success of the Herodians—even of the then representative of that house, Agrippa II.—was due to those means. May not some vision of what might be in store for himself have flitted across him? He was in the opening of manhood, connected with the high-priestly party, an aristocrat, and yet popular with the Pharisees. All these circumstances would favour his chances of promotion by seeking to become an intermediary between Rome and his people. We own there is no historical evidence for this suggestion, except that, when occasion did arise, he attempted to act that part, by playing off his countrymen against Rome, and Rome against his countrymen, keeping, however, always in view his own safety and advantage. Nor can we suggest a more charitable interpretation of the strange expedition to Rome which he now undertook.

As Josephus represents it, the object of this journey, undertaken when he was twenty-six years of age, was to compass the liberation of some friends (priests) whom Felix had sent prisoners to the capital; his zeal on their behalf

[j] Only those Christian students who have carefully gone through such commentaries as *Mechilta* (on parts of Exodus), *Sifra* (on Leviticus), and *Sifré* (on Numbers and Deuteronomy), which are in great part, if not wholly, earlier than the *Mishnah*, can fully sympathise with our feelings. Love of such study for its own sake, and the earnest desire to contribute some illustrations of New Testament times, are the only inducements to the laborious perusal of this literature.

[k] Ewald suggests that this name was a Grecianised form of *Abanu*, in which case it would correspond to the "Pater" of a Roman Catholic order.

[l] This view, however, was not exclusively that of the Essenes, but is also expressed by Philo. It is another question, whence Josephus derived it, and whether both the Essenes and Philo may not ultimately have drawn from a common source. Without entering into detailed explanations, we may state our belief that the opinions of Josephus on this subject were derived from the Essenes.

being quickened, as he tells us, by tidings that, in their faithfulness, they had refused Gentile fare in their prison, and lived on nuts and figs. But the expedition nearly proved fatal to him. The ship in which he had embarked foundered in the Adriatic, and out of 600 persons only 80 kept themselves afloat during that fatal night, and were picked up in the morning by a ship from Cyrene. Among them was Josephus. Landed at Puteoli, he soon became intimate with a person powerful at court. Aliturus, the new friend of Josephus, a Jew by birth, and by profession an actor, was a great favourite with the emperor Nero. Through him he was introduced to Poppaea, the paramour and wife of the emperor, who, like others of her class and condition, compounded for vice by novel, especially Jewish, observances, probably without actually embracing Judaism. Josephus calls her "a worshipper of the true God" (*Ant.* xx. 8, 11)—a designation only true if coquetting with Judaism, and advocating the cause of the Jews (*u. s.*), when it did not interfere with her likings,[m] may be regarded as a test of religion. At any rate, Josephus was so far successful. Through Poppaea's influence the captive priests were liberated, and their gallant advocate was dismissed by the empress laden with rich presents, as marks of her Jewish devotion.[n]

The journey of Josephus to Rome took place in A.D. 63 or 64. We mark the date as of special interest, not only on its own account, but for other reasons. For, even if (with Wieseler) we assume that Festus arrived in Judaea not later than the summer of A.D. 60, it may well have been that St. Paul was not actually sent from Caesarea to Rome till the year 61, in which case he would have arrived there in spring 62, when the two years of his first captivity would end in 64, the latest date for Josephus's journey to Italy. At any rate, the two dates are sufficiently near, to raise the question whether the liberation of St. Paul may not somehow have been connected with the interference of Poppaea on behalf of Jewish prisoners.[o] Be this as it may, Josephus must during his stay in Rome have become acquainted with the work and aims of St. Paul. These things had not been done in a corner, and the activity of the prisoner of Christ during these two years must have been known and felt in the Ghetto. But what a contrast between these two men who were at the same time in Rome, each professing to be a true Israelite, and to love his people—all the more striking from the circumstance, that each had well-nigh perished by shipwreck before reaching the shores of Italy!

When Josephus returned to Jerusalem in company with his liberated friends, his reception must have been triumphal, all the more that before his departure he had been regarded as identified with the popular and anti-Roman party. If such had ever really been the case, what he had seen in Rome must have changed his ideas of the possibility of a successful resistance on the part of his countrymen. But the elements of dissatisfaction could no longer be repressed. The almost incredible misrule, rapacity, and tyranny of the late governors had arrayed every honest man against Rome, however the more prudent might shrink from actual contest with the dreaded power. What now followed forms part of the great Jewish war (A.D. 66–73), and can here only be briefly indicated. According to his own statement (*Life*, 4, 5), Josephus at first urged counsels of peace, in view of the inferiority of the Jews to their enemies. Unsuccessful in this, he withdrew with his friends to their duties in the Temple, fearing they might fall victims to the more violent party. In that retreat he remained till it seemed as if the more moderate, or, at least, his own friends, had obtained the upper hand. But the "moderate" party proved far less so than could have been expected. Indeed, the resistance to Rome had already attained such proportions as to render war inevitable, and to involve in it everyone who did not leave the fated capital. Step by step it had proceeded. The first event had been the robbing of the Temple treasury by Florus, with the bloody popular tumults consequent upon it, ending in the forced retreat of Florus upon Caesarea. This was in May 66. Then followed a vain attempt on the part of Agrippa II. to effect a pacification, and the cessation of the daily sacrifice hitherto offered for each emperor, which may be regarded as the formal renunciation of allegiance to Rome. Upon this, the peace party obtained 3000 horsemen from Agrippa, and seized on the Upper City. But the insurgents held the Temple-Mount and the Lower City, and finally forced the royal troops to relinquish their position, and to flee into the upper palace of Herod, when the palaces of the high priest Ananias and of Agrippa were fired. This was in August 66. Next, the insurgents seized Fort Antonia, and laid siege to the upper palace of Herod. The troops of Agrippa were now allowed to withdraw, while the Roman garrison retired into the three fortified towers, the rest of the palace being fired. This was in September 66. The murder of the high priest Ananias (*not* the then officiating one) now followed, and then the foul butchery of the Roman garrison, who had laid down their arms on condition of being allowed to retire in safety. The revolt had now entered on its second stage. This was in October 66. The sole hope of the peace-party lay in the advance of Cestius Gallus from Syria. He came, indeed, and occupied the northern suburb Bezetha, which he fired; but was forced to retire, and finally defeated in the defiles of Bethhoron, with the loss of all his material of war. This was in November 66. The rebellion was now triumphant, and all who had hitherto stood aloof were obliged, or persuaded, to join its ranks. A popular assembly entrusted the conduct of the insurrection to the leading men in Jerusalem, most of whom, however, belonged to the more moderate party. Strange to say, the most important command in the coming war, that of Galilee, was confided to Josephus. His commission was to disarm wild and lawless bands to arm the trustworthy part

[m] Thus, for example, it was Poppaea who procured the appointment to Judaea of the infamous Gessius Florus, on account of her friendship with his equally wicked wife, Cleopatra (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 11, 1).

[n] Schiller (*Gesch. d. Röm. Kaiserreichs*, p. 583 note) maintains that Poppaea was never actually a Jewish proselyte, and that she only coquetted with Judaism.

[o] Hausrath and Hamburger place Josephus's journey in A.D. 61, and accordingly take the liberty of altering his own statement about his age from 26 to 24.

of the population, and, without making any attack, to hold the country against the Romans.[p] If he succeeded, the revolution would lead to liberty; if he failed, both Jerusalem and the national cause were lost.

It seems almost equally difficult to understand the infatuation which selected for such a post one so unfit for it, even if his fidelity had been beyond question, and the grounds on which Josephus himself accepted the trust. Perhaps the populace may, in their elatedness, have regarded a zealous young priest, although under thirty years of age, and wholly ignorant of military affairs, as equal to any combat with Israel's enemies. On the other hand, the leaders may have secretly hoped that he would pursue a peace policy, and effect a compromise with Rome; while Josephus himself may from the first have cherished the same purpose, trusting that at last the moment had arrived when he should play a prominent part. Indeed, the whole procedure was such as might be expected to end in disaster. First, a popular assembly entrusts the conduct of a war with Rome to a Sanhedrim—though probably not the ordinary, but one appointed *ad hoc;* next, a general like Josephus is selected for the most difficult and dangerous post; and finally, two priests—Joazar and Judas—are associated with him in his task! The chief, if not sole occupation of these latter seems to have been the collection of the tithes which had of late not been paid; and, when that failed, they returned to Jerusalem. Our view of the motives which influenced Josephus is fully borne out by the measures which he took. His object seems to have been threefold—to have the people of Galilee well in hand; to secure facilities for opening communications with the Romans; and to maintain his own influence at Jerusalem, so as to counteract any opposition that might be raised. Besides his friends in the capital, his father was there, who kept him well-informed of what passed; while timely presents from his spoils (*Life*, 15) secured those who would defend his interests. On the other hand, there could be no lack of opportunities for shewing that his enmity to Rome was not very deep-rooted, and to which he might afterwards appeal. Thus he allowed Sepphoris, the key of Galilee, to remain undefended, and its inhabitants, notorious for their leanings to Rome, to keep up communication with the coast. Again, he sought to protect the property of Agrippa, and of his adherents, and to restore it when taken by the national party; and he was reported to be secretly collecting means for unknown purposes. These were more than suspicious proceedings. In point of fact, though the national party in Galilee had at first received him with open arms, they soon saw cause for loudly accusing him of treason. Galilee at that time was far from united. Most of the country people did not want war; while the cities, especially Tiberias, were torn by factions, all having different aims. The nationalist party alone, headed by John of Gischala, was, if unscrupulous, bigoted, and cruel, at least honest, and thoroughly in earnest against Rome. The discontent with the new governor broke into open rebellion when, as already stated, Josephus retained, with the view of restoring it, certain property belonging to Agrippa and Bernice, which a band of nationalists had seized. A multitude of armed men from Tarichese and the neighbourhood, to the number of 100,000 men, if we may credit Josephus, crowded the hippodrome, and threatened to burn Josephus in his own house. Deserted by all his guards except four, he lost not his presence of mind. In the garb of a mourner, with a sword hung round his neck, he appeared in the assembly. His tears having excited compassion, he succeeded in turning the citizens of Tarichese against the others by protesting, that he had only retained the booty in order, by its sale, to surround their city with walls. Having thus gained the Taricheans, he frightened the others by enticing their leaders into his house, and there executing on them the most cruel vengeance. Yet a second time, in a rising at Tiberias, Josephus, with two companions, escaped only by a ruse from the hands of John of Gischala. But a greater danger than such plots soon threatened him from Jerusalem itself.

Before describing this, we must briefly indicate the measures which Josephus had taken for the defence of Galilee. His first care had been to secure the pacification of the country, and his own undisputed authority in it. For this purpose he appointed in every city a council of seven judges, and over the whole province a kind of Sanhedrim of seventy, the latter, however, as he informs us (*Life*, 14), not so much to invest them with supreme authority, which he retained in his own hands, as to make friends of the leading men in every city, and to have them as hostages for the good behaviour of their fellow-citizens. What may be called his strictly defensive measures consisted in raising fortifications around the principal towns, and in other places that were naturally strong, and in collecting an army. The latter seems to have amounted to 60,000 foot, a very weak contingent of cavalry, 4500 mercenaries, and a body-guard of 600 men (*Jewish War*, ii. 20, 8).[q] It was, of course, impossible to transform these men into disciplined soldiers. In fact, not a few of them were wont to return on the Sabbath to their homes (*Life*, 32). Josephus, however, did what he could to promote discipline, by appointing a great many officers, and by teaching his troops at least the most necessary military evolutions (*Jewish War*, ii. 20, 7). But meantime, John of Gischala had succeeded in raising such a strong feeling against him in Jerusalem, that a deputation of four leading men, two priests and two laymen, was sent to Galilee to enquire into the charge of treachery against Josephus. The deputation was liberally furnished with money, and accompanied by 2500 soldiers[r] to enforce, in case of

[p] I cannot see any warrant in the language of Josephus (*Life*, 7, 14) for the charge of Schürer (*u. s.* p. 328, note), that Josephus had the impudence to assert that his mission had been to pacify Galilee. This would have been in glaring contradiction to the measures which he took, and to the whole after-history. At the same time, the original orders of the Sanhedrim were very cautiously worded.

[q] I do not know whence M. Salvador derives the number 100,000.

[r] This, according to *Jewish War*, ii. 21, 7; according to *Life*, 40, their number was only 1600. In general, these two works not unfrequently contradict each other, being intended to serve different purposes.

need, their sentence. But Josephus had received timely information from the capital, and taken his measures accordingly. Partly to secure a retreat, and partly to make a shew of activity, knowing it would be impossible to remove a general in face of the enemy, he had marched towards the sea-shore against a small Roman detachment under Placidus. On their arrival in Galilee, the Jerusalem deputies found matters different from what they had expected. Among the population generally, who favoured Josephus from fear that on his retirement they would be at the mercy of the extreme party, they saw little ardour for war. We can scarcely wonder at this, remembering the state of parties, and that the Galileans, being nearest the Roman head-quarters, best knew the strength of the enemy, and would have to bear the first brunt of the conflict. On the other hand, many openly and loudly took the part of Josephus, while only four cities (Gamala, Tiberias, Gabara, and Gischala) were decidedly against him. At Tiberias, John of Gischala had joined the deputies. It is heart-sickening to follow the intrigues on both sides, to hear of the lies by which each sought to entrap the other, and of pretended fasts to which they came, not to humble themselves, but with daggers about their persons to murder each other. Such a movement could neither expect the blessing of heaven nor success with men. In the end, the cunning of Josephus prevailed. A deputation which he sent to Jerusalem with liberal bribes, procured his reinstatement and the recall of the deputies. As the latter would not obey, Tiberias, their head-quarters, was taken by Josephus, and with difficulty saved from plunder. Upon this, John had to retire to Gischala, while the refractory deputies were seized by trickery, and sent back under an armed escort (*Life*, 40–62). Yet another time Tiberias revolted, in favour of Agrippa and the Romans, when it was again subdued by Josephus. Amid these events the year 66 passed.

The year 67 witnessed the closing scenes of the great Galilean drama. Tidings of the first Roman defeat under Cestius had reached Nero while in Achaia. So formidable a rising required his ablest general, and the command in Judaea was entrusted to Vespasian. It was spring when he arrived from Antioch at Ptolemais with the first corps of his army. The second corps was to follow from Alexandria, under the leadership of Vespasian's son, Titus, that handsome dashing soldier, the idol of his men. The effect of these preparations upon Galilee was almost magical. Even before Titus arrived, Sepphoris had opened communications with head-quarters, and was soon occupied by a Roman garrison of 6000 men, while 1000 horsemen scoured the country all around, and laid it waste (*Jewish War*, iii. 4, 1). Josephus was unable to recover Sepphoris. Its loss meant that of the national cause in Galilee. In fact, with the exception of the fortified cities, and a wild stand made by bands of desperate men, no serious resistance was anywhere offered. No sooner had the combined forces of Vespasian and Titus (the 5th, 10th, and 15th, and twenty-three cohorts from other legions),[a] together with those of their four royal allies (Agrippa, Antiochus of Commagene, Sohemus of Emesa, and Malchus of Arabia), amounting in all to about 60,000 men, pitched their camp on the borders of Galilee, than the greater part of the undisciplined rabble which formed the army of Josephus ran away, without waiting till a blow should be struck. Josephus and those around him fled to Tiberias, while the Romans advanced, ravaging the land. This sudden collapse of the national cause led Josephus to hope, that the leaders at Jerusalem might see the impossibility of resistance. For himself, he tells us, he knew he could always secure terms; but he now wrote to the Sanhedrim, placing before them the alternative of either making their submission, which he would negotiate, or of sending an army capable of fighting the Romans (*Jewish War*, iii. 7, 2). Perhaps it is not uncharitable to suppose, that, if Vespasian had entered into direct negotiations with him, Josephus would scarcely have waited for the answer of the Sanhedrim. As it was, the leaders at Jerusalem could not accept the one, nor comply with the other of his alternatives, and events had to take their course. Tiberias was not strong enough to offer safety to Josephus and his followers, even if its fidelity could have been depended upon. As most of those who still remained under the national banner had already retired to Jotapata, Josephus followed them thither, arriving in that fortress on the 21st May, 67. The next evening the army of Vespasian was already under its walls. Few places could have been better fitted to stand a siege in olden days than Jotapata, the Gopatata of the Rabbis (comp. Relandus, *Palaestina*, ed. Norimb. 1716, pp. 603, 641), the modern Jefât (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, iii. pp. 105–107). Standing on an eminence enclosed by mountains, it was surrounded by precipices, and wholly inaccessible except from the north, where the city "extended out upon the sloping extremity of the opposite mountain." But this part Josephus had previously taken care to fortify. The main danger lay in a possible want of water, as the town was wholly dependent for its supply upon cisterns. The failure of a first attack shewed the Romans that the place was not to be taken by a *coup de main*. Accordingly they commenced a regular siege in their own methodical manner. The garrison within defended themselves like desperate men who knew that no quarter was to be expected. It must be admitted, that whatever versatility in expedients, determination, and undaunted bravery could effect, was done by Josephus and his companions in arms. The story of this siege reads almost like a romance—how provisions were obtained by creeping out at night disguised in the skins of animals; how the heavy battering rams of the Romans were undermined, and set on fire after their defenders had been cut down; how in the face of the enemy the wall was heightened twenty cubits by means of the most ingenious devices; how again and again successful sorties were made, and Vespasian himself wounded; and how the walls were protected by sacks of chaff, and the assailants thrown from their scaling bridges by clever and novel artifices. But Vespasian had the best auxiliary in the exhaustion of the garrison and the increasing want of water, which no ingenuity could fully

[a] On the distribution of the legions and the military arrangements at the time of Nero, see *Schiller*, *u. s.*

conceal. In vain Josephus attempted to seek safety by flight. His soldiers would not allow him to leave Jotapata. At last a deserter informed the Romans that from very weariness the guards fell asleep on the walls in the morning. This then was the opportunity. Soon after midnight a chosen corps silently scaled the citadel, where danger was least apprehended. Titus and a tribune were the first on the walls. The sleeping guards were massacred, and the citadel occupied. As morning broke the dense columns of the Romans poured down upon the city. A desperate fight ensued. No quarter was asked or given. But Josephus had prepared even for such an eventuality. A cistern had been connected by a subterranean passage with one of the many caves with which the rock was burrowed on which the city stood. Sufficient provisions had here been stored, and Josephus, with forty of the most eminent citizens, fled thither, awaiting a favourable opportunity for escaping. But they were betrayed by a woman, to save her own life. Vespasian now sent two tribunes to summon Josephus to surrender, promising that his life should be spared. But no answer came from the cistern below. A second message through the tribune Nicanor, who had been a friend of Josephus, convinced him that the promise of mercy might be trusted. Already the angry soldiery above threatened to throw fire into the cistern, when Josephus saw the wisdom of expressing his willingness to surrender. There is the usual amount of hypocrisy in his narration of what followed, and of a prayer which he pretends to have offered, which closed with a protest that he did not go over to the Romans as a deserter from the Jews, but as a minister of God! But his companions below felt otherwise. Well knowing that their lives were forfeited, they would not allow him to escape, offering him the alternative of suicide, or death at their hands. In vain Josephus tried all the arts of his eloquence to prove the sinfulness of suicide and of murder. Foiled in this, he resorted to one of his usual devices. According to his own account, he proposed that they should cast lots in what succession to kill each the other, when Divine Providence reserved him for the last! Although we do not credit this story, he certainly contrived that he and one other should be the last to survive. It was not difficult to persuade his remaining companion to follow him to liberty, and Josephus appeared as a prisoner in the Roman camp. At the intercession of Titus, his life was spared; but Vespasian proposed to send the stubborn defender of Galilee as a trophy to Nero. From this also the ready wit of Josephus found a means of escape. He demanded secret audience, and assuming the language of a prophet, saluted Vespasian and Titus as the future Caesars. Needless ridicule has been cast upon this prediction. But Josephus must have foreseen the certain fall of Jerusalem; and he may have known that, according to a common Jewish interpretation of Isaiah x. 34, the Temple could only be taken by a king. Similarly, at a later period, the great Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai, like the other leading Rabbis a member of the peace party, when he had himself carried out of Jerusalem on a bier saluted Titus[1] with "Vive, Domine Imperator" (Midrash on *Eccl.* vii. 11; *Gitt.* 56 a and b). Vespasian, although incredulous, was too superstitious to reject what was thus announced, all the more that it agreed with his secret hopes (comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 5). Josephus obtained his object, and remained in chains in the Roman camp. After all, the siege of Jotapata had only lasted forty-seven days (to July 1, 67). On July 4, the army retired to Caesarea for rest and refreshment. Josephus accompanied it, not as an ordinary prisoner, but as one determined to secure his own advantage by betraying his countrymen to their enemies. This was the reason of the inveterate hatred of him which the Jews on every occasion expressed, and which led to the most determined attempts to kill the renegade. At first, indeed, his treason had not been credited at Jerusalem, and he was supposed to have fallen among the defenders of Jotapata; but when the truth became known, the fury of the people exceeded all bounds. His father and mother were imprisoned; nor can we doubt that the massacre of the more moderate party in Jerusalem, and the bloodshed and horrors which followed the rule of the extreme nationalists in the city, were due to the conduct of Josephus, to his presence with the enemy, and to the hypocritical speeches which, by command of the Romans, he addressed to the besieged, and which on one occasion nearly proved fatal to him.

But in the camp of the Romans it did not fare ill with the former governor of Galilee. In Caesarea, Vespasian had given him a Jewish captive in marriage, instead of the wife left in Jerusalem. The woman, however, afterwards ran away. A second union did not prove much happier, the only difference being that it was now Josephus who parted from his wife. His fourth marriage was with a rich Jewess from Crete, who bore him two sons, and whose virtues he extols with his usual magniloquence. This is not the place to follow the history of the Jewish war to its bitter end. The part which Josephus took in it has already been indicated: the rest may be told in a few sentences. Already all the country around had been subdued, and everything prepared for the siege of Jerusalem, when events in Rome, and the death of the emperor (June 9, 68) arrested the progress of the war. Nero was followed in rapid succession by Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, when the legions at Caesarea, weary of these puppet-imperators, proclaimed Vespasian (July 3, 69). The prediction of Josephus was now fulfilled; and in solemn acknowledgment thereof his chains were struck off with due formality. In the spring of the year 70 Vespasian set sail from Alexandria for Rome, while Titus returned to the war with fresh accessions to his army. Josephus was of course attached to his staff, and his knowledge of the country and people may have been of use, though these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the exasperation and consequent resistance caused by his presence and ill-advised attempts to persuade to submission. But the city which had crucified the LORD was doomed. Within, internecine war, unrestrained violence, and bloodshed prevailed, to which the nameless horrors of famine

[1] As usually, the Rabbis here make a historical mistake, naming Vespasian instead of Titus, who alone conducted the siege of Jerusalem. But there are few historical notices of the Rabbis free from gross mistakes.

were soon added. Even Josephus was startled by the utter desolation which the besieging army had wrought in places so sacred to Jewish memory, as well as by the scenes enacted by the so-called defenders of Jerusalem. The Roman army had arrived before the City a few days previous to the Passover, A.D. 70. On May 7 the first wall was taken; on the 12th, the second. On July 5 Antonia was held, or rather immediately destroyed by the Romans; on the 17th the daily sacrifice had to cease, from utter want of what was needful for it; and finally, on Ab 10 (August), the Temple itself was destroyed by fire (*Jewish War*, vi. 4, 5). Jewish tradition connecting this with the former destruction of the Temple has, indeed, fixed Ab 9 as its date (*Taan.* iv. 6), the following touching notice of the event being afterwards added (*Taan.* 29 a): —"The destruction of the temple, both of the first and of the second, was on the eve of Ab 9 (the evening of the 8th), at the outgoing of the Sabbath, and at the end of the Sabbatic year; and the course of Jehoiarib (the first course) was on service, and the Levites were just chanting the hymn, and standing at their desks. And what was the hymn which they chanted? 'And He shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and in their wickedness shall He cut them off.' (Ps. xciv. 23.) And they could not finish to say, 'The Lord our God shall cut them off,' when the strangers came and silenced them."

Happily it is not our task to describe the horrors which followed the fall of Jerusalem. Josephus, who, in his attempts to act as intermediary, had, as already noticed, been often in danger of his life (comp. *Jewish War* v. 7, 4; 9, 4; 13, 3; vi. 2, 2; 7, 2), witnessed the destruction of a city, to whose resistance his own conduct had not a little contributed. In his *Life* (75) he makes boast that he had not taken anything from the ruins of his country, but that, besides rescuing a copy of the Holy Scriptures from the Temple, he had saved the lives of his own family, of fifty friends, and afterwards of about 190 of his acquaintances, and even obtained that three of them were taken down from the cross, only one of whom, however, survived. But his services to Rome were not without their rewards. We will not probe the feelings with which even he must have witnessed the triumphal procession at Rome. Certain it is, that he obtained from the conquerors lands in Palestine, a lodgment in Vespasian's former palace, the privilege of Roman citizenship, an annual pension, and other honours and advantages, all of which he retained through successive reigns, and that notwithstanding the determined attempts of his many enemies. Thus we find him under Titus (A.D. 79–81) and under Domitian. He must have survived beyond the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100) since his autobiography was written after the death of Agrippa II., which took place in that year. According to a statement of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 9), a statue was erected to him in Rome.

II. *The Works of Josephus.*—Of these the following four have been preserved:—

1. "*About the Jewish War*" (as he styles it in his *Life*, 74).[v] According to his own account it was occasioned by untrustworthy narratives of the war which had appeared. Originally written in Aramaean, it was afterwards translated by him into Greek. He was well qualified for such a work. Even during the siege of Jerusalem he had taken copious notes (*Ag. Apion*, i. 9). Besides, he had the benefit of the personal *Commentaries of Vespasian*, of letters on the subject from king Agrippa, of which he enumerates not less than sixty-two (*Life*, 65), and, finally, of a revision of the whole by Vespasian and Titus, who not only approved of the work, but subscribed to it, as did also king Agrippa. We may therefore accept the general trustworthiness of the narrative, bearing, however, in mind its evident tendency in favour of Rome, and still more his regard for his own interest, which was always his first object. The style of the book is perhaps even more stilted and self-conscious than was common at that time. The orations reported in it are, of course, his own composition; nor can we attach implicit credence to the extraordinary numbers which he occasionally adduces. But in regard to general accuracy, his narrative contrasts most favourably with the historical notices of the Rabbis, which, almost uniformly, contain the grossest anachronisms. The main object of Josephus is so to tell his story as to represent himself as favourable to the Romans; his next, to make his countrymen appear in the same light, and as having been seduced into rebellion by a party of reckless "robbers." This apologetic tendency also explains the view which he presents of Jewish institutions and sects, the rationalistic cast which he gives them, and his frequent attempts to represent them as similar to what was known and approved at Rome.[w]

In writing his work on the Jewish War, Josephus only deemed it necessary to treat briefly of the early history of his people from the rise of the Maccabees, since (as he tells us, Preface 6) this part had been so well described by Jewish and even by Greek writers. Accordingly, the *History of the Jewish War* consists of seven books, unequal in their details:—Book 1 extends from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Herod; Book 2 goes to the commencement of the great war; Book 3 describes the war in Galilee; Book 4 reaches to the siege of Jerusalem; Books 5 and 6 tell of the siege and capture of that city; while Book 7 details the last scenes of the war.

2. *Jewish Antiquities* ('Ιουδαϊκὴ 'Αρχαιολογία).—The favour with which his first work had been received, induced Josephus to write a larger one, treating of the whole history of his people to the outbreak of the great war. This work he dedicated to Epaphroditus,[x] probably a freedman and courtier of the Caesars. The object of this book was to present Judaism and the Jews in the most favourable light to Gentile

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[v] Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* vol. vii. pp. 98, 99) compares Josephus, as the historian of the second destruction of the Temple, with Jeremiah, as that of the first. Though his conclusions are, of course, immeasurably in favour of the prophet, the comparison itself will appear to most readers singularly out of taste.

[w] Thus the *Pharisees* are represented as *Stoics*, the *Sadducees* as *Epicureans*, and the *Essenes* as *Pythagoreans*.

[x] Comp. about *Epaphroditus*, *Ewald* u. s. p. 103, n. 1.

readers.[y] In estimating its value, we have always to bear in mind the sources from which his information was derived. The account of the period to Nehemiah is taken from the Old Testament, with many legendary additions, to which we shall refer in another part of this article. The period between B.C. 175 and 135 is sketched according to the first book of Maccabees, supplemented from other sources. (Comp. Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.* z. d. Apok. Lief. iii.; Einl. pp. xxvii.–xxx.) The history of the Maccabees is chiefly derived from the lost *Histories* of Strabo, and of Nicolaus of Damascus. In this part Livy is also mentioned. (*Ant.* xiv. 4, 3.) The reign of Herod is described according to the *History* of Nicolaus, and a book entitled *The Memorabilia of King Herod.* (*Ant.* xv. 6, 3.) The narrative of Herod's immediate successors is extremely brief. All the more detailed are the somewhat irrelevant accounts of events at the death of Caligula and accession of Claudius. The account of the high priests was probably derived from official documents in Jerusalem. (Comp. *Ag. Apion.* i. 7.) The copies of the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, inserted by him, are most valuable. (Comp. *Ant.* xiv. 10; xiv. 12, 3–5; xvi. 6, 2–7; xix. 5, 2, 3; xx. 1, 2.) But in this, as in the other works of Josephus, we look in vain for any trace of proper appreciation of the spiritual elements in the history of Israel.

The *Jewish Antiquities* consist of twenty books, of which the first ten give the history of Israel to the end of the Babylonish captivity; Book xi. to Alexander the Great; Book xii. to the death of Judas Maccabee; Book xiii. brings the history of the Maccabees down to the death of Alexandra; Book xiv. reaches to the accession of Herod the Great; Books xv., xvi. and xvii. contain the history of Herod I., while the other three relate events to the beginning of the Jewish war. As might be expected, it is mainly in this work, and in his treatise *Against Apion*, that the theological views of Josephus appear. These will be explained in another part of this article. Suffice it here to notice that, besides much which is uncritical and rationalistic, discrepancies are not wanting between statements in the *Antiquities* and others in the *Jewish War*, and even mistakes in regard to plain Biblical facts. (Comp. *Hamburger*, *u. s.* p. 508.) The *Jewish Antiquities* were probably completed about A.D. 93 or 94, in the thirteenth year of the emperor Domitian, and in the fifty-sixth of the life of Josephus.

3. *Against Apion;* or, more fully, *The Apology of Flavius Josephus on the Antiquity of the Jews against Apion.*—On the whole, we are disposed to place this book next in the order of Josephus's writings. (Comp. Ewald, *u. s.* p. 107, whose reasoning, however, is not *quite* conclusive.) The bitter hatred and the absurd charges against the Jews of that greatest of ancient charlatans, Apion, are sufficiently known to the historical student. Nevertheless, such were the prejudices of the Gentiles at the time, that his statements received more or less general credence. To defend his countrymen—perhaps we should rather have said, himself and his countrymen—from the prejudices thus raised; to vindicate his own work on the *Antiquities of the Jews* against hostile critics; and, at the same time, to demonstrate the antiquity of his race, their nobility, and the pre-eminence of their institutions and laws—such, viewed negatively and positively, were the objects which Josephus had in view in writing this treatise. Apion was merely the representative of a class of enemies, and the refutation of his charges forms a comparatively small part of what might be more aptly designated as a general *Apology for Judaism.* This work is also dedicated to Epaphroditus. Unquestionably, it must be pronounced the most successful literary effort of Josephus. Its language is warm, often impassioned; and the plan and arguments are ably conceived. Throughout the first book the name of Apion is not even mentioned. All the more bitter are his attacks on him in the second book (ii. 1–13), after which Josephus enters on an eloquent vindication of Moses and of his laws (ii. 14–32), closing with an argument against heathenism — of course Greek, not Roman (ii. 33–35), and with some general remarks. It is difficult to fix the date of this book otherwise than to say that it was written after the *Antiquities*—as Ewald thinks, one year later.[z]

4. *The Life.*—In this instance also the title is misleading, since the treatise is mainly a defence of Josephus from the charges against his conduct in Galilee brought by Justus of Tiberias (in a work which has not been preserved). For purposes of his own, Justus had evidently represented Josephus as having been much more hostile to Rome than suited the Jewish court-favourite. As Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa were now dead (*Life*, 65), such imputations might have proved dangerous. Nor did Josephus scruple, for the sake of his position in Rome, to represent his own conduct in the most odious light, as that of a deliberate traitor to his own country. This self-vindication is the main object of the treatise, the biographical notices of himself serving only as Introduction (*Life*, 1–6), and Epilogue (*Life*, 75, 76).

Besides these four works, Josephus seems to have written another, now lost, which, from his references, appears to have borne on the history of the Seleucidic kings (*Ant.* xiii. 2, 1; 2, 4; 4, 6; 5, 11). The treatise Περὶ τοῦ παντὸς bearing his name (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 48) is now generally ascribed to Hippolytus. Josephus had planned two other works—one in four books about God and His essence (*Ant.* xx. 11, 23), and the other on the laws of the Jews (*Ant.* iii. 5, 6; 8, 10). The latter is probably the same which is also referred to under two other names (αἰτιολογία, *Ant.* i. 1, 1; 10, 5; iii. 6, 6; and *Commentary on Jewish Customs and their Reasons*, iv. 8, 4). From what we know of Josephus's tendencies, we can scarcely regret his inability to carry out these plans. The so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, or *On*

[y] We specially note in this work the attempt either ostentatiously to forbear an opinion on miracles, or else to explain them in a rational manner, and such extraordinary statements, as, for example, *Ant.* iv. 8, 10 (comp. *Ag. Apion.* ii. 33) that Moses had forbidden the Jews to despise or insult the gods of other nations.

[z] Reference should here be made to the very elegant translation into Hebrew of the treatise *Against Apion*, which the learned reader will find reprinted in Filipowski's beautiful edition of the *Sepher Juchasin* (after that work itself), where it occupies more than thirty-five double-columned pages.

the Rule of Reason, which was long ascribed to Josephus, and is inserted in most editions of his works (Edit. Havercamp, vol. ii. pp. 497–520), is in all probability not of his composition.

The well known English translation of the *Works of Josephus* by Whiston is not only uncritical, but often incorrect and inaccurate. It is much to be regretted that the excellent version by Traill, edited by Isaac Taylor (London, 1862), only extends over the *Jewish War*. But the Greek text itself requires thorough revision, as will appear from the following.

Criticism of the Text of Josephus.—Readers of Josephus are probably not aware, how much remains to be done for the correction of the text of Josephus. What may be called the *textus receptus*, from which translations are made, is that of *Havercamp* (2 fol. vols., Amsterdam, 1726). But this is very defective. It is based on comparatively recent and corrupt MSS., only occasionally corrected by comparison with better ones. Thus, after all, it virtually reproduces the text of what is known as the *editio princeps* (Basil. 1544, Frobenius), which is derived from MSS. of no value. In his critical edition of *The Jewish War*, Cardwell, while doing ample though discriminating justice to the labours of Hudson, pronounces this well-deserved caustic criticism on Havercamp, that, while having access to all critical helps, "he owed much to the diligence of others without adding anything adequate of his own"; while, on the other hand, owing to the hopeless confusion which he introduced, "the reader could wish that he had left untouched what others had contributed" The reprints—for they are little better—of Oberthür and Richter deserve no special notice. Hence Cardwell was right in thus characterising the state of matters at the beginning of his labours: Restat igitur Flavius Josephus quasi ab integro publici juris faciendus (*De Bello Jud.* vol. ii. pp. v. vi.). Cardwell's work (2 vols. Oxonii 1837) extends only over the Jewish War, of which he gives in his first volume the Greek text with the various readings; and in the second volume its ancient Latin translation (generally regarded as the work of Rufinus), prefaced by 32 pages, of which the first ten, treating of MSS. and previous editions, are the most important, and followed by copious notes (pp. 396–618). English students may reflect with satisfaction, that the merit of what in the past has been done for the critical revision of the text of Josephus belongs chiefly to Oxford scholars, even as the Bodleian Library possesses one of the best MSS. of the first ten books of the *Antiquities*. Great praise is due to Cardwell. He specially collated six MSS., which he respectively designates—L (*Bibl. Laurent.* Florentiae, Cod. 19, saec. xi.); M (in the same library, Cod. 36); N (same library, Cod. 17); P (*Biblioth. Nation.*, Paris, Cod. No. 1425); R (same library, Cod. No. 1429) and T (*Bibl.* Sir Thomas Phillipps). Cardwell rightly regards Cod. P as the best of these MSS. In point of fact they represent three classes: P the first; N and L the second; and M the third. But, as will presently appear, Cardwell's collation of MSS. was not complete; it only extended over the *Jewish War*; nor did the laborious scholar apply the result of his inquiries to the actual production of a critically correct text.

It seems once more reserved for a German scholar to supply what is still required. Dr. Benedictus Niese, Professor in the University of Marburg, has for many years been engaged in collating the MSS. of Josephus, with an amount of diligence and self-denial which deserves most grateful acknowledgment. When we think of the years of weary and unpretentious labour spent in a work to which a purely scientific interest attaches, we feel how deeply the whole literary world is indebted to one who is content to devote almost a lifetime to what can yield so little material return. The labours of Professor Niese are now nearly completed, and he hopes soon to go to press with what will for the first time give to modern students an approximately correct text of all the works of Josephus. It is to a private communication from Professor Niese that the writer of this article is mainly indebted for the facts which he is about to lay before his readers.

At the outset it is necessary to remark, that the different works of Josephus have all traditions of their own. *Antiquities*, the *Jewish War*, and the work *Against Apion*, have each been separately handed down. Again, the twenty books of the *Antiquities* have come down in two separate portions, each of ten books, though originally they may have consisted of four parts, each containing five books. All MSS. which contain either the entire works of Josephus, or even all the twenty books of the *Antiquities*, are not older than the 14th century. But to enter on a criticism of the separate works:—

A. *The Jewish War*.—This work does not bear exactly the superscription which we generally read, but this title, ἱστορία Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. Here we have two classes of MSS. Of the *first* class the *Paris Codex* (Bibl. Nation. No. 1425, marked P by Cardwell), the *Codex Ambrosianus* in Milan (D. super. 50, not noted by Cardwell), and the *Codex Marcianus Graecus*, 383, may be regarded as representatives. The first two of these Codices date from the 11th, the third from the 11-12th century. Cardwell's Codex N (dating from the 12th century) and next to it his Cod. L (dating from the 11th century) are good representatives of Class II. of MSS., although Cod. L is considerably interpolated. Such MSS. as Cod. M (dating from the 14th century) must be ranked still lower, say, in a third class.

B. *Antiquities*.—These, as before stated, must be arranged in two portions:—

a. Antiquities, Books i.–x. The best MSS. here are: *Codex Parisinus* 1421 (dating from the 14th century) and *Codex Bodleianus Gr.* 186 (dating from the 14th or 15th century). Next are ranked *Codex Marcianus* 381 (dating from the 13th or 14th century), *Parisinus Graec.* 1419, and *Vindobonensis* (Bibl. Imper.), *Histor. Graec.* 20 (both dating from the 11th century). But the three last-mentioned MSS. are all more or less interpolated.

b. Antiquities, Books xi.–xx., and *The Life*. Here we place first the *Codex Palatinus Gr.* 14 (Rom. Vatic. Bibl.), which dates from the 9th or 10th century. It is therefore the oldest of all MSS. Unfortunately, Books xviii. to xx. are wanting, which is the more to be deplored, as the well-known passage concerning Jesus Christ occurs in Book xviii. Next to the *Cod. Palat.* 14 are to be ranked *Codex Ambrosianus* F. 128,

super. (dating from the 11th century); *Codex Leidensis* F. 13 (dating from the 11th century); and *Codex Laurentianus* (Florence) 69, cod. 20. The two latter MSS. contain only Books xi. to xv.

C. *The Work Against Apion.*—The best MS. of this is *Cod. Laurentianus*, 69, 22. It dates from the 11th century.

D. Of great importance for the criticism of the text is also the *Epitome* of the *Antiquities*, which exists in a number of MSS. The same remarks apply to the Latin translations of the works of Josephus. The oldest of these is the version of the *Jewish War*, which is generally attributed to the presbyter Rufinus (born about 330, *ob.* 410 A.D.). The translation of the *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* is of later date, and supposed to have been undertaken by direction of Cassiodorus (De Institutione Divin. Liter. 17). As Cassiodorus was born in 470 and died about 563, this version is about a century and a half later than that of Rufinus, since it was probably executed towards the close of Cassiodorus's life, when he had retired from political affairs to his monastery of Viviers [*See* DICT. OF CHRISTIAN BIOG. Vol. I. p. 417]. A remarkable Codex of this version is the well-known *Papyrus* in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which, however, only Books vi. to x. are preserved, and even these not completely.

In view of the corrupt state of our *textus receptus* it must be matter of sincere congratulation to the general reader, that, on the high authority of Professor Niese, we can convey to him the assurance that *a detailed examination of all the existing MSS. of Josephus has not brought to light a single new historical fact.* None the less important will a correct text be to the student, who, above all, must value accuracy. In one respect, indeed, some practical result may be hoped for. A careful comparison of all the readings may enable us to correct at least a few of the gross chronological inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the present text of Josephus, to which attention is called in another part of this article. It must, however, be admitted that the results hitherto gained, so far as summarised in Dr. Destinon's recent *Programme* (*Die Chronologie des Josephus*), are not very encouraging. But we may perhaps be allowed to infer, that, in view of the extensive corruptions, corrections, and interpolations in the MSS., there may have been alterations even in that original copy, from which our two best MSS. (the *Cod. Parisinus* 1421, and *Bodleianus Gr.* 186) are alike transcripts.

Literary Criticism of the Text.—Here we ought to consider in detail the literary sources from which the information of Josephus was derived; the chronology, and the geography of Josephus. The limits of an article only allow of some very general hints, together with directions how the student may get help in further investigation. Among the sources whence Josephus derived his information as to Biblical times, we assign, of course, the first place to the Old Testament and Jewish tradition. This branch of the subject will be fully treated in this article. As regards the Apocrypha, Josephus evidently draws, sometimes *verbatim*, from the apocryphal I. Esdras (III. Esdras). Not to point out striking agreements in peculiar modes of expression, the following passages referred to by Bloch (*Die Quellen d. Flav. Jos.*) will illustrate this dependence on the apocryphal, and divergence from the canonical Ezra: *Ant.* xi. 1, 1, comp. I. Esdras, ii. 3, 4; *Ant.* xi. 1, 3, comp. I. Esd. ii. 11; *Ant.* xi. 2, 1, comp. I. Esd. ii. 16; *Ant. ib.* comp. I. Esd. ii. 18, 19, 20, 21; *Ant.* xi. 2, 2, comp. I. Esd. ii. 25. The correspondence between I. Esd. iii. and iv. and *Ant.* xi. 3, is well known. Other correspondences will readily occur on comparison, and are mostly indicated in Mr. Eddrup's notes on I. Esdras (Comment. of the S. P. C. K. on the Apocryphal Books). It is, of course, not possible here to enter on the divergences between Josephus and Pseudo-Ezra. Similarly, a comparison of *Ant.* xi. 6 will shew that his narrative of Esther is based on the text of the LXX, with its additions. However, we have here old Jewish traditions, for the Dream of Mordecai, and his prayer and that of Esther occur, with more or less variations from the Greek text, in the second Targum on Esther, in the Midrash Esther, and in the work of Josippon ben Gorion (ed. Breithaupt, pp. 74–80). Comp. Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr.* p. 121. The dependence of Josephus on the 1st Book of Maccabees, which offers a somewhat wide and very interesting field of study, has previously been referred to. A discussion of what Josephus owed to the Jewish Hellenist writers, and of what he derived from the historians of other nations, and especially from Greek writers—whether he consulted their works, or had only extracts from them before him, with all such kindred questions—would require too long a digression. We must refer here to the "literature" at the close of this article, and especially to the recent Tractate of Bloch, though it requires to be used with caution, and we have to express our dissent from not a few of its conclusions. The reader will also find much to interest him in J. Freudenthal's *Hellenistische Studien.* But the general results at which we have arrived, have already been embodied in an analysis of the works of Josephus. For the *Chronology* of Josephus the *brochure* of Dr. Destinon, though far from complete, deserves the scholar's attention. M. von Niebuhr's *Gesch. Assurs* should also here be consulted. On the *Geography of Josephus*, a very exhaustive and satisfactory book, in the form of a dictionary, has lately been written by Gustav Boettger (Leipzig, 1879), in which the geographical notices throughout Josephus' works are collated, and in each case compared both with the Bible and with the results of the latest investigations. Lastly, the student who wishes to utilise Josephus for the criticism of the New Testament is referred to J. T. Krebsii *Observationes in N. T. e Flav. Jos.* Lipsiae, 1755. The book, which is the result of much labour, occupies, of course, only the critical standpoint of its own time, but has, in our experience, been found both interesting and useful.

III. *The Import and Bearing of the Views of Josephus relatively to Theology.*—1. *Relation of Josephus to Philo and to Rabbinism.*—Under this head we shall also have to refer to some of the *dogmatic views* of Josephus. The authorship of the *Fourth Book of Maccabees* being, to say the least, very doubtful, we shall not touch on the connexion between the views expressed in that book and those of Philo, otherwise than to refer

the reader to the *Commentary* of Grimm on 4 *Maccabees* (p. 288), to the monogram of Freudenthal (Breslau, 1869), and to Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria* (pp. 6, 20, &c.).

As might be expected, Josephus was acquainted with the history of Philo, and knew of the unhappy embassy to Caligula which he had headed in A.D. 40 (*Ant.* xviii. 8, 1). He speaks of Philo in the highest terms; and even had we no positive evidence, we could scarcely doubt that he had perused his principal writings. If Josephus had ever written that treatise on "the laws of the Jews" which he planned, he would no doubt have often availed himself of Philo's works. But more than that, it has been well pointed out (Siegfried, *u. s.* p. 2, 7, 8, &c.) how closely the preface to the *Antiquities* resembles Philo's introduction to his treatise *De Opificio Mundi*. Both state substantially the same reason why an account of the creation preceded that of the Mosaic legislation. Philo directs attention to the harmony between the law and the world, concluding from it that he who most fully observed the law would also prove the best citizen of the world. Similarly, Josephus lays it down that it was needful first to present a proper view of the character of God, as apparent in His works, so as to prove that the same order which prevailed in nature also pervaded the law of God. Further, Josephus expressly adopts Philo's principle of a deeper allegorical by the side of a literal interpretation of Scripture. Lastly, in not a few instances his allegorical interpretations so closely resemble those of the great Alexandrian, that we cannot doubt he had derived them from his writings, although it must be admitted that coincidences in this respect have been exaggerated by some writers (as by Gfrörer, *Philo u. d. Alex. Theos.* vol. ii. pp. 356–367). Thus, for example, like Philo, Josephus regards (*Ant.* iii. 7, 7) the tabernacle as the symbol of the world, the most holy place as that of heaven (comp. Philo, *De Vita Mosis* iii. 6), the shewbread as that of the twelve months of the year, the candlestick as that of the seven planets (*ib.* 7), and the four materials of which the veil was made as that of the four elements (byssus, earth; purple, the sea; hyacinth, the air; coccus, the fire). We will not pursue the subject farther than to say, that Josephus's symbolical interpretations of the various parts of the High priest's dress closely resemble those of Philo, and that there is a similar correspondence in their interpretation of such names as Abel, Cain, Melchisedec, and Ishmael (*Ant.* i. 2, 1; 10, 2; 10, 4; comp. Siegfried, *u. s.* p. 280). Further instances of analogy in Scriptural interpretations between Josephus and Philo will be given in the article on PHILO.

In regard to theology proper also, we notice that the views of Josephus about the nature of God are essentially the same as those of the great Alexandrian. Like him, Josephus holds that God must be regarded as entirely apart from all human qualities, and as uncognisable in His essence (*Ag. Apion*, ii. 16). Moreover, it is very characteristic of the Alexandrian origin of Josephus's views that, like Philo, he maintains that the Greek sages, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and the Stoics, had perceived substantially the same truths as Moses, but had imparted their knowledge only to the initiated, while the Jewish lawgiver had communicated it, and that in the fullest form, to the people generally. We are of course aware that this assertion is made by Josephus in an apologetic treatise primarily intended for Greek readers, in which also this other Alexandrian expression occurs, "that God permeated the whole world" (*Ag. Apion*, ii. 39), and this Philonic statement, "that the soul was inborn to the body, derived its evil from it, and would accordingly be purified by death" (*Ag. Apion*, ii. 24). But as similar views are advanced in his other works, we infer that they were not introduced merely for the sake of his Greek readers, but were really held by Josephus himself (comp. for example *Ant.* vi. 11, 8; viii. 4, 2). Again, Josephus, like Philo, points out in the Mosaic legislation the four cardinal virtues spoken of by the Greek philosophers (*Ag. Apion*, ii. 16). But on the other hand, the evidence is not sufficient to prove (as Gfrörer holds, *u. s.* pp. 364–366) that Josephus had adopted the views of Philo concerning the Logos. (Similarly Lutterbeck, *Neut. Lehrb.* vol. i. pp. 411, 412, exaggerates the analogy between Philo and Josephus and the Alexandrianism of our historian.) At the same time, we must not be understood as implying that Josephus either understood, or was capable of sharing the deep, almost rapt, mystical views of such an enthusiast as Philo. It was only the rationalistic part of his system which he could either grasp or adopt.

Relation between Josephus and Rabbinism.—The judgment of Ewald, that Josephus was "weak in his Hebrew" (*u. s.* p. 100), and the statement of Lutterbeck (*u. s.* p. 411) that he made use only of the Septuagint version of the Bible, must be received with certain modifications. Undoubtedly Aramaean was his mother tongue, in which language, as he informs us, he originally wrote his *Jewish War* (Comp. also *Ant.* iii. i. 6). Of course the Aramaean was closely kindred to the Hebrew. At the same time, the various derivations from that language in Josephus's *Antiquities* quoted by Bloch (*Quell. des Fl. Jos.* pp. 12–17) imply not more than a merely superficial knowledge of the original. Carpzov has shewn (*Crit. Sacra*, Pars iii. pp. 937–949) in his refutation of Whiston, that in not a few instances Josephus diverges from the text of Scripture, either from ignorance of Hebrew or of set purpose. His peculiar chronological statements, which accord neither with the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, nor the Samaritan Pentateuch, nor, indeed, are always consistent, must not be ascribed to the possession of a purer Hebrew text than our own, but were, when not caused by the corrupt state of our MSS., due to a rationalistic endeavour to remove supposed difficulties, or else to ignorance or mistakes on his part. It is probable that Josephus chiefly followed the translation of the LXX, although not to the entire neglect of the Hebrew text.* Similarly,

* Bloch enumerates the following passages outside the Pentateuch, in which Josephus adopts the text of the LXX, as against the Hebrew text:—1 Sam. ix. 22 (*Ant.* vi. 4, 1); 1 Sam. xv. 4 (*Ant.* vi. 7, 2); 1 Sam. xvii. 4 (*Ant.* vi. 9, 1); 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16 (*Ant.* vi. 11, 4); 1 Sam. xxii. 9 (*Ant.* vi. 12, 4); 1 Sam. xxiii. 13 (*Ant.* vi. 13, 1); 1 Sam. xxv. 13 (*Ant.* vi. 13, 6); 1 Sam. xxvii. 3 (*Ant* vi. 13, 10); 2 Sam. iii. 7 (*Ant.* vii. 1, 4); 2 Sam. iv. 6(*Ant.* vii. 2, 1); 2 Sam. viii. 4 (*Ant.* vii. 5, 1); 2 Sam. viii. 7 (*Ant.* vii. 5, 3); 2 Sam. viii. 8 (*Ant. u. s.*); 2 Sam. xiv. 27 (*Ant.* vii, 8, 5); 2 Sam. xx. 25 (*Ant.* vii. 11, 8).

we must receive with modifications the views ordinarily entertained about the amount of information which Josephus derived from Rabbinical traditions. This will be discussed in detail in another part of this Article, when treating of Josephus's *Interpretations of Holy Scripture*. Suffice it to state in the meantime, that writers have here erred from excess on the one side and on the other. It is undoubtedly true, as the learned Selden remarks (*De Synedr. vet. Ebr.* lib. iii. p. 1106, the passage is wrongly quoted by Carpzov), that, whether purposely or from ignorance, Josephus "sometimes notably diverges from the best-established Rabbinical statements." And even those who most incline to the opposite view (Duschak, *Josephus Flavius u. d. Trad.* Wien, 1864, and Hamburger, *u. s.* pp. 507–509) are obliged to admit occasional divergences. We are inclined to think that Josephus's knowledge of traditionalism was only superficial. But he must, at least, have been acquainted with the views popularly current at the time in Jerusalem. He lacked, however, deeper and more accurate erudition; nor did he scruple either to omit, insert, or alter, according to Rabbinical traditions, as in each case suited his special purpose. Duschak has arranged his comparison of Josephus with traditionalism under the four particulars of *Worship*, *Jurisprudence*, *Ethics*, and *Ceremonial Law*, and in each case indicated wherein Josephus agreed with, and wherein he differed from the Rabbis. Similarly, Hamburger has pointed out in the writings of Josephus a number of Haggadic additions to Biblical stories. On the other hand, he has also been forced to admit that in not a few instances Josephus either goes beyond, or diverges from the Halachah, or traditional law. There can, however, be no doubt that Josephus wished to appear, probably to be, an orthodox Jew, nor yet that he was utterly incapable of anything beyond either externalism or else rationalism. The Christian student will be interested to know that, like all his contemporaries, Josephus believed in the reality of demoniacal possessions. If it were necessary to show the infinite difference between the views of the New Testament writers on this subject, and those of their contemporaries, alike as to the *rationale* of these possessions and the mode of exorcising the demons, we could find no better exemplification than in the statements of Josephus on this subject in his *Jewish War*, vii. 6, 3, and *Ant.* viii. 2, 5. (Comp. also the very curious collection by Dr. Gideon Brecher, in his interesting treatise on the *Transcendental, Magic, and Magical Cures in the Talmud*. The information there brought together might well startle those who are inclined to derive the New Testament account of demoniacs from the views popularly entertained at that time.)

2. *Josephus's Views on the Canon.*—This point is manifestly of the deepest interest, since Josephus may be regarded as in some measure representing the opinions entertained by the Jews in the first century of our era. Here we must quote *in extenso* what may be designated as the classical passage on this subject, in the treatise *Against Apion* (i. 7, 8). After enlarging on the trustworthiness of the Jewish records, "since they were written only by prophets, who learned what was original and most ancient by inspiration of God, and who also chronicled distinctly what had happened in their own time," he adds, "For there are not with us innumerable books, disagreeing and contradicting each other; but only two and twenty books, containing the record of all time, which are justly believed divine.[b] And of these five are those of Moses, which contain the laws, and the tradition (the account) of the origin of mankind, even to his death. And this period embraces about 3000 years. But from the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes, who ruled after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote what was done in their days in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and rules of life for man. But from Artaxerxes to our own time (events) have indeed been written down, yet the same authority does not attach to these as to the (books) before them, because there has not been an exact succession of prophets. But it is evident by fact how much faith we attach to our own books. For although so many ages have elapsed, no one has ever yet ventured to add anything to them, nor to take away from them, nor to change. But to all Jews it is inborn (natural) immediately from their birth to regard them as the very teachings of God, and to adhere to them, and for their sakes, if need be, willingly to die."

From this passage several inferences may be drawn, most of which are confirmed by other statements of Josephus. First, Josephus arranged the canon into three parts—the law, the prophets, and the remaining books, the *Chethuvim*, γραφεῖα or ἁγιόγραφα—a general designation for which the Jerusalem Talmud also uses the title *Chochmah*, Wisdom (comp. *Fürst*, u. s. pp. 55, 73, 74). Further, it will be noticed that Josephus primarily designates the Hagiographa as "hymns," because the Psalter stood at the head of them (comp. *Fürst*, u. s. and generally *Oehler* in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vol. vii. pp. 253, 254). We remark the same in Philo[c] (*De Vita Contempl.* ed. Mang. vol. ii. p. 475), and also in the New Testament (St. Luke xxiv. 44). Again, Josephus, like Origen, Melito, and Jerome, enumerates twenty-two books, according to the Hebrew alphabet, instead of twenty-four as in the Septuagint and the Talmud. *Fürst* has shown (u. s. 3, 4), that the latter enumeration originated in Babylon, while that into twenty-two books was at first the common one in Palestine, and perhaps also in Alexandria. The question as to their order may probably be thus answered: After the five books of Moses, Josephus would place the following thirteen as prophetic books—Joshua, Judges and Ruth, the books of Samuel, the books of the Kings, the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, the book of the twelve minor prophets, and Job. (*Oehler*, *u. s.* p. 251). The Chethuvim would embrace Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Derenbourg (*Hist. de la Palest.* pp. 478, 479) somewhat alters this arrangement, by adding to the nine books which now form the

[b] Havercamp notes that this word has only been inserted by Eusebius.

[c] The Talmudic arrangement is found in *Bab. B.* 14 b. In the Masoretic arrangement Chronicles stands at the head of the Chethuvim. This is followed by the Spanish manuscripts, while the German manuscripts place the Book of Psalms first.

second section of the Hebrew Bible the following four, Ezra and Nehemiah, Daniel, Esther, and Chronicles, while he places among the Chethuvim the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, as forming together one *opus*, ascribed to Solomon. The statement of Josephus about two books of Ezekiel[4] (*Ant.* x. 5, 1) is easily explained by the Talmudic arrangement of these prophecies, into those which predicted destructions (Ezek. ii.–xxxix.) and those which conveyed hope and comfort (chs. xl.–xlviii.). A similar arrangement of Jeremiah into two books is also mentioned in Jewish tradition (*Sifré*, ed. Friedmann, 64 a.), although it is difficult to explain the division, as the Rabbinists do, on the same ground as that of the book of Ezekiel. The common arrangement into prophecies concerning Israel and Judah (chs. i.–xlv.) and prophecies concerning other nations (xlvi.–li.) is evidently more natural.

The question concerning the outward form of the canon is, however, of much less importance than that of his views on the *Inspiration of the Old Testament*. In accordance with uniform Jewish tradition (comp. for example, *Sanh.* 11 a.; 1 Macc. ix. 27, and many other passages) to the effect that the prophetic succession ceased with Malachi, Josephus marks the time of Artaxerxes as the limit of the period of inspiration. On the other hand, it would scarcely be possible to express the doctrine of inspiration more strongly than he does. To him the Scriptures are "the holy books" (*Ant.* Intr. 4; ii. 16. 5; iii. 5, 2; iv. 8, 48; ix. 2, 2; x. 4, 2, &c.; *Life* 75), "the holy writings" (*Jewish War*, vi. 5, 4; *Ant.* x. 10, 4; *Ag. Ap.* i. 10; ii. 4), to which he ever appeals in confirmation of the truth of miracles, and which he saved out of the ruins of Jerusalem as the treasure he most valued (*Life*, 75). It is indeed true that, as by the Jews generally, so by Josephus the pre-eminence is assigned to Moses (*Ant.* iv. 8, 49, and in numerous other passages), and after him to the prophets, properly so-called, viz.:—Isaiah (*Ant.* x. 2, 2), Jeremiah, Ezekiel (*Ant.* x. 5, 1), Daniel (*Ant.* x. 11, 7), and the twelve minor prophets (*Ant.* x. 2, 2). But the passage which has been quoted at the beginning of this section (*Ag. Ap.* i. 7, 8), sufficiently shews that he applied the idea of inspiration to the whole Old Testament. Thus, stronger expressions could scarcely be employed than those which Josephus uses in reference to the book of Daniel (*Ant.* x. 11, 7), while at the same time he implies that such revelations were not confined to any one special prophet. This appears also from the terms which he applies to inspiration generally, ἐπίπνοια (*Ag. Ap.* i. 7) and προφητεία (*Ant.* ii. 8, 1; ix. 8, 6). Inspiration is defined as implying not only immediate contact with God, but as being filled with, or seized by, the Divine (comp. such passages as *Ant.* iv. 6, 5; vi. 8, 2; viii. 13. 3; ix. 3, 1; x. 11, 3, 5, 7). In fact, as Balaam spake by inspiration, "not of himself, but impelled by the Divine Spirit," so he is represented as warning Balak not to suppose in regard to prophets, "that it was of themselves either to be silent or to speak when the Spirit of God seizes upon them, for He puts into their mouths such sounds as He willeth, and words such as they are not conscious of," so that they cannot "forbear to speak the Divine, nor yet offer violence to His will, since nothing is any longer their own, when He prevents and enters into them." (*Ant.* iv. 6, 5.) Accordingly, as he puts it in another passage concerning Moses, "Whatever he uttered seemed as if you heard the voice of God Himself" (*Ant.* iv. 8, 49). Hence, as we have already noted, there could not be any contradictions in Scripture, and what seemed such might be easily conciliated. The first test of a genuine prophet was the truth of his predictions, which of course would appear by their fulfilment (*Ant.* x. 11, 7). Each fulfilled prophecy was a guarantee for the others (*Ant.* iv. 6, 5), and all these predictions afforded ever fresh evidence of the reign of God, and of His providence (*Ant.* x. 8, 3; xvii. 13, 5). Although everything was foreseen and appointed, yet prophecy was intended to warn men, and to bring them to repentance (*Ant.* x. 3, 1). There was still another test by which the truth of a prophecy might have been ascertained, viz., the precious stones on the High priest's garment, which by their peculiar sheen indicated the Presence and the will of God (*Ant.* iii. 8, 9). This privilege had, however, been forfeited about 200 years before Josephus wrote his book. But the most effectual security lay in the "exact succession of prophets," by which, no doubt, Josephus meant the orderly transference of the office from one prophet to another (comp. *Ant.* iv. 7, 2; 8, 46; viii. 13, 7; *Jewish War*, iv. 8, 3), and the taking up by each of the message of his predecessor. Only one objection remains to be answered. It must be admitted that Josephus attributed the gift of prophecy to persons in later times, such as to Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xiii. 10, 7; *Jewish War*, i. 2, 8). More than that, he ascribed it to many of the Essenes, and even claimed it occasionally for himself (*Jewish War*, iii. 8, 3; 8, 9; iv. 10, 7). But such isolated predictions he regarded as entirely exceptional, and as in no wise similar in character to the functions of the prophetic office (comp. Gerlach, *u. s.* p. 36).

Josephus's Interpretation of Holy Scripture.—It would of course be impossible to attempt, within the limits of an article, a detailed examination of *every* Biblical passage as interpreted by Josephus. The student who is interested in the subject will find useful hints and help in the treatises of Duschak and Tachauer, in the remarks of Zunz (*Gottesd. Vortr.* p. 120, n. c), and in Hartmann's well known work (*Enge Verb. d. A. Test. mit d. Neuen*, pp. 464–515). Our present object is rather to point out the divergence of Josephus from the plain meaning of the Biblical text, and to indicate its causes. In so doing we shall strictly confine ourselves to the *narrative* portions of the Bible, to the omission of all reference to statements on legal or ceremonial ordinances, which would form a separate branch of study. Even thus we must aim not so much at completeness of detail, as at comprehensiveness of view. The version which Josephus gives of Scriptural narratives differs from that in the sacred text: by *numerical deviations*; through *mistakes* on his part; by *alterations*, *additions*, and *omissions*, chiefly in-

[4] The expression of Josephus that Ezekiel wrote first must mean that he was the first prophet who wrote from Babylon. This, however, rather for distinction than division

tended to give a more rational cast to the history, or else to present Judaism in a more favourable light to the Gentiles (*rationalistic and apologetic*); and, lastly, by *legendary embellishments*, derived from tradition, which also occur in Rabbinical works preserved to us.

Numerical Deviations.—These seem almost inexplicable, since Josephus, at times, contradicts his own statements. Thus, in *Ant.* i. 3, 3, the date of the Flood is given as 2656 (according to the Hebrew text it is 1656), while at the same time the sum of the ages of the patriarchs to the Flood, as enumerated by Josephus in the very next paragraph, amount to 2256.* In the *textus receptus* of *Ant.* i. 6, 5, Abraham is stated to have been born in the year 292 after the Flood, while in the same paragraph the sum of the ages of his ancestors, when their sons were born, gives the figure 993 as that of the nativity of Abraham. But in this case the explanation is easy. Codd. R. and O. give the total figure as 992, which apparently has been corrected in the *textus receptus* to bring it into accordance with the Hebrew. At the same time the figure 992 does *not* correspond with the LXX. In *Ant.* i. 3, 2 and 3, there are deviations from Gen. vi. 16, 18, in regard to the ark, and to the number of the unclean beasts in it. In *Ant.* i. 18, 1, Jacob's birth is erroneously placed *after* the death of Abraham (comp. Gen. xx. 5, with xxv. 7), and in *Ant.* i. 22, 1, the age of Isaac is put down as 185 instead of 180, as in Gen. xxxv. 28. Similar numerical deviations occur in *Ant.* iii. 8, 2, where the number of offerers is stated to have been 605,550, whereas in Ex. xxxviii. 26, it is 2000 less; in *Ant.* iii. 12, 4, where the number of those capable of going to war differs by 100 from that in Numb. ii. 32; in *Ant.* iii. 12, 5, where the number of the Levites is higher by 1880 than that in Numb. iii. 39; while in *Ant.* iv. 7, 1, the account given of the spoil differs numerically from that in Numb. xxxi. 32–36. These instances may suffice for our present purpose; but the final discussion of the subject must stand over till we have such a text, as we may hope for from the critical labours of Professor Niese. We only add, that it is utterly impossible to reconcile Josephus's account of the Tabernacle with that of Scripture, or his measurements of the Temple of Herod with those furnished by the Rabbis.

Erroneous Statements.—Of these the following may serve as specimens. In *Ant.* i. 3, 5, the statement about the raven differs from that in Gen. viii. 7. In *Ant.* i. 1, 3, the explanation of the name *Diglath*, and in i. 19, 8, of that of Zabulon is false. In *Ant.* i. 16, 2, Bethuel is said to have been dead at the time of Rebekah's engagement. In *Ant.* ii. 3, 1, Rachel is represented as alive when Joseph was sold. In *Ant.* ii. 5, 2, the accounts of the chief butler's dream, and in ii. 5, 5, of Pharaoh's dream, differ in some details from those given in the Bible. In *Ant.* ii. 12, 3, we are told that God shewed Moses not only two signs, but also the changing of the water into blood, which is contrary to Ex. iv. 9. In *Ant.* ii. 14, 4 and 5, there are inaccuracies as compared with Ex. x. 11, 24. In *Ant.* ii. 2, 4, the relationship of Miriam to Hur, and in iii. 6, 1, that to Bezaleel are given erroneously. Kindred mistakes occur in *Ant.* iii. 8, 7 as compared with Lev. x. 4, and in *Ant.* iv. 1, 1, and iv. 2, 2, as compared with Numb. xiv. 40, and Numb. xvi. 1. As other instances of inaccuracy we may mention *Ant.* iv. 7, 1, as compared with Numb. xxxi. 29; *Ant.* iv. 4, 4 (as to the redemption of unclean animals) as compared with Numb. xviii. 16; and *Ant.* iv. 8, 23, as compared with Deut. xxii. 19.

Alterations.—It is interesting to compare the account of Josephus concerning the serpent (*Ant.* i. 1, 4) not only with the simple Biblical narrative, but with the very strange legends of the Rabbis as presented in *Bereshith Rabba* and *Yalkut*. Very curiously Josephus commits the same error (of representing God as forbidding the *touch* of the tree of knowledge) to which the Rabbis trace the fall of Eve, since she had added to the word of God (*Yalkut* i. par. 26, p. 8, col. c and d). In *Ant.* i. 2, 2, we have curious statements about Cain and the seventy-seven sons of Lamech, for which there is no warrant either in Scripture or in tradition. Other alterations are such as in *Ant.* ii. 2, 2, about Joseph's motive in telling his dream; in ii. 2, 4, as compared with Gen. xxxvii. 12; in *Ant.* ii. 6, 2, as compared with xlii. 9; and in *Ant.* ii. 9, 2, where Josephus speaks of *Egyptian* midwives for the Jewish women. The altered version of the Law of Tithes (Numb. xviii. 26–28) which Josephus gives in *Ant.* iv. 4, 3, is in the spirit of the dominant priestly party of his time. To mention only one other instance: the account which Josephus gives of the death of Moses (*Ant.* iv. 8, 48) contrasts most painfully with the sublime simplicity of that of Scripture.

Additions.—In *Ant.* i. 2, 3, Josephus inserts a curious story about two pillars which the children of Seth erected to inscribe on them their discoveries. In *Ant.* ii. 4, we have romantic additions about the relation between Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and in ii. 9, 3 and 4, about the circumstances of Moses' birth. In *Ant.* iii. 6, 2, we read of a festival after everything was ready for the building of the tabernacle. The notice that Miriam died *forty* years after the Exodus (*Ant.* iv. 4, 6) may *possibly* be based on Jewish tradition (comp. Tachauer, p. 74). But the remark about a command which Moses gave to Phinehas about the disposal of the Midianite captives (*Ant.* iv. 7, 1) is of Josephus' own invention. So is the pretended prohibition under pain of death of keeping (magical?) poison (*Ant.* iv. 8, 34). The same remark, of course, applies to such stories as that of Solomon's power to exorcise demons (*Ant.* viii. 2, 5), although it must be admitted that, considering the large store of legends on this and kindred subjects current in Rabbinical literature, Josephus made a very moderate use of them.

Additions, Rationalistic and Apologetic.—*Rationalistic.*—Among these we may include the reason for Lamech's punishment (*Ant.* i. 2, 2); the description of the rainbow as God's bow, perhaps after a Greek legend (*Ant.* i. 3, 8); the notice of "others" than Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as colonising with them the earth (i. 4, 1);

* The latter number differs from that of the LXX. which gives 2242, or, according to a very old correction 2262, as the date of the Flood. (Comp. the table in Delitzsch's *Genesis*, p. 189). But if we correct the *textus receptus* of Josephus by Codex O, the sum of the ages of the patriarchs will amount to exactly the same number as in the LXX.

the account of Abraham's intercourse with the Egyptian priests (i. 8, 2); the curious painting of Eliezer's mission to Rebekah (i. 16, 2); the remark about Isaac's old age hindering his worship (i. 18, 5); that of the reason why Jacob would not lodge in the *city* of Bethel (i. 19, 1); and the explanation of the names Israel (i. 20, 2) and Ephraim (ii. 6, 1), which differs from that in the Bible. The reason given for not eating the sinew which had shrunk (i. 20, 2) sounds rationalistic, and differs not only from that in the Bible, but from the traditional account of the matter (comp. Tachauer, p. 57). On the other hand, the statement that Jacob loved Joseph "for the virtue of his mind" (ii. 2, 1) accords both with the rendering of *Onkelos* and with *Bereshith Rabba* (48). Thoroughly rationalistic are the explanations of the motives for the long journey through the wilderness (ii. 15, 3), of the natural manner in which the waters of Marah were healed (iii. 1, 2), of the reason for the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles (iii. 10, 4), and many others.

Apologetic Additions, Alterations, and Omissions.—These are very numerous. Among the most remarkable are, the peculiar version which Josephus gives of the murder of the Shechemites *Ant.* i. 21, 1), and his total omission of the Biblical narratives about Judah and Tamar, about the sin of the Golden Calf, and the breaking of the first Tables of the Law by Moses. The legend of Moses' fight against the Ethiopians (*Ant.* ii. 10) is given in a version almost the opposite of that in Rabbinical tradition, which represents Moses, as in his flight from Egypt, fighting *for* the Ethiopians against Balaam and his sons, who held the capital of Ethiopia, in rebellion against the legitimate king. Ultimately Moses succeeds to the throne, takes the capital, and marries the former king's widow. But after forty years he succumbs to the intrigues of enemies, who gain over even his wife, and at the request of a popular assembly leaves Ethiopia and migrates to Midian. With these legends the account of Josephus may be compared, noting, however, that he makes no mention of the murder of the Egyptian by Moses, but assigns his flight to very different reasons (*Ant.* ii. 11, 1). Similarly, we ascribe to the desire of presenting Judaism in the most favourable light the daring assertion (iv. 8, 10) that the Jews were not allowed to blaspheme the gods of other cities, nor to rob their temples, nor to deprive them of things dedicated to idols. The statement (*Ant.* iii. 12, 2) that priests were not allowed to marry women who kept inns, may have arisen from the fact that Josephus translated the word זונה (harlot) in regard to Rahab (*Ant.* v. 1, 2, 7) by inn-keeper, as does also the Chaldee. At the same time, some of the other statements about the marriages of priests read rather like apologetic additions. Such alterations of Biblical ordinances as in *Ant.* iv. 8, 23, 35, and 43, probably belong to the same class as those of which we have given examples.

Legendary Additions and Explanations, derived from Rabbinical Tradition.—That some of Josephus's embellishments of Biblical narratives were derived from Jewish tradition, is proved by the fact that they occur in Rabbinical writings. At the same time we must repeat our former observation, that his knowledge of traditionalism must have been superficial. He chiefly repeats that of which an educated priest in Jerusalem could not have been ignorant, and even this not always correctly. The legends which he tells are mostly connected with the chief Biblical personages, and such as at the time would probably be in every one's mouth; little more than what mothers or elementary teachers might repeat to children in their Scripture-lessons. Of anything deeper there is no trace. Every one would know that the Flood was supposed to have commenced in the month *Marcheshvan* (*Ant.* i. 3, 3), though some teachers named the month of *Ijar* (comp. *Yalkut*[f] on Genesis i. 56, p. 14, col. c). Similarly, the traditional interpretation of the names of the rivers of Paradise, given by Josephus in *Ant.* i. 1, 3, must have been familiar to all (comp. *Bechor.* 55 a; *Yalkut* on Gen. c. 21, 22, p. 7, col. b). In *Ant.* i. 1, 1 Josephus notes that, and promises in another work to explain the reason why, in Gen. i. 5, Moses designates it as "one day," and not as the first day. The same question is discussed in Rabbinic writings, for example, in *Ber. R.* 2, and very fully in c. 3 towards the end (ed. Warsh. p. 10 a and b). Comp. also *Nasir* 7 a (line 11, etc. from the bottom). The legend (*Ant.* i. 1, 4) that the animals had the power of speech, occurs also in the *Book of Jubilees.* The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2, 1) that Adam and Eve had also daughters, occurs not only in the *Book of Jubilees*, but in *Ber. R.* 22, where it is stated that on the very day of their marriage five children were born to them. In the same paragraph Josephus refers to the punishment of Cain's posterity to the seventh generation. This is the view of the Midrash on Gen. iv. 23. A little further on Josephus speaks of Cain's fear of the wild beasts. Similarly, in the Midrash (*Ber. R.* 22 on Gen. iv. 15) all the animals, and last of all the old serpent also, are described as assembling to avenge the blood of Abel. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2, 3) to the effect that the descendants of Seth "were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order," and that they made certain other inventions, seems based on the traditions in *Yalkut* on Genesis c. 41 (p. 11, col. d, comp. also the curious notice in *Jubilees* viii.), where the arrangement of the calendar, knowledge of the future, and acquaintance with all trades is attributed to Adam. The statement (*Ant.* i. 3, 1) that Noah preached repentance, occurs not only in the New Testament (2 Peter ii. 5) but in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 108 a, lines 4 and 3 from the bottom), while the legend in *Ant.* i. 3, 5, that pieces of the ark were still shewn by the Armenians, is based on the tradition in *Sanh.* 96, a. (lines 13, 14, and 15 from the top), where Sennacherib is said to have found a board of the ark. In *Ant.* i. 3, 7, we read that the sacrifice of Noah was intended to conciliate God, which corresponds with the tradition in *Tanchuma* (ed. Warshau p. 15 a, line 9 from the top), to the effect that Noah offered it from fear that another flood might

[f] I quote in preference, where possible, from *Yalkut*, because the reader will find there in the margin the references to the Talmud, the Midrashim, &c. To facilitate comparison I give also the page and the column.

come upon the world. The idea (*Ant.* i. 4, 2) that the proposal to build the tower of Babel originated with Nimrod occurs in *Chul.* 89 a, line 24 from top. The supposition that Sarah was the sister of Lot (*Ant.* i. 7, 1) is found in *Sanh.* 69 b, lines 22 etc. from bottom, where *Iscah* is identified with *Sarah*, and a very strange account is given of the former name. It will readily be believed that Josephus's sketch of Abraham and of the Sodomites contains many traditional elements. But the special notice of the want of hospitality in Sodom is explained by this tradition in *Yalkut* 83, p. 24, col. c (taken from the *Pirke de R. Eliezer*), that a proclamation was made in Sodom that any one who gave a piece of bread to the poor should be burnt. Similarly, the statement (*Ant.* i. 11, 2) that the three angels who came to Abraham only made a show of eating is common to Jewish tradition (*Ber. R.* 48, on Gen. xviii. 8, and in other places). That one of these angels was sent to inform him about the birth of his child, and the other two about the overthrow of Sodom, is told with slight modifications in *Yalkut* i. 82 (p. 23, col. b, about the middle). The story about Dinah going into the city to see the finery of the women (*Ant.* i. 21, 1) occurs with some modifications in *Yalkut*. The notice (*Ant.* i. 22, 1) that Rebekah was dead before Jacob reached the home of his father, occurs in *Bereshith Rabba* 81, close of that parashah (ed. Warshau, p. 146 a). That the final temptation of Joseph took place at the time of an Egyptian festival, when none but Potiphar's wife and Joseph were left in the house, is found in *Yalkut* i. 146 (p. 44, col. d, line 19 from the bottom). The same motives for Jacob's sacrifice before entering Egypt, which are given by Josephus in *Ant.* ii. 7, 2, are mentioned in *Yalkut* i. 152 (p. 48, col. b, line 22 from the top). The notice of Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8, 2) that the bones of the brothers of Joseph were brought up from Egypt, occurs substantially even in that most ancient commentary, *Sifré* on Deuteronomy (144 b). The supposed prediction of Egyptian astrologers which led to the command to slay all male Hebrew children (*Ant.* ii. 9, 2), is given with much detail in *Yalkut* i. 164 (p. 51, col. a. towards the end), and also at considerable length in *Shemoth Rabba* 1. The account of the divine promise to Amram concerning Moses (*Ant.* ii. 9, 3) occurs substantially in *Mechilta* on Ex. xv. 20 (ed. Weiss, p. 51 b). The curious legend about the birth of Moses (*Ant.* ii. 9, 4), which Christian tradition may afterwards have applied to the Virgin-Mother, occurs, only much more exaggerated, in *Sot.* 12 a, and *Shem. R.* 1. The story that the infant Moses was only given to his mother after he had refused the nourishment of Egyptian women (*Ant.* ii. 9, 5) is found in *Shemoth Rabba* ed. Warshau, Part 2, p. 5 b, line 4 from the top). In the same place, a few lines further down, we have the legend (*Ant.* ii. 9, 7) about Moses taking the crown from the head of Pharaoh. The legend about Moses' beauty and genius (*Ant.* ii. 9, 6) is a very common Jewish tradition. The story (*Ant.* ii. 15, 1) that the bread which the Israelites took from Egypt lasted them for thirty days, is found in *Yalkut* i. 257 (p. 73, col. c, line 8 from the bottom); that about the thunder and lightning during the night that the Egyptians were overwhelmed in the sea (*Ant.* ii. 16, 3) occurs in *Yalkut*, i. 235 (p. 69, col. a, about the middle); that about the armour of the Egyptians being cast upon the seashore (*Ant.* ii. 16, 6) is found, with considerable embellishments about the gems which the Israelites obtained from the Egyptian chariots, in *Yalkut* i. 254 (p. 73, col. a, towards the end of that section). The marvellous embellishment of Ex. xv. 27, in *Ant.* iii. 1, 3, is founded on *Mechilta*, p. 54 b. The statement (*Ant.* iii. 2, 1) that the Amalekites induced the neighbouring nations to make war with Israel occurs in *Mechilta*, p. 61 a, and in *Yalkut* i. 262 (p. 75, col. d, about the middle) where the discussion between Amalek and the other nations is detailed. The curious idea (*Ant.* iii. 8, 1) that Moses himself wished to be high-priest, is found in *Shemoth Rabba* 37 (p. 51 b, last five lines) where indeed one of the Rabbis maintains that he actually was such. The account of the number of lamps in the candlesticks in the sanctuary which burned during the day and night respectively, is, as might be expected, in accordance with Jewish tradition (comp. *Sifré*, ed. Friedmann, p. 16 a). The view that the gem on the right shoulder of the High-priest shone out, and that the answer by Urim and Thummim was by light on the various letters (*Ant.* iii. 8, 9) is expressed in the Talmud (*Yoma*, 73 b). So also (*Sotah* 48, a and b) that this miracle had ceased with the anterior prophets, or as some have it, with the destruction of the first Temple. The objections which Korah is declared to have raised against Moses (*Ant.* iv. 2, 2 and 3) are substantially the same as those in Jewish tradition (*Bamidbar Rabba*, 18), and so is the plea of Moses not to destroy the righteous with the guilty. Similarly, the story of Balaam, and the mention of his advice to corrupt the children of Israel (*Ant.* iv. 6, 5–9), are derived from Rabbinical tradition (comp. *Sanh.* 106 a). Lastly, the curious statement that Moses wrote down his own death (*Ant* iv 8, 48), is based on the legend (*Baba Bathra*, 15 a) to the effect that, up to Deut. xxxiv. 4, Moses always repeated what God dictated to him, and then wrote it down, but from that verse he repeated it no longer, but wrote it down with tears, while the notice (*Ant.* iv. 8, 49) that Moses died in the month of Adar occurs in *Kidd.* 38 a, lines 15, &c. Not to prolong this analysis, we may mention, as instances outside the Pentateuch, *Ant.* v. 1, 12, about the eminence of the 36 men of Ai who were slain, although this may have been partly apologetic; the remark about the kind of milk Jael gave to Sisera (*Ant.* v. 5, 4); the name Daniel as that of the son of Abigail (*Ant.* vii. 1, 4); and most markedly, the account of David's reason for choosing pestilence rather than famine or war (*Ant.* vii. 13, 3), which occurs almost literally in *Yalkut.* ii. c. 165 (p. 26 c, towards the end), though the latter may be borrowed from Josephus, since the account of the pestilence in *Ant.* vii. 13, 3, has, so far as we know, no parallel in Jewish tradition.[s]

[s] The analysis given in the text, of course, lays no claim to completeness, which would have required almost a separate treatise. In making it I have been greatly indebted to the researches of Tachauer and Bloch. The former, however, are ill-arranged, and both not always critical nor yet quite accurate. In such places as I have availed myself of their aid, their statements have been carefully examined and critically sifted. The

4. *Josephus's Ideas about the Messiah.*—The preliminary and almost insuperable difficulty which Josephus had here to encounter was to reconcile his position towards the Romans with his faith in the truth of prophecy. Accordingly he always rather hints than expressly states his views in regard to the future deliverance of Israel by the Messiah. But that he cherished such hopes, appears even from his general statement that Daniel had predicted not only the future troubles, but also the happiness of his people (*Ant.* x. 11, 7). Commenting on the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, and its interpretation, Josephus explains (*Ant.* x. 10, 4) that the first of these kingdoms was the Babylonian, the second the Medo-Persian, and the third the Macedonian (meaning thereby not only that of Alexander the Great, but also that of his successors). The sorrows described in the 8th chapter of Daniel had come upon the Jews during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes[b] (*Ant.* x. 11, 7; xii. 7, 6). The fourth empire was the Roman (*Ant.* x. 10, 4). The desolation predicted in Daniel ix. came upon Jerusalem in the great war against Rome (*Jewish War*, iv. 6, 3; comp. vi. 2, 1). Again, Josephus had evidently Dan. ix. 27 in mind in the well-known passage (*Jewish War*, vi. 5, 4) in which he refers to a prophecy that the Holy House should be taken when the temple had become four-square. According to him this happened when the Jews destroyed the surroundings of the temple up to the inner sanctuary, which was four-square, in order thus to prevent the approach of the Romans. (It should be noticed, that the words Dan. ix. 27, rendered in our A. V. "for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate," literally translated are, "And upon the wing [or corner] of the abominations the destroyer.")

If this were all, we should have to conclude that Josephus had formally renounced his Jewish hope of a Messiah—or rather that, as he expressly states (*Jewish War*, vi. 5, 4), he regarded the prediction of a ruler of the habitable earth coming from Judaea as "certainly denoting the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judaea." But this statement was evidently dictated by the necessities of his position in regard to the Romans. On the other hand, we have the expression already mentioned of his expectation that, as Daniel's predictions of judgment had been fulfilled, so those of the future prosperity of his people would also become true. More than this, in *Ant.* iv. 6, 5, when speaking of the prophecies of Balaam, of which some had come to pass in Josephus' own time, he adds, that from the fulfilment of these predictions "one might easily guess that the rest would have their completion in the time to come." We must therefore conclude, that Josephus did *not* regard the prophetic history of the Jews as closed with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. But the most significant passage of all is that in which, commenting on Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the four empires, he excuses himself from interpreting the fate predicted upon the fourth (or Roman) empire on the plea, that he had "only undertaken to describe things past or present, but not things future," and advises those who might wish to understand "the uncertainties of futurity," to study for themselves the prophecies of Daniel. Evidently, Josephus had his own opinions on the subject which it did not suit him to express. We are, therefore, warranted in inferring that, like all his countrymen, including even Philo, Josephus expected a Messianic era in accordance with the prophecies of Daniel, although posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem. No doubt he also associated with it the future destruction of the Roman empire. But, as regarded events in his own time, his interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel was the very opposite of that of his Jewish contemporaries. It may be interesting to notice, that Josephus seems to have regarded the murder of the high priest Ananos as the fulfilment of the prediction in Dan. ix. 26 about the cutting off of the Anointed One. In his *Jewish War* (iv. 5, 2) he describes this crime as an evidence that God had doomed Jerusalem to destruction and the Temple to be burned. We cannot pursue the subject further, but refer for hints in confirmation of our views to *Ant.* vii. 4, 4; x. 2, 2; xv. 11, 1; xvii. 2, 4, at the close. (Comp. Gerlach, to whose researches we are here greatly indebted, *u. s.* pp. 86–89.)

We only add, that the mistaken idea, that Josephus held the transmigration of souls, or ascribed this doctrine to the Pharisees, has arisen from a misunderstanding of the passage in *Jewish War*, ii. 8, 14, which will be corrected by comparing it with *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3.

5. *The Alleged Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ.*—For the proper understanding of this question we must quote in full the passage in which this so-called testimony occurs. Literally translated, it reads as follows (*Ant.* xviii. 3, 3):—"About this time lived Jesus, a wise man, if, indeed, one may call Him a man, for He was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many of the Hellenes. He was the Christ. And when, on the accusation of the principal men among us, Pilate had condemned Him to the cross, they did not desist who had loved him at the first; for He appeared to them on the third day again alive, as the Divine prophets had foretold this and a thousand other wonderful things about Him. Until now the race (class, party) of those that are called Christians after Him has not ceased."

For the further criticism of this passage, we note, that it occurs, with only unimportant verbal differences, in every manuscript of the *Antiquities*, that has been preserved, excepting, of course, the *Codex Palatinus*, in which Books xviii. to xx. are missing. The passage was first quoted in support of Christianity by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 11; *Dem. Ev.* iii. 5), and from his time till the 16th century passed unquestioned. This, however, need scarcely sur-

quotations from the Talmud and Midrashim have, for want of space, not been given *in extenso*; but I hold myself responsible for them, and have at some trouble indicated in each case not only paragraph, but page, column, and, in most instances, even the line, so as to render it as easy as possible for readers to refer to them.

[b] We are, of course, not concerned to prove the correctness of Josephus's interpretation, and only note the fact. We should, however, remark, that, according to Wieseler (p. 70 *Jahrw. d. Proph. Dan.*), Josephus applies only Daniel viii. to the Syrian domination,

prise us, when we remember the absence of criticism during that period. Such a testimony would be extremely welcome to the Fathers and early Church writers, especially considering their high estimation of Josephus. The bare enumeration of what was said in his favour by writers up to the 10th century occupies more than thirteen folio pages in Havercamp's edition of Josephus (vol. ii.). Some of these laudations are most extravagant, St. Jerome going so far as to call Josephus "the Greek Livy" (*Epist.* 22, ad Eustoch.).

The opinions at present entertained about the passage in question may be ranged under three classes. First, there are critics who hold *the genuineness of this passage.* The most recent and able defence of this view is in a work, beautiful even for its typography, by a learned Vienna professor: *Historia Revelationis Divinae Novi Testamenti, Scriptore Josepho Danko;* Vindobonae, 1867, vol. i. pp. 308–314. The second view is that of *those who regard the whole passage as spurious,* of which Gerlach (*u. s.*) may be taken as the ablest exponent. Lastly, there are writers who consider *the passage as authentic indeed, but as largely interpolated.* This view has been defended by Ewald (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* vol. v. pp. 181–186), and by Paret (in Herzog's *Real. Encykl.* vol. vii.) Before entering on a criticism of the subject, however brief, we must add two other passages from Josephus, not only on account of their intrinsic importance, but as also bearing on this controversy. The first of these refers to *St. John the Baptist.* It occurs in *Ant.* xviii. 5, 2, and reads as follows: "But to some of the Jews it appeared that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and, indeed, as a righteous punishment on account of what had been done to John, who was surnamed the Baptist. For Herod ordered him to be killed, a good man, and who commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. For that the baptizing would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not for the putting away (remission) of some sins, but for the purification of the body, after that the soul had been previously cleansed by righteousness. And when others had come in crowds, for they were exceedingly moved by hearing these words, Herod, fearing lest such influence of his over the people might lead to some rebellion, for they seemed ready to do anything by his counsel, deemed it best, before anything new should happen through him, to put him to death, rather than that, when a change should arise in affairs, he might have to repent," etc.

The second passage refers to the martyrdom of *St. James the Just,* and occurs in *Ant.* xx. 9, 1, as follows: "Ananos thinking that he had a proper opportunity, since Festus was now dead, and Albinus was still upon the road, assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and bringing before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and with him some others, and having made an accusation against them as breaking the law, delivered them to be stoned. But those who were regarded as the most just among them of the city, and as the most exact about the laws, felt grievously about this."

The last quoted passage about St. James is regarded by most interpreters as on the whole genuine. This remark applies even more strongly to the statement of Josephus about St. John the Baptist. We venture to think, that these admissions have an important bearing on the question of the impugned passage about Christ, since it is scarcely possible to imagine that such statements concerning St. John the Baptist and St. James the Just would have been made without any reference whatever to Christ Himself. But this is not all. When in Rome, Josephus must have become acquainted with the activity of St. Paul. Moreover, he was contemporary with the Neronic persecution; he must have been well aware of the spread of Christianity in Palestine; nor could he have been ignorant of the withdrawal of the Christians from Jerusalem before its fall. It is quite true, that Jewish writers not unfrequently omit all mention of even the most important and interesting events if these militate against their dogmatic predilections. But a movement so far-reaching could scarcely be wholly ignored in a historical work like that of Josephus. To these arguments of our own, we have to add those urged by the learned Vienna professor, viz.: The consensus of the Fathers; the occurrence of the passage in all existing manuscripts; the aptness of the place in which it is inserted; and finally, the Josephine style and diction of the passage. In regard to the aptness of its insertion we may note, that it is not only preceded by an account of the Jewish tumults against Pilate, but followed by a filthy story of the deceit practised by the priests of Isis, which led to the destruction of the temple of Isis, and the punishment of those who introduced new rites into Rome. As this story has nothing to do with the subject which Josephus has in hand, it has been suggested (by Paret) that it was intended by him as one of those vile anti-Christian insinuations about Christ, too common in that age, made in a manner which, without breach of charity, may be designated as peculiarly Josephine.

But although thus far our inquiries have led us to expect some statement about Christ in the writings of Josephus, it seems impossible to peruse the language of the passage in question without feeling that in some parts, which will readily occur to the reader, it is that of a Christian, and not of a Jew like Josephus. We seem, therefore, shut up to the conclusion that, like not a few other passages in ancient documents, the expressions attributed to Josephus must have been altered, and in some parts interpolated by later writers. While, therefore, we regard it as an authentic, although altered and interpolated, testimony to Christ, it is a question how far it should be used by historical writers for apologetic purposes. For our own part, we re-echo the sentiment: "Unde non est nimium taxanda eorum agendi ratio, qui malunt hoc argumento non uti; ne infirmis armis pugnare videantur, ubi validissima non desunt."[1] (Danko, *u. s.* vol. i. p. 314.) The view above advocated seems, so far as we can gather, to have been also that of the learned Professor Mill of Cambridge, whose remarks on this, as on all other subjects, deserve the most careful attention (Mill, *Observations on the Pantheistic Principles,* pp. 290–292).

[1] Acting on this principle, I have treated the testimony of Josephus to Christ as if it were wholly non-existent, in the *Temple, Its Ministry and Service,* p. 36.

The *literature* of this subject is so extensive, that it is impossible here to quote it in full. In Fürst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. ii. it occupies no fewer than 15 pages, and is by no means complete. Most of the later works on the subject are mentioned by Schürer, *u. s.* pp. 27–30. We have made use of the beautiful edition of Josephus by Havercamp (in two folio volumes, 1726), with which the learned Cardwell's edition of the *Jewish War* (Oxford, 1837, 2 vols.) must be throughout compared; and of the following works: For Roman History, besides the ordinary historical sources, Schiller, *Gesch. des Röm. Kaiserr.*; Friedlaender, *Darstell. aus der Sittengesch. Roms*, 3 vols.; as to Chronology, chiefly, Wieseler, *Chronol. des Apost. Zeitalters*, and also Destinon, *Chronologie d. Jos.*; as to geography, G. Boettger, *Topogr. Histor. Lexicon zu Fl. Jos.*; and on the various other branches of the subject, Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vol. vii. (the articles by Paret and Oehler); Hamburger, *Real-Encykl.* sect. ii. part 4; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* vols. vi. and vii.; Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palest.*, Schürer, *Lehrb. der N. Test. Zeitg.*; Hausrath, *N. Test. Zeitg.* vol. iii.; Lutterbeck, *Die N. Test. Lehrbeg.* vol. i.; Duschak, *Josephus Flav. u. die Trad.*; Grimm, *Das Erste Buch der Macc.*; Gfrörer, *Philo. u. die Alex. Theos.* vol. ii.; Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*; J. G. Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, v. T. pars iii.; Zunz, *Die Gottesd. Vortr. der Juden*; Hartmann, *Die enge Verb. des A. Test. mit dem N.*; Fürst, *Der Kanon des Alt. Test. nach Talm. u. Midr.*; Gerlach, *Weissag. des Alt. Test.*; G. Tachauer, *Das Verh. von Flav. Jos. zur Bibel u. Trad.*; H. Bloch, *Quellen d. Flav. Jos.*; J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*; Danko, *Hist. Rev. Div. Nov. Test.* vol. i.; and such Jewish histories as those of Jost, *Gesch. der Isr.* vol. ii.; and Salvador, *Gesch. der Röm. Herrsch. im Judaea*, translated by Eichler, vol. ii. The above works, and others not specially mentioned, have, of course, been consulted and fully considered in the preparation of this article. Plaut's *Fl. Jos. u. d. Bibel* and Baerwald's *Jos. in Gal.*, besides some minor monographs, have not been within reach,—a loss, however, which is in no way serious, since their views are fully discussed in other books. [A. E.]

JOSEPHUS (20), presbyter, martyred with several others in Chuzistan, under Sapor II. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (21), of Tiberias and Scythopolis, a Christian Jew and a count. His religious history is related at length by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. 4 sq.), who had it from his own lips. The emperor Constantine bestowed on Joseph after his baptism the dignity of count, and granted him leave to erect churches at Tiberias, Diocaesarea, Capernaum, and other towns of the district, where none had existed before. This must have occurred before A.D. 336. Joseph retired from Tiberias and built himself a mansion at Scythopolis. At Scythopolis Arianism was rampant, Patrophilus being the bishop. Joseph was the only Catholic there, and nothing but his rank saved him from Arian violence. Joseph, who endured much from both the Jews and the Arians, is commemorated in the *Roman Martyrology* as a confessor on July 22, at which day the Bollandists give his history (*Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 238). Isaac Vossius thinks count Joseph may have written the *Hypomnesticon* [JOSEPHUS (31)]. (Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* i. 369, and *Cod. Apoc. V. T.* t. ii. app.) [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (22), ST., an anchoret in Egypt about the middle of the 4th century. He was a disciple of St. Antony. See Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum* (lib. v. libell. xv. num. 4). He is commemorated on June 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 296.) [I. G. S.]

JOSEPHUS (23), a solitary of Raïthu, near the Red Sea, where he lived for many years and died before the massacre by the Saracens in A.D. 373. (Ceillier, iv. 285, 286.) [I. G. S.]

JOSEPHUS (24), one of sixteen presbyters martyred with bishops Abdas and Ebedjesus in Persia under Sapor II., A.D. 375. (Assem. *Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 144.) [C. H.]

JOSEPHUS (25), Apr. 18 (Assem.); Apr. 22 (*Mart. Rom.*); Nov. 3 (Bas. *Menol.*). A Persian presbyter of Beth-Cathuba a pagus of Adiabene, and martyr with Acepsimas a bishop, and Aitilahas a deacon. They were arrested in 376, and after tortures on several occasions were stoned to death in 380. He was then nearly seventy-five years of age. (Assem. *AA. MM.* i. 171, 185, 208; Sozom. *H. E.* l. ii. c. 13.) [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (26), Nov. 20. Martyr, A.D. 343, in Persia with a bishop named Nyrsas or Narses, whose disciple he was. In *Mart. Rom.* they are noted on Nov. 20; according to Assem. they suffered on Nov. 9. (Bas. *Men.*; Assem. *AA. MM.* i. 96.) [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (27), abbat, an Egyptian anchoret at the end of the 4th century. Cassian relates his conversations in the 16th and 17th books of his *Collationes*. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xlix. 1012, etc.; Ceillier, viii. 147.) [I. G. S.]

JOSEPHUS (28), Joseph Ua Faelainn, abbat of Birr, King's County, and surnamed the Wise, died A.D. 785. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 780, i. 387; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 784.) [J. G.]

JOSEPHUS (29), Joseph Ua Cearnaigh, abbat of Clonmacnoise, King's County), died A.D. 794. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 789, i. 397; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 793.) [J. G.]

JOSEPHUS (30), hegumen of the monastery of the Cathari and steward of the church of Constantinople. It was he who, as related by Theophanes, performed the scandalous marriage in A.D. 795 between the emperor Constantine VI. and Theodote. (*AA. SS.* Bolland. *Vita Tarasii*, Feb. 25, cap. vii.; Theoph. *Chronogr.* A.C. 788, p. 397 in *Patr. Graec.* cviii.; Ceillier, xii. 154.) [W. M. S.]

JOSEPHUS (31) (JOSEPPUS, Ἰώσηππος), author of the *Hypomnesticum* (ὑπομνηστικὸν βιβλίον), a work of doubtful age, first published by Fabricius (in his *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* t. ii.). It is in part a commentary on, in part a paraphrase of the Scripture history, with some chapters added on the persecutions and heresies which afflicted the church. Fabricius is in-

clined to fix its date at the 10th century, since it quotes (cap. 136) Hippolytus Thebanus, who cites Simeon Metaphrastes. Cave (i. 397) assigns it to A.D. 420, as it mentions no heresy later than the fourth century, and he regards cap. 136 as an interpolation. Fabricius accounts for the author stopping at the heresies of the fourth century by the circumstance that he merely copies Epiphanius and has no other information. Isaac Vossius attributes the work to count Joseph of Tiberias [JOSEPHUS (21)]. [G. T. S.]

JOSEPHUS (32), surnamed or christened EPAPHRODITUS, a Paulician schismatical teacher in the 8th century. He headed a party in opposition to Zacharias, son of Gegnaesius. Owing to the violence of the orthodox Paulicians, and danger threatening from the Saracens, Joseph removed with his followers to Antioch in Pisidia. The sect thus spread beyond the boundaries of Armenia into the countries of Asia Minor. (Phot. *c. Man.* i. 20; Pet. Sic. *Hist. Man.* i. 30–1; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* v. 345.) [M. B. C.]

JOSEPPUS. [JOSEPHUS (6), (31).]

JOSES, bishop of Jerusalem. [JOSEPHUS (1).]

JOSHUA (1) STYLITES, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 5th century. He was a native of Edessa, and entered the monastery of Zuenin near Amida in Mesopotamia. After some years he determined to imitate St. Simeon and live the rest of his days on a column, from which he derives his distinguishing name. Before this he had, at the request of the abbat Sergius, to whom he dedicated the work, written the history of his times, from A.D. 495 in 507, entitled *History of the Calamities which befel Edessa, Amida, and all Mesopotamia*. A full description and analysis of the work, with quotations from the original Syriac, are given by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. 260). The Chronicle of Josua, as his history is called, was published at Leipzig in 1878, in the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, in the original Syriac, with a French translation made by Abbé Paulin Martin. It was preserved for us by its insertion in the history of Dionysius of Telmahr, who wrote in cent. ix. The translator describes it as the most ancient history extant in the Syriac language, and specially valuable because Joshua had taken a personal share in the operations he describes. His text supplies many omissions, and corrects mistakes in Assemani's abstract. He fixes the date of its composition between A.D. 510–515, and classes him as a Monophysite, while Assemani regarded him as orthodox.

[I. G. S. and G. T. S.]

JOSHUA (2), 17th or 20th bishop of Coutances, perhaps in the earlier half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 866; Gams, *Series Episc.* 542.) [S. A. B.]

JOSHUA (3), Jacobite bishop of Sigara, cir. 750. (Assem. *B. O.* ii. 338 and *Dissert. de Monoph.* in *B. O.* ii.; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1595.) [C. H.]

JOSSE, saint in Brittany. [JUDOCUS.]

JOVIANUS (1), FLAVIUS, Christian emperor from June 27, 363, to Feb. 16, 364. The authorities for the life of Jovian are generally the same as those for that of Julian. The fifth oration of Themistius, and certain tracts printed among the works of St. Athanasius, are important, for the special points of his edict of toleration and dealings with the Arians. There is a useful life of Jovian by the Abbé J. P. R. de la Bléterie, Paris, 1748, 2 vols., and 1776, 1 vol., containing also a translation of some of Julian's works.

Life.—Jovian was born about the year 331, and was thus much the same age as his predecessor Julian (Amm. xxv. 10, 13, says he died in his thirty-third year. S. Hieron. *sub ann.* 2380, says he was in his thirty-fourth. So Socrates, iii. 26, ζήσας ἔτη λγ'). His father, the count Varronianus, was an inhabitant of the territory of Singidunum (Belgrade) in Moesia, the country which gave birth to so many emperors (Victor, *Epit.* 68). His name was no doubt given him by his father in memory of the corps of the Jovians which he commanded (cp. Amm. xxv. 5, 8). At the time of his unexpected elevation to the empire he was the first of the imperial bodyguard, "domesticorum ordinis primus," a position of no very great distinction (Amm. xxv. 5, 4). In this capacity he had occupied the funeral car of Constantius on its way to the tomb, and the formal honours then paid him, as the representative of the dead, seemed by some to be ominous of his future distinction (Amm. xxi. 16, 20, 21).

Julian died of his wound at midnight, between June 26 and 27, 363, in the midst of his retreat from Persia, leaving his army surrounded by active enemies. It was no time for delay, and early in the morning the generals and chief officers of the infantry and cavalry met to deliberate on the choice of an emperor. There were two principal parties, that of Arinthaeus and Victor, and the old adherents of Constantius on the one side, and that of Nevitta and Daglaiphus and the Gallic officers of Julian on the other. The choice of all, however, fell on Saturninius Secundus Sallustius, the prefect of the East, a moderate heathen, who was respected also by Christians, and had done his best to restrain the excesses of the late emperor. He refused the dangerous honour on the score of infirmity and old age. Upon this an officer in the company, "honoratior aliquis miles," whom it is easy to conjecture was the historian Ammianus himself, suggested that they should act as if the emperor was still living, and go on till they reached Mesopotamia and rejoined the remainder of the army. By this means they would secure an incontestible election. Others, it would seem, exclaimed against any delay, and Jovian's name was put forward.

His friends pressed for him with noisy persistence, and prevented a full discussion, and so (as often happens) the election was carried. He was hastily clad in imperial robes, and led out to receive the homage of the troops, some of whom, mistaking the shouts of "Jovianus Augustus" for "Julianus," believed for a while that their favourite had recovered (Amm. xxv. 5, 1–6).

The new emperor was a Christian and a firm adherent of the Nicene faith. He had, indeed, some claim to the honours of a confessor under his predecessor, but Julian, it is said, did not wish to part with so good an officer (Socr. iii. 22). He was in other respects a man of no

very marked ability, and was esteemed rather for his father's merits than his own (Amm. xxv. 5, 4; Eutropius, x. 17, commendatione patris quam sua militibus notior). He was in fact a generous, bluff and hearty soldier, popular with his companions, fond of jest and merriment, and addicted to those pleasures which have never been severely censured in the camp (Vict. *Epit.* 6, laetus ingenio; Amm. xxv. 10, 15, vultu laetissimo . . . iocarique palam cum proximis adsuetus . . . edax tamen et vino Venerique indulgens, quae vitia imperiali verecundia forsitan correxisset). He had a bright and open face, always cheerful, and lighted with a pair of clear gray eyes. His figure was extremely tall, and his gait rather heavy, and it was long before an imperial wreath could be found to fit him. He was only a moderate scholar, and in this and many other of his qualities was a strong contrast to Julian (Amm. xxv. 10, 14, 15).

Jovian was, as has been said, a sincere believer, but it is difficult, in fact impossible, to credit the statement of Rufinus that he would not accept the empire till he had obliged all his soldiers to become Christians (*Hist. eccl.* ii. 1). At the same time, the greater part of the army did, no doubt, return without difficulty, to their profession of faith to which they had been accustomed under Constantius. The labarum again became their standard; and Jovian's coins present, besides the ☧, the new and striking type (now so familiar) of the ball surmounted by the cross, the symbol of the church dominating the world (see Eckhel, *Num. vet.* viii. p. 147).

Ammianus is careful to note that sacrifices were offered, and entrails of victims inspected on the morning of Jovian's inauguration to decide on the movements of the army (xxv. 6, 1). This had of course been regularly done under the late régime, and preparations had perhaps been made in expectation of the election of a heathen successor; and Jovian in the first excitement of his unexpected elevation might not have thought of interfering. But directly the reins of power were in his hands such things apparently ceased at once.

We need not describe at length the perplexities of the Roman generals in their endeavours to escape from Persia, and the protracted negotiations with Sapor, to whose terms Jovian felt it imperative to submit. It is impossible at this distance of time to judge of the policy of his conduct, especially when two historians, who were both at that time serving in the army, are at variance on the point. Eutropius calls the peace "necessary but ignoble," while Ammianus thinks that Jovian might have reached the friendly and fertile province of Corduene, distant one hundred Roman miles, in the four days which were spent in parleying (Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 17; Amm. xxv. 7, 8).

The terms were, indeed, ignoble and humiliating, the cession of the five Mesopotamian provinces which Galerius had added to the Roman dominions, and of the fortresses of Nisibis and Singara, the former of which had been the bulwark of the empire since the reign of Mithridates. No less disgraceful was the sacrifice of Arsaces, king of Armenia, the firm ally of the Romans, and a Christian prince moreover, allied to the house of Constantine by his marriage with Olympias (Amm. xxv. 7, 9–12; cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* v. 15, pp. 156, 157, ed. Paris, 1778). Some may think that Jovian ought to have struggled on against all odds, and that he was too ready to yield in order that he might keep his army intact, and so secure his accession to the throne. But on the whole it seems probable that no better terms could have been obtained, without the loss of nearly all the army.

After crossing the Tigris with difficulty, the Roman forces marched for six days through very desert country, to the fortress of Ur, where they were met by a convoy of provisions, sent from the army of Sebastianus and Procopius, with whom Julian's army had had no communications since the commencement of the campaign. Jovian at once took measures to secure his own recognition, by sending emissaries to the western provinces, and appointing his father-in-law Lucillianus master of the horse and foot, and charging him to proceed at once to Milan (Amm. xxv. 8). At Thilsaphata or Thisalpheta, on the frontier of the empire, he was met by Sebastianus and Procopius themselves, and was accepted by their troops without opposition (Amm. xxv. 8, 16).

The scenes which took place at Nisibis were heartrending, when the inhabitants were informed that they must leave their homes. Jovian however was firm in keeping his word, and it is clear that, whatever might have been the case, if the treaty had been made by an inferior officer, a promise ratified by the emperor in person could not be broken as long as he remained sovereign. Ammianus insinuates that he could have acted otherwise: "imperatori, ut fingebat, alia metuens, periurii pericula declinante" (xxv. 9, 2). The Persian standard was hoisted on the citadel, in token of the change of ownership, and the weeping and broken-hearted people were forced by their own emperor to go into exile. They were settled by Jovian in the suburb of Amida.

Another incident of Jovian's encampment near Nisibis (for he refused to enter the city) was the execution of the notary Jovianus, whose name and pretensions of a certain kind made him an object of suspicion. Ammianus allows that there were some grounds for a charge of treason, but his hurried and secret death is a blot upon the memory of Jovian (xxv. 8, 18).

After leaving Nisibis the emperor himself proceeded to Antioch. The remains of Julian were sent under the care of his cousin Procopius, to be buried at Tarsus, the place where he had intended to reside on his return from the Persian war. Procopius was justly looked upon as a possible rival, but for the present he kept himself quiet, being terrified by the execution of Jovianus, and remained in obscurity till the time of his unsuccessful rising under Valens (Amm. xxvi. 6). An account of the singular ceremonies of the funeral at Tarsus, which, according to Roman usage, was a mixture of mourning and mimicry of the deceased, will be found in Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, chap. 24 at the end).

The consternation of the Pagans at the news of the death of Julian, and the accession of Jovian was as sudden and as marvellous as the triumph of the Christians. All Antioch made holiday, and churches, chapels, and even theatres were filled with cries of joy, and taunts at the

discomfiture of the heathen party. "Where are the prophecies and foolish Maximus? God has conquered and His Christ" (Theodoret, iii. 28). St. Gregory at the same time was writing his bitter and brilliant invectives at Nazianzus, where but a few months before the Christian population had trembled at the approach of Julian (*Orations*, iv. and v., the στηλιτευτικοί: they were probably *not* delivered from the pulpit; see p. 75 of the Benedictine ed. Paris, 1778). Some acts of violence were committed, especially in the destruction of temples and altars, and more were apprehended. At Constantinople a prefect of Julian's appointment was in danger of his life (Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 128; cp. Lib. *Epp.* 1179, 1186, 1489). Heathen priests, philosophers, rhetoricians and magicians hid themselves in fear, or were maltreated by the populace. Libanius himself was in peril at Babylon, and was accused before Jovian of never ceasing his ill-omened lamentations for his dead friend, instead of wishing good fortune to the new reign (Liban. *de Vitâ suâ*, vol. i. pp. 93, 94, ed. Reiske; cp. Sievers, *Libanius*, pp. 128 foll., Chastel, *Destruction du Paganisme*, pp. 154, 155, who, however, is not accurate in all details). Libanius was saved by the intervention of a Cappadocian friend, who told the emperor that he would gain nothing by putting him to death, as his orations would survive him and become current. This looks as if his *Monody* was already written and known at least by report, though probably only delivered to a select circle of friends. The *Epitaphius* was probably not completed and published till five or six years later (Sievers, p. 132).

To appease this disturbed state of feeling Jovian issued an edict of toleration, in which he declared that all his subjects should enjoy full liberty of conscience, though he forbade the practice of magic. Our knowledge of this edict is drawn from the oration of Themistius, delivered at Dadastera in February in honour of his entrance into the consulship of the year 364 (Themistius, *Oratio*, v. pp. 68–70; cf. Chastel, p. 156). It was, however, probably one of the earliest of his laws. It is impossible to reconcile the positive statements of Themistius with that of Sozomen, that Jovian ordered that Christianity should be the only religion of his subjects (Soz. vi. 3, μόνην εἶναι σέβας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν); and Socrates, who quotes the oration of Themistius, says that all the temples were shut, and that the blood of sacrifices ceased to flow (iii. 24). Jovian may very probably have *strongly recommended* the Christian faith in his edicts without pretending to enforce it, and the cessation of sacrifice seems to have been a popular rather than a directly imperial movement (the passage in Libanius's *Monodia*, vol. i. p. 509, appears to refer to *Constantius* rather than Jovian; and that in the *Epitaphius*, pp. 619, 620, was written, according to Sievers, five or six years later). Jovian, as we have already said, was reconciled to Libanius (*Ep.* 1489 to Modestus), and further protected the philosophers Maximus and Prisan, the intimate friends of Julian, in the enjoyment of the honours which they had received during his reign (Eusebius, *Vita Maximi*, p. 58, ed. Boissonade, 1822, τιμῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας διετέλεσε).

The reaction under Jovian, as far as it was directed by his orders, consisted in fact rather in favours granted to Christians than in acts of oppression towards paganism (see, however, the inscription at the end of this article). The edict of toleration was perhaps issued at Antioch, which he reached some time in October, having been at Edessa on Sept. 27 (*Cod. Theod.* vii. 4, 9, = *Cod. Just.* xii. 37, 2; it is omitted by accident in Hänel's *Series Chronologia*, p. 1654, but is given by Godefroy and Krüger). He hastened to restore the Christian church to its privileges. He wrote a circular letter to the governors of provinces ordering that the ordinary assemblies should be held in the churches. He restored the immunities of the clergy, and the stipends paid to the virgins and widows of the church, and such part of the allowance of corn which Julian had withdrawn as the state of public finances allowed (Sozom. vi. 3; Theodoret, i. 11; iv. 4). A count named Magnus, who had burned the church of Berytus in the late reign, was ordered to rebuild it, and nearly lost his head (Theodoret, iv. 22, p. 180 B). At the same time probably Jovian issued a law condemning to death those who solicited or forced into marriage the virgins of the church (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 25, 2, this law is addressed to Secundus, prefect of the East, and is dated at Antioch, Feb. 19, a day or two after Jovian's death according to most accounts. Either we must read *Ancyrae* or suppose that the month is wrongly given, see the commentators *ad loc.*).

Jovian, however, is remembered in church history on account of his connexion with St. Athanasius, more than any other of his actions. [See ATHANASIUS, Vol. I. p. 199.] The death of Julian was, it is said, revealed to his companion Theodore of Tabenne, and the bishop took courage to return to Alexandria. Here he received a letter from the new emperor praising him for his constancy under all persecutions, reinstating him in his functions, and desiring his prayers (St. Athan. *Opera*, i. 622 = vol. ii. col. 812, ed. Migne). Jovian in another letter (which is no longer extant) desired him to draw up a statement of the Catholic faith. He accordingly summoned a council, and wrote a synodal letter, stating and confirming the Nicene creed (*l.c.* and Theodoret, iv. 3).[a] Armed with this he set sail for Antioch (Sept. 5, 363), where he met with a most gracious reception. The leaders of other ecclesiastical parties had done their best to anticipate him in securing the goodwill of the emperor, but could gain little beyond expressions of his desire for unity and toleration. A quaint and graphic account is given of the pertinacity with which the Arians, and especially the bishop Lucius, who had been set up as a rival of Athanasius, followed Jovian about in his daily rides in hopes of prejudicing him against the champion of Catholicity (*l.c.* pp. 624, 625 = vol. ii. col. 819 foll.). The bluff emperor rein-

[a] Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xxv. vol. iii. p. 60 ed. Bohn) sneers at Athanasius for assuring Jovian "that his orthodox faith would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign," and remarks that after his death this clause was omitted from some MSS., referring to Valerius on the passage of Theodoret, and Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 38. But the expression is not that of a prophet who stakes his credit upon the truth of his prediction, but little more than a pious reflection, of the nature of a wish.

ing up his steed to receive their petitions, and his rough and sensible answers mixed with Latin words to their old and worn-out charges and irrelevant pleas, stand out before us with singular vividness. We can almost hear him saying, "Feri, feri," to his guards, in order to be rid of his troublesome suitors (*εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι τὰ περὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἤδη διοίκησιν ἔσχε· καὶ ὀργισθεὶς εἶπε· φέρι, φέρι*, col. 821, cf. *ἐκβαίνω γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κάμπον*). After repeated interviews, always unsuccessful, Lucius ventured to appear again before the emperor at the gate of the palace, and begged an audience. Jovian stopped and said to him, "Lucius, is it thou to whom I am speaking? How camest thou hither, by sea or by land?" "By sea, sir," replied Lucius. "May the God of the universe, may the sun and the moon," said the emperor, "punish the companions of the voyage for not having thrown thee overboard into the sea! May the ship be eternally the sport of outrageous waves, and never arrive in port!"

Although the prospects of the church at large now seemed brighter than they had done for some time, little seems to have been effected by Athanasius with the Arians at Antioch, and Jovian was disappointed in his endeavour to terminate the schism between the Catholic bishops Meletius and Paulinus (S. Basil, *Ep.* 89, vol. iii. p. 258, ed. Gaume). A coldness ensued between Meletius and Athanasius, and the latter was led to recognise the bishop of the Eustathians as the true head of the Antiochene church on his making a declaration of orthodoxy. Soon after this he returned in triumph to Alexandria.

The city of Antioch, which had ridiculed Julian, was also witty at the expense of Jovian, and he seems to have been the butt of many parodies and pasquinades. The heathen historians, however, Ammianus and Zosimus, tell us little of this period. The former details some of the portents which happened during the emperor's residence at Antioch—the sudden fall of the brazen globe from the hand of Maximian's statue, the awful sounds in the council-chamber, and the comets visible by daylight (xxv. 10). He and Zosimus are both silent as to the excesses against heathenism attributed to Jovian by some later writers, and we may therefore safely pass them over.

Jovian quitted Antioch in December, much against the will of his soldiers, as we may imagine, and, proceeding by forced marches, came to Tarsus, where he adorned the tomb of Julian. At Tyana, in Cappadocia, he received the news that Malarich had declined the charge of Gaul, and that Jovinus still continued in his old position, but faithful to the new regime. Jovian also learned that his father-in-law Lucillianus had been murdered at Rheims in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts (Amm. xxv. 10; Zos. iii. 35). The deputies of the Western armies saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus. With them was Valentinian, so soon to be his successor, whom he appointed captain of the second division of scutarii (Amm. xxv. 10, 9, "secunda schola scutarionum").

The death of Lucillianus was followed by another and a heavier blow, the news of the loss of his father Varronianus, whom he had for some time hoped to associate with himself in the consulship of the ensuing year. The loss was softened, however, by the arrival of his wife Charito and his infant son Varronianus, who, it was determined, should fill the place destined for his grandfather. The inauguration of the new consuls took place on January 1 at Ancyra. The little child, when enthroned in his curule chair, naturally enough burst into a fit of crying, and could not be pacified. (Amm. xxv. 10, 11; cf. Themist. *Or.* v. p. 71). Zonaras (*Annal.* xiii. 14) says that Charito never saw her husband after his elevation, but this seems to be a mistake; see De Broglie, iv. p. 485, note.) The oration of Themistius already mentioned was, it seems, delivered at this time.

Jovian still pushed on, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and arrived at an obscure place called Dadastané, about halfway between Ancyra and Nicaea. Somehow about Feb. 16, after a heavy supper, he went to bed in an apartment recently built, the plaster of which was still damp. A brazier of charcoal was brought in to warm the air, and in the morning he was found dead in his bed. Thus an accident, which had been nearly fatal to Julian at Paris, the nature of which seems to have been unknown to the ancients, put an end to his short reign of only eight months. (Amm. xxv. 10, 12, 13, describes his death; the date is variously given as the 16th, 17th, and 18th of March; see Clinton. Julian describes his own accident, *Misopogon*, p. 341, and attributes it to the damp drawn out of the walls.) He was buried at Constantinople, and after a ten days' interval was succeeded by Valentinian.

St. Augustine says in the *City of God* that it was suitable to the divine wisdom to crown Constantine with prosperity, to shew that God can recompense his servants in this world, and that the devil is not the only dispenser of earthly good; but it was suitable also to the same wisdom to strike down Jovian, notwithstanding his piety, in order that men should learn not to follow the faith merely from expectation of temporal rewards (*de Civ. Dei*, v. 25).

Owing to the shortness of Jovian's reign, inscriptions relating to him (other than those on milestones) are very rare. This fact, as well as its peculiar character, gives an interest to the following, which is still to be read over the portal of the church of Panaghia at Palaeopolis in Corfu. It may be found in the *Corpus. Inscr. Graec.* vol. iv. 8608, from various authorities, and it was also copied on the spot by the present bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln in 1832, who alone gives the first line.

> "*αὔτη πύλη τοῦ κυρίου δίκεοι εἰσελεύσοντε* [i.e. *δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται*] *ἐν αὐτῇ.*
> *πίστιν ἔχων βασίλιαν ἐμῶν μενέων συνέριδον*
> *σοί, μάκαρ Ὑψίμεδεν, τόνδ' ἱερὸν ἔκτισα νηόν,*
> *Ἑλλήνων τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς ἐξαλαπάξας,*
> *χειρὸς ἀπ' οὐτιδανῆς Ἰοβιανὸς ἔδνον* [*ἕεδνον?*] *ἄνακτι.*"

> "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it.
> Having faith as a queen, the fellow-worker of my might,
> I, Jovian, having destroyed the precincts and altars of the Greeks,
> To thee, O blessed Ruler on high, built this holy temple,
> As a gift to the king from an unworthy hand."

If this inscription is of the date to which it pretends, we must suppose that the funds for this church were supplied by Jovian, whose family may have had estates in Corcyra. The expression, "having destroyed the precints and altars of the Greeks," however, ill agrees with his edict of toleration, and the passage quoted by Jacobs to illustrate it from the *Monody* of Libanius, p. 502, seems to refer to the times of Constantius, not to Jovian. Yet it is also difficult to imagine a forger writing *χειρὸς ἀπ' οὐτιδανῆς* without some authority. [J. W.]

JOVIANUS (2), named by Ceillier (iii. 411) as martyr with HERCULIANUS under Julian (Ruinart, *Act. Sinc.* 596); but these are more usually understood, not as proper names, but as the names of the military companies to which MAXIMILIANUS and Bonosus belonged. [G. S.]

JOVIANUS (3) (JOVIANUS, JOVINUS), bishop of Himerëum in Osrhoena, present at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 569; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 983.) [L. D.]

JOVIANUS (4), bishop of Fermo, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649 (Mansi, x. 867; Ughelli, ii. 683; Cappelletti, iii. 652; Hefele, § 307). In Mansi the name is Jobianus in the Latin list and Julianus in the Greek. Ughelli reads Lobianus. [A. H. D. A.]

JOVIANUS (5), a bishop at the Lateran council of 769, where the subscription, apparently corrupt, stands "Juviano episcopo Gallis" (Mansi, xii. 715). Cappelletti (iii. 237, 261) includes him among the bishops of Callium (Cagli) as well as among those of Gallese (vi. 64, 72). Gams likewise (*Ser. Ep.* 677, 686) gives him under both, but Ughelli (ii. 811, x. 109) under neither. [C. H.]

JOVIANUS (6), Jul. 19, martyr at Synnada. [LAMPYRUS.] [G. T. S.]

JOVILLA (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 179 xxxvii. ed. Theiner), martyr at Langres. [JUNILLA.]

JOVINIANUS (1), May 5. A reader, and martyr at Auxerre at the hands of the heathen whom he was teaching. Henschen remarks that the name occurs in several martyrologies under these other forms, Juvinianus, Vivianus, Vivinianus, Romanus; and that in the ancient martyrology of the queen of Sweden he is stated to have arrived at Auxerre with St. Peregrinus in the time of pope Sixtus II. in the third century. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Hieron.*; *AA. SS.* Boll. Mai. ii. 5.) [G. T. S.]

JOVINIANUS (2), condemned as a heretic by synods at Rome and Milan about A.D. 390. Our fullest information about him is derived from St. Jerome, who wrote two books, *Adversus Jovinianum*. From these we learn that he had been a monk, living austerely, but adopted certain views which led him to substitute luxury in dress and personal habits and food for the asceticism of the convent. The opinions ascribed to him by Jerome are these: (1) A virgin is no better as such than a wife in the sight of God. (2) Abstinence is no better than a thankful partaking of food. (3) A person baptized with the Spirit as well as with water cannot sin. (4) All sins are equal. (5) There is but one grade of punishment and one of reward in the future world. We learn further from St. Augustine (lib. i. *contra Julian.* cap. ii.), and from the letter of the Milanese synod to Syricius (Ambrose, *Op. Epist.* 42), that Jovinian maintained that the Virgin Mary did not preserve her virginity in giving birth to Jesus Christ, in opposition to the orthodox view, which represented the Saviour as issuing from the closed womb in the same way as after his Resurrection he passed through closed doors, a view which Jovinian denounced as Manichean. These opinions, or part of them, Jovinian published in a book which Jerome describes (apparently with justice) as written in a most affected and unintelligible style. He was living at Rome (Romanam fidem me absente turbavit, Jerom. *Prolog. adv. Pelag.*), and wrote in Latin (ut Latina quoque lingua habeat haeresim suam, id. lib. ii. *Adv. Jovin.* § 37). Certain Christians at Rome, and amongst them Jerome's friend and correspondent Pammachius, brought the book to the notice of Siricius, the bishop of Rome, who called together a meeting of his clergy, and condemned the new heresy. Together with Jovinianus are named Auxentius, Genialis, Germinator, Felix, Prontinus, Martianus, Januarius, and Ingeniosus, as his followers Hoping for protection from Theodosius, who was now at Milan, Jovinian and his friends proceeded thither; but Syricius sent three of his presbyters, Crescens, Leopardus, and Alexander, with a letter of warning addressed to the church at Milan. Ambrose responded warmly to the orthodox zeal of Syricius, and in conjunction with eight other bishops, endorsed the sentence of excommunication passed by the Roman church. In a letter written by Ambrose in the name of the synod of Milan to Siricius conveying this judgment, it is also stated that the emperor "execrated" the impiety of the Jovinianists, and that all at Milan who had seen them shunned them like a contagion. From this point we know nothing of Jovinian's life; but in the year 409, Jerome, writing against Vigilantius, refers to Jovinian as having "amidst pheasants and pork rather belched out than breathed out his life," and alleges that his perverse mind had passed into Vigilantius. We may infer, therefore, that he died some little time before that date.

It is easy to understand how obnoxious the heresies of Jovinian were to the great ecclesiastics of his time. The merit of virginity and of abstinence was one of the points upon which zealous Churchmen were then in the habit of insisting most strongly. Jerome writes against Jovinian, he says, in answer to an appeal made to him by holy brethren at Rome who desired that he should crush the Epicurus of the Christians with evangelical and apostolic vigour. When they received the reply, the vigour of it was a little too much for them (*quod nimius fuerim*). His praise of virginity seemed to do something of a wrong to marriage. Accordingly Pammachius (*prudenter et amanter*, as Jerome acknowledges) thought it best to suppress the copies of Jerome's answer. But the vigorous controversialist tells him that the books had been already too much circulated to be recalled. He was not so fortunate as most contemporary writers; whatever he wrote was seized upon by friends or enemies, and quickly made public

(*Epistolae*, 48, 49). As regards the other propositions ascribed to Jovinian, it is difficult to be sure what he meant without seeing his own explanations. He is not accused of any worse immorality than an indulgence in good living, which was probably exaggerated rhetorically by Jerome. Augustine reproaches him with having seduced consecrated virgins of advanced age into accepting husbands; but he himself abstained from marriage, not because he thought there was any merit in doing so, but on account of the troubles involved in matrimony. (See Jerome, lib. i. *adv. Jov.* § 3; Augustine, *de Haeresibus*, § 82, lib. ii. *de Nupt. et Concup.* § 23; *Retract.* lib. ii. § 23.) [J. Ll. D.]

JOVINUS (1) (Cyp. *Ep.* 59). [See PRIVATUS], African lapsed and schismatic. [E. W. B.]

JOVINUS (2), March 2, martyr at Rome with Basileus, under Gallienus and Valerianus (*Mart.* Us.; *AA. SS.* Boll. Mart. i. 128.) [G. T. S.]

JOVINUS (3), bishop of Perrha, an intimate friend of Basil and of Eusebius of Samosata. Basil wrote to him at the end of 372, begging him to return the visit he had paid him (Basil, *Epist.* 118 [318], 127 [253]). His name appears among the bishops who signed the appeal to the Western bishops for aid towards the restoration of the peace of the church, 372 A.D. (*Ibid.* 92 [69]). In the stress of the ecclesiastical troubles of his age, Jovinus held communion for a short time with Arian prelates (Theod. *H. E.* iv. 15, where the ordinary text has the erroneous reading "Perga," which was in another province). [E. V.]

JOVINUS (4), a count of the empire addressed by Basil (Basil, *Epist.* 163 [378]). For edicts addressed to him in 363, 367, 373, see under his name in the prosopopoea of Gothofred's *Cod. Theod.* [E. V.]

JOVINUS (5), archdeacon at Aquileia. He was one of the friends who gathered round St. Jerome at Aquileia in the year 372 (*Ruf. Apol.* i. 4). Jerome writes to them from the desert A. D. 374 (*Ep.* 7. ed. Vall.). Jovinus was afterwards (*Ruf. Ap.* i. 4) a bishop, but his see is not known. [W. H. F.]

JOVINUS (6) (JOBINUS), bishop of Perrha, at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381 (Mansi, iii. 569). He lapsed for a time into Arianism (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 13 in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxii. 973). He was one of the Orientals who wrote to the Italian and Gallican churches to preserve the true faith. (Basil. *Ep.* xcii.; *Ibid.* cxviii. cxxvii., in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxii. 210, 218; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 943.) [L. D.]

JOVINUS (7), abbat of Poitiers in perhaps the 4th century. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 1 Jun. i. 71, 72 [73 sq.]) have a "Sylloge Historica de ejus cultu, genere, et professione monastica," in three sections, but give little beyond the various entries in the martyrologies, while on these little can be built, so that everything about him is uncertain. Usuardus (*Mart. Auct.* Jun. 1 and 5, ap. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxiv. 112–114, 126) notices his commemoration, but in quoting from Molanus calls him LOVINUS. [J. G.]

JOVINUS (8) (JOBINUS), bearer of a letter from Euodius to St. Augustine. (Aug *Ep.* 161.) [H. W. P.]

JOVINUS (9), bishop of Ascalon (Scalona) in Palestine. Elected before the year A.D. 415, in which year he was present at the synod of Diospolis. (Augustin. *contra Jul.* i. 5; Mansi, iv. 315; and Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 599.) [J. de S.]

JOVINUS (10) (JOVIANUS), bishop of Debeltus in the province of Hemimontus; present at the council of Constantinople in 448 (Hard. *Concilia*, ii. 470), and at the council of Chalcedon in 481 (Hard. ii. 373 C: in the acta of the sixth session of the council, his name appears miswritten as Juvenalius). See also Leo Mag. *Ep.* ed. p. 1104, Hard. ii. 787; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1182. [C. G.]

JOVINUS of Leon. [IOAVA.]

JOVINUS (11), bishop of Aquino, at the end of the 6th century. (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* lib. iii. 8 in Migne, lxxvii. 233; Ughelli (i. 396) places him as sixth bishop. [A. H. D. A.]

JOVINUS (12) (JOBINUS), deacon and abbat; deprived for misconduct by Gregory the Great, in a letter to Constantius archbishop of Milan, A.D. 594. (*Epist.* lib. v. indict. xiii. ep. 4 in Migne, lxxvii. 725.) [A. H. D. A.]

JOVITA—Feb. 15. Reputed deacon and martyr at Brixia, with Faustinus a presbyter, A.D. 120. The Bollandists spend much time and space over a story which is manifestly apocryphal. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Feb. ii. 805–821.) [G. T. S.]

JOVIUS (1), bishop of Sagalassus (Selgessus) in Pisidia, present at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1043.) [L. D.]

JOVIUS (2), a nobleman of Gallic extraction residing in Campania in the neighbourhood of Paulinus bishop of Nola. An idea of him may be gathered from various passages of a long letter (*Ep.* 16) and a long poem (num. xxii.) which Paulinus addressed to him, the latter in 398 or 399. In ver. 165 of the poem Paulinus uses the word "cognatum" to him. In the life of Paulinus collected from his works (cap. 33, § 2 and cap. 34) a summary of the passages relating to Jovius may be found. The compiler is in doubt whether he may be the Jovius mentioned by Zosimus. [JOVIUS (3).] (Paulin. Nolan. *Opp.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxi.; Ceillier, viii. 63.) [C. H.]

JOVIUS (3) (JOVINUS, JOVINIANUS), a civil officer under the emperor Honorius. (Zos. v. 47, 51, vi. 8, 9, 12; Soz. ix. 7, 8; Olympiodorus in Photius, cod. 80; Symmachus, ep. viii. 30, 49, ix. 56; Gothofred. *Cod. Theod.* prosop. *s. n.*) [T. W. D.]

JOVIUS (4), count, who with another named Gaudentius overthrew the temples and broke the images of the gods at Carthage on March 19 A.D. 399 (Clinton, F.R. ii. 544). See also Augustine, *Civ. Dei.* xviii. 54. [T. W. D.]

JOZACHUS. [JOSACHUS.]

JUBAIANUS, a Mauritanian bishop, A.D. 256, who forwarded to Cyprian a document controverting his views on baptism, which was

then being circulated in Africa, and probably originated with Stephen of Rome. Cyprian's answer (*Ep.* 73) is very elaborate, and was read by him as an exposition of his views at the September council, A.D. 256, together with the reply in which Jubaianus expressed himself as convinced. Neither of Jubaianus's letters are extant, and it has appeared to some critics as if Augustine had expressed some doubt on the genuineness of this and other of the baptismal documents (*contra Crescon.* iii. 33; cf. *ad Vincent. Ep.* xciii. *ad Macrob.* vol. ii. p. 246, 2, vol. ii. p. 309). The fact is that in each case the possibility of their non-genuineness is simply an admission for the purposes of argument. [E. W. B.]

JUBILEES, THE BOOK OF. [PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL WRITINGS.]

JUCUNDIANUS (JOCUNDIANUS), July 4, martyred in Africa. (Usuard. *Mart.*, Adon., *Vet. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 5.) [C. H.]

JUCUNDUS (1) (JOCUNDUS), martyr in Africa, A.D. 203. He is mentioned in the acts of Perpetua and Felicitas (cap. iv. *AA. SS.* Boll. Mart. i. 636) as having already suffered by fire in the same persecution. See also *Mart. Hieron.* under March 7 and Jan. 9. [G. T. S.]

JUCUNDUS (2) (JOCUNDUS), bishop of Sufetula, an important city of Byzacene (Ant. *Itin.* 53, 4, Shaw, p. 118) (Spaitla or Sobeythalah), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411, i. 126. He was also present at the council of Carthage A.D. 418. (Bruns. *Concil.* i. 159, 194.) [H. W. P.]

JUCUNDUS (3), bishop of Tarvisium (Treviso), c. A.D. 421. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 486, Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 602.) [R. S. G.]

JUCUNDUS (4) (JOCUNDUS, LOCUNDUS), Nov. 14, fourteenth bishop of Bologna, cir. 485 (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 10; Cappelletti, iii. 462, 579; *Mart. Rom.*). Alidosi (*I summi Pontifici*, p. 3) places his death in 556 and makes his successor Theodore. [C. H.]

JUCUNDUS (5) (JOCUNDUS), a bishop designated as Augustanus and Subaugustanus, at the third, fourth, and sixth synod of Symmachus at Rome, A.D. 501–504 (Mansi, viii. 252, 268, 315). Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 623; cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* Sep. iii. 77 E) regards him as bishop of Subaugusta, supposed to have been near Praeneste. The Sammarthani however decide for Aosta (*Gall. Chr.* xii. 808). This Jucundus may be, as the Sammarthani observe, the anonymous bishop of Aosta, respecting whom Theoderic king of Italy wrote to Eustorgius bishop of Milan. [EUSTORGIUS (4).] [C. H.]

JUDAS ISCARIOT, GOSPEL OF. [GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL, vol. ii. p. 716.]

JUDAS, bishop of Jerusalem. [JUSTUS (1).]

JUDAS (1), sometimes reckoned as Judas II., the fifteenth and last Jewish bishop of Jerusalem, between Joseph and Marcus according to Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 5; *Chron.* s. a. 124. [E. V.]

JUDAS (2), commentator and chronographer, mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. c. 7). [J. G.]

JUDICAELUS (JUDICAILE, JUDICAHIL, ST. GIGUEL), ST., king of the Bretons in the earlier half of the 7th century. He was one of the sons of Juthael or Hoel III., who died in 612, and Pritella or Pratella. According to the usual account, he was displaced in the succession by a younger brother, who reigned as Salomon II. or Gozlun till his death, about 632, and compelled Judicael to take refuge in the monastery which St. Mevennius (Méen) had lately founded and submit to the tonsure. Upon the usurper's death without issue, he emerged from his retreat, assumed the government, and married a wife named Moronöe. Before long, however, he became involved in hostile relations with Dagobert I., king of the Franks (circ. 635), but was at length induced to treat personally with Dagobert. A treaty was concluded by which, apparently, Judicael acknowledged the Frankish suzeraintè, and gifts were exchanged; but the Breton king refused Dagobert's invitation to the banquet, and retired to dine with his chancellor Audoenus (St. Ouen), whom he knew to be a servant of the true religion (Audoenus, *Vita S. Eligii*, c. xiii., Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 491; Fredegarius, *Chron.* ann. 635, lxxviii.; *Gesta Dagoberti I.* xxxviii., Bouquet, ii. 590; Aimoin, *De Gest. Franc.* iv. 29, Bouquet, iii. 132; Florentius, *Vita S. Judoci*, Surius, Dec. 13). It is supposed that remorse for his broken vows, fostered by the exhortations and remonstrances of St. Eligius and St. Audoenus, led Judicael to the step which he took about 638 of resigning his crown and retiring again to his old monastery, St. Méen, which he is said to have completed and endowed (*Chronicon Briocense*). Here he passed the remaining twenty years of his life, and, after his death on Dec. 17, 658, was buried beside the founder at the gates. For the history of this monastery, see *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 1019 sqq. His day of commemoration is Dec. 17. His Life was written by Ingomar at the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, but it is lost. (*Hist. Litt.* vii. 236.) [S. A. B.]

JUDOCUS (IODOCUS, JODOCUS, JOSSE, JUDICUS), priest and hermit in Brittany in the 7th century, and commemorated Dec. 13. Ordericus Vitalis (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. c. [13] 19; Migne, Patr. Lat. clxxxviii. 290 sq.) is the earliest author relating the legend of St. Judocus, but his account appears to be based on the *Vita S. Judoci, presbyteri et confessoris*, given by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* ii. 566 sq.). Surius (*Vit. Sanct.* iv. pt. iii. 253 sq.) publishes *Vita S. Judoci, filii regis Britonum et confessoris per Florentium Abbatem conscripta.* The special account of the translation and miracles of St. Judocus was written by Isembard, a monk of Fleury, on the discovery of the saint's remains in the year 977 (Ord. Vitalis, *ib.*). (For the MS. and other authorities upon the legendary Life of St. Judocus, see Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 265 sq. pt. ii. 823; Potthast, *Bibl.* i. 767.)

Judocus, in France called Josse, was son of Juthail, or Judathail (Hoel, or Howel III.) king of Brittany, who died about A.D. 602, and brother of Judicael, who, succeeding his father on the throne, abdicated about A.D. 638. [JUDICAEL.] Judocus refused the vacant throne, and fleeing from the monastery of Lanmailmon, where he had been educated, visited Rome along with

eleven companions, and on his return was ordained as chaplain to Haymon, duke of Ponthieu. But after seven years he retired to a cell "in eremo Braic ad rivum Altaiae" (the Alteja or Authio), where he lived eight years. Afterwards at Runiac on the river Quantia (Canche) he built an oratory, which he dedicated to St. Martin, and was there fourteen years. He died, as is usually accepted from Lobineau, in A.D. 668. (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xvi. 15; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 321; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 221.)

Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 376–8) calls him "Canonicus Lateranensis," and ascribes to him *De Anchoretica Vita*, l. i. *De Contemptu Mundi*, l. i., but probably without reason (Tanner, *Bibl.* 447). [J. G.]

JUDRUIS, or Athrwys, a Welsh prince, and grandson of Tewdryg, died A.D. 632 or 633. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 146.) [C. W. B.]

JUGWALD (Wend. s.a. 675). [INGWALD.]

JULIA MAMMAEA. [MAMMAEA.]

JULIA DOMNA. [DOMNA.]

JULIA (1), martyr, A.D. 250. [ARISTO.]

JULIA (2), May 22. Virgin and martyr in Corsica. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*; *Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 167.) [G. T. S.]

JULIA (3), July 15. Martyr at Carthage (Usuard, Ado.) [CATULINUS (2).] [C. H.]

JULIA (4), July 21. Virgin and martyr at Treves, under Aurelian. (*Mart.* Us.; *AA. SS.* Boll. Jul. v. 133.) [G. T. S.]

JULIA (5), Oct. 7. Virgin, and martyr under Maximian. (*Mart.* Ad., Us.) [G. T. S.]

JULIA (6), Apr. 16, one of the eighteen martyrs at Saragossa (Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, hymn iv.) in the reign of Diocletian. The *Martyrologium Romanum* reads Julia, but an epigram of St. Eugenius (Patr. Lat. lx. 373) and Usuard read Julius. [F. D.]

JULIA (7), one of the eight virgins martyred with Theodotus at Ancyra; commemorated on Oct. 1 and May 18. (Basil. *Menol.*; Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JULIA (8) PERPETUA, sister of Perpetuus, sixth archbishop of Tours, who in his will, cir. A.D. 490, leaves her a little cross of gold containing relics. In one place in the will she has the praenomen of Fidia. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1151.) [S. A. B.]

JULIA (9), virgin martyr at Merida, with Eulalia; commemorated Dec. 10. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JULIA (10), surnamed EUARESTA, a Christian woman, whose epitaph was dug up near the Via Latina at Rome, about 1858 ("nuper effossa," De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* proleg. p. cxvi. A.D. 1861). [G. T. S.]

JULIANA (1), a lettered unmarried lady, and a Christian at Caesarea in Cappadocia, at whose house Origen found a refuge from his persecutors for two years, and from whom he received a copy of the writings of Symmachus. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 17; Pallad. *Hist Laus.* 147.) [C. H.]

JULIANA (2), sister of the martyr Paulus, with whom she suffered in the reign of Aurelian. They were commemorated on March 4, as well as on Aug. 17. (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 5, 206.) [C. H.]

JULIANA (3), Feb. 16, Dec. 21, virgin, and martyred in the persecution of Diocletian (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*; Basil. *Memol.* Dec. 21; Till. *Mem.* v. 491; *AA. SS.* Boll. Feb. ii. 868; Ceillier, xiii. 602. A *Prologue* to her passion written by Peter of Naples is printed in Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum* (iv. 281). [G. T. S.]

JULIANA (4), July 27, said to have been martyred in 304 with Sempronia or Sempronians. These saints are first mentioned in the history of Domeneccus, which appeared in A.D. 1602. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxix. 351; Boll. *AA. SS.* Jul. vi. 430; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* iv. 266.) [F. D.]

JULIANA (5), one of 25 martyrs at Augsburg; commemorated on Aug. 12. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JULIANA (6), Feb. 13, a matron of Turin, said to have buried the bodies of Solutor, Adventor, Octavius, martyrs of the Thebaean legion in the 4th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 657.) [C. H.]

JULIANA (7), a widow lady commended by Ambrose in his *Exhortatio Virginitatis* (*Pat. Lat.* xvi. 335). See also Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 Feb. ii. 48; Ceillier, v. 457; Baron. *Mart. Rom.* Feb. 7, note. [C. H.]

JULIANA (8), mother of the virgin Demetrias (q. v.), to whom we have letters from Jerome, Augustine, pope Innocent, and Pelagius. She was of noble birth, being connected through her mother Proba and her husband Olybrius with some of the greatest families of Rome; and she was possessed of great wealth. When her daughter proposed to take vows of virginity, she refrained from using any influence to persuade her; but when Demetrias appeared in the church clad in the dress of a virgin she shewed her delight at this step, and considered her family further ennobled by it. She supported the cause of Chrysostom at Rome, and entertained his messengers. His thanks to her were conveyed in a letter from his place of exile (A.D. 406), exhorting her to hold fast and aid in allaying the waves of controversy. (Chrys. *Ep.* 169.) She fled with her daughter from Rome to Africa at the time of its sack by Alaric, but only to fall into the hands of the rapacious count Heraclion, who robbed her of half her property. She was commended to the African churches by pope Innocent in a laudatory letter (*Ep.* 15), which takes the rank of a decree in the collection of papal rescripts by Dion. Exig. (Coll. Dec. 39; Jerome, *Ep.* 130, ed. Vall.) She became acquainted with Augustine while in Africa, and she and her daughter had relations with Pelagius, who wrote a long letter to Demetrias (given among the *Supposititia* of Jerome in Vallarsi's edition, vol. xi.) vindicating free will by her example. Augustine, with Alypius, wrote to Juliana (Aug. *Ep.* 188, A.D. 418), arguing that all the virtues of Demetrias were not from herself, but from the grace of God. [W. H. F.]

JULIANA (9) ANICIA, daughter of the emperor Olybrius by his wife Placidia, and therefore granddaughter of the emperor Valentinian III. By her husband the patrician Areobindus she became the mother of Anicius Olybrius the younger and Dalgalaifus (Du Cange, *Fam. Aug.* p. 60, ed. 1729). Juliana Anicia lived at Constantinople, and corresponded with pope Hormisdas (Hormisdae, *Epist.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. 451). It was for her that the famous uncial Dioscorides, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, was written, and it contains her portrait (Montf. *Palaeographia Graeca*, iii. 2). [F. D.]

JULIANA (10), Monophysite confessor at Constantinople in the reign of Justin II. She was the daughter of the consul Magnes, who was descended from the emperor Anastasius, and was on one occasion banished with all his family, Juliana included. Her history is given by John bishop of Ephesus (*H. E.* p. 109, R. P. Smith's transl.). (Du Cange, *Hist. Byzant.* p. 81, ed. 1729.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANA (11), abbess of the monastery of St. Vitus in Sardinia. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 48 in Migne, lxxvii. 511.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANA (12), abbess of the monastery of Paviliacus or Pauliacum (Pauilly) near Rouen, probably in the 8th century. See Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 661–6. [S. A. B.]

JULIANA (13), a noble Italian lady, who married Memor or Memorius, said to have been bishop of Capua, and by him became the mother of Julian bishop of Eclana, cir. A.D. 386. She is mentioned by name by Marius Mercator (*Subnotat.* iv. 4 in *Pat. Lat.* xlviii. 131. *Commonit.* iv. 3 in *Pat. Lat.* 102; Pagi, ann. 419, v. vi.) [T. W. D.]

JULIANISTAE. [JULIANUS (47).]

JULIANUS (1), bishop of Apamea Cibotis (Celaenae) in Pisidia, together with Zoticus of Comana, attempted to try the spirit of Maximilla the Montanist prophetess. (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 16; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1045.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (2), patriarch of Alexandria. According to Eusebius we should date his accession to the see in the year A.D. 180, and he occupied it for ten years. (Euseb. *Chron.* Patrol. Gr. xix. 565; Id. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22; *ibid.* xx. 489; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 391.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (3), bishop of Marcelliana (Girumarcelli), in Numidia; the word Girus which occurs elsewhere in Africa is connected by Morcelli with Giru, in the idea of *arx*, but? He says that the arx of Firmum (Fermo) is still so called. (Suffr. 66 in *Syn. Carth.* sub Cyp. vii.; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 172.) [E. W. B.]

JULIANUS (4), bishop of Thelepte, a colonia in Byzacene (afterwards one of Justinian's fortresses). (Suffr. 57 in *Syn. Carth.* sub Cyp. vii. *de Bap.* iii.; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 310.) [E. W. B.]

JULIANUS (5) I. and **(6) II.**, bishops of Jerusalem, coming twentieth and twenty-fourth in order of those enumerated by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 5, v. 12). [E. V.]

JULIANUS (7), fourth or fifth bishop of Perusia, A.D. 304. (Ughelli, i. 1156; Cappelletti, iv. 457, 502.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (8), Oct. 12, third bishop of Laus Pompeia (Lodi). He was elected in 305 and died after an episcopate of eighteen years, eight months, nineteen days, on the authority of the ancient monuments of the church. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 Oct. vi. 59; Ughelli, iv. 656; Cappelletti, xii. 280, 391.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (9), an African bishop designated "Bazaritanus" or "Vazaritanus" (Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 98). His conduct was made the subject of the 44th canon of the 3rd council of Carthage under Aurelius, A.D. 397 (No. 54 in the *Codex Canonum* of the African church, Mansi, iii. 748, 888), where the circumstances are related. (Ceillier, vii. 724; Morcelli, ii. 332.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (10), first bishop of Le Mans, commemorated on Jan. 27. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 762; Ceillier, xii. 897; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 339.) [R. T. S.]

JULIANUS (11), first bishop of Lescar, is said to have been sent into Bearn by Leontius bishop of Treves, who was a native of that province, about the year A.D. 400. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1285; Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Aug. iv. 441.) [R. T. S.]

JULIANUS (12), Donatist bishop of Midla or Midila, in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 645), absent through illness from the Carthaginian conference, but represented by Rufinus, a priest of his diocese. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 193, 197.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (13), Donatist bishop of Tignica, a town of Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 646), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* i. 133, 208; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 412, 459, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (14), bishop of Tasfalta or Tabalta, a town of Byzacene (Ant. *Itin.* 48, 6) (Tarfouah), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* i. 128.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (15), variously designated CAPUANUS, DE CAMPANIA, CELANENSIS, ECLANENSIS,* ATHELANENSIS. He was bishop of Eclana, Eclanum, Eculanum, or more properly Aeclanum or Aeculanum (Noris, *Ad Hist. Pelag.* in *Opp.* iv. 747, ed. 1729–32), afterwards known as Quintodecimum, near Beneventum (Noris, *Hist. Pelag.* i. 18, in *Opp.* i. 178; Pagi, *Critic.* s. a. 419, ix.), a distinguished leader of the Pelagians of the 5th century. He was a native of Apulia (Augustin. *Opus Imperfectum*, vi. 18 in *Pat. Lat.* xlv. 1542), and apparently at Atella or Athela, in that province. Hence the preferable reading "Athelanensis" in the *Chronicon* of Prosper, s. a. A.D. 439 (Fr. Ballerin; cf. Noris, *Op.* iv. 880. The date of his birth is assigned to c. A.D. 386

* 'Eclanensis' is also the reading of the current editions of Prosper, A.D. 439. Baronius uniformly calls Julian "Capuanus," and Gams supposes him to have been first bishop of Eclana, c. A.D. 416 (*Ser. Episc.* 865), and then to have succeeded his father at Capua c. A.D. 418 (*ib.* 867.)

(Garner, *Diss.* i. *ad part.* i. *Opp.* Mar. Merc. cap. 6, in *Patr. Lat.* xlviii. 291).

The father of Julian was an Italian bishop named Memor or Memorius, whose see is said, but on no sufficient authority, to have been Capua (Mar. Merc. *Subnot.* iv. 4, Garner's note g. *u. s.* p. 130; Pagi, *Critic.* A.D. 419; Cappelletti, *Chies. Ital.* xx. 19), and his mother a noble lady named Juliana (Mar. Merc. *u. s.*). Augustine of Hippo was intimate with the whole family, and wrote of them in terms of great affection and respect, c. A.D. 410 (*Ep.* 101; Noris, *Opp.* i. 422, iv. 747). Julian, c. A.D. 404, became a "lector" in the church over which his father presided, and while he held that office he married a lady named Ia, who has been supposed to be the daughter of Aemilius bishop of Beneventum (A.D. 404–415); but the Ballerini (Noris, *Op.* iv. 882) and Muratori (*Anecdot. Lat.* i. diss. 8) have shewn good reason for believing that this is a mistake. Paulinus, afterwards bishop of Nola, composed an elaborate *Epithalamium* on the occasion, from which it appears that he also was on terms of great intimacy with the family (*Poem.* xxv. in *Pali.* lxi. 633). By c. A.D. 410 he had become a deacon, but whether Ia was then living or not does not appear. At that date Augustine expressed a strong desire that he should visit him at Hippo (*Ep.* 101), but we have no evidence of his having done so, though we know that he visited Carthage about that time, and there made the acquaintance of Augustine's friend Honoratus (Aug. *Op. Imp.* v. 26).

Julian was ordained to the episcopate by Innocent I. c. A.D. 417 (Mar. Merc. *Commonit.* iii. 2), but the name of his see is so variously given as to cause great confusion. Some MSS. of the well-known *Decretum* ascribed to Gelasius call him "Edanensis" (Gratian. *Decret. distinct.* xv. cap. 30, § 81, ed. Richter), and some MSS. of Gennadius describe him as "Capuanus," while others have "Campanus" (*Script. Eccl.* xlv. in *Patr. Lat.* lviii. 1084). Bede calls him "Julianus Celanensis Episcopus de Campania" (*In Cantica*, init. in *Patr. Lat.* xci. 1065), and also "Julianus de Campania," *H. E.* i. 10), while some copies of Petrus Diaconus (Basil, 1621, p. 114) describe him as "Edanensis." But "Edanensis" and "Celanensis" are evidently errors of the copyists, and neither Capuanus nor Campanus occur in the best MSS. of Gennadius (Noris, *Opp.* i. 177; Pagi, A.D. 419 viii.), while Marius Mercator, who was his contemporary, distinctly speaks of him as "Episcopus Eclanensis (*Nestor. Tract.* praef. § 1; Migne, 184, *Theod. Mops.* praef. § 2; Migne, 1043).

Innocent I. died March 12, A.D. 417. Up to that date Julian had maintained a high reputation not only for great ability and extensive learning, but also for orthodoxy, on which account Mercator concludes that he must have sympathised with Innocent's condemnation of the Pelagians (*Commonitor.* iii. 2). Notwithstanding this, there is reason to believe that even Innocent had some ground for at least suspecting his proclivities (August. *Cont. Julian.* i. 13). But when the cases of Pelagius and Coelestius were reopened by Zosimus, shortly after the death of his predecessor, Julian seems to have expressed himself strongly in their favour and in the hearing of Mercator (*Subnot.* vii. 2; Noris, *Opp.* i. 183), and when that bishop issued his *Tractatoria* respecting the sentence which had been pronounced against them by Innocent, notwithstanding his previous acquittal of both (*Ep.* 3, 4, A.D. 417; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont. Rom.* 417), and caused it to be sent to the bishops both of the East and of the West for their subscriptions, he was one of those who refused, and was accordingly deposed, and afterwards exiled under the imperial edicts which were issued by the emperor Honorius in the March of A.D. 418 (Mar. Merc. *Commonitor.* iii. 1).

Julian now addressed two letters to Zosimus (Augustin. *Op. Imp.* i. 18), one of which was very generally circulated throughout Italy before it reached the pontiff. Of this Mercator has preserved some fragments (*Subnot.* vi. 10–13, ix. 3). Of the other we have no remains (Pagi, *Critic.* A.D. 418, lvii.). Garnier indeed contends that the *Libellus Fidei*, which he has published for the first time (*Ad Partem Primam*, dissert. v. Migne, 509), is the missing letter, mainly, however, on the ground that from internal evidence "Augustine" must be a clerical error for Zosime (525 seq.). But cardinal Noris defends the reading "Augustine," and shews that the *Libellus* was addressed to Augustinus bishop of Aquileia (A.D. 407, c. 434), to whom, as an Italian primate, the *Tractatoria* would naturally be forwarded for the subscription of the bishops under his jurisdiction (Noris, *Opp.* iii. 117, iv. 752; Pagi, A.D. 418, lviii.). There are no signatories mentioned in the *Libellus*. The document is divided into four parts, the first two of which contain an elaborate confession of faith, the third an enumeration of various heresies, which the subscribers condemn; and in the fourth, after protesting that "if any one still takes offence at them," the signatories appeal to a "plenary council," they defend their refusal to subscribe the condemnation of "absent ones," on the ground of such precepts as Matt. vii. 1; John vii. 51; 1 Tim. v. 19. Whole sentences of the first and second parts correspond word for word with the *libelli* which Pelagius and Coelestius submitted to Zosimus (Garnier, *u. s.* 498).

About the same time Julian also addressed a letter to Rufus bishop of Thessalonica (A.D. 410–431), both in his own name and in that of eighteen fellow-recusants. Rufus was vicarius of the Roman see in Illyricum (Innocent's ep. to Rufus, June 17, 412, in Mansi, viii. 751), and was just then in serious collision with Atticus the patriarch of Constantinople on that account (art. ATTICUS; Boniface to Rufus in Mansi, viii. 751, 752, 754). As Atticus was well known to be a strenuous opponent of the Pelagians (Noris, *Opp.* iv. 884), it is not improbable that Julian and his brethren thought that Rufus might therefore be the more easily persuaded to favour them (Noris, *Opp.* i. 201, 202). Zosimus died Dec. 26, A.D. 418, and was succeeded by Boniface I., but not until April 10, 419, in consequence of the schism of Eulalius. This letter of Julian to Rufus, together with another addressed to the clergy of Rome, which he denied to be his (Augustin. *Op. Imp.* i. 18), falling into the hands of the pontiff, he sent them both to Augustine at Hippo, who drew up a reply to it in the three last of his *Contra Duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*. It is from this reply only that we have any knowledge of its contents (Garnier in Migne, 534). In it Julian avows an earnest desire to

conciliate the aid of the Oriental bishops against the "profanity of Manichaeans," for so he styles the Catholics (*Cont. Duas. Ep.* ii. 1); accuses Zosimus of tergiversation, and the Roman clergy of having been unduly influenced in their condemnation of the Pelagians (ii. 3); charges both with various heresies (ii. 2–5); and protests that by their means the subscriptions of nearly all the Western bishops had been uncanonically extorted to a dogma which he characterizes as "non minus stultum quam impium" (iv. 8, § 20 init.). Garnier assigns this letter to Rufus as well as the two to Zosimus, to A.D. 418 (*Ad Primam Partem*, dissert. i. Migne, 292).

When Julian addressed his two letters to Zosimus he was preparing a reply to the first of Augustine's two books, *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentiâ* (Mar. Merc. *Subnot.* praef. § 7), which however was not completed until after the termination of the Eulalian schism (Augustin. *Contra Julian.* vi. 12). This he addressed to one of his fellow-recusants named Turbantius, whom he earnestly entreats to join him in prayer that the church may be delivered from the defilement of Manichaeism (*ib.* iii.). He sent some extracts from this work, which was in four books, and appears to have been entitled *Contra eos qui nuptias damnant et fructus earum diabolo assignant* (Augustin. *de Nuptiis et Concupisc.* ii. 4, § 11), to Valerius, who forwarded them to his friend Augustine, and that bishop at once rejoined in a second book *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentiâ* (Augustin. *Retract.* ii. 53). But when the work itself subsequently came into his hands, and he discovered that the extracts did not in all respects correspond with the original, Augustine published a second and a fuller rejoinder in his *Contra Julianum Pelagianum.* As usual, Augustine freely quotes his antagonist, and from his quotations we find that Julian again insisted upon the Manichaeism of his opponents (lib. ii. passim); again charged Zosimus with prevarication (iii. 1, vi. 2), as well as elaborated the whole anthropology for which he contended. The chief quotations are given in the four last books of the rejoinder, the third being especially directed against the first of Julianus, the fourth against his second, the fifth against his third, and the sixth against his fourth. Each book seems to be discussed chapter by chapter.

When he was driven from the West, Julian and some of his fellow-exiles went into Cilicia, and remained for a time with Theodorus bishop of Mopsuestia in that province (Mar. Merc. *Theod. Mops.* praef. § 2), who is charged by Mercator with having been one of the originators of Pelagianism (*Subnot.* praef. § 1, *Symb. Theod. Mops.* praef. § 2), and who also wrote against Augustine (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 177; Mar. Merc. Garnier, *Ad Partem Prim.* dissert. vi.). In the meanwhile the rejoinder of Augustine had reached him, and he prepared an answer to it in eight books. This work he addressed to Florus, who was also a fellow-recusant (*Co. Eph.* A.D. 431, Actio v. in Mansi, iv. 1337; Mar. Merc. *Subnot.* praef.). Mercator has given copious extracts from it (*Subnot.* passim), but it is best known from Augustine's elaborate *Opus Imperfectum*, so called because he did not live to complete, which was evoked by it (Aug. *Opp.* t. x. in *Pat. Lat.* xlv. 1050). On the death of Boniface I., and the succession of Celestine I. in Sept. A.D. 422, Julianus appears to have left Cilicia and to have returned to Italy, probably in the hope that the newly-elected pontiff might be prevailed upon to reconsider the case of the Pelagians, a hope in which he may have been encouraged by the variance which had then arisen between the Roman see and the African bishops. Celestine, however, not only repulsed him, but also caused him to be exiled a second time (Prosper. *Contr. Collator.* xxi. 2, in *Patr.* li. 271), and in the meanwhile Julianus was also condemned, in his absence, by a council in Cilicia, Theodorus concurring in the censure (Mar. Merc. *Symbol. Theod. Mops.* praef. § 3; Garnier, *Ad Primam Part.* dissert. ii. Migne, 359). On this Julianus went to Constantinople, where the same fate awaited him, both from Atticus and his successor Sisinnius (A.D. 426, 427), that he had recently met with in Cilicia and at Rome (Prosper. *Carmen de Ingratis*, vv. 60–66 in *Patr. Lat.* li. 98; Garnier, *u. s.* 361; *Coelest. ad Nestor.* in Mansi, iv. 1025). On the accession of Nestorius to the patriarchate (A.D. 428), however, the expectations of Julianus were again raised, and he appealed not only to Nestorius, but also to the emperor Theodosius II., both of whom, at first, gave him some encouragement (Mar. Merc. *Nestor. Tract.* praef. § 1), which may have been the reason why there is no mention made of the Pelagians in the celebrated edict which the emperor issued against heresies at the instance of Nestorius (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 65, May 30, A.D. 428; Socr. *H. E.* vii. 29). The patriarch wrote to Celestine more than once in his behoof and that of his friends (Nestor. *Ep.* to Celest. in Mansi, iv. 1022, 1023), but the favour which he then shewed them soon involved him in some trouble, which led him to defend himself in a public discourse which he delivered in their presence, and of which Mercator has given a translation (*u. s.* Migne, 189 et seq.). A.D. 429 Mercator presented his *Commonitorium de Coelestio* to the emperor, in which he carefully relates the proceedings which had been already taken against the Pelagians, and largely comments upon their teaching in no measured terms. Julian and his friends were then driven from Constantinople by an imperial edict (Mar. Merc. *Commonitor.* praef. § 1). Towards the close of A.D. 430, Celestine convened a council at Rome, in which Julianus and others were condemned once more (Garnier, *Ad Primam Partem*, diss. ii.). Whither he went after his expulsion from Constantinople does not appear, but he with other Pelagians seem to have accompanied Nestorius to the convent of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and took part in the "Conciliabulum," which was held by Joannes of Antioch (*Relat. ad Coel.* in Mansi, iv. 1334). The reading "Thessalia" is a clerical error for "Italia" (Noris, *Opp.* i. 361, 363), Baronius (s. a. 431 lxxix.) infers from a passage in one of the letters of Gregory the Great (lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 49 in *Pat. Lat.* xv. lxxvii. 981) that the "Conciliabulum" absolved Julian and his friends, but cardinal Noris (*Opp.* i. 362) has exposed his error. The council in their synodical letter to Celestine declare their approval of all that had previously been done in the case of the Pelagians, and repeat their condemnation, expressly mentioning Julianus by name (*Relat. u. s.*; Mar. Merc. *Nestor. Tract.* praef. § 2).

Sixtus III., the successor of Celestine (July

31, A.D. 432), when a presbyter, had favoured the Pelagians, much to the grief of Augustine (*Ep.* 174). Probably not unmindful of this Julianus made another attempt to recover his lost position through him, but Sixtus evidently treated him with severity, as his predecessors had, mainly at the instigation of Leo, then a presbyter, who became his successor, A.D. 440 (Prosper. *Chron.* s. a. 439). When pontiff himself, Leo shewed the same spirit toward the Pelagians, and especially toward Julianus, that he had before his elevation to that dignity (*De Promiss. Dei*, pt. iv. c. 6 in *Pat. Lat.* li. 843). After this we hear no more of the deposed bishop of Eclana until his death, which took place in Sicily, c. A.D. 454 (Gennad. *u. s.*; Garnier, *Ad Primam Partem*, dissert. i. Migne, 297).

Some years after his death Julianus was yet again condemned by Joannes Talaia, formerly patriarch of Alexandria, but c. A.D. 484 bishop of Nola in Italy (Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* liv.; s. f. Augustin. *Opp.* in *Pat. Lat.* xlv. 1684).

Julian was an able and a learned man. Gennadius speaks of him as "vir acer ingenio, in divinis Scripturis doctus, Graeca et Latina lingua scholasticus" (*u. s.*). Bede calls him "rhetor peritissimus," and speaks of his "copiam eloquentiae blandientis" (*In Cantica*, init.). He was also a man of high character, and especially distinguished for his generous benevolence (Gennad. *u. s.*), and seems to have been actuated throughout the great controversy on which he expended the greater part of his troubled life by a firm conviction that he was acting in the interests, not only of what he held to be the Christian faith, but also in that of morality itself. It is singular however that Petrus de Natalibus should devote a chapter of his *Catalogus Sanctorum* to him, under the title of *De Sancto Juliano confessore* (iii. 39). It is clear that he means Julianus of Eclana, as he quotes what Gennadius says of him, and refers to his having written four books "adversus Augustinum ejus impugnatorem," whom however he strangely calls an "haeresiarchus." Petrus also says, what does not appear elsewhere, that Julianus wrote against others, as well as against Augustine.

Besides the works of Julian already mentioned Bede speaks of his "Opuscula" on the Canticles, and among them of a "libellus" *De Amore*, and a "Libellus" *De Bono Constantiae*, both of which he charges with Pelagianism, and from each of them, as well as, apparently, others, whose titles he has not mentioned, he gives some extracts (*In Cantica*, praef. Migne, 1065–1077). He also ascribes a *Liber ad Demetriadem Virginem* to Julian, but remarks that some rashly (temere) ascribe it to Jerome, whose however it is, though even Augustine at one time ascribed it to Pelagius. Garnier claims Julian as the translator of the *Libellus Fidei a Rufino Palaestinae Provinciae Presbytero*, which he has published in his edition of Marius Mercator (*Ad Primam Partem*, dissert. v. Migne, 449, diss. vi. Migne, 623). He also regards him as the author of the *Liber Definitionum seu Ratiocinationum*, to which Augustine replied in his *De Perfectione Justitiae* (n. 6 in Mar. Merc. *Subnot.* Migne, 145, 146).

[T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (16), bishop of Sardica and metropolitan (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 302). He was present at the council of Ephesus in 431 and sided with John bishop of Antioch (Mansi, iv. 1411, v. 767; Theodoret. ep. 170). He subscribed with John the letter to the church of Hierapolis (Mansi, v. 776), and likewise the address to John and the other deputies of the conciliabulum at Constantinople (797). His name occurs among the same party, but without his see in two other places (iv. 1426 D, v. 1010 C). He maintained his opposition to the last. (Mansi, v. 966.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (17), bishop of Larissa in Syria (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 918). He was present at the council of Ephesus in 431, siding with the party of John bishop of Antioch (Mansi, iv. 1270, 1323 D, 1396 B, v. 797, 965), and as he was not deprived, it may be inferred that he submitted. [C. H.]

JULIANUS, bishop of Puteoli. [JULIUS (9).]

JULIANUS (18) (JULIUS), a Gallic bishop who signed the synodical epistle of Ravennius bishop of Arles to pope Leo the Great in 451 (Leo. Mag. *Epp.* 99, 102, in *Pat. Lat.* liv. 966, 970). Tillemont (*Mém.* xv. 65) identifies him with the bishop Julius who attended the council of Riez in 439 (Mansi, v. 1195, "Julianus" margin) and makes him bishop of Cavaillon. (See also *Gall. Chr.* i. 940.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (19), bishop of Mostene in Lydia, present at Flavian's synod, A.D. 448, and subscribing the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 885; Mansi, vi. 752, vii. 573.) Among the Egyptian bishops at the Latrocinium in 449 there occurs (but in the Latin list only) a Julianus "Mostenae civitatis," whom Le Quien at one place (i. 885) assigns to the see of Mostene in Lydia, but at another place (ii. 561) to that of Bubastus in Egypt. [L. D.]

JULIANUS (20), bishop of Hypaepa in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449, and at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 855; vii. 152; Le Quien, i. 695.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (21), bishop of Tabia, in the province of Galatia Prima (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 474). He took a prominent part both in the absolution of Eutyches and in the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople, and Eusebius of Dorylaeum at the Latrocinium in 449. Two years afterwards he took part in the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Mansi, vi. 571, 946, 1092, vii. 147, 404). He addressed the emperor Leo on the subject of the murder of Proterius, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 616.) [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (22), bishop of Alexandria in Cilicia, represented at the council of Chalcedon in 451. (Mansi, vii. 164; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 904.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (23), bishop of Lebedus, near Colophon, in the province of Asia. At the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, his name was subscribed in his absence to the definition of faith read before the emperor Marcian by Stephen of Ephesus (Mansi, vii. 168. See also

Baron. *Ann.* 449, lxxx.). He must not be confounded with Julianus, the pope Leo's legate, who, though identified by some with Julianus of Cos, was probably a Latin bishop, as Florentius of Sardis acted as his interpreter. (Mansi, vi. 613; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 725.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (24), bishop of Rhosus in Cilicia; present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 569; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 908.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (25), bishop of Celenderis in Isauria, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, in the records of which his name is occasionally given as "Julius" in the Latin codices, as also in the synodical epistle of the province of Isauria to the emperor Leo. (Mansi, vi. 566; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1015.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (26), bishop of Satala in Lydia, subscribed the letter to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 573; Le Quien, i. 896.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (27), bishop of Cos, the friend and frequent correspondent of Leo the Great, among whose letters a large number are addressed to him. He was by birth an Italian, and had been educated at Rome (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* lxxxi. 1042; Migne, *Ep.* cxiii. 1190). He was thus acquainted with the Latin as well as with the Greek language (*Ep.* cxiii. 1194), and was for this reason useful to Leo, who was ignorant of Greek, and required translations of documents written in that language. But over and above this, Leo found in him a man after his own heart. He describes him as a "part of himself" (*Ep.* cxxv. 1244). Long experience led him to put the fullest confidence in his orthodoxy, erudition, watchfulness and zeal (*Ep.* xxxv. 875, xci. 1066). Nothing could exceed the value of such a man to Leo, to watch over the interests of the faith and the Roman see in the East. He had been present at the council of Constantinople in A.D. 448, where he professed his belief in the "two natures in one Person"—an expression which Dioscorus could not tolerate when he heard it read out at Chalcedon—and subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches (Labbe, *Concilia*, iv. 188 B, 231 B). In the April of the following year he was present at the synod in Constantinople which the emperor had granted at the demand of Eutyches, to verify the records of the former council. Here we find him disputing occasionally the exact accuracy of the "Acta" (Labbe, iv. 231 (2), c. 234 (2) B; Tillemont, xv. 511). In the same year he wrote to Leo a letter which produced two replies dated the same day, June 13, 449, the first of a long series of letters from Leo to Julian (*Epp.* xxxiv. xxxv.). The latter of the two contains an elaborate dogmatic statement against Eutyches. After this he becomes one of the chief channels through which the pope impresses his wishes and policy on the East (see LEO). Through the Eutychian troubles he remained true to the faith, and seems to have suffered so much in consequence that, as he tells Leo, he had thought of retiring to Rome (*Ep.* lxxxi. 1042). It was Julius of Puteoli, however (q. v.), not this Julian, who was papal legate at the council of Ephesus. Leo condoles with him on his sufferings, and commends him to the favour of Pulcheria and Anatolius of Constantinople as one who had always been faithful to St. Flavian (*Epp.* lxxix. lxxx. 1037, 1041, dated April 451). In June 451 he begs him to associate himself with his legates, Lucentius and Basil, to the council of Chalcedon (*Ep.* lxxxvi. 1063). He is commended to Marcian, the emperor, as a "particeps" with them (*Ep.* xc. 1065). His exact position at that council appears somewhat ambiguous. He is not mentioned among the legates in the letter of Leo to the council (*Ep.* xciii. 1070), but in the acts of the council he is always spoken of as holding that position (Labbe, iv. 80 C, 582 C, 559 E). In the list of signatures he appears not indeed at the head of the list among the other legates of Rome, yet higher than his own rank, as bishop of Cos, would entitle him to appear, and among the metropolitans (cf. Tillemont, xv. 645, and note, 43). His condemnation of Dioscorus, with reasons assigned, may be read in the acts of the third session of the council (Labbe, iv. 427 C). In the matter of the claims of Bassian (q. v.) and Stephen to the see of Ephesus, he gives his voice first for setting them both aside, then for allowing the choice to a local council (701 D, 703 D). He displeased Leo by not resisting the 28th canon of the council in favour of the claims of Constantinople, like the other legates (*Ep.* xcviii. 1098); on the contrary, he had written to Leo begging him to give his assent to it, for which he receives a stern reproval (*Ep.* cvii. 1172). After this however, he is in as good favour as ever. From March, 453, he held the position of apocrisiarius or deputy of the see of Rome at the court of Constantinople. Leo requests him never to leave the court, but to remain there watching zealously over the interests of the faith (*Epp.* cxi. 1187, cxiii. 1190, "speculari non desinas;" cf. Tillemont, xv. 761). During this period Leo and Julian were in constant correspondence. Sometimes Leo complains of his slackness in writing (*Epp.* cxxv. cxlvii). In March, 453, he writes requesting him to make a complete translation of the acts of the council of Chalcedon, which he has not yet been able thoroughly to understand (*Ep.* cxiii. 1194). Julian seems to have returned to his diocese in 457 (cf. Tillemont, xvii. 762, 791). In that year he writes a reply, in his own name only, to the circular letter of the emperor Leo, on the subject of the excesses of Timothy Aelurus, and the authority of the Chalcedonian council [LEO, the emperor]. In his reply, Julian urges that Timotheus should be punished by the civil power, and maintains strongly the authority of the council. "For where were assembled so many bishops, where were present the holy Gospels, where was so much united prayer, there, we believe, was also present with invisible power the author of all creation" (Labbe, iv. 942; *Or. Chr.* i. 935). After this date nothing further is known of him. [C. G.]

JULIANUS (28), bishop of Bologna, cir. 470 (Alidosi, *I summi Pontifici*, 1621, p. 3). Ughelli (ii. 10) and Cappelletti (iii. 462, 579) place him in 490. [C. H.]

JULIANUS (29), bishop of Antioch, 471–476 A.D. He was unanimously chosen on the second expulsion of Peter the Fuller by the emperor

Leo, but was deposed by Basiliscus, and Peter reinstated, and is said to have died of grief soon afterwards. (Theophanes, *Chron.*; Theod. Lector. *H. E.* i. 22; Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* ii. 725.) [E. V.]

JULIANUS (30), eighth bishop of Avignon, between Saturninus and Eucherius. He subscribed the council of Arles, A.D. 475, though the name of his see is not appended to the signature, and he may be the bishop represented at that of Agde in A.D. 506 by a priest named Pompeius. A short letter of Sidonius Apollinaris is addressed to a bishop of this name, who is probably the same. (Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* ix. 5, Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii. 620; Mansi, vii. 1010, viii. 337.) [S. A. B.]

JULIANUS (31), bishop of Vararus, in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* 58; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 347.) [R. S. G.]

JULIANUS (32), bishop of Mopsuestia expelled by the emperor Zeno, A.D. 490. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* A. C. 482 in Patrol. Graec. cviii. 325; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 893.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (33), ninth known bishop of Brundusium, cir. 490, after Cyprius. A decretal of Galasius is addressed to him. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ix. 29; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xxi. 115; Gratian. *Decretum*, pars 2, caus. 12, qu. 2, cap. 26, in *Pat. Lat.* clxxxvii. 907.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (34), bishop of Dodona in Epirus, signed the report of the synod of Vetus Epirus to pope Hormisdas concerning the ordination of John of Nicopolis, A.D. 516. (Mansi, viii. 405; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 140.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (35), second recorded bishop of Carpentras. He subscribed the council of Epaon or Yenne, in A.D. 517. A bishop of the name was also present at that of Lyons in the same year, the fourth of Arles in 524, that of Carpentras in 527, and the second of Orange in 529. To none of these four subscriptions is the name of the see appended, but the dates render it probable that they belong to this bishop. A short letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (ix. 5, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 620), addressed "domino papae Juliano," has been thought to have been written to him, but there is no foundation for the supposition, which also involves the duration of his episcopate for at least forty-seven years. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 895; Mansi, viii. 565, 570, 627, 708, 718.) [S. A. B.]

JULIANUS (36), bishop of Bostra in Arabia, and metropolitan. He was exiled by Athanasius on account of his strenuous opposition to the Monophysites, but was recalled by Justin, A.D. 518. (See Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 33; Vict. Tunun. *Chron.* ad ann. 505, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 950; *Pratum Spirituale*, cap. 94; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 857.) [J. de S.]

JULIANUS (37), bishop of the Sabines, previously a papal defensor. In the latter capacity he was sent by the pope to summon the abbat Equitius [EQUITIUS (7)] to Rome, but while engaged in that task he received a message from the pope, who is said to have been supernaturally warned, to desist from molesting the holy man (Greg. *Dial.* i. iv.). Baronius (ann. 504, xviii.) relates this story from Gregory under the year 504, which has led to the episcopate of Julian being assigned in the *Ital. Sac.* (x. 73) to that year. The chief episcopal see of the Sabines was then Cures (Marronus, *de Episc. Sabinens.* p. 3); Julian is therefore reckoned bishop of Cures, third in the series, and his date is reckoned by Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 559, 586) as A.D. 540. The ancient Cures has sometimes been identified (as by Coletus in *Ital. Sac.* l. c.) with Turris or Torre. [C. H.]

JULIANUS (38), a Gallic bishop at the council of Arles, called the third by Isidore Mercator (*Pat. Lat.* cxxx. 482 D), but the fourth, A.D. 524, by Mansi (viii. 627) and Sirmond (i. 207). [C. H.]

JULIANUS (39), bishop of Adramyttium in the province of Asia, c. A.D. 530–550, to whom Hypatius of Ephesus addressed a book, of which a fragment is extant. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 701.) [L. D.]

JULIANUS (40), twenty-third archbishop of Vienne, succeeding St. Avitus, and followed by St. Domninus, was present at the second council of Orleans, held in 533 (Mansi, viii. 838 (Ado, *Chronicon*, 519; Id. *Martyrologium*, April 22; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 23; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 29). [S. A. B.]

JULIANUS (41), third bishop of Tarbes, present at the fourth council of Orleans in A.D. 541. (Mansi, ix. 120; *Gall. Christ.* i. 1226.) [S. A. B.]

JULIANUS (42), third bishop of Segni (Signia), joining pope Vigilius in the *Damnatio Theodori*, Aug. 551. (Mansi, ix. 60; Hefele, § 264; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 1235; Cappelletti, vi. 617, 638.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (43), bishop of Cingoli. He was one of the nine Italian bishops who signed the Constitutum de Tribus Capitulis issued by pope Vigilius at Constantinople, May 14, 553. (Mansi, ix. 106; Marronus, *Auximat. Episc. Series*, p. 15; Ughelli, x. 65; Cappelletti, vii. 468, 604; Hefele, § 272.) He received two letters from Pelagius I. (555–560). (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* pp. 84, 86.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (44), the name of three bishops at the 5th synod, 553, viz. of Batnae in Osrhoëne (Mansi, ix. 394; Le Quien, ii. 974), of Zeugma in Commagene (M. ix. 394; Le Q. ii. 944), and of Sardis (M. ix. 390; Le Q. i. 862). [L. D.]

JULIANUS (45), bishop of Ebora, in Lusitania, died in 566 (?). His name appears in an inscription given by Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 120. Hubner, however, on the ground of certain unusual forms, is suspicious of its genuineness (*Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* p. 91). [QUIRICIANUS.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (46), third bishop of Grumentum (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 496). Cappelletti (xx. 381, 398) calls him Julius, and makes him the second bishop, from 578 to 590, between Sempronius and Rodolfus. A decree (wherein he is called Julianus) was addressed to him in 580 by pope Pelagius II. (Ivon. *Decret.* pars vi. cap. 112 in *Pat. Lat.* clxi. 472.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (47), bishop of Halicarnassus in the province of Caria, one of the leaders of the Monophysites. In 511, he was active in conjunction with Severus and others in instigating the emperor Anastasius to depose Macedonius the patriarch of Constantinople (Theod. Lect. ii. 26). Theophanes erroneously speaks of his having been bishop of Caria before he was bishop of Halicarnassus (*Chronogr.* A.C. 503, in *Pat. Gr.* cviii. 362). On the accession of Justin I. in 518, severe measures were taken against the Monophysites, and Julian was driven from his see. He then went to Alexandria, whither he was soon followed by Severus on his expulsion from Antioch (Liberatus, *Brev.* cap. 19; Evagrius *H. E.* iv. 4; Vict. Tunnunens. *Chron.* s. a. 539). Timotheus the successor of Dioscorus the younger received them both kindly, and they took up their abode in the neighbourhood of the city. Shortly afterwards a monk appealed to Severus for his opinion as to whether the body of our Lord should be called corruptible or not. He answered that the "fathers" had declared themselves in the affirmative on that question. Some of the Alexandrians hearing of this reply then proposed the same inquiry to Julian, who said that the "fathers" had declared the contrary. A fierce controversy was thus evoked, in the course of which the Julianists charged the Severians with being Phthartolatrae or Corrupticolae, Ktistolatrae or Creaticolae, and Scenolatrae;[a] while the Severians charged the Julianists with being Phantasiastae and Manichaei (Liberatus, *u. s.*; Tim. Presb. *de Recept. Haer.* in *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi. 58; Niceph. Call. *E. H.* xviii. 45). But the designation by which the Julianists were more generally known was Aphthartodocetae or Incorrupticolae (Jo. Damasc. *de Haer.* § 84). Much was written on either side. The only writings of Julian that remain however are his *Ten Anathemas*, a Syriac version of which by Paulus the deposed bishop of Callinicus was published by the Assemans (*MSS. Cod. Biblioth. Apost. Vatic. Catalog.* iii. 230, 231). A Latin translation of this valuable document is given by Gieseler in his admirable monograph entitled "*Commentatio qua Monophysitarum veterum variae de Christi persona opiniones imprimis ex ipsorum effatis recens editis illustrantur*" (P. ii. p. 5). Three of his letters addressed to Severus, also translated by Paulus, as well as several fragments of works of his, are among the Syrian MSS. in the British Museum (Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.* pt. ii. 554, 929, 960, 961, pt. iii. 1059). The Assemani also give three letters of his to Severus from the Syriac MSS. in the Vatican (*u. s.* iii. 223).

Leontius of Byzantium tells us that Julian so earnestly contended for the "Incorruptibility," because in his view the doctrine maintained by Severus made a distinction (διαφορὰν) between the body of our Lord and the Word of God, to allow of which was to acknowledge two natures in Him (*De Sect.* Act. v. 3, in *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1230). This explanation is also given by Theodorus Rhaituensis (*De Incarnat.*, in *Patr. Gr.* xci. 1498), and is fully sustained, especially by the eighth *Anathema* as published by Gieseler. He was certainly no Phantasiast, and also far from being a Manichaean; but as Dorner justly observes, in asserting "the supernatural character of our Lord's body," Julianus and his followers by no means intended to deny its "reality," but only aimed at "giving greater prominence to His love by tracing not merely His sufferings themselves, but even the possibility of suffering" to His Self-sacrifice (*Person of Christ*, ed. Clark, ii. i. 129). Jo. Damasc. *Orth. Fid.* iii. 28; Euseb. Thessal. *contr. Andr.*; Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 162; Thom. Aquin. *Sum.* p. iii. q. i. art. 5 concl.

Julian by some means recovered his see of Halicarnassus, but in the council of Constantinople A.D. 536 under Agapetus bishop of Rome, he was again deposed (Theophanes, *s. a.* 529; Mansi, viii. 869; *Libell. Synod.* in Labbé, v. 276). After this date he disappears, but his opinions continued to spread long afterwards, especially in the East; where his followers ultimately became divided among themselves, one party holding "that the body of our Lord was absolutely (κατὰ πάντα τρόπον) incorruptible from the very 'Unio' itself" (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἑνώσεως); another, that it was not absolutely incorruptible but potentially (δυνάμει) the reverse, yet that it could not become corruptible because the Word prevented it, and a third that it was not only incorruptible from the very 'Unio,' but also increate (οὐ μόνον ἄφθαρτον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑνώσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκτιστον). These last were distinguished as Actistitae. (Tim. Presb. *u. s.* 43; Leont. Byzant. *contr. Nestor. et Eutych.* ii. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1315, 1358; Id. *De Sect.* act. x. *ib.* 1259; Anastas. Sinait. *Viae Dux*, c. 23, in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxix. 296; Isaac. Arm. Cath. *Orat. contr. Armen.* c. 1, in *Pat. Gr.* cxxxii. 1155; Id. *De Reb. Arm. ib.* 1243.)

About A.D. 549, four scholastici from Alexandria visited Ephesus, and prevailed upon bishop Procopius to avow himself a Julianist. In 560 immediately after his decease, seven of his presbyters, who were also Julianists, are said to have placed the hands of his corpse on the head of a monk named Eutropius, and then to have recited the consecration prayer over him.[b] Eutropius afterwards ordained ten bishops who were all Julianists, and sent them out as missionaries east and west, among other places to Constantinople, to Antioch, and to Alexandria, and also into Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and the country of the Homerites (Assemann. *Bibl. Or.* i. 316, ii. 86, 88, iii. pt. ii. cccclv.; Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.* ii. 755).

By A.D. 565 the emperor Justinian had become an Incorruptibilist. He issued an edict in which he avowed his change of opinion, and gave orders that "all bishops everywhere" should be compelled to accept Julianism (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 39; Theophanes, *s. a.* 557; Cedrenus, *Comp. Hist.* ed. Bonn. i. 680; Pagi, *Critic. s. a.* 565, ii.). This naturally encountered great opposition, and especially from, among others, Anastasius patriarch of Antioch in the East (A.D. 559, 569), and Nicetius bishop of Trèves in the West (A.D. 527–566). (Nicetius, *ep.* 2 in *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 380.) But the Gaianites of Alexandria took courage from the edict to erect

[a] Nicetas Choniates has κτιστολάτραι (*Thesaur.* ix. 10 in *Pat. Gr.* cxl.).

[b] The corpse of Julian is said to have been treated in the same manner by his personal followers. (Isaac. Arm. Cath. *de Reb. Arm.* u. s. 1246.)

churches in that city, and elected Helpidius an archdeacon to be their bishop (Theophanes, *u. s.*). Helpidius having almost immediately incurred the displeasure of the emperor, and died on his way to Constantinople, whither he had been summoned by him, they then united with the Theodosians under Dorotheus, who, Theophanes says, was one of that party, but who both Sophronius of Jerusalem, and John of Ephesus, the latter of whom especially was likely to be much better informed than the Chronographer, say was a Julianist (Sophron. *Ep. Synodic.* in *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvii. 3191; *Jo. v. Eph. Kirchengesch. uebers*, v. Schönfelder, i. 40, p. 47). Justinian died in November of A.D. 565.

The Julianists were still numerous at Alexandria during the patriarchate of Eulogius (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 227), and continued to be so still later. Sophronius of Jerusalem speaks of "Menas Alexandrinus, Gaianitarum propugnator" as his contemporary (*u. s.* 3194), and Anastasius Sinaita relates a public disputation with the Gaianites of that city in which he personally took part (*Viae Dux*, *u. s.* 150 and et seq.; COPTIC CHURCH). They were also not unknown in the West as lately as the commencement of the seventh century (Greg. I. *Ep.* lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 68, *ad Euseb. Thessal.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. A.D. 601; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 145; Euseb. Thessal. *u. s.*). In Armenia they were very numerous in the time of Gregory Bar Hebraeus (Assemann. *u. s.* ii. 296; Dorner, *u. s.* 13 n.; art. ARMENIANS).

Julian also achieved a very high reputation as a commentator on the Scriptures. Nicetas bishop of Heraclea, c. 1077, has selected many of the most striking passages in his *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Beatum Job*, from his exegetical and other writings. This catena was first published by Patricius Junius, with a Latin translation, London, 1637, fol., and afterwards in Greek only at Venice, 1792, fol. The quotations from Julian are in the 'Proemium' and pp. 37, 45, 66, 93, 170, 178, 228, 230, 273, 437, 465, 480, 505, 539, 547–613, of the former of these editions. (Fabric. *Biblioth. Gr.* ed. Harles, viii. 647, 650; Cave, i. 495; Ceillier, xi. 344.) [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (48), fifth patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites, the successor and previously the syncellus of Peter the younger in 591. He ruled three years and five months and was succeeded by Athanasius I. (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 333; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1360). Wright (*Cat. Syr. MSS.* ii. 942, 971) refers to some fragments of his works extant in Syriac. [C. H.]

JULIANUS (49), bishop of Tortosa, signed the acts of the third council of Toledo under Recared (A.D. 589). Another bishop of Tortosa, *i.e.* Froisclus, appears at the council, first in the list of Arian bishops who there publicly abjured Arianism, and secondly in the general list of signatures. The conclusion is that Julianus was the original Catholic bishop of Tortosa, that he was exiled under Leovigild and supplanted by the Arian Froisclus. (Certain other cases of a similar kind can be traced at the council; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Iglesia Española*, ii. 255.) After the conversion council Julianus and Froisclus appear as joint bishops of Tortosa at the second council of Barcelona in 599. (Tejada y Ramiro, *l. c.* p. 692; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 80.) [URSUS.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (50), bishop of Lerida (?), subscribes the acts of the second council of Saragossa, (A.D. 592). (*Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 101 and vi. 358; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 128, 131.) [PETER.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (51), bishop of Braga, subscribed the acts of the fourth and sixth councils of Toledo (A.D. 633, 638). (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 413; *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 135.) [PATERNUS.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (52) II., twenty-fourth bishop of Bologna, between Constantine and Deusdedit, before A.D. 640. (Alidosi, *I summi Pontifici*, p. 4; Ughelli, ii. 11; Cappelletti, iii. 470, 579.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (53), bishop of Ruspe, signed the letter of the Byzacene provincial council, A.D. 641. (Mansi, x. 927; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 266.) [R. S. G.]

JULIANUS (54), bishop of Torcello, 642 to c. 679. (Ughelli, v. 1363; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ix. 526.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (55), bishop of Duae Senempsalae in Proconsular Africa, signed the letter addressed to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, by the council of the province, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 941; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 132.) [R. S. G.]

JULIANUS (56), bishop of Acci (Guadix) from about 647 to about 654. He subscribes the acts of the eighth council of Toledo under Rekesvinth (Dec. 653). (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 37.) [FELIX.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (57), bishop of Orte (Horta), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 866; Ughelli, i. 735; Cappelletti, vi. 56, 70; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (58) II., fourth in the list of the bishops of Lescar, succeeding Savinus after an interval of nearly a century, or fifth if Salvius (A.D. 663) belonged to this see, which is doubtful. He is said to have been in occupation of the see about A.D. 680. No successor in the diocese is known for nearly three centuries. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1286.) [S. A. B.]

JULIANUS (59), bishop of Consentia (Cosenza in Calabria), signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680 to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 299; Ughelli, ix. 190; Cappelletti, xxi. 287; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (60), bishop of Catana, at the synod of pope Agatho in 679. (Mansi, xi. 305; Pirro, *Ital. Sac.* i. 518.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (61), metropolitan of Seville, at the twelfth council of Toledo (A.D. 681). He has been thought by some to be a confusion with Julian of Toledo, but Florez believes him to be a distinct person. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270; *Esp. Sagr.* ix. 233. [HONORATUS.] [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (62), 37th bishop of Naples, c. 690, for seven years (*Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, pars i. 34, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1378, p. 420; Ughelli, vi. 58; Cappelletti, xix. 398, 523). [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (63), bishop and metropolitan of Toledo from Jan. 29, 680, to March 6, 690. He is the last eminent churchman of West Gothic Spain, and, next to Isidore of Seville, perhaps the most eminent. Julian's mediaeval reputation cannot indeed be compared with that of Isidore. The catastrophe of the Mussulman invasion, on which his life borders so closely, destroyed his work to a great extent and effaced the traces of his influence. Nevertheless the more closely the questions, external and internal of the West Gothic state are studied, the more important will an accurate knowledge of Julian's career and aims be found to be. And fortunately there is still considerable material existing from which it may be obtained. The following notice will be divided into four heads: I. Life; II. Work; III. Character and Aims; IV. Sources and Authorities.

I. *Life.*—According to ISIDORUS PACENSIS, the author of a curious and valuable chronicle, which breaks off in the year 759 A.D., Julian was of Jewish extraction. Isidorus adds, however, that he was born "a parentibus Christianis," possibly some of the compulsory and half-hearted converts of whom such frequent mention occurs in the melancholy Jew-laws of the Visigoths. Their son, however, seems to have thrown himself from the first, with the natural instinct of ambition, heart and soul into the career of a Catholic churchman. He was baptized in the principal church of the city, became a pupil of the well-known Eugenius II., and remained as deacon and presbyter attached to the cathedral church of Toledo. His early life was marked by a warm friendship for a fellow-deacon GUDILA, and the friends seem to have become zealous teachers in the episcopal school of Toledo. After the death of Ildefonsus, Julian appears to have been regarded as the most eminent churchman in Toledo. He was at one time the favourite literary agent of Wamba, whose panegyric he wrote in the *Historia Wambae*, in or about the year 576, and the friend of ERVIG, Wamba's *palatinus* and subsequent supplanter, while he seems to have been on intimate terms with the more distinguished bishops, such as IDALIUS of Barcelona. When bishop Quiricus died in January 680, four months after the death of Gudila, it could have astonished no one that Julian should succeed to the vacant see of Toledo.

Accession of Ervig and C. Tol. XII.—In the following October occurred the mysterious palace-revolution which overthrew Wamba, and Julian found himself called upon in a document forced from the betrayed king to anoint his overthrower Ervig in his place. What was Julian's share in the conspiracy cannot be made out with certainty, but the fact of his old friendship with Ervig, coupled with his conduct at the twelfth council of Toledo, oblige us to conclude that his connivance had been secured by the conspirators, either before or during the plot. (See *Acta*, but especially can. I. Tejada y Ramiro, *Col. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. p. 457.) In taking this attitude towards Wamba, of whom he had been in earlier years the extravagant panegyrist, Julian was no doubt influenced, not only by the prevailing ecclesiastical dissatisfaction with the later church-policy of that king (conf. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 215, and Helfferich, *Westgoth. Recht*, p. 140), but by a special and recent act of Wamba's, *i.e.* the creation by the king of a new bishopric in a suburb of Toledo itself, "hic in suburbio Toletano, in ecclesia praetoriensi SS. Petri et Pauli," a proceeding which the council of 680, led by Julian, calls a piece of "insolent licence." The holder of such a bishopric would indeed have been an inconvenient rival to Julian, and supposing the step to have been taken after this appointment in 680, it can scarcely have indicated anything less than open dissension between the king and his metropolitan.

Ervig's Jew-laws.—The history of the twelfth council in detail will be found elsewhere (see art. ERVIG). The points, however, with which he is personally most closely concerned are two. (1) the frightfully harsh Jew-laws presented to and approved by the council, (2) the "Primacy" canon. Of the twenty-eight laws of which the titles are quoted in the ninth canon of the council, the greater number are older laws revived and confirmed. Twenty-six of them relate to the nominally converted and baptized Jews, who had been obliged by former legislation to make a profession of Christianity, but who were still Jews at heart, and are only new so far as some of the penalties prescribed are concerned. The former punishments of stoning and burning alive are replaced by confiscations of goods, stripes, decalvation and exile, it having been found apparently impossible to secure the execution of the older penalties, while circumcision only is visited with severer punishment than before (Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 163). For any apparent mildness however in these twenty-six laws as compared with more ancient ones, the provisions of the first two laws presented by Ervig to the council more than compensate. These two edicts, *De blasphematoribus Sanctae Trinitatis*, and *Ne Judaei aut se aut famulos a baptismi gratia subtrahant*, concern the unbaptized and obstinate Jews, and may fairly be considered as the work of Ervig and his metropolitan. It would be difficult to match them even in the history of religious persecution (see the text in *Lex Visig.* xii. 2, 3), and it is almost incredible that after measures like these, the seventeenth council of Toledo, held twelve years later, should still have found worse horrors to inflict on a people, whose cup of suffering was wellnigh drained, and whose avengers were fast approaching. Modern writers have commonly regarded the Jew-laws of Ervig as the price paid by the usurper for the church's co-operation in the plot against Wamba. It is at any rate impossible to exonerate Julian from a principal share in them. [Dahn, *l. c.* p. 218; Helfferich, *Westgoth. Recht.* p. 192; Graetz, *l. c.* p. 162. For an able and minute account of the general course of Visigothic legislation concerning the Jews see Dr. Graetz's dissertation, *Die Westgothische Gesetzgebung in Betreff der Juden, im Programm des Jud.-theol. Seminar*, 1858.]

The Primacy Canon.—By far the most important event, however, of the council of 681, both for the history of Julian and for that of the see

of Toledo, was the promulgation of the famous sixth canon, the basis of the ancient, and practically also of the modern primacy, of Toledo. This, we may well suspect, was the special guerdon of Julian's compliance in the events of 680, and it raised the see of Toledo to a height undreamt of even by Ildefonsus or Eugenius II. The primacy canon first of all recites certain difficulties attending episcopal elections as they then existed. Owing to the long distances to be traversed, there was often, it was pleaded, great delay in announcing the deaths of bishops to the king, and it was sometimes found impossible to wait for the libera electio of the prince, theoretically necessary in all appointments to bishoprics (conf. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. *Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 402). By such a condition of things the church is embarrassed and the royal power infringed. "Unde placuit omnibus pontificibus Hispaniae atque Galliae (*Gallias* wanting in some MSS.) ut salvo privilegio unius cujusque provinciae licitum maneat deinceps Toletano pontifici quoscunque regalis potestas elegerit et jam dicti Toletani episcopi judicium dignos esse probaverit in quibus. libet provinciis in praecedentium sedium (?. sedes) praeficere praesules et decedentibus episcopis eligere successores."

Upon this follows the proviso that every bishop so ordained must within three months present himself before the metropolitan of his province for instruction and advice under penalty of excommunication should he fail to do so, unless he can plead royal commands in excuse of his non-appearance.

Thus was the whole ancient system of episcopal appointments which had obtained in Spain, notwithstanding recurrent abuses, since the earliest times, and which had been recently defined and re-established as against certain royal usurpations by the fourth council of Toledo (can. 19) abolished at one blow. For election by clergy and people, consecration by metropolitan and suffragans and final confirmation by the king was now substituted a central authority empowered to appoint to bishoprics all over Spain, and from which there was practically no appeal. "The Spanish church was centralised in Toledo; the primate of Toledo had become her Pontifex Maximus, with limitless and uncontrolled power" (Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. [2] p. 217). By what steps within the church this situation, unexampled in the contemporary history of the time, had been attained, must always remain a mystery. At first sight it appears incredible that the five remaining metropolitans should have consented so easily to such a curtailment of their powers and privileges. It is, however, very possible, as Wamba's and Sisebut's, and even Recared's episcopal appointments suggest (see arts. EUSEBIUS of Tarraco, WAMBA, also C. Barc. ii. 3), that under the strong Gothic kings the right of appointment to bishoprics had, in spite of such protests as C. Tol. iv. 19, been so frequently usurped by the crown, that in this assignment of at least an equal share in the matter to the metropolitan of Toledo, the Gothic church may have calculated that she gained more than she lost—she formally relinquished the ancient constitution which had been so often infringed, and she won for herself in return a powerful protector and representative in the face of the civil power. At the thirteenth council, three years later, the bishops in the most emphatic language confirmed the primacy canon. The decrees of the twelfth council are to last to all eternity (*ea ipsa gesta—omni temporum aeternitate valitura decernimus*), and among them "item de concessa Toletano pontifici generalis synodi potestate ut episcopi alterius provinciae cum conniventia principum in urbe regia ordinentur." Such a position as this could only be sustained and established by men of like power with Julian, and it is extremely doubtful how far the pretensions of the primacy were supported by Julian's less able successors. Certain proceedings at the sixteenth council of Toledo under Egica seem indeed to be directly at variance with the spirit of the primacy canon (Helfferich, *Enst. und Gesch. des Westgothen Rechts*, p. 210). In the darkness and confusion of these closing years of the Gothic kingdom, it is, however, no longer possible to trace the history of the new-made primacy. Echoes and memories of it reappear in the church of the captivity, especially in the career of Elipandus, and all but four hundred years after the death of Julian, Rome restored to his successor, the Cluniac monk Bernard, the dignity which had been originally assumed independently of Rome and used in a spirit of hostility to her. "Teque, secundum quod ejusdem urbis antiquitus constat extitisse pontifices, in totis Hispaniarum regnis primatem, *privilegii nostri sanctione* statuimus," says Urban II. in 1088, thus re-establishing as a grace from Rome, and as a means of binding the Spanish church closer to the apostolical see, an office which the Spanish bishops had originally conferred upon the bishop of the capital, partly in deference to the influence of a man of genius, partly as a bulwark against the royal power, and which in the mind of its founder appears to have symbolised the independence of the national church (cont. Bull of Urban II. *Esp. Sagr.* vi. app. 5, and Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, iii. [1] pp. 1–39).

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Councils of Toledo. Julian's Dispute with Rome.—In November 683 Julian again presided at the thirteenth council of Toledo, of which an account will be found under Ervig. Immediately after its separation, and when many of the bishops were already journeying homewards, a notary from Rome arrived at Toledo, bearing letters written by pope Leo II., and forwarded to Spain by his successor-elect, Benedict II. The letters, four in number, were addressed (1) to all the bishops (praesulibus) of Spain; (2) to Julian's predecessor, Quiricus, who died in January 680; (3) to the king Ervig; (4) to the comes Simplicius (Jaffé, *Reg. Pontif.* 168; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 297).

The letters were to ask for the adhesion of the Spanish church to the decisions of the sixth general council (680) against the Monothelites. The Spanish church, of which no member had been present at the fifth general council (553), had always steadily refused to recognise it as such, and Rome was anxious to prevent any further misunderstanding. The Spanish bishops therefore were asked to assemble a national council for the sake of receiving and ratifying the decrees of 680. [Why Quiricus was written to instead of Julian, who in 683 had been for

nearly four years metropolitan of Toledo, must always remain a difficulty. Rival explanations of it will be found in Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 276, and Gams (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. (2) 231). Baronius made it a ground for doubting the authenticity of the letters.] To comply immediately with the pope's request was impossible. The bishops had already dispersed, and the icy weather and ground "hardened with immensity of snow," forbade their recall. Julian, however, promptly drew up a dogmatic statement of the position of the Spanish church towards the Christological controversy of the day and forwarded it to Rome. In November 684 a provincial synod of Carthaginensian bishops, attended also by representatives of the remaining provinces who were to communicate to their metropolitans, and through them to the other provincial synods, what was done, met at Toledo under the presidency of Julian. In the fifth canon the decrees of the sixth council are acknowledged by the bishops present, and by the representatives of the five absent metropolitans, as of equal authority with the decrees of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and the sixth and seventh canons order them to be placed in the *Codex Canonum* of the Spanish church immediately after the acts of Chalcedon, the fifth general council being thus formally repudiated. The eighth canon contains an exposition of the two natures in Christ; this with the ninth, *De duarum naturarum Christi voluntatibus et operibus*, and the tenth: *De haereticorum contentionibus evitandis*, are in all probability excerpts from the first Apologetic of Julian, which had been forwarded to Rome early in 684, and which in the eleventh canon receives the formal approbation of the bishops.

In this noteworthy canon the "apologetica responsa defensionis nostrae" are not only approved, but are placed in the same position as decretal letters: "atque ad vicem decretalium epistolarum ea permanenda sancimus," a step of which Gams (*l. c.* p. 233) rightly points out the significance, and which is the first of many indications of the attitude assumed by Julian, and by the Spanish church, as led by him towards Rome. The matter however did not end here. In 686 apparently pope Benedict allowed himself some critical observations affecting the orthodoxy of Julian's apologetic of 684, which were taken down by Julian's envoy at Rome, and forwarded to Julian. Julian immediately sent an answer fortifying his position with quotations from the fathers, but not content with this he brought the whole matter once more before the fifteenth council of Toledo in 688. After a description of his transactions with Rome, in which the exact order of events is very hard to apprehend, he proceeds to justify two main theses: "voluntas genuit voluntatem et sapientia sapientiam;" and "tres substantiae in Christo sunt profitendae," both of which had been laid down in his first Apologetic, and to which the pope had taken objection as "incautiously" expressed. The pope's objections are declared to spring from hasty and careless reading of the first Apologetic, and Julian proceeds to quote largely from Cyril and Augustine in support of his own doctrine. This second document of Julian's is called by Felix "Apologeticum de tribus (? quartis) capitulis, de quibus Romanae urbis Praesul frustra visus est dubitasse," and is only partially preserved to us in the acts of the council of 688. The sections on the theses already quoted, and which refer to the first two chapters of the former Apologetic, are given apparently in full, but the arguments on the third and fourth chapters of the former document are wanting. We have only a final paragraph referring to them, and claiming paramount authority for the statements of the "celebrated doctors," Saints Ambrose and Fulgentius, quoted in support of them. All these quotations from the fathers had, says Julian, been forwarded to Rome two years before. If, however, objection is still made to their doctrine, on which the first Apologetic is based, "let us dispute with them (*i.e.* the pope and his advisers) no more, but rather adhering closely to the straight road of our ancestors, "erit per divinum judicium amatoribus veritatis responsio nostra sublimis, etiamsi *ab ignorantibus aemulis censeatur indocilis*."

The history of opinion as to this attitude assumed by Julian in this second Apologetic, and on its concluding words, is not a little curious. Isid. Pacensis, writing fifty or sixty years after the death of Julian, says of the arrival of the second Apologetic at Rome: "quod Roma digne et pie suscepit et cunctis legendum indicit: atque summo Imperatori cognitum facit. Qui et rescriptum Domino Juliano per supra fatos Legatos satis cum gratiarum actione honorifice remittit et omnia quaecumque scripsit justa et pia esse depromit." Julian's 13th-century successor, Roderic of Toledo, repeats Isidore's words with emphasis (*De Reb. Hisp.* iii. 14). Mariana and Baronius first make some objections to the cavalier tone of the 2nd Apologetic, while Florez, applies all the disrespectful expressions in it, not to the pope, but to certain "Romans," regarding it as "inconceivable" that Julian should have spoken of the pope as an "ignorant rival." The Bollandists (*AA. SS. Mart.* i. p. 784) and others pass over the questionable expressions in silence. A modern Roman opinion on the subject will be found below under our third head.

Julian's Death.—On March 6, 690, two years after the fifteenth council of Toledo, Julian died, having occupied the see ten years and one month. He was buried in the church of St. Leocadia, where his predecessors Eugenius III. and Ildefonsus were already interred.

II. *Works.*—Of Julian's works a full list is given by his biographer Felix. The best edition of Julian's works is that by archbishop Lorenzana in vol. ii. of the *SS. PP. Tol. Opp.* already quoted. Lorenzana's edition is reprinted in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* xcvi. For a list of editions see Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* 1858, iii. 477. The most important of them appear to have been—

(1) *Liber Prognosticorum futuri saeculi.*—This book, addressed to IDALIUS of Barcelona, must have won considerable popularity to judge from the numerous MSS. of it which exist. It is divided into three books, concerned (1) with the origin of death, (2) with the souls of the dead and their condition before the resurrection of the body, (3) the final resurrection of the body. The preface addressed to Idalius is a good specimen of Julian's style, and contains some interesting personal reminiscences (conf. *SS. PP. Tolet. Opp.* ii. 3, and Helfferich, *Westgothischer Arianismus*, p. 74).

(2) *Apologeticum fidei quod Benedicto Romanae urbis Papae directum est.* This is the first Apologetic, not now extant, unless we are to consider canons 9, 10, and 11 of C. Tol. xiv. as fragments of it.

(3) *Apologeticum de tribus capitulis*, already described, printed by Lorenzana, ii. 77, and in all editions of the Spanish councils, among the acts of C. Tol. xv. This was, among his contemporaries, the most famous of all Julian's works, no doubt on account of the dispute with Rome which it involved.

(4) *Liber de sextae aetatis comprobatione*, prefaced by an oration and letter to king Ervig. This is an important controversial treatise. It makes one of a series of Spanish pamphlets, of which Isidore's *Contra Judaeos*, and most probably the *De Virginitate Sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles* of ILDEFONSUS (*q. v.*), are other examples. A critical and explanatory account of the subject-matter will be found in Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 160, seq.

(5) *Liber Carminum*, like those of Ildefonsus now lost, notwithstanding the ingenious efforts of the "false chroniclers" to replace them. (*SS. PP. Tol. Opp.* ii. 389; Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* v. 7, 401.)

(6 and 7) *Liber Epistolarum* and *Liber Sermonum*, both, alas! lost.

(8) *Liber Antekeimenon*, or *de Contrariis*, a series of harmonizations of apparently contradictory passages in Scripture. Julian's authorship of it is proved by a quotation from it under his name, which occurs in the Apologetic of abbat Samson, of Cordova (810–890), lib. ii. cap. 24, apud *Esp. Sagr.* xi. (SS. PP. Toll. *Opp.* ii. 139–265).

(11) *Liber Historiae de eo quod Wambae Principis Tempore Galliis Extitit Gestum.*—This is the most generally known, and by far the most valuable of all Julian's writings. Its style and literary form would alone make it a remarkable piece of writing for its time; but it has also independent historical value to a high degree in spite of its rhetorical air and unmistakeable partisanship. Opening with an account of Wamba's election and of his unction at the hands of bishop Quiricus, of Toledo, it gives a minute description of the rising in Gallia Narbonensis which, immediately after his accession, threatened the new king's throne, and which was only suppressed after a six months' campaign (Dahn, v. 206–212). Attached to it in most of the MSS., also under Julian's name, is found the *Judicium in tyrannorum perfidia promulgatum*, apparently the official document drawn up by Julian, as the most distinguished writer and rhetorician of Toledo, on the king's return to the capital, in which the crimes and sentences of the rebels are carefully enumerated and confirmed. The whole object of the *Historia* is to glorify Wamba, and this end is pursued with a self-denial and consistency very rare in Julian's age. Six other treatises named by Felix, but not now extant, are of no importance. The last two entries, however, in Felix's list are worth notice. "Item librum Missarum de toto circulo anni in quatuor partes divisum; in quibus aliquas vetustatis incuria vitiatas ac semiplenas emendavit atque complevit; aliquas vero ex toto composuit. Item librum orationum de festivitatibus quas Toletana Ecclesia per totum circulum anni est solita celebrare, partim stylo sui ingenii depromptum, partim correctum, in unum congessit, atque Ecclesiae Dei usibus ob amorem reliquit Sanctae Religionis." In this passage lies the proof, too often overlooked, of the important part played by Julian in the history of the Mozarabic Liturgy. From him, and not from Isidore or Leander, the Toledan missal and breviary received their final shape under the Goths. He completed the work to which Eugenius and Ildefonsus had also largely contributed. It was his redaction of the Toledan missal which under the captivity became the nucleus of the *Missale Mixtum* (Lesley, *Prefatio in Missale Mixtum*, &c. Rome, 1755, p. lxxvi.), and was carried northwards into the infant kingdom of Asturias (*l. c.* note *a*), and in spite of later additions Julian's breviary is practically what we now know as the Mozarabic Breviary. Not Seville but Toledo was the parent of the Gothic liturgy as we have it; and if the name of any one man is to be attached to the Mozarabic liturgy, which was the work of many men and different centuries, not Isidore but Julian may best claim such a distinction. (Conf. Lesley, *l. c.* lxxv.; Aguirre, iii. 105; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. [2] 177, 185, 209; Florez, *España Sagrada*, iii. 262.)

Of Julian's genuine works only the *Vita Ildefonsi* remains. This with the life of Julian by Felix is commonly found attached to the *De Viris Illustribus* of Isidore and Ildefonsus, and was meant as supplementary to the work of Ildefonsus (*Esp. Sagr.* v. 482).

The supposititious works of Julian, such as the *Chronica Regum Visigothorum* and the *Carmina*, written for him by the literary forgers of the 16th century, will be found in Lorenzana (*l. c.* p. 385).

III. *Julian's Character and Aims.*—That Julian was a man of very great ability, and of singular force of will, is evident from his whole career. As the last and, next to Isidore, the greatest representative of a whole phase of Spanish culture, his life and writings assume a peculiar interest and importance. As an author he stands for his age very high. He is greatly superior to the industrious Isidore in literary skill. His history of Wamba, according to Ebert, testifies to the existence of a far higher type of classical culture in Spain in the 7th century than in France, where FREDEGAR is no match for Julian (*Geschichte der Christ. Lat. Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 571).

As a statesman and a theologian his impression upon his time and country was very great, as is shewn by the extravagant praise of Felix and Isidorus Pacensis. Under Wamba and before he became bishop, his influence appears to have been considerable, while under Ervig he practically ruled Spain, and his power remained undiminished under Egica. (See Helfferich, *Westgoth. Recht*, 196). Of his literary and theological influence over the Spanish churchmen of his own day on both sides of the Pyrenees, the letters of IDALIUS of Barcelona to him and to Sunifredus metropolitan of Narbonne (*Esp. Sagr.* xxix. 447) and the whole history of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth councils of Toledo are a sufficient proof. There is, however, nothing in Julian's career to catch

the popular imagination, and as a saint he has been throughout overshadowed and surpassed by the legendary glories of Ildefonsus. (On the correct date of Julian's death, see Florez, v. 306.)

Julian's aims appear to have been the aggrandizement of the national church and of Toledo as its head, bringing with it, as a necessary consequence, independence of all authority from without. His life was ruled by centralising and imperialist ideas, and his great mistake, according to Helfferich, lay in supposing his time and country ripe for the development of such views, and in believing the Teutonic and Roman elements within the Peninsula to be sufficiently fused to permit of the remodelling of the state on Byzantine principles (*Westgothischer Arianismus*, p. 73). His attitude towards Rome, though to some extent it is only typical of the whole tendency of 7th-century Spain, is still one of singular boldness, almost of insolence, and should be compared with the tone of earlier times, of IDATIUS, of the bishops of the first council of Toledo, or of the Gallician bishops under the influence of Martin of Bruga just a hundred years before. Not Benedict II.'s letters of 683, but Julian's answers to them, were incorporated with the Spanish *Codex Canonum*. The non-Roman student will, however, probably regard Julian's share in the conspiracy against Wamba, his early patron and hero, and his persecution of the Jews, as darker stains upon his memory than his insubordination towards Rome. The Jew laws of the twelfth council for which he and Ervig are responsible, brought indeed a Nemesis with them. They led directly to the Jewish conspiracy discovered under EGICA (see art.), and ultimately to that Jewish co-operation with the Mussulman invaders which was everywhere fatal to the success of the Gothic resistance. Twenty-one years after Julian's death, the battle of the Guadalete was lost and the Gothic state overthrown. The sombre figure of the intriguing and persecuting bishop makes a close full of meaning and admonition to the history of that Hispano-Gothic church, in which much personal virtue and a high degree of literary civilisation were overshadowed and finally stifled by the growth of the worst evils that can assail an ecclesiastical system.

Concluding Notes.—(1) On the confusions of Julian with the African Julianus Pomerius, or with a supposed Julianus Diaconus, conf. Florez, *l. c.* p. 299. (2) On the question how did Toledo become the ecclesiastical head of Carthaginensis, see MONTANUS.

IV. *Sources.*—Our knowledge of Julian's life is derived mainly from the biography of him by his successor Felix, which, like Julian's own life of ILDEFONSUS, is found attached to the *De Viris Illustribus* of Isidore and Ildefonsus. It is written in a tone of warm panegyric, and supplies little or no biographical matter for the period of Julian's pontificate, but the details as to Julian's works are minute and trustworthy, and the account of his earlier life comparatively full. Altogether it is a valuable piece of 7th-century biography. Certain particulars not given by Felix, notably the fact of Julian's Jewish parentage, are to be gleaned from the 8th-century chronicler ISIDORUS PACENSIS (*Esp. Sagr.* viii.), while for a right understanding of Julian's career and aims the Acts of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th councils of Toledo are of course indispensable (Aguirre-Catalani, iii., or Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii.).

Authorities.—Dahn, Helfferich, Gams, Graetz, Ebert, Lorenzana, Nicolas Antonio, *Lex Visig.* as quoted. For notices of editions of the separate works, Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* [1754] iii. should be consulted, and on the *Hist. Wamb.* Potthast, *Bibl. Hist.* p. 405, also the separate introduction in Lorenzana. To the above may be added, De Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, ii. 382–386; Amador de los Rios, *Historia de la Litteratura Española*, i. 403–408; Bähr, *Die Christlich-Römische Theologie*, p. 470 (as quoted by Ewart). [M. A. W.]

JULIANUS (64), surnamed ROMANUS, miscalled John II. by Elmacinus, eleventh patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites (687–708). (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1364; Assem. *B. O.* ii. 479.) In 688 he received Simon the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria into communion with his church (Renaudot, *Patriarch. Alex.* p. 180). In 706 he assembled a council at the monastery of Mar Silas, at which Thomas bishop of Amida and James bishop of Edessa were present (*B. O.* i. 468; Ceillier, xii. 101). The Chronicle of Dionysius (*B. O.* ii. 105) places his accession in A.D. 704. Julian induced the Jacobite church of Tagrit to terminate its schism and return to communion with his see (ii. 430). [W. M. S.]

JULIANUS (65), bishop of Piacenza, c. 780. (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ii. 199, 200; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xv. 16–18.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (66), the name of a presbyter and likewise of a subdeacon who both assisted St. Cyprian at his martyrdom, according to the *Acta Proconsularia*, by fastening the bandage before his eyes. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* p. 218; Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 182.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (67), presbyter of Cordova at the council of Elvira, cir. 305. (Mansi, ii. 108 C.) [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (68), of Carthage, designated by Orosius, in his preface addressed to Augustine (*Pat. Lat.* xxxi. 667), as the holy son of Augustine and a servant of God, *i.e.* Augustine's deacon. It was at the instance of Julian, who was apparently acting under Augustine's direction, that Orosius undertook his history. [C. H.]

JULIANUS (69), a deacon of Aquileia, known to us by a letter to him from St. Jerome (*Ep.* 6, ed. Vall.). He had been the means of restoring Jerome's young sister, who had fallen into unchastity. [W. H. F.]

JULIANUS (70), presbyter of St. Anastasia at Rome, to whom Dionysius Exiguus dedicated his collection of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs. (Dionys. Exig. *Collect. Decret. Pontif. Rom.* praef. in. Patr. Lat. lxvii. 231.) He occurs among the presbyters present at the Roman synod of pope Symmachus in 501. (Mansi, viii. 236, 237.) [W. M. S.]

JULIANUS (71), deacon, sent by Avitus bishop of Vienne to pope Symmachus, about A.D. 494, to ask for additional relics for the Burgundian king Sigismund. (Avit. Viennens. *Ep.* 27 in Patr. Lat. lix. 243.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS, deacon at Gaudianum [JULIUS (17).]

JULIANUS (72) POMERIUS, a Mauretanian priest cir. A.D. 500. He was ordained in Gaul, but continued as a priest the monastic life on which he had previously entered. Ruricius (lib. ii. ep. 8) calls him abbat, but does not say of what monastery. He lived at Arles under the patronage of Aeonius, whence Ruricius tried to draw him to Limoges (Ruric. Lemovic. Ep. ix. in Pat. Lat. lviii. 88). He composed (Isid. *de Script. Eccl.* xii.; Gennadius, *Ser. Eccl.* cviii.) a work on the "Nature of the Soul" in eight books, and others upon "Contempt of the World," "Virtues and Vices," and the "Training of Virgins." These are lost. But the three extant books on the "Contemplative Life," formerly attributed to St. Prosper, are really from the pen of Julianus Pomerius (Julian. Pom. *de Vit. Cont.* in Pat. Lat. lix. 415). They are addressed to another Julian, bishop probably of Carpentras. This work has been frequently printed under the name of Prosper, and is given in the appendix to his works, Venice, fol. 1744, 4to. 1782. We have a letter from Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, asking of Julian certain explanations, and suggesting subjects for treatises, but no reply is extant. Gennadius (*Scr. Eccl.* xcviii.) speaks of Julianus as still writing. (Cave, i. 460; Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* x. 588.) [R. T. S.]

JULIANUS (73), missionary priest to the Nubians in the reign of Justinian. John of Ephesus (R. Payne Smith's tr. p. 251 sq.) and Bar-hebraeus (in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 330) give an account of him. He was an old man of great worth, and one of the clergy in attendance on Theodosius the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, then residing at Constantinople. Julian had long desired to Christianize the Nobadae or Nubians, a wandering people east of the Thebais and beyond the limits of the empire, which they greatly harassed. The empress Theodora to whom he applied warmly encouraged the undertaking, and consulted Justinian about it. He too became interested, but objected to Julian as being a Monophysite, and named another instead of him, whilst Theodora persisted in favouring her candidate. John of Ephesus gives a full description of the rival missions, and the triumph of the empress's schemes. Julian being the first to reach the Nubian court won over the king, and secured the rejection of the emperor's envoy when he subsequently arrived. Thus the Nubians were gained to the Monophysite creed and to the jurisdiction of Theodosius. After labouring in the country two years Julian placed Theodore a Thebaid bishop in charge, and returned to Constantinople, where he soon afterwards died. For the subseouent history of this mission see LONGINUS. [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (74), presbyter of Halicarnassus, representing his bishop Calandio at the council of Chalcedon in 451. (Mansi, vi. 947, 1088, vii. 46, 121, 407, 947.) [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (75), martyr with the presbyters Lucianus and Maximianus at Beluacus (Beauvais); commemorated Jan. 8. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Rom. Mart.*; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* praef. p. xxiii.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (76), Jan. 27, martyr at Sora or Atina, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. His *Acta* are given by the Bollandists from an Italian manuscript of Barth Chioccarelli. The *Roman Martyrology* places his martyrdom at Sora. Sora and Attina, two ancient Volscian cities, both commemorate him and both claim to have been the scene of his martyrdom. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 767.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (77), Feb. 3, martyr at Auxerre, a disciple of St. Peregrinus, the apostle and protomartyr of Auxerre in the times of the emperors Valerian and Gallienus. (Du Saussay, *Mart. Gallic.* suppl. p. 1086; *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 331). [C. H.]

JULIANUS (78), Feb. 6, physician and martyr of Emesa, in the reign of Numerian. (Basil. *Menol.* ii. 163; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 778.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (79), Feb. 16. Martyr in Egypt with five thousand others (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard., *Rom.*; Basil. *Menol.*). There is a suggested reading which substitutes for *quinque millibus*, *quinque militibus*, and thus brings this martyrdom within the bounds of possibility. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 863.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (80), Feb. 19, martyr in Africa with Publius. (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (81), Feb. 27, martyr at Alexandria in the Decian persecution, A.D. 249–251. His martyrdom is described in the epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria to Fabius of Antioch, describing the martyrs there. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 41; *Mart.* Ad., Us.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (82), March 7. Martyr with Eubulus in Cyprus in the persecution of Julian. (Bas. *Men.*, Mar. 7 and 8; *AA. SS.* Boll. 6 Mart. i. 426.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (83), Mar. 16, martyr. He was a native of Anazarbus in Cilicia, and the son of a Greek senator. Julian was enclosed in a sack with venomous serpents and thrown into the sea. His body floated to Alexandria, where it was buried by a widow (Basil. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.). The Alexandria here mentioned would be the Cilician town of that name. The Bollandists (Mart. ii. 421) give this Julian as the one celebrated by Chrysostom in his homily *On St. Julian the Martyr* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* t. l. p. 666). Chrysostom states that his relics were then at Antioch (§ 4, p. 671). [JULIANUS (67), (88).] [C. H.]

JULIANUS (84), Mar. 23, martyr at Caesarea. (*Mart.* Usuard., Wandalb., *Rom.*) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (85), May 25, a martyr in Africa A.D. 259, with Flavianus, and six others. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 229; Baron. ann. 262, v.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (86), Jun. 5, martyr at Perusia with Florentius and others in the Decian persecution, according to the ecclesiastical tables. (Baron. ann. 254, xxix.; *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 33.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (87), Jan. 9, Jun. 21, martyr in Egypt in the reign of Diocletian (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 138). There is a different version of this martyrdom in Usuard and Ado. The *Acta* in Bolland (9 Jan. i. cap. iv. § 17, p. 579) place the martyrdom at an Antioch in Egypt; the *Menol. Graec.* of Sirlet names the city Antinopolis, and states that this was the Julian celebrated in Chrysostom's homily [JULIANUS (83)]. Bolland's article (*l. c.*) discusses the various Julians (§ ii.) and the days assigned to the present one (§§ iii. iv. v.), as to which see also Ruinart (*Acta Sinc.* p. 541). The *Cal. Byzant.* has a Julian of Tarsus under June 21. There was a church at Constantinople dedicated to SS. Julian and Basilissa. (Du Cange, *Cpolis. Chr.* lib. iv. pp. 86, 87, ed. 1729.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (88) ISTRICUS, June 22, a martyr in the reign of Decius, commemorated at Ariminum (Rimini). His *Acta*, edited with notes by Papebroch, are given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 140) from a manuscript of the Jesuit college of Rimini. The story is parallel with that of Julian of March 16, but with altered names and in a grossly legendary form. [JULIANUS (83).] [C. H.]

JULIANUS (89), June 27. Reputed martyr at Tiburtina in Italy, under Adrian, with Getulius his father, Symphorosa his mother, and his six brethren—Cereceus, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justinus, Stacteus, and Eugenius. After death they were cast into a deep pit, to which the heathen gave the name "Ad Septem Biothanatos." The title Biothanati was applied by them to the Christians from the readiness with which they surrendered themselves to death. (*Mart.* Ad., Us.; Tertullian, *de Anima*, c. lvii.) [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (90), July 20, martyr with Sabinus and fourteen others at Damascus. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Rom.*) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (91), Aug. 7, martyr at Rome with Peter and eighteen others (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Mart. Rom.*). According to the *Vet. Rom. Mart.* and Ado the name is Juliana. [C. H.]

JULIANUS (92), martyr for image-worship, with several companions, including Maria Patricia, under the emperor Leo Isaurus, at Constantinople, commemorated on Aug. 9. (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 199; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 726, xiii.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (93), martyr with Macharius in Syria; commemorated Aug. 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*; Notker, *Mart.*). Notker places the martyrdom "in vico Magarito," and on the same day gives another Julian, placing him in "Historia" which may be Istria. [JULIANUS (88).] [C. H.]

JULIANUS (94), Aug. 28. Martyr of great celebrity at Brivas (Brioude on the Allier) in Auvergne, in the Diocletian persecution. He belonged originally to the city of Vienne, where he was a disciple of St. Ferreolus. [FERREOLUS.] St. Gregory of Tours occupies the whole of the fifty chapters of his second book *De Glor. Mart.* with setting forth his miracles. (*Mart.* Ad., Us.; Till. *Mém.* v. 279, 696; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 169; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 462.) He is mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus (*Miscell.* viii. 6), "Julianum Arvernus abundans." Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Auvergne, speaks of "the head of our Julian" (*Epp.* vii. 1), and refers to him again in Carm. xxiv. [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (95), martyr with Theodorus, Oceanus, and Amianus in the reign of Maximian, and commemorated on Sept. 4. (Basil. *Menol.* i. 13; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet, Sept. 4, Sept. 9; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 308, xxvii.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (96), saint and martyr, was a priest of Ancyra in Galatia, during the persecution by Licinius in the beginning of the 4th century. He is commemorated on Sept. 13. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 54; Baron. *Annales*, A.D. 316, 53; *Martyrol. Rom.* Sept. 13; Basil. *Menolog.* i. 36.) [I. G. S.]

JULIANUS (97), Nov. 1, presbyter, martyr with Caesarius a deacon at Terracina. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (98), Feb. 16 (Basil. *Men.*), one of the twelve who were martyred with Pamphilus at Caesarea in Palestine. (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* cap. 11, pp. 340, 341; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* iii. 13.) [ESAIAS (1).] [C. H.]

JULIANUS (99), one of the two Roman prefects who gave order for sending back to Africa the Donatists who had come into Gaul on the matter of Caecilianus, A.D. 315. (Aug. *Excerpt. de Don.* vol. ix. p. 790; *Mon. Vet. Don.* no. 21, p. 211, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (100), a gentleman of good birth and Christian parentage, a fellow-student with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen at Athens. He subsequently became commissioner of taxes at Nazianzus, and Gregory Nazianzen availed himself of their former intimacy to plead for the remission of the taxes of the clergy, and of the poorer parts of the population. All these requests were acceded to. (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 9, 17; *Epp.* 167, 168, *Carm.* 49. See also *Ep.* 166.) [E. V.]

JULIANUS (101), an intimate friend of Basil. (Basil, *Epist.* 21 [373]; *Ibid.* 293 [266].) [E. V.]

JULIANUS (102), count of the East, previously viceroy of Egypt. Much of his civil history will be found referred to in the prosopopoea of Gothofred's *Codex Theodosianus.* He is called the uncle of the emperor Julian, and is said to have apostatized with him (vid. *Passio* of the martyr Theodore of Antioch in Mabillon's *Vetera Analecta*, t. iv. p. 187, ed. 1723, and in Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* p. 588). His parentage is not stated. He was deputed by the Alexandrians to intercede for their pardon after the murder of the Arian patriarch George in 361 [GEORGIUS (4)], and succeeded in his mission. When the emperor made his systematic attack on the Antiochene church, Julian was appointed with two fellow-apostates Felix [FELIX (231)] and Elpidius [ELPIDIUS (36)] to shut up the cathedral and confiscate its sacred treasures (Theod. *H. E.* iii. 8 al. 12 al. 11). In this commission he acted with great zeal, impiety, and cruelty (Sozom. v. 8). In Oct. 362 he was seized with a dreadful internal complaint, under which he repented of

his apostasy, and besought the prayers of his wife, who had remained a Christian. See Theodoret (iii. 9, al. 13). He died in Jan. or Feb. 363. The following modern authors may be consulted, Le Beau (*Bas Empire*, iii. 20, ed. Saint Martin), Rendall (*Emperor Julian*, p. 202). [G. T. S.]

JULIANUS (103), FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS, the emperor, often called Julian the Apostate. He was born A.D. 331; appointed Caesar, Nov. 6, 355; proclaimed Augustus, April 360; succeeded Constantius as sole emperor, Nov. 3, 361; died in Persia, June 27, 363.

The authorities for the life of this remarkable man are peculiarly interesting and varied, as well as very much fuller than is ordinarily the case. Many of them are contemporaneous, and what is more, credible and outspoken witnesses. His own works, especially the epistles, the manifesto to the Athenians and the Misopogon, are largely autobiographic. Next we have the testimony of friends, near and distant, of various shades of opinion, and representing different points of view. We have the literary rhetorician, Libanius, the unenthusiastic soldier-historian Ammianus, the superstitious sophist Eunapius, not to mention Eutropius and Victor. On the other hand we have the powerful witness of St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was personally acquainted with Julian and of the same age, and the looser invectives of St. Chrysostom. All these were capable of forming an independent opinion from different sides, and if we read their writings by the light of Julian's own, there is little difficulty in framing one picture out of them. The superiority of the sources for the life of Julian is felt at once if we compare them with those for that of Constantine. There we have flat contradictions and reticent witnesses, out of whom we have to construct what is after all in some important respects only a probable and conjectural narrative. In the life of Julian there are of course some doubtful points, as there are in the life of a man who died yesterday, but he lives before us in almost as clear a light as one whom we have ourselves seen and known.

The following is a list of the more important authorities; a full catalogue would occupy a volume. A good deal of information will be found in J. F. A. Mücke, *Julianus nach den Quellen*, with additions in Rode, *Die Reaction Julians*, and Rendall's *Hulsean Essay*. In some respects Hoffmann's *Bibliographisches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1838, and Oettinger's *Bibliographie Biographique*, Bruxelles, 1854, are still the most complete repertories.

A. *Ancient Authors, Heathen*.—The most important is certainly AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, books xv.–xxv.

This historian served in Julian's campaign against Persia (xxiii. 5, 7). He greatly admired him, but takes occasion frequently to criticise his conduct. Julian, in fact, was far too enthusiastic for most of the heathens of his time. Ammianus blames him in the following passages: xvi. 7. 6; xx. 8. 18; xxi. 2. 4, 5; 10. 7, 8; xxii. 3. 7–9; 7. 3; 9. 1; 10. 6, 7; 12. 6, 7; 14. 1, 2; xxiii. 1. 2; xxiv. 7. 3, 8; xxv. 4. 16–21 (given by Mücke, part 2, p. 329). This shews his fairness; but he is not infallible. He naturally omits details of church history, and judges only from the outside.

Next comes LIBANIUS. The following are the most important of his *orations* for our subject: *Prosphoneticus*, an address on Julian's entrance into Antioch, July 362; *Pro Aristophane*, Nov. or Dec. 362; *ad Julianum consulem*, Jan. 1, 363; *Legatio ad Jul.* and *de Ira Juliani*, March to June 363, written during the Persian war; *Monodia in Julianum* and *Epitaphius* written after his death—the former delivered at once, the latter, according to Sievers, not till five or six years later (*Libanius*, p. 132). All these, together with his autobiography *de fortuna sua*, are in the first volume of Reiske's edition, Altenburg, 1791–97, 4 vols. 8vo. Of these the *Epitaphius* is, by itself, almost a biography, of course with a particular tendency. The second volume contains a *monody on Nicomedia*, and a *monody on the Burning of the Temple in Daphne*, neither of which gives us many facts, and περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας Ἰουλιανοῦ addressed to Theodosius, and urging the prosecution of the supposed murderer of Julian, whom he calls Taienus, if the reading is right (p. 32). Libanius is more indiscriminating in his praise than Ammianus, but, though a strong partisan, he was neither a fanatical heathen nor a mere flatterer.

The *letters* of Libanius to Julian bear the following numbers in Wolf's edition: 33, 224, 372, 525, 586, 591, 602, 670, 712, 722, 1035, 1125, 1394, 1490, and 3, 14 of those in Latin only.

The following are the most important: 35, written after the earthquake at Nicomedia Aug. 358, congratulating him on his victories over the barbarians (mentioning Julian's 'commentaries' which recorded them), and the improvement effected in the character of Elpidius; and 372, opening in somewhat the same way, with congratulations on his oratory, suggests reasons why he had not bestowed favours on Libanius as he had on other rhetoricians; 670 thanks him for the reception of the oration *pro Aristophane;* 712 was written after Julian had left for Persia, and suggests a secret wish of the writer (for his marriage ?); 722 describes the good effect of Alexander's government on the morals of Antioch, and the honour paid to Calliope in the theatre. These sixteen letters are translated by Duncombe (see below). Of his letters addressed to other friends, 648 narrates Julian's entrance into Syria; and 1061, 1186, 1350 describe the writer's feelings about Julian's death.

MAMERTINI *gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, delivered Jan. 1, 362, at Constantinople, of no great value; contained in *Panegyrici veteres*.

HIMERII *Oratio* vii. *Laudes Constantinopoleos et Juliani Augusti* in Greek, delivered at Constantinople in the absence of Julian at Antioch, perhaps on the feast of Mithra, Dec. 25, 362 (cp. heading of *Or.* v. and vi.). It begins by mentioning the orator's initiation as a bond between himself and the emperor. The best edition is Himerii *Sophistae declamationes*, Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1849, in Didot's collection (*Philostratorum et Callistrati*

opera rec. A. Westermann; Eunapii vitae Sophistarum iterum ed. J. F. Boissonade et Himerii declamationes accurate excusso codice optimo et unico).

EUNAPIUS was a child during Julian's reign, but his imagination even then was much excited by what he heard of him. The fragments of his historical works in the first volume of the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians, contain a good deal on the subject, but not of much importance. The *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. Boissonade, 2 vols. 1822, and again, Didot, Paris, 1849 (with Philostratus and Himerius, q.v.) are more interesting, especially that of Maximus. They are written in a turgid, flowery style, but are remarkable as showing the considerable extent of a religious enthusiasm more like Julian's own in the pagans of the East, and quite different from the colder position of Libanius or Ammianus. The edition generally referred to is that of 1822: but the text of 1849 has some improvements.

EUTROPIUS, another contemporary, has a remarkable character of Julian (*Breviarium Hist. Rom.* x. 16). AURELIUS VICTOR was promoted by him on his entrance into Sirmium, and followed him into Persia (Amm. xxi. 10. 6; xxiv. 4. 31; 6. 13), but his *Caesares* contains only the notice of his appointment as Caesar. The later *Epitome* is much fuller.

SEXTUS RUFUS, whose *Breviarium* was dedicated to Valens, has a few notices of the Persian war.

ZOSIMUS, *Ἱστορία νέα*, ed. Reitemeier, Lipsiae, 1784, and in the Byzantine historians ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1837. The third book describes this reign. Zosimus, who lived circa A.D. 450, was a strong heathen, and therefore a warm admirer of Julian. He took pains to study the original sources of the time, especially the emperor's own works, but he was not a man of much ability, and is thoroughly one-sided. His local knowledge adds a little to the account of the Persian campaign.

Ancient Authors, Christian.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN (the Benedictine ed., Paris, 1778, vol. i. folio), a contemporary and acquaintance of Julian's. He wrote two invectives (*στηλιτευτικοί*) soon after his death, in which he describes his injuries to the church in vehement and rhetorical language. (*Orations* iv. and v. pp. 78–176 in this edition. *Or.* vii. *in laudem Caesarii fratris;* xviii. *funebris in patrem;* and xxv. *in laudem Heronis* also contain matter bearing on the subject.) We must not look for a tolerant and unbiassed judgment in these writings, and on certain points the later church historians may be considered to have corrected Gregory's statements by their silence. But his passion is a historical testimony to the fears entertained by Christians, and many of the details agree with what we learn of the emperor's character from his partisans, and particularly from himself. His mild account of Julian's treatment of Caesarea is also a proof of his comparative fairness.

There are three letters of St. Gregory (Nos. 67, 68, 69) addressed to Julianus, but they do not belong to our subject, but to the prefect of the same name, who was employed in assessing the revenue (Ἰουλιανὸς ἐξισωτής, to whom he addressed an oration). Auer wrongly treats them as addressed to the emperor, *Kaiser Julian der Ab.* pp. 353 foll. The seventh epistle to his brother Caesarius, expresses his shame and sorrow at hearing of his giving way to the solicitations of Julian. This letter had the effect of detaching Caesarius from the temptation to which he had to some extent yielded.

The pretended correspondence between ST. BASIL and Julian is all certainly spurious with the exception of Julian's *ep.* 12, which is addressed to a Basil—who *may* be the saint, but is not necessarily so. Auer and the writer of the article, BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA, Vol. I. p. 282, accept the letters, but apparently without sufficient consideration.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM has treated the circumstances of the removal of the relics of St. Babylas from Daphne at great length in his two orations, especially the second, usually entitled *contra Julianum et Gentiles*. He has also a homily in *SS. Juventinum et Maximinum*. See also *Hom. in Matt.* 4 and 43.

The Greek Church historians who wrote about seventy years later, SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, THEODORET, and PHILOSTORGIUS, and the Latin RUFINUS, who is somewhat earlier, all have a considerable body of matter descriptive of this reign, and each has something peculiar to himself. Philostorgius is the least important. Socrates is generally more judicious than Sozomen, though the latter has some local knowledge from his connection with Gaza. Theodoret generally follows the same lines, but has a number of characteristic and sometimes suspicious anecdotes. Rufinus is the nearest of all in date to Julian, dying in 410. He is also perhaps the most important of this class of historians for our subject.

Casual references are found in many other writers. Thus SULPICIUS SEVERUS gives an anecdote of his hero Martin of Tours in connection with Julian, *Vita B. Martini*, iv. 306. ST. AUGUSTINE *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 53, records a feigned oracle which declared that Christianity should come to an end 365 years after the birth of Christ, and in his *Confessions*, viii. 5, cp. 2, he gives the history of Victorinus. OROSIUS has a curious story (vii. 30, 546) that Julian had prepared an amphitheatre at Jerusalem in which he vowed to expose bishops and monks to the wild beasts on his safe return. PRUDENTIUS (who was converted late in life) records his judgment of the emperor in remarkable words, *e.g.* "Perfidus ille deo quamvis non perfidus orbi," &c., which shew the impression of his able rule left upon the inhabitants of Gaul (*Apotheosis*, 449–459). The references in this paragraph are mostly given by Mücke, pp. 330–339.

Georgius CEDRENUS, who wrote about 1059 A.D., adds a good deal that is mythical to the ordinary version of the history (pp. 300–308 of the old edition, pp. 525–529 of the Bonn edition). Joannes ZONARAS, who lived some fifty years later, is perhaps rather more correct. The most convenient edition at present is in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 134, *Annals*, xiii. chaps. 10–13. Cp. also the *Fragmenta Tusculana* in Mai, *Spic. Rom.* ii. 2; *Patr. Gr.* 85, col. 1807 f.

B. *Authorities, Modern.*—For the first essays on the life of Julian we should naturally look to the editions of his works by Petavius, Spanheim, &c. The following list is a selection of the most

important or curious separate publications from a much larger number in English, French and German.

(a) *English.* The first separate treatment of Julian that I have observed is by Sir William CORNEWALLIS in his *Essays; or Encomions of sadnesse, and of Julian the Apostata:* London, 1600–1601, 1616, 1626, etc. 4to. This is a quaint book, somewhat in the style of Sir Thos. Browne. It gives credit to Julian's good qualities; and is followed by a paraphrase of his *Caesars.* From the numerous editions it seems to have been a popular book.

The parallel between popery and paganism, of which some of the Reformers were so fond, naturally led to a comparison between Julian's attempt and other instances of reaction. On the margin of the Codex Vossianus of Gregory Nazianzen, where he describes the sufferings of Mark of Arethusa, who had saved Julian's life, (*or.* 4, 91, p. 125, note *d*), an English hand has written: "Sic Cranmerus noster Mariam, Reginam postea Angliae, magno et suo et aliorum malo, ab imminente capitis periculo servavit." In the last quarter of the 17th century, when a religious reaction under the Duke of York was in prospect, a number of pamphlets were published in which Julian figured largely. The most important was *Julian the Apostate: being a short account of his life, the sense of the primitive Christians about his succession and their behaviour towards him; together with a comparison of popery and paganism:* London, 1682. 12mo. This was intended to incite resistance to the Duke of York's succession, and to expose the doctrine of passive obedience, and was written by Samuel JOHNSON, chaplain to Lord Russel and rector of Corringham, Essex. It was answered by Dr. George HICKES (the non-juring bishop and northern scholar) in another anonymous pamphlet *Jovian, or an answer to Julian the Apostate,* of which two editions were published in 1683. It is not uninteresting to notice that Johnson's book was translated into French and turned against Louis XIV. a few years later, under the title of *Julien l'apostat . . . avec une comparaison du papisme et du paganisme . . . et un petit traité de l'antichrist, traduit de l'anglois,* [no place] 1688. 12mo. For further details see Brunet, s. v. Julien. Johnson was severely punished for his pamphlet and for his address to the Protestants in the army on Hounslow heath, and received a pension under William III. Cp. Macaulay, ch. 6. His works were collected and published in one folio volume in 1710.

In the next century La Bléterie's *Life* was translated by three ladies *under the inspection of Mr. Bower:* London, 1746. 8vo. The controversy with the deists gave rise to William WARBURTON'S well-known essay, *Julian: or a discourse concerning the fiery eruption which defeated the emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem:* London, 1750. 8vo. (in vol. iv. of his *Works:* London, 1788. 4to.) which may still be read with interest. It was answered by *Hierusalem: a review . . . in which Warburton's arguments are considered:* London, 1752. LARDNER, in his *Testimonies,* ch. 46, also takes the other side, as does BASNAGE in his *Histoire des Juifs.* J. H. NEWMAN has restated the case for the miracle with great force in his *Essay on the Miracles in early Ecclesiastical History:* Oxford, 1842. All these are occasional publications. The first and still in some respects the best account of Julian by an Englishman is to be found in GIBBON'S *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* in chaps. 19 and 22–24. Gibbon gathers up his information in his usual masterly way and gives a forcible and on the whole very just picture. Like some other cold and sceptical people (*e.g.* Strauss), Gibbon despised Julian's superstitious enthusiasm, and, though he cannot restrain some sneers at the church and the orthodox faith, this part of his history has generally met with comparative favour at the hands of Christian critics. Cp. an article by Mr. J. W. Barlow on *Gibbon and Julian* in the Dublin *Hermathena* for 1877. His object is to shew that Gibbon, in order to gain a reputation for impartiality, is unfair to the emperor, whom he thinks morally and intellectually the best man "of the whole series."

In the first three quarters of the present century little or nothing was published in England specially on this subject. An interesting and valuable essay, written for a Cambridge historical prize by the Hon. Arthur LYTTELTON, has been kindly placed at the disposal of the writer of this article, who owes to it several important references. It is embodied in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1880, vol. xi. pp. 24–58, *the Pagan reaction under Julian,* which gives a fresh and vigorous view of the subject. Mr. Gerald H. RENDALL'S Hulsean Essay for 1876, *The Emperor Julian; Paganism and Christianity,* appeared in 1879, after this article had been some time in type. It is decidedly the best account of Julian's religious position in English, perhaps in any modern language.

(b) In *French* we have, of course, the invaluable Tillemont, and the other writers of church history. Besides the articles in the fourth volume of the *Empereurs* there is a special treatise on the *Persécution de l'Église par J. l'Apostat,* in vol. vii. of the *Mémoires.* We miss, however, a critical treatment of the authorities, and wide generalisations in Tillemont. He also seems to exaggerate the scope of the law against Christian professors.

The *Vie de l'Empereur Julien,* par Jean P. René DE LA BLÉTERIE, Paris, 1735 and 1746, already mentioned, is an agreeable and sensible book, which may still be recommended to the ordinary reader. He translated some of Julian's works as an appendix to his life of Jovian; see below.

Abel DESJARDINS, *L'Empereur Julien, Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris,* Paris, 1845. This is particularly useful on account of the attempt to settle the chronology of the letters and other works.

E. VACHEROT, *Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie,* Paris, 1846, 3 vols. The chapter in vol. ii., *Lutte du Polythéisme et du Christianisme,* contains some just observations on the reasons for the failure of Julian and the Neoplatonists.

Émile LAMÉ, *Julien l'Apostat,* Paris, 1861, a pretentious and fanciful book, from which something may be learnt by a critical and well-informed reader, but which would be very misleading to an ignorant one.

The fullest history of Julian is no doubt that of Albert DE BROGLIE in the third and fourth

volumes of his *L'Église et l'Empire romain au quatrième siècle*, Paris, 1866, &c. This is indispensable to the student of the period. The general attitude of De Broglie is that taken in this article, but he is too anxious to make points to be careful of minute accuracy, and therefore of entire fairness, and his references often want correction. Some instances of this will be found below.

These volumes were reviewed by C. MARTHA in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for March 1867, vol. lxviii. pp. 137–169, who paints the emperor more favourably.

H. Adrien NAVILLE, *Julien l'Apostat et sa Philosophie du Polythéisme*, Paris and Neuchâtel, 1877, is a sensible and useful essay on J.'s theory of religion. It has been frequently referred to in section iv.

G. BOISSIER has summarised the modern views of Julian in an article founded on Naville, Rode and Sievers, in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, for July, 1880, vol. xl., pp. 72–111.

We may mention here C. H. van HERWERDEN, *De Juliano imp. Religionis Christianae hoste eodemque vindice*, Lugd. Bat. 1827, which is useful in shewing the evidence *for* Christianity which may be gleaned from his writings.

(*c*) In *German* we have a number of essays, but no exhaustive life of first-rate importance.

Gottfried ARNOLD began to take a new and more favourable view of Julian's character in his *Unpartheiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, 1700, vol. i. pp. 128, foll. SCHRÖCKH made a fuller collection of facts in his *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, pt. 6.

In the present century we have NEANDER'S *Kayser Julian und sein Zeitalter*, 1812, in which the deep religious feeling of J. is brought out and his perversion made intelligible.

WIGGERS *J. der Abtrünnige ein Verfolger des Christenthums und ein Verfolger der Christen*, in Ilgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1837, pp. 115–158, attempted to draw a distinction between Julian's earlier and later measures of oppression. This is a useful piece of work, in a new line, but requires more chronological exactness to prove its point.

TEUFFEL, *Zur Gesch. des K. J.* in Schmidt's *Zeitschr. für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. iv. pp. 143–161. 1845: on the chronology of Julian's early life, and the genuineness of certain letters, Teuffel defends *Ep.* 28, *Judaeis*; 67, *Arsaci*; cp. Sozom. vi. 1; as well as 68–76 (Heyler); but condemns *Ep.* 77=75 Hertlein, *Basilio Magno*.

D. F. STRAUSS, *Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren*, Mannheim, 1847, is a very clever political pamphlet (like S. Johnson's) directed against King Frederick William the Fourth of Prussia, and his religious reaction, and is interesting chiefly as such.

J. E. AUER, *K. J. der Abtrünnige im Kampfe mit den Kirchenvätern seiner Zeit*, Vienna, 1855, is a considerable collection of material (by a Roman Catholic), but is uncritical, prejudiced, and often irrelevant.

C. SEMISCH, *J. d. A., ein Charakterbild*, Breslau, 1862.

MARGOLD (lectures), Stuttgart, 1862; translated into French by Eugène TALBOT, with original essay, Paris, 1863.

J. F. A. MÜCKE, *Flavius Claudius Julianus: nach den Quellen*, Gotha, 1867 and 1869 (2 parts), is the most complete modern German account. He has the merit of calling attention to Julian's military campaigns (though apparently without much special talent for the subject), and he gives a large amount of useful bibliographical information. It is a painstaking but not brilliant book; and the history of the persecution of Christianity wants method and insight. Mücke depends, in fact, too much upon Ammianus, and is not unfrequently betrayed into partisanship with his hero.

E. ZEIDLER, *Julian*, 1869.

KELLERBAUER, *Skizze der Vorgeschichte Julians*, 1877.

Fr. RODE, *Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser Julians gegen die christliche Kirche*, Jena, 1877. This is a useful study, and generally very accurate, paying proper attention to chronology. The writer takes up something of the same position as Keim does in his essay on Constantine's conversion—striving after fairness towards the church, without accepting its doctrines. He admires Julian's books against the Christians as anticipating the line of modern critical theology in many points, pp. 102, 103; cf. p. 32, note 10.

Of other writers who touch the subject in passing we may mention Richter in his *Weströmische Reich*, and Sievers in his *Leben des Libanius*, chaps. x.–xii. The latter is valuable on account of the independent reading of the author and his detailed knowledge of Libanius and his correspondents.

Henrik IBSEN'S interesting drama, *Keyser og Galilæer* (pub. 1873) has been translated from the Norwegian by Catherine Ray, under the title of *The Emperor and the Galilean*, London, 1876. Cp. J. G. E. HOFFMANN, *Jul. der Abtrünnige, Syrische Erzählungen*, Leiden, 1880; old romances reflecting the feeling of the Eastern Christians. Cp. Th. Nöldeke, *Z. d. D. Morg. Ges.* xxviii. 263 foll. 666 f.

C. *Editions and Translations of Julian's Own Works.*—There are four editions of the collected works.

1. Gr. et Lat. ed. Petrus Martinius et Carolus Cantoclarus, Paris, 1583–88.

2. Gr. et Lat. [ed. Dionysius Petavius], Paris, 1630, 4; much more complete than the foregoing

3. Gr. et Lat. ed. Ezech. Spanhemius, Lipsiae, 1696, fol. cum notis, etc. This is the edition most often referred to, and its pages are in general use, and are given by Hertlein. It is the only edition containing St. Cyril's books, in which are preserved Julian's attack upon Christianity. Spanheim's own notes consist only of a huge commentary of 309 pages upon the first oration; but he reprinted those of some of the earlier editions upon the other books.

4. Ed. F. C. Hertlein, 2 vols. 8vo, Leipzig, Teubner, 1873, 1876. This is, what was much wanted, a good critical edition of all Julian's works except the fragments of the books against the Christians and the laws. The former have been edited by C. J. NEUMANN, *Jul. Imp. librorum contra Christianos quae supersunt*, Lips. 1880, with some Syriac fragments of S. Cyril, ed. E. Nestle.

Amongst the numerous editions of separate works the following may be mentioned:—

Caesares, ed. J. M. Heusinger, Gotha, 1736.

Epistolae, Gr. et Lat. ed. L. F. Heyler, Moguntiae, 1828, 8, a laborious but disappointing book. It does not contain the letters to

Themistius and the Athenians, or the fragment on the duties of a priest. The letters are also edited by R. Hercher in *Epistolographi Graeci*, Paris, 1873, 8, in Didot's series.

Books against the Christians.—Deffense du Paganisme en grec et en français, par le Marquis d'Argens, Berlin, 1764, 2 vols. (ed. 3, Berlin, 1769.) This is a frivolous and worthless book. It was dedicated to D'Alembert.

Translations:—

Select works of the Emperor Julian and some pieces of the Sophist Libanius, &c. with notes by John Duncombe, M.A. London, 1784, 2 vols.

This contains all the works except the orations—having only that on the departure of Sallust and the fable from oration vii. It also contains the letters of Libanius to Julian, and the lives of Libanius and Jovian. The style is good and the notes are useful, but the translation is disfigured by terrible blunders; even in the notes he confuses Beroea of *Ep.* 27, *i.e.* Aleppo, with the Beroea of the Acts of the Apostles, vol. ii. p. 62.

Two Orations of the Emperor Julian—to the Sovereign Sun, and the Mother of the Gods—with notes by Thomas Taylor, London, 1793. 8vo.

Julian's Arguments against the Christians, by the same; privately printed. London, 1809.

Thomas Taylor, the translator of Plato and Aristotle, was a Neoplatonist in religion and even in religious practice. It is said that he sacrificed a ram to Zeus in a back-garden at Wandsworth. He naturally was in thorough sympathy with Julian, whose obscure theology he found luminous and clear. The character of his translation, as well as of his remarks, may be easily inferred. The second of these two publications also contains the letter to the Bostrenians and the edict against Christian professors. It was reprinted by Mr. Willis Nevins (Williams and Norgate, London, 1873), in the interests of Christianity, without Taylor's preface and observations, but with a curious introduction of his own.

Oeuvres complètes de l'Empereur Julien, traduites en français avec abrégé historique, notes, etc. par R. Tourlet. Paris, 1821, 3 vols. 8vo.

Julien, Oeuvres complètes, Traduction nouvelle accompagnée de sommaires, notes, éclaircissements, etc. par Eugène Talbot, Paris, 1863.

Les Césars de l'Emp. Jul. trad. en français, avec des remarques et des preuves enrichies de plus de 300 *médailles*, par M. Spanheim. Paris, 1683; Amsterdam, 1728.

Histoire de l'Emp. Jovien et Traduction de quelques ouvrages de l'Emp. Julien, par Jean P. R. de la Bléterie. Paris, 1748, 2 vols.; 1776, 1 vol. Contains *Caesar*, *Misopogon*, select letters and the fable from oration vii.

Le Opere Scelte di Giuliano Imp. da Sp. Petrettini, Milano, 1821, 1822.

Juliani Caesares, übersetzt von C. N. von Osiander, and *Misopogon*, von H. Reichardt. Stuttgart, 1856.

Kaiser Julians Bücher gegen die Christen, von K. J. Neumann, Leipz. 1880. The *Theodosian Code* is quoted from Hänel's edition; the *Justinian Code* from P. Krueger's, Berlin, 1877, which contains some important rectifications of dates. Hänel's collection of the other fragments of laws in his *Corpus legum ab imperatoribus latarum extra codices*, Lips. 1857, may also be consulted.

D. *Chronological List of Julian's Works.*—The following catalogue of Julian's works is arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order—a convenience not to be found in any edition, yet indispensable for a study of his life and character. La Bléterie and Desjardins have of course been consulted in compiling it, but by no means always followed.

The following division of the material seems the most natural. Perfect certainty as to the result cannot of course be guaranteed.

§ 1. *Writings before his appointment as Caesar*, A.D. 351–355, while he was still in a private position.

§ 2. *As Caesar* up to the death of Constantius, Nov. 355–Nov. 361.

§ 3. *As sole emperor*, Nov. 361–June 363.

§ 4. *Letters of uncertain date.*

N.B.—The numbers in brackets after each epistle are those of Hertlein's edition, which agree generally (up to no. 64) with Spanheim and Heyler.

§ 1. *Writings before his appointment as Caesar*, A.D. 351–355. Desjardins seems rightly to have placed in this class a number of letters redolent of the schools, and containing reminiscences of recent rhetorical exercises.

A.D. 351–354 [*Gallus Caesar Juliano*: "I am rejoiced to hear from Aetius that my suspicions of your unsoundness in the faith of your forefathers were false" (p. 454, Spanheim)].

[This letter has been considered spurious, and probably with sufficient reason. See GALLUS, § 3.]

— *Iamblicho*: "accept the oration on the famous junction of the straits (by Xerxes) which I have written by the emperor's desire" (41).

[This man cannot be the great Neoplatonist Iamblichus, but perhaps his nephew, see Fabricii *Bibl. Graeca*, vol. v. p. 760, ed. Harless. Ueberweg, *Hist. Philosoph.* § 69 note, rejects all the letters addressed to Iamblichus, and there is some reason to doubt them.]

— *Georgio (catholico)*, i.e. procurator of the fiscus: compares his letters to the small but finished works of Phidias.—"The mouse in the fable helped the lion, so you may receive something even from me" (8).

[Desjardins, p. 106, note 2, suggests that this may be George of Cappadocia.]

— *Georgio catholico*: compliments him on his letters; pleasant pedantry about the nymph Echo (54).

— *Serapioni clarissimo*: "I have sent you 100 long-stalked Damascene figs." Dilates on figs and the number 100, and ends by suggesting that his essay should have some publicity given to it—a clear sign of the youthfulness of the writer (24).

— *Hecebolio*: I send you a silver medal in return for your gold one. A letter from you would be more precious still than your present (19).

— *Maximo*: submits his orations to his judgment (16).

Libanio: the pleasure of travelling quietly and not in the public carriage (72).

[This letter, if authentic, must have been written before Julian was Caesar.]

355. PRO ARGIVIS: a declamation probably delivered at Athens, wrongly inserted amongst the epistles (35).
[Petavius attributes this oration to the youth of Julian, while Spanheim and Godefroy (*ad Cod. Theod.* xi. 25–30) place it during his reign. The fragment that follows, as well as the character of the piece, is in favour of the earlier date.]
— *Fragment* 3 (Suidas, s. v. Μουσώνιος), addressed perhaps to Diogenes or Lamprias, the Argive delegates: "You have borne well the drunken abuse which the governor of Hellas has heaped upon us. You are patient, like Socrates, and careful of the interests of your city, like Musonius."
— *Diogeni:* intercedes for his son (70).
[Perhaps addressed to the same man as the last.]

§ 2. *As Caesar* up to the death of Constantius: Nov. 355–Nov. 361.

355. Nov. ORATIO I. IN CONSTANTIUM AUGUSTUM, a panegyric, probably written just after his appointment as Caesar.
356 (?). AD THEMISTIUM: a long philosophical letter addressed to the Neoplatonist (not the orator) on the dangers of sovereign power; hints, at the end, at a great scheme for the benefit of mankind, especially philosophers (pp. 253–267, ed. Spanheim).
[There can be little doubt that this letter was written about this time, and so Tillemont and La Blétérie conclude. De Broglie, iv. p. 116, and Clinton, following a conjecture of Petavius, place it after he became Augustus.]
356 (?). *Iamblicho:* "if I ever return to my native country (C. P.) I will never leave you" (60).
356 (?). *Iamblicho:* mentions his dangers in Pannonia and on the way to Bithynia, and elsewhere since they parted, and regrets the length of time since he left the East (61).
356 (?). *Sosipatro:* "I send this by the τροφεὺς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παίδων, who will give you more particulars about us" (67).
356 (?). ORATIO III. IN EUSEBIAM AUGUSTAM. [Her visit to Rome (in 356) is mentioned p. 129; but the oration must be *before* the visit of Constantius, Ap. 29, 357, see Clinton anno 357.]
358. *Iamblicho:* "it is now the third year since I came from Pannonia, and saw you at Nicomedia having escaped the dangers and troubles of which you are aware. I have written to you several times, but you have not perhaps received my letters—once when the τροφεὺς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παίδων came home, and since after yours brought by Sopater" (40).
358. Nov.? ORATIO VIII. IN DISCESSUM SALLUSTII. [The year of Sallust's withdrawal is not certain. It may have been 357, cf. *ad Ath.* pp. 281, 282.]
358 (?). *Oribasio:* describes his dream about two trees (himself and Constantius). His refusal to sign a disgraceful document offered him by ὁ μιαρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος (= Florentius?) "Would that the gods might give me back Sallustius" (17).
358 (?). ORATIO II. IN CONSTANTIUM AUGUSTUM.
[For the probable date see p. 56 b, where he says he has himself seen the nations on the Atlantic; cf. Tillemont, *Emp.* iv. p. 499.]
359. *Eumenio et Phariano* (probably fellow-students at Athens): "it is nearly four years and three months since we parted. I am here amongst barbarians. Study classics, but especially philosophy" (55).
— *Alypio:* refers to the rebuilding of the cities of Gaul, writes from winter-quarters and speaks of his "Gallic and barbarous muse" (29).
— *Alypio:* "I am highly satisfied with your administration of affairs (in Britain? cf. Amm. xxiii. 1, 2). Thanks for the book of geography and the map" (30).
— *Prisco:* "I have long sent Archelaus to you and a free pass. Come unless you fear the rudeness of the Gauls (Galatae) or bad weather" (71).
[This letter *may* belong to the journey to Antioch in the summer of 362.]
360. *Constantio Augusto*, from Paris in the autumn, after the soldiers had proclaimed him Augustus. Refuses Gallic troops and proposes terms (Amm. xx. 8, 5–17).
361, autumn. *Maximo*, from Illyricum: rejoices in being able to sacrifice publicly and describes the devotion of the army (38).
— AD SENATUM POPULUMQUE ATHENIENSEM: a long defence of his conduct in taking up arms against Constantius, containing important details of his life till the time of writing (pp. 268–287, ed. Spanheim).
— AD CORINTHIOS; Frag.

§ 3. *Letters and other works written as sole emperor.*

361. Nov. or Dec. *Juliano avunculo:* "We are safe, thanks to the gods. I never wished the death of Constantius. I took up arms in obedience to the gods" (13).
[Constantius died Nov. 3.]
Dec. 19. CAESARES: at the Saturnalia at C. P.
Dec. 25. ORATIO IV. IN SOLEM REGEM.
Dec. at C. P. *Eutherio:* "We live preserved by the gods, and with us Hellenism. Come over if you can to C. P." (69).
[This Eutherius is probably the excellent eunuch of whom Ammianus gives a sketch, xvi. 7.]
— *Hermogeni:* "Constantius is dead, and I have escaped the wild beasts who surrounded him. They are to be brought to trial. Hasten hither at once" (23).
— *Maximo:* "Your letters are like medicine to me; write again, or rather come yourself" (15).
— *Aetio episcopo:* "I have recalled the others whom Constantius banished, but, mindful of our old acquaintance, I also invite you hither" (31).
— *Basilio:* "The company of a sage like you will be highly serviceable to me" (12).
[There is nothing in this letter to make us suppose it was addressed to St. Basil of Caesarea: it is possible however that it may have been to him.]

— *Prohaeresio:* "If you wish for materials for a history of my return I will give you the documents" (2).

[Possibly the reluctance of Prohaeresius (who was a Christian) to undertake the rhetorical defence of Julian, may have led to the coldness between them, cp. Eunap. *Himerius*, p. 95, where read with the later edition ὡς [not οὐ] διὰ τὴν εἰς Προαιρέσιον ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσμένως ὀφθησόμενος].

(?) *Iamblicho:* "Whilst we are wintering in Thrace your letters come like swallows' (53).

(?) *Eustochio:* "Come and receive an honorary consulate (μεθέξων τῆς ὑπατείας)" (20).

— *Eustathio philosopho:* "Fly hither on the public carriage." [Enodia = Hecate is mentioned here and in no. 20.] (76).

— *Byzantinis* (?): "Applaud me if you like in the theatre, but not in a temple like the Tychaeum" (64).

— *Alexandrinis:* "You have an obelisk lying on your shore which Constantius wished to bring hither. He has now departed this life, and I desire you to send it to myself, who have a filial love for your city. You may erect a colossal statue (of myself). Preserve the obelisk from superstition and defilement" (58).

(?) *Artabio:* "The Galileans must not be killed or beaten unjustly, but the worshippers of the gods should be encouraged in every way" (7).

(?) *Theodoro pontifici:* "I appoint you chief priest of Asia, and will give further directions later. I lament that the zeal of the worshippers of the gods should be outdone by the Jews" (63).

[Reiske thought that the long *fragmentum Epistolae*, pp. 288–305, is a part of this letter: it is more probably the sequel to it at a later date.]

(?) *Judaeis:* frees them from tribute, mentions his vengeance on the courtiers of Constantius, desires their prayers, and speaks of his wish to restore Jerusalem after his return from the Persian war (25).

[Both the date and genuineness of this letter are doubtful, but on the whole it is probably to be accepted.]

(?) *Dionysio:* A sarcastic and bitter letter to a Roman official who had been his friend, but had gone over to Constantius, and had compared Julian to Constans and Magnentius. Julian ridicules his arguments and his Greek, and refuses to restore him to office (59).

362 Jan. (?) at C. P. *Alexandrinis:* reprimands them sharply for the death of George of Cappadocia, but does not punish them (10).

[George was murdered by the populace Dec. 24, 361.]

— *Ecdicio praefecto Aegypti:* "Procure me George's books, some of which I copied when I was in Cappadocia" (9).

— *Porphyrio:* "Procure me George's books, and send them to Antioch" (36).

— *Zenoni medico:* "Return to Alexandria. If you left on account of George's turbulence you were unjustly treated" (45).

Beginning of March. *Alexandrinis:* "Athanasius and the other bishops were only allowed to return to their countries, not to their 'thrones.' He must leave Alexandria directly you receive this letter" (26).

Athanasius returned to his throne in the cathedral church, Feb. 22.]

March 13. *Byzantinis:* "We have restored to their duties all your senators and decurions who were exempted, whether as Christians or otherwise" (11).

[The date of this letter is probably the same as that of the general law taking away the privileges of Christians (*Cod. Theod.* xii. i. 50). He calls them *Byzantines*, partly perhaps from dislike of Constantine, partly to keep up the associations of old Greek history. There seems no reason to read *Bisanthenis* with Gibbon.]

March 28. ORATIO V. IN MATREM DEORUM. [Delivered at the vernal equinox, and not, as usually dated, at Pessinus.]

— OR. VII. ADVERSUS HERACLIUM CYNICUM.

[For the date see Lib. *Epit.* p. 574; *Monod.* p. 512, *i.e.* about the same time as *or.* v. Mücke's argument (pt. 2, p. 179) does not notice these passages, and is in itself inadequate.]

Before May. *Maximo:* "You require change of air, so use the public carriage to return home" (39).

May 12. *De medicis:* "The healing art is divine; it is just therefore that physicians should have immunity from the office of decurion" (25).

[May 12 is the date of the similar law, *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 3, 4, *de medicis et professoribus*].

May. *Philippo:* "I did not write often to any one across the Alps when I was Caesar, for fear of getting my friends into trouble. I hope soon to pass your way and to see you" (68).

— *Callixenae:* "Your faithfulness for the last twenty years deserves the highest praise. I appoint you priestess of the mother of the gods at Pessinus" (21).

June 17, at Ancyra or Pessinus. *Edictum de professoribus:* "It is dishonest to think one thing and teach another. No professor therefore who does not believe in the gods must expound the ancient writers. Christians may go to their churches and expound Matthew and Luke. Children are however free to attend what schools they please" (42).

[The date is perhaps the same as that of the law requiring professors to be sanctioned by the town-councils (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 3, 5).]

June. ORATIO VI. IN IMPERITOS CANES: against certain false cynics.

[Composed about the summer solstice; p. 181 A.]

June or July. *Aristoxeno philosopho* (not *Aristomeni*): "Come and meet me at Tyana, and shew us a true Greek among the Cappadocians" (4).

[June or July. *Basilio magno:* "I am on my way to conquer the Persians, Indians, and

Saracens. Send me 1000 pounds of gold or I will devastate Caesarea;" ends with the famous words, ἃ γὰρ ἀνέγνων ἔγνων καὶ κατέγνων (75). This letter is for various reasons justly accounted spurious.]

Antioch, Aug. 1. *Bostrenis*: "Any who return to the worship of the gods must first be purified and offer sacrifices of expiation. The people must not abet the seditions of the clergy. Your bishop Titus has sent me an impertinent memorial, in which he pretends that his influence has kept you from seditions. Shew that your wills are your own by expelling him from the city. I do not, however, sanction cruelty to the Galileans" (52).

End of Sept. *Ecdicio praefecto*: A bantering reprimand for not telling him of the rising of the Nile. "It was fifteen cubits high on Sept. 20" (50).

Oct. *Ecdicio*: "Though you write on nothing else [see foregoing letters], you should have written to tell me about Athanasius. He must leave not only the city but Egypt before Dec. 1," adding a postscript in his own hand on the baptism of certain Gentile ladies by Athanasius (6).

[St. Athanasius received notice of this letter on Oct. 23. (See Bright's *Orations against the Arians*, p. lxxxiii.)]

— *Alexandrinis*: Arguments against Christianity, and in favour of Serapis and the sun. Julian is now in the twelfth year of his Gentile belief. Athanasius must leave Egypt (51).

(?) *Arsacio pontifici Galatiae*: laments lukewarmness of heathens: "I have given you 30,000 bushels of wheat a year to be given to the poor. Imitate the charity and humanity of the Galileans; support the virtue and dignity of the priesthood. I am ready to help the people of Pessinus if they will reverence the mother of the gods" (49).

Nov. (?) *Libanio*: "Priscus has not yet come. Send me the oration and your advice" (3).

[Priscus and Maximus were both with Julian when Libanius wrote *pro Aristophane*, p. 455, and at the time of his death. Amm. xxv. 3, 23.]

— *Libanio*: "Thanks for your oration *for Aristophanes*. You have persuaded me to think better of him. We will confer as to what can best be done for him" (74).

[This oration is No. 14 in Reiske, vol. i. p. 424, foll. Cp. Sievers, *Leben des Libanius*, p. 96, for the date.]

— *Photino* (preserved in Latin): "You do well in denying the divinity of Christ. Diodorus (bp. of Tarsus) is an impudent sophist. If the gods help me I will disprove his positions" (79).

— ADVERSUS CHRISTIANOS LIBRI TRES.

The following were probably written in 362, *but in what part of the year is uncertain.*

— *Hecebolio*: "I have ordered the Galileans not to be ill-treated, but the Arians of Edessa have attacked the Valentinians. I order therefore the money of the church to be divided among the soldiers, and the estates to be added to the fiscus" (43).

— *Evagrio*: gives him his grandmother's Bithynian villa, his early play-place (46).

— *Thracensibus*: remits their taxes till the third indiction (47).

— *Pictori*: "Paint me as I really am, with the images of the gods in my hands" (65).

— *Ecdicio praefecto*: "I wish you to choose and train boys for sacred music at Alexandria, and will provide for their support" (56).

— *Leontio*: "We have heard much of your activity, and have sent you a complete set of armour, and enrolled you in our bodyguard" (22).

— *Anonymo*: suspends a heathen priest who had maltreated another (62).

— *Euclidi*: "I have unwillingly let you go in pursuit of learning" (73).

— *Anonymo* (possibly *Theodoro*, cf. No. 63): "We should not have made Pegasius a priest unless we had been convinced of his devotion. I met him on my way to the court of Constantius (in the autumn of 355), when I visited Ilium novum, of which he was then bishop. He shewed his Gentile sympathies very clearly even then" (78, a newly found letter, first edited by Henning, in *Hermes*, vol. ix.).

— *Arsaci satrapi Armeniae*: "Join my forces against Persia. I shall either perish or triumph. I have not much confidence in you, but if you do not follow me I prophesy that you will be ruined by the Persians, and Nisibis will share your fate" (66).

[This is a ridiculous letter and appears to be spurious. For the fulfilment of the supposed prophecy, see Amm. xxvii. 12.]

Letters, &c., written in the year 363.

363. FRAGMENTUM EPISTOLAE on the duties of a priest, pp. 288–308 (probably written after the failure at Jerusalem, see p. 295 c, etc. and below, II., § 6 *c*).

Feb. 12? *Antiochenis*: "No one is to be buried till after 6 P.M., to avoid bad omens" (77, first ed. in *Hermes*, vol. viii.).

[The date may be the same as that of the law *de sepulchris violatis* in *Cod. Theod.* ix. 17, 5, which also orders burials to take place by night.]

End of Jan. or beginning of Feb. MISOPOGON in the seventh month of his stay in Antioch, p. 344 a, after his uncle Julian's death.

March. *Libanio*: from Hierapolis, describes his march through Litarbe, Beroea (Aleppo), and Batnae; has been received by a sympathising friend at Hierapolis (27).

§ 4. *Letters of uncertain date arranged in the order in which they are printed. They are mostly insignificant and merely complimentary.*

[*Sophistae cuidam*: a letter not of Julian's, but of Procopius's of Gaza] (1).

Theodorae: Thanks for books and letter (5).

Libanio: Praise of an oration he had just read (14).

Eugenio philosopho: longs to be with him (18).

Gregorio duci: Thanks for a letter (28).

Luciano: "I write that I may be entitled to a letter" (32).

Dositheo: "Your name brought our father to mind. Strive to resemble him" (33).

Iamblicho: a highly laudatory but uninteresting letter (34).

Amerio: consolation on his wife's death. Anecdote of Democritus and Darius (37).

Libanio: Thanks for letters received after recovery from illness (44).

Zenoni: "I am rather unwell and should like to hear from you" (48).

Elpidio: "I send you a short but friendly letter" (57).

II. *Life.*

§ 1. *Early years of Julian as a Christian* (A.D. 331–351).—Flavius Claudius Julianus was the youngest son of Julius Constantius, the half-brother of the emperor Constantine the Great, His mother, Basilina, was of the noble family of the Anicii, and daughter of Julianus the praetorian prefect, whose name was given to her son [see Basilina in supplement]. Julian was born at Constantinople in the latter part of the year 331, the year after the dedication of the new capital. (Jul. *Ep.* 58, τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν, cf. Amm. xxv. 5, 1. The date is gathered from Amm. xxv. 3, 23, and 5, 1, who says that on the day of his death June 26, 363, he was "anno aetatis altero et tricesimo," cf. Jul. *Ep.* 51, p. 434 d. Socrates calls him ὀκταέτης in 337 or 338, therefore he cannot have been born much after the middle of the year 331.) Basilina did not long survive her son's birth, but left him to the care of the eunuch Mardonius, a trusty servant whom his grandfather had educated to be her instructor in the poems of Homer and Hesiod (Jul. *Misopogon*, p. 352 b).

Upon the death of the great Constantine in May, 337, and the accession of his three sons, there was a general massacre of the male branches of the younger line of the Flavian family descended from Constantius Chlorus and his second wife Theodora. In this tragedy there perished the father and eldest brother of Julian, his paternal uncle, his cousins the Caesars Delmatius and Hanniballian, and four other members of the family. Julian and his elder half-brother Gallus, who was sick of an illness which was expected to be mortal, were alone preserved, by the compassion or the policy of Constantius (cf. Socr. *H. E.* iii. 1; Greg. Naz. *Or.* iii. p. 58 b. Julian, *ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 270 c, gives the list of those who perished, and ascribes their deaths to Constantius, who he says wished at first to slay both himself and Gallus). Julian in particular is said to have owed his life to the interference of Mark, bishop of Arethusa, who gave him sanctuary in a church (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iii. p. 80 c). The boy was taken charge of by his mother's family, and his education was conducted under the direction of the Arian Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who was distantly related to him (Amm. xxii. 9. 4; cf. Soz. v. 2). When Eusebius was translated in 338 to the see of Constantinople it is probable that Julian went with him, and attended the schools of that city (cf. Libanius, ἐπιτάφιος, ed. Reiske, i. p. 525; Julian, *Ep.* 58; and Rode, *die Reaction Julians*, p. 22, note 10). His constant attendant and guardian was his mother's slave Mardonius, whose influence evidently had great power in moulding the character and tastes of his pupil, and who insisted strongly on a staid and perhaps rather pedantic demeanour (Liban. *l. c.*; Jul. *Misopogon*, pp. 351, sq.; Mücke, in his *Julianus nach den Quellen*, zweite Abtheilung, pp. 6 and 9, makes a curious blunder in supposing that Julian disliked Mardonius). Though educating him only for a private position, he set before him a high standard, and particularly held up to his imitation the names and characters of "Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus" (*Misop.* p. 353 b). He kept him from the theatre and the circus, and taught him rather to love the Homeric descriptions of Phaeacia and Demodocus and Calypso's isle, and the cave of Circe (*ib.* 351 d). Such teaching can have contributed little to his Christianity, but doubtless fed the naturally dreamy temperament of his pupil. Julian tells us that from a child he had a strange desire of gazing at the sun, and that he loved to spend a clear night in looking fixedly at the moon and stars, so that he almost gained the character of an astrologer (Jul. *Or.* iv. *ad regem Solem* ad init.; cf. the fable, *Or.* vii. p. 229, in which he speaks of himself as entrusted by Zeus to the sun's guardianship.) These school days were occasionally broken by summer visits to a little farm of his grandmother's in Bithynia, on the coast of the Propontis, of which he retained a delightful recollection (*Ep.* 46).

But these pleasant days of freedom were brought to an abrupt conclusion by the command of Constantius. The death of his relative Eusebius (in 342) deprived Julian of a powerful protector, when he was about eleven years old; and soon after this (probably in 343 or 344) the emperor, swayed by some impulse of suspicion, recalled Gallus from his exile, and sent the two brothers to the distant palace of Macellum in Cappadocia (the date of the commencement of this retirement is not quite certain; see Rode, p. 25, note 22; cf. Jul. *ad S.P.Q. Ath.* pp. 270, 271; Soz. v. 2; Amm. xv. 2, 7). Here for six years they were kept under surveillance, with no lack indeed of material comforts, but apart from young men of their own age, and as it were forced into the society of their slaves (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iii. p. 58 b; Julian, *ad Ath.* p. 271 c). Their seclusion was only once broken by a visit from Constantius (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 274, probably in 347, see laws of the *Cod. Theod.* in this year). Masters and teachers were not wanting, especially of that form of Arianism to which Constantius was devoted; and Julian now, if not before, made a considerable verbal acquaintance with the Bible, an acquaintance which frequently appears in his writings. He and Gallus were admitted to the office of *Reader* in the church—a proof (it may be remarked in passing) that he had been baptized, though no mention of the fact of his baptism is recorded. In the same spirit they interested themselves zealously in the building of chapels over the relics of certain martyrs (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iii. p. 58; Soz. v. 2). The success of Gallus

in this building, and the ill-success of Julian was remarked at the time, and was (afterwards, at any rate) considered as an omen of his apostasy (Greg. Naz. *l. c.* p. 59). Julian no doubt continued his classical studies, and (we learn incidentally) borrowed books of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology to copy from the library of George of Cappadocia, who was afterwards intruded into the see of Alexandria (Jul. *Ep.* 9).

In the spring of 351 Constantius felt himself forced by the burden of empire to take a colleague, and Gallus was appointed Caesar. Julian with difficulty was permitted to leave Macellum, and seems to have returned for a short time to Constantinople; there he studied grammar with Nicocles, and rhetoric with Hecebolius, then a zealous Christian (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 1; on the rather difficult chronology of this time see Rode, p. 27, note 32). Constantius, fearing lest his presence in the capital might lead to his becoming too popular, ordered him to remove to Nicomedia (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 526, προσφωνητικός, p. 408). Hecebolius, it would seem, saw this change with reluctance, and exacted a promise from his pupil that he would not attend the lectures of the famous heathen sophist Libanius; Julian kept his promise, perhaps fearing to excite suspicion by outward intercourse with a chief partisan of the old religion, but contented himself with a study of the written lectures of the master (Lib. *l. c.* 526 sq. Libanius does not *name* Hecebolius, but the description seems to point to him: Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 54, note 5, supposes Nicocles to be meant). There were others, however, in Nicomedia, besides Libanius, who attracted the attention of the young prince. He here learnt to know some of the more mystical of the heathen party, to whom paganism was still a reality, and the gods living beings, visions of whom were to be seen by night, and whose power still worked signs and wonders. "He is sent to the city of Nicomedes," says Libanius, "as a place of less importance than Constantinople. But this was the beginning of the greatest blessings both to himself and the world. For there was there a spark of the mantic art still smouldering, which had with difficulty escaped the hands of the impious. By the light of this" (turning to Julian) "you first tracked out what was obscure, and learnt to curb your vehement hatred of the gods, being rendered gentle by the revelations of divination" (Liban. *Prosphoneticus*, ed. Reiske, 1, p. 408).

While Julian was thus having his first experience of the inner circle of heathen life, Gallus met his brother for the last time as he passed through Bithynia to undertake the government of the East with which Constantius had invested him (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 527, διὰ τῆς Βιθυνίας) Ammianus (xv. 2, 7) puts this meeting at Constantinople, but Libanius was in Nicomedia at the time, and is therefore a better authority. The two brothers, according to Julian's account, corresponded but rarely after this, and on few subjects (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 273; Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 530). Gallus, it is said, having reason at a later date to suspect his brother's change of belief, sent the Arian Aetius to confer with him (Philostorgius, 3, 27); and a letter is extant, purporting to be from Gallus, which expresses great joy at the news of his firmness brought by Aetius (Jul. *Ep.* ad fin. On the whole I incline to think it is spurious: for the reasons, see the article on GALLUS, § 3). Julian, for his part, if we may believe Libanius, sent Gallus good advice on his political conduct, which had he followed he might have preserved both the empire and his life (Liban. *ad Jul. cos.* p. 376, ed. Reiske).

§ 2. *Conversion to Heathenism* (A.D. 351–355).—The secret apostasy of Julian was the result of his residence at Nicomedia, though it was not completed there. The chief agent in effecting it was the neoplatonist Maximus of Ephesus, a man who displayed the combination, which from time to time has not been uncommon, of philosopher, magician, and political schemer. Whether Maximus first visited him in Nicomedia or not is doubtful. (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 1, asserts that he did, but we find no mention of this in Libanius or Gregory, both of whom were contemporaries.) The fullest account of their intercourse is given by the sophist Eunapius in his life of Maximus, in somewhat high-flown and romantic language; but the story seems generally probable, and Eunapius, as son-in-law of Chrysanthius, was well acquainted with one at least of the parties concerned. We gather from this (though Eunapius is far from saying so) that a regular plan was laid for entrapping the young prince. The fame of the wisdom of Aedesius first attracted him to Pergamus; but he, being old and infirm, recommended him to his pupils, Chrysanthius and Eusebius. The latter was, or pretended to be, an adversary of the theurgic methods of Maximus, and a follower of the higher and more intellectual platonism. In this capacity he used to finish every lecture by a general warning against trickery and charlatans. Julian, who was much struck with this, took the advice of Chrysanthius upon the point, and asked Eusebius to explain what he meant. The latter replied by an account of Maximus, which gave a new edge to the already keen curiosity of Julian. "Some days ago" (he went on) "he ran in and called our company together to the temple of Hecate, thus making a large body of witnesses against himself . . . when we came before the goddess and saluted her, he cried, 'Sit down, dearest friends, and see what will happen, and whether I am superior to ordinary men.' We all sat down, then he burnt a grain of frankincense, and as he repeated some sort of chant to himself he so far succeeded in the exhibition of his power that first the image smiled and then even appeared to laugh. We were confounded at the sight, but he said, 'Let none of you be disturbed at this, for in a moment the torches which the goddess has in her hands will be lighted up'—and before he had done speaking light actually burned in the torches. We then retired, being amazed and in doubt at the wonder which had taken place. But do not you wonder at anything of this kind, just as I also through the purifying effects of reason conceive it is nothing of great importance." Julian (says Eunapius) hearing this, exclaimed, "Farewell, and keep to your books, if you will; you have revealed to me the man I was in search of." (Eunapius, *Vita Maximi*, pp. 48–51, ed. Boissonade.)

It is difficult to believe that Eusebius was not in league with Chrysanthius to bring Julian under the influence of Maximus. The young

prince hurried off to Ephesus, and there threw himself with eagerness into the teaching of his new master, which seems exactly to have suited his fantastic temperament. Julian had no practical Christianity to fall back upon; the six precious years during which the boy is formed into the young man had been spent without either the gentle influences of a home education or the free discipline of school. The sense of being watched and suspected had sunk deeply into his mind at Macellum, and he had learnt to look upon Constantius not only as his jailor, but as the murderer of his nearest relations. This naturally did not incline him to the religion inculcated by Arian or semi-Arian court bishops, who, we may suppose, laid stress upon their peculiar points of divergence from the orthodox faith, and neglected the rest of Christian theology. Julian therefore conceived of Christianity, not as a great body of truth satisfying the whole man, but as a set of formulas to be plausibly debated and distinguished. On the other hand, he had a real, though, as it seems to us, a pedantic love of Hellenic authors and literature, and a natural dislike to those who destroyed the ancient monuments of the faith of the great men whom he admired. We have already remarked his characteristic dreaminess and love of mystery, and this found its satisfaction in the secret cults to which men like Maximus were addicted—all the more zealously as public sacrifice was difficult or dangerous. He was by nature ardent and superstitious; and even in good hands his religious temper would have required much correction. But into good hands he never fell. It is certain that the pagan coterie who got hold of him soon discovered the importance of their convert, and imbued him with the notion that he was the chosen servant of the gods called to bring back again Hellenic life and religion. The arts of divination were put in practice, and a speedy call to the throne was promised him; while he for his part made vows for the restoration of the temples in case he should ever become emperor. (Libanius, *Epitaph.* pp. 529 and 565, who agrees substantially with Socrates, iii. 1, p. 168, and Sozomen, v. 2, p. 181, cf. Theodoret, iii. 1.)

For the present, however, the fulfilment of such hopes seemed distant, and Julian did not hesitate to stoop both to dissimulation of his own belief and to pretended zeal for Christianity—a course which he carried on for ten years (Liban. *Epit.* p. 528; Amm. xxii. 5, 1; Socr. iii. 1; Soz. v. 2). He had, indeed, good reason to fear the suspicions of his cousin. In the year 354 Gallus was craftily removed from his government and executed [see GALLUS], and Julian was likewise apprehended, on charges which are somewhat obscurely known to us (Amm. xv. 2, 7—the charge of leaving Macellum without permission seems strange, since the brothers had been released from their retirement some four years before). For seven months he was confined in North Italy in the neighbourhood of the court, being removed from place to place (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 272 d; Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 530; cf. Jul. *ad Themist.* p. 260 a). This imprisonment was brought to an end by the intervention of the gentle empress Eusebia, who procured for him an interview with Constantius, and leave to return to his studies (Jul. *ad Ath.* pp. 272 274; *Or.* 3, p. 118 b). At first he determined to retire to his mother's property in Bithynia, Constantius having confiscated all the estates of his father. (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 273; *Ep.* 40, p. 417 a, to Iamblichus—an interesting letter written three years later, and not concealing his religious opinions.)

He had hardly arrived in Asia Minor when the suspicions of Constantius were aroused by two reports brought by informers, one of treasonable proceedings at a banquet given by Africanus, the governor of Pannonia Secunda at Sirmium, the other of the rising of Silvanus in Gaul (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 273 c, d; cf. Amm. xv. 3, 7 sq.). The first of these was no doubt connected in his mind with Julian, who had just passed through that country, and whom he in consequence recalled. As he was on his way back to Italy, however, he received permission, or rather command, to turn aside into Greece, a privilege which his friend Eusebia had procured for him (*ad Ath.* 273 d; *Or.* 3, p. 118 c. Julian himself in the latter passage speaks of his homeward journey being cut short, which accounts for its omission by Libanius, *Epitaph.* p. 531, and Ammianus, xv. 2, 1, who speak as if he went directly from Milan to Athens). He was thus enabled to gratify a wish he had long cherished of visiting Athens, which still retained great reputation as a university, and preserved its most beautiful buildings intact. (Many modern writers suppose *two* visits of Julian to Athens, relying upon his letter to Themistius, p. 260 A, ἀπιὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν. But πάλιν here is probably to be taken as = "under different circumstances." Julian takes credit to himself for the cheerfulness of his letters to Themistius, *first* during his imprisonment, and *again* when he was going into Greece, and everyone considered him to be sent into exile—cf. Rode, p. 37, note 31; who, however, gives a different and less probable explanation of the word.) The young prince was naturally well received by the professors and sophists, such as Prohaeresius and Himerius, who were then teaching at Athens; and, having been all his life a student, was able to take a distinguished position in the learned society of the place. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers did not only shew itself in the appropriate quotations which were always ready upon his lips as he walked about the glorious sites of the city and its neighbourhood; nor in the zeal with which he pleaded in a petty quarrel between Argos and Corinth. (His speech is printed as No. 35 amongst his epistles.) He had also a turn for philosophy, and could discourse eagerly, in the modern neo-Platonic fashion, about the descent and the ascent of souls. Wherever he went he was surrounded by a swarm of young and old men, philosophers and rhetoricians, and (if we may believe Libanius) gained favour as much by the modesty and gentleness of his behaviour as by the qualities of his intelligence (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 532). Two of the most distinguished of his fellow-students at this time were the future bishops Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, then as always close and intimate friends, and Julian was on familiar terms with both of them. Gregory, however, seems to have detected something more of his real character than the rest. He noticed in him an air of wild-

ness and unsteadiness, a wandering eye, an uneven gait, a nervous agitation of the features, an unreasoning and disdainful laugh, an abrupt, irregular way of talking, which betrayed a mind ill at ease with itself—and he exclaimed, "What a plague the Roman empire is breeding! God grant I may be a false prophet!" (*Or.* pp. 161, 162.)

It is not at all impossible that Gregory, who had many friends among the professors, may have been aware of the real state of the young prince's mind, and of his nightly visits to Eleusis, where he could indulge his religious feelings without reserve. Maximus had given him an introduction to the hierophant of this place, who was a great miracle-worker, and in league with the heathen party in Asia Minor (Eunapius, *Vita Maximi*, pp. 52, 53). He can hardly have been, as Tillemont suggests, the man of Antioch, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἄμεμπτος, whom Libanius mentions in such high terms as the confidant of Julian at this time (*Epitaph.* p. 532). The hierophant was an Athenian and a descendant of the Eumolpidae (see Wyttenbach's note to Eunapius, p. 282). The man meant by Libanius is perhaps Celsus, afterwards governor of Cilicia (cf. Amm. xxii. 9, 13; Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 90, note 28. Celsus is described by Libanius *adversus inridentes*, &c. (vol. iii. p. 456).

§ 3. *Julian as Caesar*, from Nov. 6, 355, to Nov. 3, 361, death of Constantius.

It was about May in the year 355 that Julian was permitted to go to Athens, and he could only have enjoyed his retirement a few months when he was summoned again to the court (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 273 d). He left the city in low spirits and with many tears, and, stretching out his hands to the Acropolis, besought Athena to save her suppliant—an act which, he tells us, many saw him perform (*ib.* p. 475 a). Those who did so could hardly have doubted his change of religion, but they were, as we may suppose, a crowd of sympathisers who looked up to him as the future restorer of the old faith. On his journey he first crossed the Aegean to Ilium Novum, where he visited the antiquities under the guidance of the then Christian bishop Pegasius, who delighted him by omitting the sign of the cross in the temples, and otherwise shewing heathen sympathies. (Jul. *Ep.* 78 = the newly-discovered letter, first edited by C. Henning, in *Hermes*, vol. ix.)

On his arrival at Milan, Constantius was absent, but he was well received by the eunuchs of the empress (*ad Ath.* pp. 274, 275 b). His first impulse was to write to his protectress and implore her to obtain leave for him to return home. Before sending the letter he demanded a revelation from the gods whether he should dispatch it or not. In the night he received an intimation of their displeasure and a threat of disgraceful death if he did so, and, in consequence, schooled himself to yield his will to theirs, and to become their instrument for whatever purposes they chose (*ib.* pp. 275, 276; cf. Liban. *ad Jul. consulem*, t. 1, p. 378, θεῶν τις ἐπελθὼν μετέστησε τὴν βουλήν). Constantius soon returned, and the young prince submitted with rather an ill grace to the critical and uncongenial society of the court. The emperor, having thus admitted him to some sort of favour, determined, under the persevering pressure of his wife, and notwithstanding strong opposition, to give the dignity of Caesar to his sole remaining relative (Amm. xv. 8, 3; Zos. 3, 1). Some have guessed that the interest of the empress was of a more tender kind than mere compassion, but there is not sufficient evidence to make this more than a conjecture. Lamé romances a good deal on this point. On Nov. 6, 355, he received the insignia in the presence of the army at Milan, and was commissioned to undertake the control of the prefecture of Gaul (*i.e.* Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany), and especially the defence of the frontiers (*ad Ath.* p. 277 a; Amm. *l. c.*). As he entered the palace and drew the unwonted garb around him, in the place of his beloved pallium, he was heard to mutter the line of Homer, to which his wit gave a new shade of meaning:—

"Him purple death and destiny embraced."

(Amm. xv. 8, 17.) At the same time he received, through the management of Eusebia, the emperor's sister Helena as his bride, and a very acceptable present of a library from the empress herself (*Or.* iii. p. 123, d). Thus the reconciliation of the cousins was apparently complete, and the two surviving members of the Flavian family were brought into the closest outward relationship. Julian threw himself into the situation, and produced a spirited panegyric upon the reign and just actions of Constantius, which seems rightly to be assigned to this date (*Or.* 1, cf. Spanheim's notes, p. 5). He set out on Dec. 1, for his new duties with only a small retinue, out of which almost all his personal followers had been carefully removed (Amm. xv. 8, 17, 18; Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 277 b, c). Of his four slaves, one was his only confidant in religious matters, an African named Euhemerus (*ad Ath.* p. 277 b; Eunap. *Vita Maximi*, p. 54). His physician, Oribasius, who had the charge of his library, was only allowed to accompany him through ignorance of their intimacy (*ad Ath. l. c.*; Eunap. *Vita Oribasii*, p. 104). He entered Vienne with great popular rejoicing (for the province was hard-pressed by the barbarians), and possibly with secret expectations diffused already amongst the heathen party, which had been strong in the time of Magnentius. As he passed by a blind old woman asked the bystanders who was going through the town, and, learning his name and office, cried out, "There goes he who will restore the temples of the gods!" (Amm. xv. 8, 22).

During the five years that followed the young Caesar appears in a new character—that of a strenuous and successful general, and a popular ruler. The details of his wars with the Franks and Alamanns, the Salii and Chamavi, will be found in Ammianus and Zosimus, who naturally make much of his exploits. Perhaps we ought to recollect that he was his own historian, writing "commentaries" (now no longer extant) which were no doubt intended to rival those of the author of the "Gallic War." (Mücke, *Julianus nach den Quellen*, part i., has taken pains to describe these wars.) His most famous victory was that over Chonodomarius and six other kings of the Alamanni, near Strasburg, which checked them for some

time to come. This took place in August 357. After an expedition against the Franks in the same autumn he wintered for the first time at Paris, which now makes almost its first appearance in history. It became a favourite abode of Julian's, who gives a well-known description of his φίλη Λουκετία in the *Misopogon* (p. 340, sq.). These successes naturally endeared him not only to the troops, but also to the people. His internal government was equally popular, and was directed particularly towards lightening the public burdens, so that he might seem really to merit the praise of Mamertinus: "Ita illi anni spatia divisa sunt, ut aut barbaros domitet, aut civibus iura restituat; perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia certamen." In his civil capacity he had specially to contend with the avarice of Florentius, the praetorian prefect, who desired to increase the *capitatio*, and who on Julian's refusal to sign the indiction, complained of him to Constantius (Amm. xvii. 3, 2, and 5, in 357). He is perhaps the same official of whom he relates a similar incident in his seventeenth letter to Oribasius, and whom he calls ὁ μιαρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος. If he means Florentius, the term "eunuch" must be used metaphorically (see Tillemont, *Emp.* t. iv. p. 693, note 3; see also section iv. *Coins*). Constantius, however, while reproving him for discrediting his officer, practically left him to act for himself in the matter; and such was his success that, whereas on his entering his government the tax was twenty-five aurei a head, when he left Gaul he had reduced it to seven (Amm. xvi. 5, 14, cf. xvii. 3, 6). Another ground of enmity on the part of Florentius was his condemnation on appeal of a provincial governor, accused of peculation, whom Florentius had acquitted (Liban. *Epitaph.* pp. 549, 550).

On a different occasion, when the well-known orator Delphidius, accused Numerius, governor of Narbonensis, of peculation before him, and exclaimed, "Can any criminal ever be condemned, great Caesar, if it is sufficient for him to deny his crimes?" Julian aptly retorted, "Can any one ever be found innocent, if accusation is enough to condemn him?" (Amm. xviii. 1. 4, cf. his remark on an "agens in rebus," *ib.* xvi. 5. 11.)

His private conduct was hardly less remarkable, and his mode of life was marked with great severity and simplicity. His ambition was to imitate Marcus Aurelius in giving an example of a philosopher upon the throne, as he took Alexander the Great for his model in warfare (*ad Themist.* p. 253). His table was very plainly furnished, and he refused all the luxuries which Constantius had set down, in the book of directions which he had written out for him, as proper for a Caesar's board (Amm. xvi. 5, 3). His bed was a mat and a rug of skins, from which he rose at midnight, and, after a secret prayer to Mercury, addressed himself first to public business, and then to literature. He studied philosophy first of all, then poetry, rhetoric, and history, making himself, amongst other things, a fair proficient in Latin. Nights so spent (says Ammianus) are sufficient proof of his virtue and chastity (xvi. 5. 4–8). His chamber was ordinarily never warmed, notwithstanding the inclemency of the winter; and one very cold night, at Paris, he was nearly suffocated by some charcoal in a brazier, which he ordered to be brought in, a suffocation which he erroneously attributed to the dampness of the room (*Misopogon*, p. 341).

All this attached the people, but was not agreeable to many of the courtiers. Julian knew that he was surrounded by disaffected officials and other spies upon his conduct, and continued to conceal his religious sentiments, and to act cautiously towards his cousin.

During his administration of Gaul he produced another panegyric upon Constantius, and one upon Eusebia, each of them in its own way calculated to make a favourable impression, though the exact occasion of neither can be determined (*Or.* 2 and 3). His other chief composition at this period was the oration on the departure of his friend Sallustius, whom Constantius removed (it was said) out of jealousy of his cousin's successes, which he ascribed to the good counsels of his adviser. (Zos. 3, 5; cf. Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 282 and *Ep.* 17.)

In these orations Julian, though indulging to the full his taste for classical parallels and illustrations, takes care to hide his change of religion. He speaks even of his prayers to God for Constantius, naturally indeed and not in a canting way (*Or.* 3, p. 118 d). Nor did he hesitate to join with him in issuing a law denouncing a capital penalty against those who sacrifice to or worship idols (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, 6, April 356); in repressing magic and all kinds of divination with very severe edicts (*ib.* ix. 16, 4–6, in 357 and 358); in punishing renegade Christians who had become Jews (*ib.* xvi. 8, 7); and in granting new privileges to the Church and clergy, and regulating those already given (*ib.* xvi. 2, 13–16; the last as late as March, 361). It may be said, indeed, in his defence, that to have hinted at dislike to any of these measures would at once have aroused the strongest suspicions. One of the edicts against magic in particular, which threatens to punish every kind of divination with torture, seems to have been almost directed personally against Julian:—"Si quis magus . . . aut haruspex aut hariolus, aut certe augur, vel et mathematicus aut narrandis somniis occultam artem aliquam divinandi, aut certe aliquid horum simile exercens in comitatu meo vel Caesaris fuerit deprehensus, praesidio dignitatis cruciatus et tormenta non fugiat" (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 6, dated July 5, 358, from Ariminum.) Yet the effect upon his conscience of condemning as a public officer what he was secretly practising in private, could not but have been hardening and demoralizing. For Julian was not without thought on such subjects. On another occasion he declared that he would rather die than sign the oppressive edict brought to him by Florentius (Amm. xvii. 3, 2); and in his later famous decree against Christian professors he writes vehemently of the wickedness of thinking one thing and teaching another (*Ep.* 42). He probably justified his own inconsistency to himself as a means to an end ordained by the gods, and took what care he could to prevent the execution of these rigorous laws within his dominions (cf. his remark about the law against rape, Amm. xvi. 5, 12). In the Western provinces, indeed, there was generally far more toleration of heathenism than in the

East; and therefore it was easier for Julian to mitigate the severity of the laws which were nominally in force against it. See also section vi. *Coins*.

In April 360 Constantius, who was engaged on an important expedition against the Persians, ordered the flower of the Gallic auxiliaries to be sent to his aid (Amm. xx. 4). This request naturally produced great irritation among men who had enlisted on the understanding that they were not to be required to cross the Alps—an irritation which was no doubt fomented by the friends of Julian, particularly, it is said, by Oribasius (Eunap. *Vita Oribasii*, p. 104, *τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέδειξε*). The troops surrounded the palace at Paris and demanded that their favourite should take the title of Augustus (*ad Ath.* p. 284; Amm. xx. 4, 14). Julian, according to his own account, was quite unprepared for such a step, and would not accede to it till Jupiter had given him a sign from heaven. This sign was no doubt the vision of the Genius of the Empire, who declared that he had long been waiting on his threshold and was now unwilling to be turned away from it. Yet he warned him (so Julian told his intimates) that his residence with him would in no case be for long (Amm. xx. 5, 10; cf. Lib. *ad Jul. cos.* p. 386, *θεοῦ δὲ τοῦτο· πρόσταξις ἦλθεν ἀδελφὴ τῆς προτέρας*). We have no reason, however, to think that Julian had any real hesitation, except as to the opportuneness of the moment. When he came down to address the troops, he still appeared reluctant, but the enthusiasm of the soldiers would take no denial, and he was raised in Gallic fashion upon a shield, and hastily crowned with a gold chain which a dragoon (draconarius) tore from his own accoutrements. He promised the accustomed donative (Amm. xx. 4. 18), which the friends of Constantius, it would seem, secretly tried to outdo by bribes (*ad Ath.* p. 285 a). The discovery of their intrigue only raised the popular enthusiasm to a higher pitch, and Julian felt himself strong enough to treat with his cousin. He dispatched an embassy with a letter in which he declined to send the Gallic troops, who (he declared) positively refused to go, and could not be spared with safety; but he offered some small corps of barbarian auxiliaries. He related the action of the army in proclaiming him Augustus, but said nothing of his own wish to bear the title. As a basis of compromise he proposed that Constantius should continue to appoint the praetorian prefect, the chief governor of that quarter of the empire, but that all lesser offices should be under his own administration (*ad Ath.* p. 285 d, and for particulars, Amm. xx. 8, 5–17, who gives the substance of the letter at length). But to these public and open requests he added a threatening and bitter private missive, which had the effect, whether intentionally or not, of rendering his negotiations abortive (Amm. *l. c.*). Constantius replied firmly by bidding him be content with his position as Caesar, while he gave some signs of a spirit of conciliation by removing the obnoxious officials Florentius and Lupicinus (Amm. *l. c.*). Julian in his manifesto to the Athenians declares that at the same time Constantius secretly attempted to rouse the barbarian tribes against him (p. 286 a; Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 558).

Such a state of things could only end in war, but neither party was in a hurry to precipitate it. Constantius was occupied in the Persian campaign, and Julian wished to consolidate his power. He received the new prefect Nebridius in agreement with his programme, but refused all other appointments. In the autumn he undertook a small expedition against the Attuarian Franks, and retired to winter quarters in Vienne (Amm. xx. 10). Here he celebrated the fifth anniversary of his appointment, and appeared for the first time in the jewelled diadem, which since the latter years of Constantine had become the symbol of imperial dignity (Amm. xxi. 1, 4). During these events both Eusebia and Helena were removed by death, and with them almost the last links which bound together the cousins. Eusebia died the first, but when or where is not exactly certain (Amm. xxi. 6, 4). Helena's death occured during the celebration of her husband's quinquennalia. We know little of their relations to each other, and Julian, who speaks of her several times, mentions her with terms neither of love nor of dislike. But it is a probable conjecture that he was indifferent to her, and that she was unhappy. She had borne but one child alive, and that one was lost at once through the unskilfulness or malice of the midwife. It was rumoured that Eusebia had through jealousy several times caused her sister-in-law's miscarriage, being herself barren. It is difficult, however, to credit so horrid an accusation against one who elsewhere appears only in an amiable light, and such a charge was easy to invent and difficult either to prove or disprove. (Ammianus asserts it, xvi. 10, 18, but makes no reference to it in his laudatory notice of her character, xxi. 6, 4. His book was published in different portions.) Helena's remains were sent by Julian to Rome to be buried beside those of her sister, the virago Constantina, wife of his brother Gallus (Amm. xxi. 1, 5). Julian seemed to be waiting quietly, and he still kept up the pretence of being a Christian. At Epiphany (Jan. 6, 361) he kept the festival solemnly and even ostentatiously, joining in the public prayers and devotions of the people (Amm. xxi. 2). He witnessed with calmness the triumphant return of St. Hilary after his exile, and permitted the Gallic bishops to hold a council at Paris (S. Hilarii *Fragmenta historica*, pp. 1353, 1354). His name also appears after that of Constantius, attached to a law issued on March 1 at Antioch, giving privileges to Christian ascetics. But all this was of course mere dissimulation for the sake of popularity. In secret he was anxiously trying all possible means, suggested by the adepts in heathen ritual, to divine the future (Amm. xxi. 1, 6 sq.). He sent in particular for the hierophant of Eleusis, with whose aid he performed rites known to themselves alone (Eunap. *Vita Maximi*, p. 53; cf. Amm. xxi. 5, 1, placata ritu secretiori Bellona).

In the spring, an inroad of the Alamanni justified the refusal of the Gallic troops. Julian industriously circulated the report that it was due to the bribes of Constantius, and shewed his secret letters which he professed to have captured, thus more than ever alienating the soldiery from the emperor. His success over Vadomarius was followed by the submission of the other tribes (Amm. xxi. 5).

The irritation against Constantius was further

increased by an arrogant letter, addressed of course to the *Caesar* Julian, requiring his immediate submission and merely promising him his life. Julian on receiving this despatch uttered an exclamation which betrayed his religion:—"He would rather commit himself and his life to the Gods than to Constantius" (Zos. iii. 9, 7).

The moment seemed now come for action. In a speech to the soldiers in which he referred in ambiguous language to the will of the God of heaven—arbitrium dei caelestis—he called upon them to take the oath of allegiance, and follow him across the Alps. He spoke in general terms of occupying Illyricum and Dacia, and then deciding what was to be done (Amm. xxi. 5). Nebridius alone refused the oath, and was replaced by Sallustius, who hurried back to meet his friend. Julian having thus secured the western provinces, made a rapid and successful passage through northern Italy, of which he received the submission, though the two consuls Taurus and Florentius fled away to Constantius. After a difficult march along the Danube he reached Sirmium, without opposition, having ordered the different divisions of his army to concentrate on that point. Then he took and garisoned the important pass of Succi (Ssulu Derbend) on the Balkans, between Sardica and Philippopolis, thus securing the power of descending into Thrace at any moment. For the time he established his own quarters at Naissus (Nish), and awaited further news. From this place he wrote letters to the senate of Rome against Constantius, and manifestos in self-defence to the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and Corinthians (Zos. iii. 10). The letter to the Athenians is preserved entire, and is an important piece of autobiography, as well as a straightforward, well-written, and telling apology.

It was possibly entrusted to the hands of the Eleusinian hierophant, who returned about this time to his country. It was perhaps also under his guidance that Julian underwent those secret ceremonies of initiation which are described by Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 4, 52–56, pp. 101–103). According to common report he submitted to the disgusting bath of blood, the Taurobolium or Criobolium, with which the worshippers of Mithra and Cybele sought to procure for themselves an entrance into eternal life. Julian's object, it is said, was not only to gain the favour of the gods, but also to wash away all supposed defilement contracted by his previous contact with the Christian mysteries. This is a miserable story and yet it is a very credible one. Existing monuments prove that many pagans of position continued the taurobolium till the end of the 4th century (see the inscriptions in Wilmanns *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* 107–126; e.g. 110, of *Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius v(ir) c(larissimus)*, &c., *taurobolio criobolioque in aeternum renatus*, A.D. 376 at Rome = C. I. L. vi. 510). The rhetorician Himerius tells us that he was himself initiated into the mysteries of Mithra in order to seal his friendship with Julian; and the emperor orders, in his letters to the Bostrenians, that any who apostatise from Christianity should purify themselves with lustrations and expiatory sacrifices, before being allowed to join in heathen rites. (Himerius begins Ἡλίῳ Μίθρᾳ ψυχὴν καθάραντες καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ φίλῳ θεοῖς ἤδη διὰ θεῶν συγγενόμενοι, *Or.* vii. 2, *Laudes C. P.*; Jul. *Ep.* 52, p. 99 c).

Another story given by Gregory may be related here though it is obviously less certain than the former. During one of the ceremonies of initiation he descended with his guide into a subterranean cave, such as was a common adjunct of the heathen mysteries. He was assaulted by dreadful sounds, noxious odours, and phantoms of fire. Julian instinctively made the sign of the cross, and they vanished. He went on again and the same things occurred. This staggered him, and he turned to ask his guide for an explanation:—"They were not frightened, but regard us as profane," was his answer. "It is to the power of evil not of good that they have yielded" (ἐβδελύχθημεν οὐκ ἐφοβήσαμεν· νικᾷ τὸ χεῖρον, Greg. *Or.* 4, 55, 56, p. 102). Julian was persuaded by this interpretation and went on with the ceremony, and returned from it fired with a fatal enthusiasm. Gregory does not say who was the initiator on this occasion, but merely calls him ὁ σοφὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἴτ' οὖν σοφιστής. This might do either for the hierophant of Eleusis or for Maximus; and so some writers place the scene at Ephesus, some at Eleusis, and at an earlier date. If, however, the incident is historical at all, we must place it, I think, with Gregory, among the events just before his public declaration of belief.

Such, according to general report, were the secret incidents which preceded Julian's public declaration of his change of religion. There can be no doubt that both now and at other times he was addicted to all sorts of gross superstitions, and that the heathen mystics about him used all the arts in their power to establish his faith. At Naissus or Sirmium he threw off the mask, and professed himself openly a heathen. His first public sacrifice filled him with delight, and he wrote with exultation to his friend Maximus:—"We worship the gods openly, and the greatest part of the troops who accompanied me profess the true religion. We have acknowledged our gratitude to the gods in many hecatombs. The gods command me to consecrate myself to their service with all my might (τὰ πάντα ἁγνεύειν εἰς δύναμιν), and most readily do I obey them. They promise us great returns for our toils if we are not remiss" (*Ep.* 38, p. 415 c).

In this position of affairs he received the news of his cousin's sudden death at Mopsucrene, at the foot of Mount Taurus, on Nov. 3, and learnt that he was accepted without opposition as the successor designated by his dying breath, a report of which we cannot of course guarantee the truth (Amm. xxii. 2, 6).

§ 4. *Julian as Augustus at Constantinople*, from Nov. 3, 361, to May 362.

After receiving the news of his cousin's death, Julian hastened to Constantinople, through the pass of Succi and by way of Philippopolis and Heraclea. He entered the Eastern capital amid general rejoicings, on the 11th December. His first care was the funeral of Constantius, whose body he caused to be interred with the usual honours. He himself laid aside all the imperial insignia, except the purple, and marched in the procession, touching the bier with his hands (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 512, cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5

16, 17, pp. 157, 158). Constantius was buried near his father in the Church of the Apostles, but whether Julian entered the building is not stated. Henceforward he became generally more reticent about the misdeeds of his predecessor, and pretended that at least he had not wished him ill or desired his death (cf. *Ep.* 13 *Juliano avunculo;* 23 *Hermogeni;* 58 *Alexandrinis de obelisco;* and so he says nothing of him by name in the *Caesars*, and professes to respect him in the *Misopogon*, p. 357, b, c). Mücke (p. 161) even supposes that Orations ii. and iii. in praise of Constantius and Eusebia were put out about this time to conciliate the adherents of the old *régime;* but this is a mere conjecture, as the orations were certainly written before (see esp. *Or.* iii. p. 129 B.).

Almost his next act, however, was to appoint a special commission under the presidency of Saturninus Sallustius Secundus (to be distinguished from the prefect of the Gauls) for the purpose of bringing to justice the principal supporters of the late government. Julian himself avoided taking part in it, and allowed no appeal from its decisions. The commission met at Chalcedon, and acted with great and even excessive rigour, chiefly, it was reported, under the influence of Arbetio, whose appointment as a judge was much criticised as a mistake of the emperor's. In fact it was said that Arbetio ought himself rather to have been brought to trial (Amm. xxii. 3, 9; cf. Jul. *Ep.* 23, to Hermogenes, ex-prefect of Egypt). Men marvelled and shuddered to read acts that began "Consulatu Tauri et Florenti, inducto sub praeconibus Tauro" . . . Both consuls were tried; Taurus, who appeared, was banished; Florentius was condemned to death, but hid himself. The fate of Ursulus, the "high treasurer," (comes largitionum) excited universal compassion. His death, indeed, was considered a grave stain upon the justice of Julian, inasmuch as he had written to the treasurer of Gaul to advance the Caesar all the funds he needed, at a time when he was in a very critical position from inability to pay his soldiers (Amm. xxii. 3, 7). Less surprise was excited by the execution of Pentadius, and the once powerful eunuch Eusebius, who were sacrificed to the manes of Gallus (Amm. xxii. 3, 5 and 12; Socr. iii. 1, p. 171; cf. Jul. *ad Ath.* pp. 272, 274), and the cruel Apodemius and the infamous delator Paulus Catena were burnt to death amid general satisfaction.

Julian next turned his attention to the interior of the palace, which was choked up with a swarm of needless and over-paid officials, eunuchs, cooks, and barbers, who battened on bribes and exactions. All these he swept away, somewhat too indiscriminately, no doubt; but his measure was on the whole much approved (Amm. xxii. 4; Lib. *Epit.* p. 565). He further reformed the course of public business by inflicting a severe blow upon the corps of notaries, whose intervention between the emperor and the provinces led to much peculation and exaction; and by suppressing the "curiosi," originally inspectors of the posts, who had in the late reign become a a sort of secret police, engaged in all manner of espionage and delation (Liban. *Epit.* pp. 565–568; *Cod. Theod.* viii. 1, 6 and 7, *de numerariis;* vi. 29, *de curiosis.* We have, however, no extant law of this date, *de curiosis*). It is probable that a great number of all classes of these officials were Christians, at least in name (Greg. *Or.* iv. 64, p. 106).

Reprisals and reforms such as these, though they lightened the public burdens, could not but be attended with a certain amount of unpopularity, and Julian felt it necessary to conciliate various classes of his subjects. He was specially careful of the city of his birth, and raised its senators to something like an equality with those of ancient Rome. He himself frequently appeared in the curia, and delivered studied harangues, and took part in their business, a compliment which had never been paid them by Constantius (Socr. iii. 1; Amm. xxii. 7, 3; Liban. *Epit.* p. 573). He built a new port for the city, and a public library in which he deposited his own books, and ordered an obelisk, which lay upon the shore, to be sent from Alexandria (Zos. iii. 2 5; Jul. *Ep.* 58; cf. Himerius, *Or.* vii. 15). We may also mention in this connexion the peculiar and somewhat affected honours which he shewed to the consuls whom he appointed to succeed Taurus and Florentius—Mamertinus, the rhetorician, and Nevitta the barbarian general. He walked on foot in their procession on Jan. 1, and fined himself ten pounds of gold for a mistake which he made in the ceremony at the games of Mamertinus (Amm. xxii. 7). He seemed to wish to bring back the traditions of the court of Augustus, in which the emperor still remembered that he was a citizen of the republic. In the same spirit he summoned by complimentary letters a number of persons whom he valued for the sake of old acquaintance, and especially for literary merit and devotion to the pagan cause. One of the first of course was Maximus (*Ep.* 15), whom Julian met with ostentatious affection. He happened to be speaking in the senate-house at the time when he heard of his arrival. Regardless of propriety, he leaped from his seat and ran to greet him, and insisted on bringing him back with him (Amm. xxii. 7, 3, cf. Eunap. *Vita Maximi*, p. 56; Liban. *Epit.* pp. 573, 574. λέγοντος αὐτοῦ . . . ἐκ μέσων ἀναπηδήσας τῶν γερόντων).

Towards Christians he adopted a policy of toleration, though desiring nothing more keenly than the humiliation of the Church. His object was to set sect against sect by extending equal license to all. His first act was one eminently popular with churchmen. He issued an edict allowing all the bishops exiled under Constantius to return, and restored their confiscated property (Socr. iii. 1, p. 171). On the other hand, the extreme Arian, Aëtius, as a friend of Gallus, received a special invitation to the court (*Ep.* 31). A letter "to Basil," seemingly of the same date, and of similar purport, may perhaps have been addressed to St. Basil of Caesarea, though it contains nothing which obliges us to suppose it (*Ep.* 12; de Broglie assumes it, tom. iv. pp. 133, 235, note). To Caesarius, the brother of Gregory, who was a physician of high repute attached to the court, Julian shewed great attention, and used all means in his power to effect his conversion. He even went so far as to enter into a public discussion on religion with him, and was much mortified by the ill success of his rhetoric (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* vi.; *Orat.* vii. 11–14). To Prohaeresius, the Christian sophist of Athens, he wrote

offering him manuscript materials if he was willing to write the history of his recent expedition—an offer which was apparently declined (*Ep.* 2). From time to time he invited the leaders and chief laity of different Christian sects into his palace, and informed them with all suavity that they were at liberty to follow any form of belief they chose—his hope being (as Ammianus tells us) that when free license was given to every shade of opinion the Christian people would be no longer dangerous in its unanimity. At such gatherings as these he was wont to cry out (in imitation of some words of his hero Marcus Aurelius), "Listen to me to whom Franks and Alamanns have listened" (Amm. xxii. 5). The Donatists, Novatians, and perhaps some of the more extreme Arians were not loth to appear before the new emperor, but there is no trace of any important Catholic leader falling into the snare. (For the Donatists see Optat. Milev. iii. p. 54; S. Aug. *contra Epistolam Parmen.* i. 12, 19; cp. *Ep.* 52 *Bostrenis*, where he speaks of the persecution "of so-called heretics.") In the same spirit he ordered Eleusius, Arian bishop of Cyzicus, to restore the ruined church of the Novatians, within two months. (Socr. ii. 38, p. 147; iii. 11, cf. *Ep.* 52, p. 436 a.)

The same toleration was also extended to the Jews, with whom Julian had a real though only an imperfect sympathy. Their ritual seemed to him a point of contact with Hellenism, and with their rejection of an Incarnate Saviour he was of course quite in harmony. He approved of their worship of the Creator of the World, but could not tolerate their identification of Him with the God whose especial people they claimed to be—and whom he, in accordance with his principles of polytheism, imagined to be an inferior divinity (S. Cyril. *in Jul.* iv. pp. 115, 141, 201, 343, 354, ed. Spanheim). A curious letter to "the community of the Jews" (*Ep.* 26) is extant, in which he frees them from certain tributes, especially from those designed by the courtiers of Constantius, on whom (he says) he has taken summary vengeance; and further desires their prayers to the Creator, and professes a wish to rebuild and inhabit Jerusalem with them after his return from the Persian war, and there give glory to the Supreme Being (τῷ κρείττονι). After considerable doubts as to the genuineness of this letter I have on the whole concluded that it may be accepted. It is a very curious composition, but not more strange than others which are probably authentic; and it is difficult to put a limit *à priori* to the peculiar turns of thought and expression in the mind of this remarkable man. (Teuffel defends its genuineness, in Schmidt's *Ztschr. für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. iv. for 1845, Rode, p. 61).

This peculiar temper is displayed in the satire which he found time to write for the Saturnalia of the year 361 (just before Christmas) upon his predecessors in the empire. The *Caesars* is a series of clear and spirited scenes reminding us of the *Ludus de morte Claudii* of Seneca and some of the *Dialogues of the Dead* and the *Sale of Lives* of Lucian—without it being easy to fix upon any decided plagiarisms. Romulus is supposed to invite all the gods to a banquet at the Saturnalia, and with them all the emperors. The gods are seated on the thrones, and the Caesars are brought in one by one in chronological order. This gives an opportunity for satirical remarks upon them, which are mostly put into the mouth of Silenus. Some are excluded altogether from heaven. The rest are set down to a symposium, in which they are joined by Alexander the Great. The more important of them make speeches in their own favour as candidates for the prize of merit, which is awarded as we should expect to Marcus Aurelius. Julian cannot help, however, shewing a wish that he could give it to Alexander. In this satire he displays an especial aversion to his uncle Constantine, but does not directly mention Constantius, whose recent death made a certain reticence only decent. (Some have supposed a reference to him in p. 336 b, but the right reading is doubtless Ἰησοῦν not υἱόν, with Hertlein. For the sneer at baptism cf. Cyril vii. p. 245.)

But all this activity was subordinate or rather subsidiary to the great task which lay nearest his heart—the restoration of heathenism to its former influence and power. He worked hard to rehabilitate both its theory and its practice. A few days apparently after writing the *Caesars* he composed an oration for the festival of the sun, no doubt that celebrated by heathens on Dec. 25, as the "Natalis Solis invicti," in connexion with the winter solstice. Though Constantinople had never been a heathen city, or polluted with public heathen ceremonies, he ventures on the sanguine assumption of calling it "the festival which the imperial city celebrates with annual sacrifices" (*Orat.* 4, p. 131 d). The main body of the oration (which is addressed to Sallustius) is taken up with the obscure theory of the triple hierarchy of worlds the κόσμος νοητός or "intelligible world," the κόσμος νοερός or "intelligent," and the κόσμος αἰσθητός the "visible" or "phenomenal." In each of these three worlds there is a central principle, who is the chief object of worship and the fountain of power; but the Sun king to whom Julian especially addresses himself, as the peculiar object of his enthusiasm, is the centre of the intermediate or "intelligent" world. This ideal god is evidently a kind of counterpoise in his theology to the Word of God, the mediator of the Christian Trinity (μέση τις, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κραθεῖσα, τελεία δὲ καὶ ἀμιγὴς ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν, ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, p. 139 b, and τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητα. Cf. Naville, *Jul. l'A. et sa philosophie du polythéisme*, pp. 102, sq.) This oration in honour of the sun should be read in connexion with the *fifth* oration 'on the Mother of the Gods' which he delivered at her festival, apparently at the time of the vernal equinox, and while he was still at Constantinople. It is chiefly an allegorical platonising interpretation of the myth of Attis and Cybele, very different from the modern explanation, which refers it to the circle of the seasons. We shall have occasion to return to this subject in speaking of Julian's theory of religion.[a]

[a] It is usual to date this oration at the time of Julian's visit to Pessinus in May or June, but (1) he speaks of the

In the practice of all superstitious ceremonies, whether public or mystic, he was enthusiastic to the point of ridiculous ostentation. He turned his palace into a temple. Everyday he knew better than the priests themselves what festival was in the pagan calendar, and what sacrifice was required by it. He himself acted as attendant, slaughterer, and priest. He was to be seen at one moment carrying the wood, at another blowing the flame, at another plunging his knife into the victim's throat, at another consulting the entrails. He had as it were a passion for all the details of heathen ritual (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 564, *ad. Jul. cos.* p. 394 sq.; Greg. *Orat.* 5, 22, p. 161; de Broglie, iv. pp. 126, 127). No emperor before him had so highly prized his office of pontifex maximus, in fact it is no exaggeration to say that Julian valued it as equal to all the other prerogatives of the imperial dignity (*χαίρει καλούμενος ἱερεὺς οὐχ ἧττον ἢ βασιλεύς*, Liban. *ad Jul. cos.* p. 394). In this capacity he attempted, it would seem, to introduce something of the episcopal regimen into the loose system of the heathen priesthood, himself of course occupying the papal or patriarchal chair (cf. Greg. *Or.* 4, ii. p. 138). Thus he appointed Theodorus chief priest of Asia and Arsacius of Galatia, giving them control over the inferior priests; the hierophant of Eleusis was set over Greece and over Lydia, and Callixene was made high priestess of Pessinus. (*Ep.* 63 *Theodoro* is early in his reign, and the long *Fragmentum epistolae* may be a sequel to it; *Ep.* 49 *Arsacio* is later, as is that to Callixene, *Ep* 21. The appointments of the hierophant and of Chrysanthius are described by Eunapius, *Vita Maximi*, pp. 54, 57.)

As chief pontiff he issued some remarkable instructions to his subordinates, some of which have fortunately been preserved to us.

His "pastoral letters," as they may properly be called, to the chief priests of Asia and Galatia, shew a striking insight into the defects of heathenism considered as a religious ideal, and a clear attempt to graft upon it the more popular and attractive features of Christianity. He regrets several times that Christians and Jews are more zealous than gentiles, especially in the great virtue of charity to the poor (*Ep.* 49, pp. 430, 431; in *Frag.* p. 305 he refers to the influence of the Agapé and similar institutions. In *Ep.* 63, p. 453 d, he describes the persistency of the Jews in abstaining from swine's flesh, &c.). He promises large endowments of corn for distribution to the indigent and the support of the priesthood; and orders the establishment of guest-houses and hospitals (*ξενοδοχεῖα, καταγώγια ξένων καὶ πτωχῶν*, Soz. v. 16, Jul. *Ep.* 49, p. 430 c). In the very spirit of the gospel he insists on the duty of giving clothing and food even to our enemies and to prisoners (*Frag.* pp. 290–291). There seems no reason to doubt that his precepts on this point proceeded from personal conviction. "Who was ever impoverished" (he writes) "by what he gave to his neighbours? I, for my part, as often as I have been liberal to those in want, have received back from them many times as much, though I am but a bad man of business; and I never repented of my liberality" (*Frag.* p. 290 c).

In other places he enters into minute details on the conduct and habits of the priesthood. He orders the number of sacrifices to be offered by day and night, the deportment to be observed within and without the temples, the priest's dress, his visits to his friends, his secret meditations and his private reading. He must peruse nothing scurrilous or indecent, such as Archilochus, Hipponax or the old comedy; nothing sceptical like Pyrrho and Epicurus; no novels and love-tales; but sound philosophy like Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, and the histories of actual events; and he must learn by heart the hymns to the gods, especially those sung in his own temple (*Frag.* pp. 300–301; cp. *Ep.* 56, to Ecdicius, ordering him to train boys for the temple choirs). He must avoid theatres and taverns, and generally all places of public resort where he is likely to hear or see anything vulgar or indecent (*Frag.* p. 304 b, c; *Ep.* 49, p. 430 b). As for the so-called "venationes" or spectacles of wild-beasts, not only priests, but the sons of priests, are forbidden to attend them (*Frag.* p. 304 d). The true priest is to be considered superior, at least in the temple, to any public official, and to be honoured as the intercessor between gods and men (*Frag.* p. 296 b, c; cf. the edict to the Byzantines against applauding himself in the Tychaeum, *Ep.* 64). He, however, who does not obey the rules laid down for his conduct, is to be removed from his office (*Frag.* p. 297; *Ep.* 49, p. 430 b); and we possess an edict of Julian's suspending a priest for three months on account of injury done by him to a brother priest (*Ep.* 62).

Besides this regulation of priestly life he wished to propagate positive belief in his religion by direct instruction. "He intended" (says Gregory *Or.* iv. 111, p. 138) "to establish schools in all cities, and professorial chairs of different grades, and lectures on heathen doctrines, both in their bearings on moral practice and in explanation of their abstruser mysteries." Of such lectures, no doubt, he wished his own orations on the Sun and the Mother of the Gods to be examples. Nor was he content with this imitation of Christian sermons and lectures, but desired to set up religious communities of men and women, vowed to chastity and meditation (*ἁγνευτήριά τε καὶ παρθενεύματα καὶ φροντιστήρια*, cp. Soz. v. 16). These were institutions indeed familiar to Oriental heathenism, but out of harmony with the old Greek spirit of which Julian professed himself so ardent an admirer.

He was, indeed, without knowing it, not so much a disciple of Socrates as of the Hindu philosophy, a champion of Asian mysticism against European freedom of thought. Had he lived and been able to carry out his reforms we might have seen the curious spectacle of a

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ἁγνεία or *ἁγιστεία*, the feast of Cybele, as going on, pp. 159 a, 161 c, 178 c, and describes it as part of the equinoctial festival, pp. 168 c, 175 a; (2) Libanius speaks of this oration as directly after the arrival of Maximus, *Epit.* p. 574, bottom; (3) Libanius and Ammianus say nothing of it in describing the visit to Pessinus, *ad Jul. cos.* p. 396, Amm. xxii. 9, 5. Mücke, p. 171, conjectures that it was written on the night of March 27, 363, when he was at Callinicum on the Euphrates, but this, though probably right as to the day and the month (see Amm. xxiii. 3, 7) does not agree with the year as indicated by Libanius, which must be 362.

heathen established church propagating itself in the Roman empire with some of the energy and self-denial of the early Buddhist missions. The success of the Manichaeans in many provinces, and for many centuries, though working in secret and with all the force of the law against them, shews us how many minds were ready to take up such a form of belief.

In his own person he adopted the Cynic mode of life, with all its roughness and austerity. He began to grow a beard and leave his hair untrimmed soon after his entrance into Constantinople, as a sign of his profession of philosophy (see below, section vi. *Coins*). His example attracted a number of superficial imitators who donned the cloak and the wallet, who did not object to grow a beard and bear a staff, but were not prepared for the cold baths, the hard bed, and the poor fare which belonged to the true disciples of Diogenes (cp. *Or.* vi. pp. 200, 201, and *Or.* vii. p. 225). Julian inveighed against these false cynics in two remarkable orations, one delivered apparently at Constantinople about the same time as the oration in honour of the Mother of the Gods, the other somewhere on his journey through Asia Minor, perhaps at Pessinus (*Or.* vii. in *Heraclium cynicum*, about the end of March, and vi. *adversus imperitos canes*, about midsummer, see p. 181 a). To the former of the two he subjoined a curious fable, intended as a specimen of a truly edifying *mythus*, in which he describes his relations to Constantius, and speaks of himself as a child entrusted to the guardianship of the sun (p. 229).

But Julian did not only use his literary and personal influence and pontifical authority in favour of the worship of the gods, he gave it also the full support of his imperial power. The temples, of course, were reopened where they were standing, or rebuilt at the expense of those who had destroyed them. They also received back again their estates, which had been to some extent confiscated under Constantius, a measure of reprisal which gave an edge to the persecution of those of his courtiers who had enriched themselves by these spoils (Amm. xxii. 4, 3, "pasti ex his quidam templorum spoliis;" Liban. *Epit.* p. 564, describes the general plan of restitution; cp. his *Ep.* 624 πᾶσι κηρύξας κομίζεσθαι τὰ αὑτῶν).

It is further unnecessary to say that whoever was a friend of the gods was treated as a friend of the emperor's, whoever was their enemy became his (Lib. *Epit.* p. 564, and more strongly p. 617, οὐκ ἐπολέμησε τοῖς θεοῖς ὑμῖν πεπολεμηκόσιν;). Yet direct persecution was forbidden, and milder means of conversion were practised (*Ep.* 7 to Artabius; Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 564). He even bore with some patience the public attacks of the blind and aged Maris, Arian bishop of Chalcedon, who called him an "impious atheist," while he was sacrificing in the Tychaeum of Constantinople. Julian replied only with a scoff at his infirmity. "Not even your Galilean God will heal you." Maris retorted, "I thank my God for my blindness which prevents me from seeing your apostasy," a rebuke of which the emperor took no further notice. (Sozomen, v. 4, where we must of course read τυχαίῳ for τειχίῳ, cf. Jul. *Ep.* 64, *Byzantinis*). Such comparative gentleness in the master of the world, joined to his flattering attempts at conversion, and evident joy when it was accomplished, naturally had an effect. Not a few persons of position apostatised, amongst whom may be mentioned his maternal uncle Julianus, his former tutor, Hecebolius, the officials Felix, Modestus, and Elpidius, and the former bishop of Ilium Novum, Pegasius, all of whom were rewarded by promotion. (Philostorgius, vii. 10; Socr. iii. 13; Libanius, *pro Aristophane*, pp. 435, 436, and *Ep.* 17; Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 62, p. 105; Jul. *Ep.* 78; cf. Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 105. On the readiness of many of these converts to return to the church cf. Asterius of Amasea, *Hom. in Avaritiam*, p. 227 and *Hom.* xix. in *Psalm.* v. p. 433, Migne).

But the number of these new converts was less than might perhaps have been surmised from the divided state of the Church and the low standard of court Christianity under Constantius. It was far less no doubt than Julian's own sanguine expectations. Caesarius, as we have seen, stood firm, and so did three prominent officers in the army, destined to be his successors in the empire—Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens (Valentinian was banished, Sozomen, vi. 6; Philost. vii. 7; cf. Greg. *Or.* iv. 65, p. 106). The stedfastness of the court and the army was indeed sorely tried. The monogram of Christ was removed from the Labarum, and replaced by the old S.P.Q.R.; and heathen symbols again began to make their appearance, to some extent at least, upon the coinage, and upon statues and pictures of the emperor, so that it was difficult to pay him respect without appearing to bow to an idol. (Greg. *Or.* iv. 80, 81, pp. 116, 117; Socr. vi. 17. For coins see below. Socrates probably somewhat exaggerates. The obscure letter of Julian to a painter, *Ep.* 65, appears to reprimand him for painting him without his customary images in his hands or by his side.) Julian even condescended to a trick to entrap a number of his soldiers, probably of the praetorian guard, by persuading them to offer incense on the occasion of their receiving a donative from his hands (Sozomen, v. 17; Greg. *Or.* iv. 83, 84, pp. 118, 119; cf. Rode, p. 63). Some of the soldiers on discovering the snare, from the jeers of their companions, protested loudly against it, and threw down their money; and Julian, in consequence, dismissed all Christians from his bodyguard. (Greg. *l. c.*; Socr. iii. 13.) Many of the common soldiers were doubtless less firm, and conformed to the change of the times, at least outwardly, but the election of Jovian by the Persian army looks as if their conviction was not at all a deep one. (Liban. *ad Jul. cos.* Jan. 1, 363, p. 399; Greg. *Orat.* iv. 64, 65, p. 106; S. Chrys. *de Babyla contra Julianum*, § 23, vol. ii. pp. 686, 687, ed. Gaume; cp. Sievers, *Libanius*, pp. 107–109.)

At the same time it was pretty well understood that no Christian official would be promoted to high civil functions, while converts like Felix and Elpidius were advanced to the principal offices of the state. Julian is reported to have stated in an edict that the Christian law forbade its subjects to wield the sword of justice, and therefore he could not commit the government of provinces to them. Such a sentiment may be considered very characteristic, and this edict is probably an historical fact. (Rufin. i. 32, militiae cingulum non dari nisi immolantibus

iubet. Procurationem provinciarum iurisque dicendi Christianis statuit non debere committi, utpote quibus etiam propria lex gladio uti vetuisset; cp. Sozom. v. 18, S. Chrys. *in Juventinum et Maximinum*, § 1, vol. ii. p. 691. The fact is admitted by Rode, p. 85, note 9, who well compares Jul. *Ep.* 43, *Hecebolio;* see, on the other hand, Libanius, *pro templis*, tom. ii. p. 103, where he contrasts Julian's toleration with Theodosius's rigour.) We must not, however, suppose that it extended to persons already in office or in the army, unless they offered resistance to the course of events.

This pressure put upon the army and the official class was seconded by measures aimed at the clergy as a body, and intended to reduce the Church generally to the position which it held before Constantine. The Church suffered as much perhaps as private owners of property by the order to restore the temples and refund temple lands. The clergy and widows who had received grants from the municipal revenues were not only deprived of them for the future but obliged to repay their previous receipts—an act of great injustice (Sozomen, v. 5). The Church also lost its power of inheritance, and the privileges accorded to its ministers of making wills and of jurisdiction in certain cases (Jul. *Ep.* 52, p. 437 A, *Bostrenis*). But perhaps what was felt most of all was the loss of immunity from personal taxation and from the service of the curiae or municipal councils, who were held responsible for the taxes of their district. A short decree issued on March 13, 362 made all persons, formerly privileged as Christians, liable to the office of decurion (*Cod. Theod.* xii. 1, 50). No doubt this disestablishment and disendowment of the Church was a measure technically defensible in a heathen emperor, and Julian reckoned on gaining the favour of the town-councils by these measures (cp. Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 111). We may even readily admit that the Church would have been safer and holier without some of its privileges, which bound it too closely to the state. But to abolish them all at once, without discussion or even warning, was a very harsh proceeding, which threw many persons into great suffering. We must not judge such a measure merely theoretically, but may feel sure that Ammianus only spoke the general opinion when he censured the conduct of his hero, "Municipalium ordinum coetibus patiebatur iniuste quosdam adnecti, vel ab his consortiis privilegiis aut ordine longe discretos" (Amm. xxv. 4. 21, cf. xxii. 9. 12). A Greek decree of apparently the same date, addressed *to the Byzantines*—for so it would seem that Julian preferred to call the citizens of Constantinople—extended the effect of this measure to all privileged persons whatsoever, except those who had "done public service in the metropolis," that is probably those who had as consuls or praetors exhibited costly games for the public amusement (*Ep.* 11 ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει λελειτουργηκότων — Mamertinus and Nevitta would be cases in point). The wide scope of this decree was limited by a later one addressed to the "chief physicians" confirming them in their existing immunities (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 3–4, nearly equivalent to *Ep.* 25*). We do not hear of a similar favour granted to literary professors, but it can hardly be doubted that it was given by a man of Julian's tastes. In other cases, however, he was very chary of allowing such privileges, being very properly anxious to spread the burden of taxation over as large an area as possible. Another measure of economy, the suppression of the free use of the public posts, was hardly open to criticism, at any rate as regarded Christian officials. It had been much misused by bishops of the late reign, running to and fro to those synods which had contributed not a little to the unrest and distraction of the Church (*Cod. Theod.* viii. 5. 12, dated Feb. 22).

In the spring of this year, while he was still at Constantinople, the affairs of the church of Alexandria attracted Julian's attention, and led him to take the first decided step outside of the policy of personal toleration which he had laid down for himself. The intruded Arian bishop, George of Cappadocia, had made himself equally detested by pagans and Catholics. On Dec. 24 he was foully murdered by the former (without any intervention of Christians) in one of those barbarous and furious riots which were characteristic of the city. Dracontius, master of the mint, who had overturned an altar recently set up in his office, and Diodorus, who was employed in building a church and gave offence to pagan prejudices by cutting short the hair of some boys employed under him, were both torn to pieces in the same sedition (Amm. xxii. 11, 9, and cp. *Coins*). Julian wrote an indignant reprimand to the people, but, with what appears to us to be wholly mistimed leniency, inflicted no punishment for the disorder (*Ep.* 10, Amm. xxii. 11; cp. Julian's letter to Zeno, *Ep.* 45). He took care, moreover, to make a particular enquiry for those books of George's which he remembered using in Cappadocia, and now wished to add to his library (*Epp.* 9 and 36, to Ecdicius and Porphyrius.) On Feb. 22 St. Athanasius was again seated upon his throne amid the rejoicing of the people. Julian at once detected in him an enemy whom he could not afford to tolerate. He wrote to the Alexandrians (apparently at once), saying that one who had been so often banished by royal decree ought to have waited for a special permission to return; that he had indeed allowed the exiled bishops to come back, but that he did not mean to restore them to their churches; Athanasius, he fears, has resumed his "episcopal throne," to the great disgust of the "god-fearing Alexandrians." He therefore orders him to leave the city at once, on pain of greater punishment (*Ep.* 26. Rode, though generally very accurate, makes a mistake, p. 80, note 15, as to the relation of this letter to *Ep.* 6, having overlooked *Ep.* 51, p. 98 c). Athanasius braved the emperor's wrath, and did not leave Alexandria, except, perhaps, for a time, feeling, probably, that he had only acted entirely within the limits of the emperor's original decree. Public feeling was with him, and an appeal was apparently forwarded to the emperor to reconsider his sentence. (*Ep.* 51, written probably in October 362, speaks of Athanasius as ἐπιζητούμενος by the Alexandrians. It refers to the banishment from Alexandria as πάλαι; so *Ep.* 6, πρὸ πλείονος χρόνου.) The sequel of this appeal will appear later.

Another change of policy about this time, which may be mentioned in this connexion,

shewed a still further advance in the region of intolerance and inconsistency. Julian determined to take the control of education into the hands of the state, being convinced from his own experience of the immense influence which it had in the formation of opinion, and very possibly being urged on by the sophists and rhetoricians who surrounded him. On June 17, from some place upon his route between Constantinople and Antioch, probably either from Ancyra or Pessinus, he issued an edict, which was promulgated at Spoleto, to the Western empire, on the 28th of the same month. This document said nothing about Christian teachers, but required that all professors and schoolmasters should receive a diploma of approval from the municipal council in every city, before venturing to teach. This diploma was to be forwarded to himself for his counter signature (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 3, 5). The oppressiveness of this measure in its interference with the liberty of teaching, and in the power it gave the emperor to veto any appointment which he disliked, is sufficiently obvious; and it was no doubt secretly aimed at Christian teachers. But it was far eclipsed by another, which is generally supposed to have been issued soon after it, and which struck an open and a violent blow at the welfare of the Church. It may have been issued even earlier; it can hardly have been much later. (*Ep.* 42, with no title or date. Ammianus refers to it after the account of Julian's wintering in Antioch, xxii. 10, 7, but he is not always careful of chronological order, *e.g.* in the next chapter he describes the death of George, which had taken place nearly a year before. Nor does any writer connect the decree with Libanius, which must have been almost certainly done, rightly or wrongly, if it had been issued at Antioch.)

This edict is so notorious and so often quoted that it is desirable to give a summary of it. "True learning," it declares, "consists in right opinions, not in literary proficiency, Even in trifles discord between mind and tongue is wrong. But in great things, such as teaching, only a cheat and a charlatan will teach one thing while he thinks another. All teachers, especially those who instruct the young, ought to be gentle, and not oppose the common belief, and try to insinuate their own—rhetoricians, grammarians, and sophists or teachers of philosophy and political science in particular.

"Now Homer. Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Lysias all founded their learning upon the gods, and considered themselves dedicated to Hermes or the Muses. It is monstrous, then, that those who teach these writers should dishonour their gods. I do not wish them to change their religion that they may retain their offices, but I give them the choice, either not to teach, or, if they prefer to do so, to teach at the same time that none of these authors is guilty of folly or impiety in his doctrine about the gods. They make a living by the writings of these men, and ought not to perjure themselves for a few drachmas.

"Up to the present time it was unsafe to profess the religion of the gods, but now there is no longer any excuse (as there was then) for reticence of opinion. If such teachers think these authors which they expound wise, and draw philosophy from them, let them emulate their religion. If they think them in error, let them go to the churches of the Galileans and expound Matthew and Luke, who forbid our sacrifices. I wish, however, the ears and tongues of you Christians may be 'regenerated,' as you would say, by these writings which I value so much.

"We do not, however, forbid (Christian) children to go to school. We do not wish to force them into the right path, but to persuade them. The ignorant should, in my opinion, be instructed, not punished."

The careful reader will have noticed the excuse which Julian makes, by the way, for his own recent dissimulation and hypocrisy, while he is attacking Christian professors most unfairly as teaching one thing and thinking another. He will notice also that he makes a distinction between teachers and learners. How is it then that the church historians say that Julian forbade Christian children to be taught heathen literature? (Rufin. i. 32; Sozom. v. 18; cf. Soc. iii. 16). The probability seems to be that Christians considered the decree practically to exclude them from the schools. For Julian expressly orders all teachers to *insist* on the religious side of their authors. Grammar-schools under his edict were to become seminaries of paganism. No indifferent or merely philological teaching was to be allowed. No sincere Christian parents therefore could venture to send their sons to such schools, though Julian could not but be eager that Christian children should frequent them. This is, in fact, Gibbon's solution: "The Christians were *directly* forbid to teach; they were *indirectly* forbid to learn, since they would not frequent the schools of the Pagans."

It is to be remarked that the quotation given by Gregory, as if from this decree, is not found in the text of the edict as it has come down to us (*Or.* 4, 102, p. 132). Perhaps he may be quoting from a defence of his measure in some other of Julian's writings, such as the books against the Christians. The words which he attributes to him are at any rate characteristic enough—"Literature and the Greek language are naturally ours, who are worshippers of the gods; illiterate ignorance and rusticity are yours, whose wisdom goes no further than to say 'believe.'" The last taunt, it will be observed, is borrowed from Celsus (Origen, *c. Celsum*, i. 9).

Two celebrated men are known to us who gave up their posts rather than submit to this edict, Prohaeresius of Athens, whom many thought superior to Libanius, and C. Marius Victorinus of Rome. Julian had already made overtures to the former of these (*Ep.* 2), and no doubt hoped to gain him, as he had gained his old tutor Hecebolius. It is said that he even offered to except him from the action of the edict; but he refused to be put in a better condition than his fellows (St. Jerome, *Chron.* sub anno 2378; cf. Eunap. *Prohaeresius*, p. 92; *Himerius*, p. 95; and *Frag.* 76, p. 544, ed. Boissonade). Victorinus was equally famous at Rome, and his constancy was a subject of just glory to the Church (see the interesting account of his conversion, &c., in St. Augustine, *Conf.* viii. 2–5).

Courageous attempts were further made to supply the place of classical literature by putting historical and doctrinal portions of Scripture into Greek prose and verse. Thus the elder

Apollinaris wrote twenty-four books in hexameters, which were to form a substitute for Homer on the biblical history up to the reign of Saul, and produced tragedies and lyrics, and even comedies, on biblical subjects (Soz. v. 18). The younger Apollinaris, with equal versatility, reduced the writings of the New Testament into the form of Platonic dialogues (Socr. iii. 16); and some of the works of Victorinus in Latin, such as the poem on the seven Maccabean brothers, and various hymns, may have been written under the same stimulus (cf. Teuffel, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* § 384, 7). The Greek tragedy, still extant, of *Christus patiens* probably belongs to the same class of writings. Whatever may have been the merit of these books, they could not properly supply the place of the classical training; and if Julian had lived, and this edict could really have been put in force for any time, it must have been a very dangerous instrument for the injury of the faith. (Socrates has some very good remarks on this subject, iii. 16.)

§ 5. *Julian's Journey through Asia Minor*, May—July, 363.

After a sojourn of about five months in Constantinople Julian began to think of foreign affairs. He was freed from any fears of internal resistance by the surrender of Aquileia, which had been seized behind his back by some of the troops of Constantius. He determined upon an expedition against Persia, the only power which he thought worthy of his steel. Shortly after May 12 he set out upon a progress through Asia Minor to Antioch. (This is the date of the confirmation of the immunities of physicians. Zosimus, iii. 11, 6, says he spent "ten months in Byzantium," but this is an obvious blunder.) Passing through Chalcedon, he made his first halt at Nicomedia, which had recently been almost destroyed by an earthquake (in 358 Amm. xvii. 7). The sight of its ruins drew tears from his eyes, and he gave considerable sums towards the work of restoration (Amm. xxii. 9, 3, 4). He passed through Nicaea into Galatia, apparently as far as Ancyra, from which place, perhaps, he despatched the edict about education which we have just described (Amm. xxii. 9. 5, ad Gallograeciae fines *unde* dextrorsus itinere declinato Pessinunta convertit; *ib.* 8, Ancyram *redit;* see Spruner's map. If the law, *Cod. Just.* i. 40, 5, is rightly attributed to Julian, he was at Ancyra on May 28; see Krueger, p. xxxviii. and chronological table, ed. 1877). To the time of his residence at Ancyra belongs the following somewhat hyperbolical inscription set up by Secundus Sallustius, which celebrates his triumphant march from the Western Ocean to the Tigris!—DOMINO TOTIVS ORBIS | IVLIANO AVGVSTO | EX OCEANO BRI|TANNICO VIS (i.e. *viis*) PER | BARBARAS GENTES | STRAGE RESISTENTI|VM PATEFACTIS ADVS|QVE TIGRIDEM VNA | AESTATE TRANSVEC|TO SATVRNINIVS | SECVNDVS V. C. *praef.* | PRAET. *d.* N. M. *q. e.* (C. I. L. iii. 247, Orell. 1109, Wilmanns 1089, who partially confuses the two Sallusts). From Ancyra he also visited Pessinus in Phrygia, which lay at some distance to the S.W., off the high road, in order to pay his homage to the famous sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, at which he offered large and costly presents (Amm. *l. c.* Lib. *ad Jul. cos.* p. 398). The oration in honour of this deity, who, with the Sun-god, was Julian's chief object of veneration, was probably delivered, as we have seen, at an earlier date; but he took occasion about this time to vindicate the doctrine of Diogenes from the aspersions of false and luxurious cynics (*Or.* vi. *εἰς τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους κύνας*, delivered about the summer solstice, p. 181 a). The appointment of Callixene as high-priestess may, perhaps, have been made at this time (*Ep.* 21); another letter shews us that he was not satisfied with the progress of heathenism amongst the people of the place (*Ep.* 49, *Arsacio pontifici Galatiae*, ad fin.). From Pessinus he returned to Ancyra, where, according to the Acts of the Martyrs, a presbyter named Basil was accused of exciting the people against the gods and speaking injuriously of the emperor and his apostate courtiers. Basil was cruelly treated in his presence, and, after being brought up a second time, was put to death by red-hot irons (Bollandists, March 22; also in Ruinart, *Acta Mart. Sincera*, p. 599; Sozomen, v. 11). [See BASILIUS OF ANCYRA, Vol. I. p. 282.] He left Ancyra, according to the same Acts, on June 29, and soon after was met by a crowd of litigants, some of them clamouring for a restoration of their property, others complaining that they were unjustly forced into the curia, others accusing their neighbours of treason. Julian shewed no leniency to the second class of complainants, even when they had a strong case, being determined to allow as few immunities as possible (Amm. xxii. 9. 12; cf. xxv. 4. 21). To the rest he was just and fair, and an amusing instance is recorded of the way in which he disposed of a charge of treason. The accuser had no better evidence to offer than that the supposed criminal was making himself a robe of purple silk. Julian heard him for a long while, till, at last, his patience was exhausted; then, turning to the high treasurer, he said, "Give this dangerous babbler a pair of purple shoes to carry to his adversary, to match the robe which he says he has been manufacturing, that people may understand how little mere pieces of cloth can do without power in the wearer" (Amm. xxii. 9, 8–11).

On passing into Cappadocia, his ill-humour was roused by finding almost all the people Christian. "Come, I beseech you," he writes to the philosopher Aristoxenus, "and meet me at Tyana, and shew us a genuine Greek amongst these Cappadocians. As far as I have seen, either the people will not sacrifice, or the very few that are ready to do so are ignorant of our ritual" (*Ep.* 4). He had already shewn his anger against the people of Caesarea, the capital of the province, who had dared, after his accession, to destroy the Temple of Fortune, the last that remained standing in their city. According to Sozomen (v. 4), he erased the city from the "list of the empire and called it by its old name Mazaca." He fined the Christians three hundred pounds of gold, confiscated the property of their churches, and enrolled their ecclesiastics in the militia of the province, besides imposing a heavy poll-tax on the Christian laity. But either these severe measures must have been justified by great violence on the part of the Christians, or Sozomen's account is exaggerated; for Gregory Nazianzen, in referring to this subject, says, that it is perhaps not fair to reproach

him with his violent conduct to the Caesareans, and speaks of him as "justly indignant" (*Or.* 4, 92, p. 126). Such mild language on the part of Gregory, with respect to circumstances where he was naturally tempted to declaim, may well make us attach more weight to his statements with respect to Julian's misdoings on other occasions. At the present time the emperor was further incensed by the tumultuous election of Eusebius to the bishopric of Caesarea, a proceeding in which the soldiers of the garrison took part. This Eusebius was still a catechumen, but a man of official rank and influence, and known to be an enemy of the emperor's (Greg. *Or. in patrem*, xviii. 33, p. 354). The elder Gregory firmly resisted the remonstrances of the governor of the province, who was sent to him by Julian, and the storm passed away (*ib.* 34, p. 355). "You knew us," cries Gregory, "you knew Basil and myself from the time of your sojourn in Greece, and you paid us the compliment which the Cyclops paid Ulysses, and kept us to be swallowed last" (*Or.* 5, 39, p. 174). The silence of Gregory may also be taken as clenching the arguments from style against the genuineness of the supposed correspondence between Julian and St. Basil, which would otherwise be assigned to this date (see p. 490 f.). The letters referred to are *Epp.* 40, 41, in the editions of St. Basil, the first of these = Jul. *Ep.* 75 (77 Heyler); cf. Rode, p. 86, note 11). Julian apparently avoided Caesarea and the Caesareans as much as possible, and pressed on to places where he expected to find the people better disposed to heathenism. He probably left it on his left hand, and proceeded as directly as possible to Tyana, near the southern extremity of the country.

A more pleasant reception awaited him in the neighbouring province Cilicia. As he entered it by the famous pass of the Pylae Ciliciae he was met by the governor, his friend Celsus, once his fellow-student, and probably his confidant at Athens. (See above, § 2 at the end.) Julian kissed him, and, as he stood by the altar, listened to the panegyric which Celsus had prepared for him—a greeting more agreeable to him than any of the customary presents made to emperors on their progresses through the provinces (Amm. xxii. 9, 13; Lib. *Epit.* p. 575, and *Ep.* 648). He shewed his high esteem for his encomiast by taking him up into his chariot and entering with him into Tarsus, a city which evidently pleased him by its welcome. Celsus accompanied him to the southern boundary of his province, a few leagues north of Antioch. Here they were met by a large crowd, among whom was Libanius. The great rhetorician had prepared no panegyric, being always independent in his relations with the emperor, but was much flattered by his first words on recognising him in the concourse—"When shall we hear you?" (Lib. *de vita sua*, p. 81; *Epist.* 648; see Sievers, *Libanius*, p. 91). He reached Antioch before July 28, the date of a law found in both the Codes, permitting provincial governors to appoint inferior judges or *judices pedanei*. (*Cod. Theod.* i. 68 = *Cod. Just.* iii. 3, 5; in a fuller form in *C. I. L.* iii. 459).

§ 6. *Julian's residence at Antioch, July* 362 *to March* 5, 363.

We have seen that in the previous seven months philosophic toleration and gentle means of conversion were being gradually abandoned by the emperor for unjust pressure, though not attaining to open persecution. The eight months spent at Antioch left Julian much more bitter against the Church, and less careful to avoid injustice to its members, in fact countenancing persecution even to death, though, in word, still forbidding it and proclaiming toleration. Julian's character was, as we have already seen, an inconsistent one, and we have constantly to draw a distinction between his principles and profession on the one hand and his individual acts on the other. (Libanius says that Julian spent *nine* months at Antioch, *Epit.* p. 578, 15, but it is hard to make more than *eight*.)

The narrative of events during this period is somewhat difficult to pursue in a single thread, and it is, therefore, better to divide it into an account of (a) his relations with the citizens of Antioch; (b) his relations to the church at large; (c) attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

(a.) *Internal State of Antioch.*

On his entrance into the city Julian's wish was fulfilled. The orator greeted him in a speech of moderate length, in which he begins by congratulating him on bringing back at once the ancient rites of sacrifice and the honour due to the profession of rhetoric (*Prosphoneticus Juliano*, ed. Reiske, i. p. 405). But other sounds, less sweet than those of the voice of Libanius, filled the city upon his arrival, and saddened him with a presage of his coming doom. It was the festival of the lamentation for Adonis, and the air resounded with shrieks for the lover of Venus, cut down in his prime as the green corn fails before the heat of the summer sun.[b] This ill-omened beginning was followed by other equally unpropitious circumstances, and the residence of Julian at Antioch was a disappointment to himself and disagreeable to almost all the inhabitants. He was impatient, or soon became so, to engage upon his Persian campaign; but weighty reasons, such as the difficulty of making the necessary preparations in time, determined him to pass the winter at the Syrian capital. (Liban. *Epit.* p. 576, foll. speaks of his impatience; Amm. xxii. 10, 1, says, "Ibi hiemans ex sententia;" the two are not difficult to reconcile.) He had anticipated much more devotion on the part of the pagans, and much less force and resistance on that of the Christians than he discovered in reality. He was disgusted at finding that both parties regretted the previous reign—"Neither the Chi nor the Kappa" (that is, neither Christ nor Constantius) "did our city any harm" became a common saying (*Misopogon*, p. 357 a). To the heathens themselves the enthusiastic form of religion to which Julian was devoted was little more than an unpleasant and somewhat vulgar anachronism. His cynic asceticism and dislike of the theatre and the circus was unpopular in a city particularly addicted to public spectacles. His super-

[b] Amm. xxii. 9, 15. His words "quod in adulto flore sectarum est indicium frugum" agree with the date of the Syrian month Tammuz = June or July, and with the other dates of the history. In some places, however, the festival seems to have been at the autumnal equinox (cf. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. p. 284, ed. 1872; Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. Tammuz; Clinton, *F. R.* i. p. 448).

stition was equally unpalatable. The short, untidy, long-bearded man, marching pompously in procession on the tips of his toes, and swaying his shoulders from side to side, surrounded by a crowd of abandoned characters, such as formed the regular attendants upon many heathen festivals, appeared seriously to compromise the dignity of the empire.[c] The blood of countless victims flowed everywhere, but, to all appearance, served merely to gorge his foreign soldiery, especially the semi-barbarous Gauls; and the streets of Antioch were disturbed by their revels, and by drunken parties carrying one another home to their barracks (Amm. xxii. 12, 6). These things were patent to every one, and were in every one's mouth for ridicule or censure. More secret rumours were spread of horrid nocturnal sacrifices and of the pursuit of those arts of necromancy from which the natural heathen conscience shrank only less than the Christian.[d] If all this vexed the pagans, we can conceive how bitter it was to the large body of Christians, especially in the person of one who was a renegade from the faith which first obtained its name at Antioch. The wonder is, not that Julian quarrelled with the Antiochenes, but that he left the city without a greater explosion than actually took place. In his conduct of public business, indeed, where there was no question of religion, he was generally fair, and Ammianus gives several rather interesting anecdotes of his justice and clemency (xxii. 10). Even here he was impulsive and inconsistent in action, and inquisitive, and undignified in manner; but in general he did not scruple to acknowledge and repair his faults when corrected by a friend. At other times, as we shall see, he exhibited that obstinacy which is not unfrequently found with a flighty temper—an obstinacy which is acquired rather than natural, being partly the result of reserve from living in an uncongenial atmosphere, and partly, perhaps, affected by persons who are conscious that their character wants ballast and steadiness.[e]

Not a little of the irritation between the emperor and the citizens of Antioch was centered upon the suburb of the city, called Daphne, a delicious cool retreat in which, as it was fabled, the nymph beloved by Apollo had been transformed into a laurel. Here was a celebrated temple of the god, and a spring that bore the name of Castalian, and here in former days had been the favourite haunt of the gay, the luxurious, and the vicious. Gallus, during his government as Caesar had counteracted the genius loci by transposing to it the relics of the martyr bishop Babylas, whose chapel was erected opposite the temple of Apollo. The worship of the latter had almost ceased, and Julian, going to Daphne, in the month of August (Loüs), to keep the annual festival of the Sun-god, was surprised to find no gathering of worshippers. He had himself taken some trouble about the matter, returning for the purpose from a visit to the temple of Zeus Casius, several leagues distant, and imagining as he came along all the pomp of ritual in which he delighted. To his disgust the city had provided no sacrifice, and only one poor priest appeared, offering the sacrifice of a single goose, which he had provided at his own expense. Julian rated the town council soundly, and gives us in his Misopogon the speech which he made on the occasion (*Mis.* p. 361 d, sq.). He took care that in future sacrifices should not be wanting, and eagerly consulted the oracle and unstopped the Castalian spring. After a long silence he learnt that Apollo was disturbed by the presence of the "dead man," *i.e.* Babylas. "I am surrounded by corpses," said the voice, "and I cannot speak till they are removed" (Soz. v. 19; Chrys. *de S. Bab.* § 15, p. 669; Liban. *Monodia in Daphnen*, vol. iii. p. 333). All the corpses were cleared away, but especially that of the martyr (Amm. xxii. 12, 8; *Misopogon*, p. 361 b). A remnant of religious awe or old superstition perhaps prevented Julian from destroying the relics of which his actions practically acknowledged the power, and they were eagerly seized upon by the Christians, and borne in triumph to Antioch. The procession as it went along the road, for the five miles which separated Daphne from the city, chanted aloud the verses of Psalm xcvii.:—"Confounded be all they that worship carved images and that delight in vain gods." Julian was incensed by this personality, and forced the prefect Sallustius, much against his will, to enquire into it with severity, and punish those concerned. A young man, Theodorus, in particular, was hung upon the rack (equuleus) and cruelly scourged with iron nails for a whole day long, till he was supposed to be dying. Rufinus, the church historian, who met him in after life, asked him how he bore the pain. Theodorus replied that he had felt but little, for a young man stood by him wiping off the sweat of his agony, and comforting him all the time (Rufin. i. 35, 36, referred to by Soc. iii. 19, and given in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 604, ed. Ratisbon. 1859). The anger of Julian was braved in a somewhat similar manner by a widow named Publia, the head of a small community of Christian virgins, who sang in his hearing the Psalms against idols, and against the enemies of God. She was brought before a court and buffeted on the face with severity, but dismissed (Theodoret, iii. 19).

An anecdote related only by an author of the 11th century may be mentioned in this connexion, as it is not without interest, though of very doubtful accuracy. Julian, in his zeal for heathen worship, "sends Oribasius the physician and quaestor to restore the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Having arrived there and begun the

[c] Amm. xxii. 14, 3, a characteristic passage worth reading. His words "Stipatus mulierculis," &c., go far to justify Gregory's *δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πορναῖς προὔπινε* in *Orat.* 5, 22, p. 161, and Chrysostom's more highly-coloured description of the same sort of scene, for the accuracy of which he appeals to an eyewitness still living, *de S. Babyla in Julianum*, § 14, pp. 667, 668.

[d] Theodoret, iii. 26, 27; Greg. *Or.* 4, 92, p. 126; Chrys. *de S. Babyla*, 14, p. 560 b; cp. Amm. xxii. 12, 7, for his intemperate confidence in diviners and charlatans of all kinds. There is an interesting passage at the beginning of the Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, which reflects the condemnation of necromancy by the better minds of heathenism, and nothing can be stronger than Plato, *Laws*, book x. p. 909.

[e] Ammianus touches both sides of his character, xvi. 7, 6, "Asiaticis coalitum moribus ideoque levem," and xxii. 14, 2, "Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus." Julian says of himself in his sixth epistle, to Ecdicius, *οἶσθα δὲ ὅπως εἰμὶ βραδὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ καταγνῶναι, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι βραδύτερος εἰς τὸ ἅπαξ καταγνοὺς ἀνεῖναι.*

work, he receives the following oracle from the daemon:—

εἴπατε τῷ βασιλῆι, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν· ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ."

(Cedrenus, p. 304, vol. i. p. 532, ed. Bonn.)

Shortly after the translation of the relics of St. Babylas to Antioch, on the night of Oct. 22, the temple of Daphne itself was burnt to the ground. The heathens accused the Christians of maliciously setting it on fire; they attributed it to fire from heaven, and the prayers of St. Babylas. A story also got about that Asclepiades the cynic had left a number of lighted candles burning in the shrine (Amm. xxii. 13; Soz. v. 20; Chrys. *de S. Bab.* § 17, p. 674). Julian's wrath was intense. He accused the Christians of the deed, and suspected the priests of knowing more about it (*Misopogon*, p. 346 b, p. 361 b, c). As a punishment he ordered the cathedral church of Antioch to be closed, and confiscated its goods (Amm. xxii. 13, 2; Soz. v. 8). The order was executed by his uncle Julianus, now count of the East, with all the zeal of a new convert, and with circumstances of disgusting profanity. He also caused Theodoret, a presbyter, who still collected a congregation of the faithful, to be tortured and beheaded (Ruinart, *Acta Mart.* p. 605). The Christian account tells us that Julian reproved his uncle as having brought him into disgrace, but in the *Misopogon* he gives him nothing but praise (*l. c.* p. 607, *Misopogon*, p. 365 c). The count's miserable death, which followed soon after, was naturally treated as a judgment from heaven (Soz. v. 8; Theodoret, iii. 12, &c.). That of Felix, another renegade, which happened a little earlier, was equally remarkable for its suddenness. People observed that the two together were a presage of the emperor's own doom, for now that Julianus and Felix were gone, Augustus would soon follow, playing upon the ordinary terms of the imperial title *Julianus Felix Augustus* in public documents (Amm. xxiii. 1, 5). This was a trivial saying, but one just calculated to disquiet and irritate a mind like Julian's.

Antioch meanwhile was afflicted by a dearth, which almost became a famine, and all the emperor's efforts to alleviate it tended only to intensify its severity. He imported a large quantity of grain from Egypt, and fixed the market price of corn at a low figure. Speculators bought up his importations, and would not sell their own stores, and soon there was nothing in the markets. Julian was obstinate, like his brother Gallus on a similar occasion, and declared that the fault was in the magistrates, while he tried in vain to infuse some of his own public spirit into the farmers and merchants (Lib. *Epit.* p. 587). The town council were equally unable to get him to understand the principles of political economy, and he commanded them all to go to prison (Amm. xxii. 14. 2; Lib. *Epit.* p. 588). Their confinement, however, did not last a day, and they were released by the intercession of Libanius, who tells us that he was not deterred from his petition by the sarcastic hint that the Orontes was not far off (*de Vita Sua*, vol. i. p. 85).

The whole winter, indeed, was clouded with misfortunes. On Dec. 2 the rest of Nicomedia was destroyed by earthquake, and a large part of Nicaea suffered with it (Amm. xxii. 13, 5). News was brought too that Constantinople was in danger from the same cause, and some suggested that the wrath of the earth-shaker Poseidon must be appeased. This gave Julian, who had a real affection for the city, an opportunity of showing his enthusiasm. He stood all day long in the open air, under rain and storm, in a fixed and rigid attitude, like an Indian yogi, while his courtiers looked on in amazement from under cover. It was calculated afterwards that the earthquake stopped on the very day of the imperial intercession, and Julian, it was further said, took no harm from his exposure (Lib. *Epit.* p. 581). But this partial success did not make him feel secure of the favour of the gods. He was convinced that Apollo had deserted Daphne, and the other deities were not propitious. Even the day of his entering the consulship, Jan. 1, 363, which was graced with an oration of Libanius (*ad Julianum imp. consulem*) was disfigured with a bad omen: a priest fell down dead upon the steps of the temple of the Genius. This was the more annoying, as he had no doubt intended to make his fourth consulship mark a new era by taking as his colleague his old friend Sallustius prefect of the Gauls, an honour paid to no one outside the imperial family since the days of Diocletian (Amm. xxiii. 1, 1). At the same time too he received the news of the failure of the attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, which we shall recount below (Amm. xxiii. 1, 3).

In the meantime his designs for involving the city in heathen rites caused considerable excitement and odium. He profaned the fountains of the city of Daphne according to Christian ideas, and consecrated them according to his own, by throwing into them a portion of his sacrifices, so that all who used them might be partakers with the gods. He made a similar experiment by ordering all things sold in the market, such as bread, meat, and vegetables, to be sprinkled with lustral water. The Christians complained, but in general, did not hesitate to follow the precept of the apostle in eating freely all things sold in public, without enquiring into the ceremonies they had undergone (Theodoret, iii. 15). Two young officers, Juventinus and Maximinus, were one day lamenting this state of things, and were overheard to quote the words from the Greek Daniel, ch. iii. 32, "Thou hast delivered us to a lawless king, to an apostate beyond all the heathen that are in the earth." Their words were repeated by an informer, and they were ordered to appear before the emperor. They declared the cause of their complaint, the only one (as they said) which they had to bring against his government. They were thrown into prison, and friends were sent to promise them large rewards if they would change their religion; but they stood firm, and were beheaded in the middle of the night, on the charge of having spoken evil of the emperor (Chrys. *in Juvent. et Max.* 3, cf. Theodoret, iii. 15). The date of this "martyrdom" may have been Jan. 25, as it appears in Latin calendars (Bollandists, Jan. p. 618). There seems no reason to doubt the circumstances, which are consistent with other facts.

Such were some of the incidents of the internal struggle in which Julian found himself engaged, and which carried him on against his better

judgment to acts of harshness and cruelty. With one half of his nature he was a fanatic, with the other a somewhat cold, sarcastic, and unsympathetic reasoner; and he passed from one temper to the other without perceiving it. He did not see that his fanaticism was an excuse for enthusiasm of a contrary kind in his subjects. But having provoked them by it, he applied the other side of his nature to judge their actions; and wondered how they could be disloyal to so tolerant and philosophic a sovereign.

He however proceeded to do what few or none of his predecessors had done before, and entered into controversy with his subjects. He had for some time been thinking of opposing Christian doctrine in a set form, and was specially incited to it by the books which Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, had recently put out against a return to paganism [see DIODORUS, Vol. I. p. 837]. He wrote a letter to the heresiarch Photinus, in which he gave him credit for denying the divinity of Christ, and declared his own intention to write against Diodorus the traducer of heathen mysteries, whom he insults on account of his ill-health (*Ep.* 79, preserved in Latin by Facundus Hermianensis). Julian in consequence spent the winter evenings in writing those three books against the Christians, of which we possess the fragments in the refutation of St. Cyril of Alexandria (Lib. *Epist.* p. 581). The reader is referred to the section on *Julian's theory of religion* for a fuller account of them. In February 363 he gave another curious instance of his superstition and his wish to repress Christian feeling in his people, by decreeing that no funerals should take place by daylight, in order that no one should be disturbed by the ill-omened sights of mourning. (*Ep.* 77 first published in *Hermes*, vol. 8; cf. *Cod. Theod.* ix. 17, 5, dated Feb. 12.)

He discharged his spleen upon the general body of the citizens of Antioch in a still more extraordinary manner, by writing one of the most remarkable satires that have ever been published, which he entitled the *Misopogon.* "He had been insulted," says Gibbon, "by satires and libels; in his turn he composed under the title of *the Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire on the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. The imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace, and the *Misopogon* still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion of Julian." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 24, vol. 3. p. 8, ed. Bohn).

It is of course Julian's own philosophic beard that gives the title to the pamphlet; but the discussion is naturally not confined to his outward man. The *Misopogon* should certainly be read by all who desire to have an insight into the character of the emperor, as it is far the most instructive of his works on this point. In form it is a dialogue between himself and the people, in which he describes his own virtues under the colour of vices, and their vices as if they were virtues. Occasionally he lays aside his irony and directly expresses his indignation against them; but in either case he reveals his own character with a humorous simplicity that in turn attracts and repels us.

This pamphlet was written in the seventh month of his sojourn at Antioch, probably that is to say in the latter half of January; and he left the city in the first week of March. Shortly before his departure he gave a practical turn to his anger against the people by appointing Alexander of Heliopolis governor of Syria—a man of turbulent and cruel disposition. "I know" (he said) "that Alexander is not fit to be a governor; but such a man suits this greedy and abusive people" (Amm. xxiii. 2, 3). He was followed as he left the town by a multitude who wished him a happy return, but he cut them short saying he intended to go to Tarsus (*ib.* 5; cf. *Misopogon*, p. 364 d, where he mentions his determination to go elsewhere). The only person apparently whom he left with any regret was Libanius, whose intercourse with him had been creditable to both of them. Libanius had asked for no favours except for his friend Aristophanes, who had suffered during the late reign on a charge of magic (see Libanius, *pro Aristophane*, and *Epist.* 670; Jul. *Ep.* 74, about Dec. 362). He had preserved his independence, with something of the pride of a teacher towards a pupil or a mistress towards a lover. There may have been something affected in his manner, but it was far better than the vanity and rapacity of Maximus. It was agreed between them that he should come when he was sent for, but he would not brook the suspicion of importunity by making frequent and unasked-for visits. Julian often said to him, "you have never let me make you a present, but I will settle it before I leave." One day after supper he said, "Here is my present at last. I declare that your actions assure you amongst philosophers the same rank that your speeches give you amongst orators." As he took leave of the councillors of Antioch who deprecated his anger and begged him to return, he said, "I see you put your trust in the man you will send as your ambassador to me,"—meaning, of course, Libanius,—"but I shall take him away with me too to Tarsus" (*de Vita Sua*, pp. 88–90). "I turn my back upon a city full of all vices, insolence, drunkenness, incontinence, impiety, avarice, and impudence," such were Julian's last words to Antioch (Lib. *Legatio ad Jul.* p. 469 sq.).

(b.) *Julian's Relation to the Church at large during his Residence at Antioch.*

The general object of the emperor's policy was to degrade Christianity and to promote heathenism by every means short of an edict of persecution, or the imposition of a general penalty on the profession of the faith. This object he did not scruple to express publicly, as we have seen in the account of his residence at Constantinople. The chronology of many of the incidents which were subsidiary to this policy is obscure, and it is quite possible that some of those already related belong to this period, and that some which are still to be mentioned should have been described before. Pains, however, have been taken to discriminate them where it is possible.

We do not possess the text of many of Julian's edicts, a number of which were naturally removed from the statute book. We know, for instance, that he ordered the temples to be reopened and their estates to be restored, but we do not know the terms in which this order was couched. Probably he used bitter language against the "atheists" and "Galileans," ordering

all chapels of martyrs built within the sacred precincts to be destroyed, and all relics of "dead men" to be summarily removed. Something of this kind must have been the σύνθημα or "signal," of which he speaks in the *Misopogon* as having been followed by the neighbouring "holy cities" of Syria with a zeal and enthusiasm which exceeded even his wishes (*Misop.* p. 361 a; Soz. p. 20, ad finem, mentions an order to destroy two Christian chapels near the temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Miletus). This confession from his own mouth goes far to justify the statements of his opponents. Riots occurred in consequence of this "signal" in many cities, particularly of Syria and the East, where the Christians were numerous, and popular passion was strong. The details of Julian's relation to some of these cases form perhaps the gravest stains upon his character.

The earliest case after his entry into Antioch, which can be dated exactly, was that of Titus, bishop of Bostra, in Arabia Auranitis. Julian had informed Titus (probably through the governor of the place) that he should be held responsible for every breach of the peace that occurred (Soz. v. 15, p. 102 b). The bishop had answered by a memorial, in which he declared that the Christian population was equal in numbers to the heathen, but that under his influence and that of their clergy they were careful to abstain from sedition (*ib.*). Julian on Aug. 1, 362, replied by a public letter to the people of Bostra, in which he represents this language as an impertinence, and calumniates Titus as the accuser of the Christian body. This epistle is a curious mixture of tolerant language and suggestions of intolerant action, expressed in a way best calculated to irritate one section of the people against the other. After quoting the memorial of Titus, he proceeds:—"These are the words of the bishop concerning you. Observe, he does not ascribe your regularity to your own inclination; unwillingly, he says, you refrain 'by his exhortations.' Do you then use your wills, and expel him as your accuser from your city.... And for the future let the people of both parties agree amongst themselves; let no one be at variance or do an injury to another. ... Men should be taught and persuaded by reason, not by blows, invectives, and corporal punishments. I therefore again and again admonish those who embrace the true religion in no respect to injure or insult the Galileans, neither by attacks nor reproaches. We should rather pity than hate those who in the most important concerns of all fare ill. . . . Such is their fate who turn from the worship of the immortal gods to dead men and relics" (*Ep.* 52).

A month or two later, probably in October, he continued his attack upon Athanasius, the first acts of which have already been described. The great champion had never left Alexandria, or had soon returned to it, and was boldly using his influence to make fresh converts, as well as to restore the peace of the Church by measures of conciliation addressed to the more reasonable of both parties, Arians and Catholics. A deputation from the city had been, as we have said, sent to petition the favour of the emperor and to intercede for the bishop. But Julian, who had been apparently occupied with other things, was thoroughly enraged to find that his first order had not been executed. He had recently been bantering the prefect Ecdicius with negligence in his correspondence (*Ep.* 50). He now took a severer tone. "If you write to me on nothing else, you ought to write to me about Athanasius, the enemy of the gods, especially as you have long known my will and pleasure about him. I swear by great Sarapis if he does not leave Alexandria, but every part of Egypt, by the 1st of December, I will fine your cohort a hundred pounds of gold. You know that I am slow to condemn, but when I have condemned much slower in pardoning," adding in his own hand, "I am thoroughly pained at being treated in this way with contempt. By all the gods, no sight, or rather no news, of your doings could give me greater pleasure than that of Athanasius being driven from Egypt, the scoundrel who in my reign has dared to baptize Greek ladies of rank. Let him be expelled" (*Ep.* 6). At the same time he wrote a long effusion to the people of Alexandria, in which personal abuse of their bishop is mingled with arguments to enforce the worship of Sarapis and the visible gods, the sun and moon, and to depreciate the worship of "Jesus, whom neither you nor your fathers have seen," and "whose doctrine has done nothing for your city." "We have long ago ordered him," he concludes, "to leave the city, now we banish him from the whole of Egypt" (*Ep.* 51). The news of these decrees was brought to Athanasius on Oct. 23, and he felt it time to depart. "Be of good heart," he said to those who clustered round him, "it is but a cloud; it will soon pass" (Ruf. i. 32; *Festal Epistles*, *Chronicle*, p. 14, for the date). During the rest of Julian's reign he lived in retirement in the monasteries of the Egyptian desert. [See ATHANASIUS, Vol. I. p. 198.]

To Hecebolius (who was perhaps his old master advanced to some place of authority) he wrote concerning a sedition at Edessa, in much the same terms as he had written to the people of Bostra, but apparently with more justice. "I have always used the Galileans well, and abstained from violent measures of conversion; but the Arians, luxuriating in their wealth, have treated the Valentinians in a manner which cannot be tolerated in a well-ordered city. In order, therefore, that they may enter more easily into the kingdom of Heaven in the way which their wonderful law bids them, I have ordered all the money of the church of Edessa to be seized for division amongst the soldiers, and its estates to be confiscated" (*Ep.* 43, cf. Rufin. i. 32; Socr. iii. 13). This twisting of the gospel precept against the Church in the last sentence is a close parallel to the alleged edict forbidding Christians to exercise the sword of the magistrate, and supports its authenticity (So Rode, p. 85, note 9, see above p. 502 foll.).

Another case of disturbance was reported as having occurred between the cities of Gaza and Maiuma in Palestine. The latter, originally a suburb of Gaza had been raised by Constantius to the rank of an independent corporation. The people of Gaza had successfully petitioned the new emperor for a withdrawal of these privileges, and now in their exultation attacked their neighbours, and set fire to their chapels, with other acts of violence. Three brothers of a respectable family named Eusebius, Nestabus,

and Zeno, were murdered with circumstances of great atrocity. The people were considerably alarmed by fear of what the emperor might do, and the governor arrested some of the ringleaders, who were brought to Antioch. In this case Julian's sense of justice seems entirely to have deserted him. Not only was no reprimand addressed to the people of Gaza, but the governor was himself put on his trial and deprived of his office. "What great matter is it if one Greek hand has slain ten Galileans?" were words well calculated to bear bitter fruit wherever they were repeated, and equivalent, as Gregory argues, to an edict of persecution (Greg. *Or.* 4, 93, p. 127; Sozomen—who was a Gazene himself—v. 9; Rode accepts the greater part of this story, but rejects the words attributed to Julian, p. 92, note 12.) Doubt has been thrown upon the correctness of this last detail, but, I think, without sufficient reason. He did and said many things in a fit of passion, of which his cooler judgment disapproved. Disturbances against the Christians broke out in many parts of Palestine. Holy places and holy things were profaned, and Christian people maltreated, tortured, and destroyed, sometimes in the most abominable manner (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 546, ed. Bonn.; Soz. v. 21; Philostorgius, vii. 4). "Such scenes of religious madness" (says Gibbon) "exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature" (ch. 23, p. 550).

But perhaps all these scenes of horror were in their effect upon the popular mind unequal to the confession of Mark, bishop of Arethusa, a small town in Syria, who was said to have saved the life of the infant Julian. (Greg. *Or.* 4, 88–91, pp. 122–125; Soz. v. 10; Liban. *Ep.* 730.) His crime was refusal to pay for the restoration of a temple which he had destroyed in the preceding reign. His persecutors soon ceased to demand the full value, and only required some token of concession on his part. But he would not yield the smallest coin. He was scourged in public, his beard was torn, his naked body was smeared with honey, and hung up in a net exposed to the stings of insects and the fierce rays of the Syrian sun. Nothing could be wrung from him, and he was at last set free a conqueror. Wherever he went, he was surrounded by admirers, and this case became a warning to the more temperate and cautious pagans not to proceed to extremities. Libanius intercedes for an offender, lest he should turn out another Mark (*Ep.* 730); and Sallust, the prefect of the East, admonished Julian of the disgrace which this fruitless contest with an old man had brought upon the pagan cause. (Greg. *Or.* 4, 91, p. 125; Sallust's *name* is not mentioned, but his office and character are described with sufficient clearness.)

Some other details of his oppressive measures are recorded by the fathers and church historians. Thus St. Gregory tells us that in one of his edicts he ordered Christians to be called "Galileans" (*Or.* 4, 76, p. 114). This was only to legislate that others should follow his own universal practice, except where he distinguishes them by the appellation of "atheists" (I do not believe that the word *Christians* occurs anywhere in Julian's writings, except in his quotation from the letter of Titus of Bostra, *Ep.* 52, p. 101 d). In this usage he was following the example of Epictetus, who speaks of "the Galileans" as fearing neither sword nor tyrant "out of habit" (Arrian, *Epictetus* iv. 7). Gregory also tells us that he had in mind to deprive Christians of the right to use the law-courts, or rather that he intended to require a sacrificial use of incense from every litigant (*Or.* iv. 96, p. 129). Socrates further speaks of an actual pecuniary penalty imposed, according to their wealth, on those who refused to sacrifice, by means of which Julian raised large sums of money for his Persian campaign (iii. 18). Possibly this is to be explained of a certain number of fines inflicted on those who refused to bow to the emperor's statues, on account of their heathen ornaments, as Rode suggests (p. 86, note).

Eunapius, however, accidentally mentions a proceeding which looks like part of a larger measure for shifting the public burdens from heathen to Christian shoulders, and which he insinuates tempted Prohaeresius to waver in his constancy. "The emperor was measuring the land of the pagans for the purposes of the census, so that they might not be oppressed; and Prohaeresius asked Musonius to enquire of the gods whether this indulgence would continue. When he reported the answer, 'No,' Prohaeresius knew what was going to happen, and was in better spirits" (Eunap. *Prohaeres.* ad finem). We are not bound to believe the anecdote, but the historical setting can hardly be an invention.

(c) *Attempt to Rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.*

Julian had apparently for some time past wished to conciliate the Jewish people. We have already noticed his expression of goodwill towards them, and his removal of the taxes which had been devised against them by the ministers of Constantius (*Ep.* 25). He did not indeed like their assumption of the peculiar favour of the supreme God, which he thought a mere piece of vanity. But he highly approved of their sacrificial system, and was quite ready to grant Jehovah a place amongst the other local deities (cf. *Frag.* p. 295 c; S. Cyril. in Spanheim's Julian, pp. 99, 100, and p. 305, on Sacrifice). It seems probable, therefore, that his chief motive in wishing to restore the Temple at Jerusalem was the desire to increase the number of divinities who were propitious to him, and to gain the favour of the Jewish god in the prosecution of his Persian campaign. This is substantially the account given by Socrates, who tells us that he summoned the Jews to him and asked why they did not offer sacrifice. They replied that it was not lawful for them to do so, except at Jerusalem, and he therefore determined to rebuild the Temple of Solomon (Socr. iii. 20). This account agrees best with the statements of the emperor himself in his epistles and in his books against the Christians; and the other motives attributed to him may be considered at any rate as subordinate to it (cf. Greg. *Or.* 5, 3, p. 149; Rufin. i. 37; Soz. v. 21). There is, however, an air of great probability in the statement of Philostorgius that he wished to falsify the prediction of our Blessed Lord as to the utter destruction of the Temple (vii. 9). Nor could the enmity of the Jews against the Christians be otherwise than very pleasing to him (Greg. *l. c.* ἐπαφῆκε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων φῦλον ἡμῖν). Julian himself provided very large sums for the work, and en-

trusted its execution to the oversight of Alypius of Antioch, an officer who had been employed by him in Britain, and who was his intimate personal friend (Amm. xxiii. i. 2; *Epp.* 29 and 30 are addressed to him). The Jews were exultant, and were eager to contribute both their wealth and their labour with enthusiastic profusion. The rubbish was cleared away, and the old foundations were laid bare. But a stronger power intervened. To quote the words of Ammianus—"Whilst Alypius was strenuously forcing on the work, and the governor of the province was lending his assistance; fearful balls of flames, bursting out with frequent assaults near the foundations, and several times burning the workmen, rendered access to the spot impossible; and in this way the attempt came to a standstill through the determined obstinacy of the element ("Metuendi globi flammarum, prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes, fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum; hocque modo, elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum." Amm. xxiii. 1, 3). No doubt the Christians saw in this defeat of their oppressor not only a miracle of divine power, but a peculiarly striking fulfilment of the old prophecies in which fire is so often spoken of as the emblem and instrument of judgment. They might appeal, *e.g.* to Deut. xxxii. 22, Jer. xxi. 14, and particularly, perhaps, to the historical description of Lam. iv. 11, "The Lord hath accomplished His fury; He hath poured out His fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof." They thought also, of course, of our Lord's own words, which were now more completely verified than ever. Julian retained his wide knowledge of the text of scripture, as we see by his writings, and these prophecies doubtless came into his head of themselves, and irritated him by their literal exactness. The "globi flammarum prope *fundamenta* erumpentes" of the historian are an undesigned coincidence with the words of Hebrew prophecy.

There is probably an awkward reference to all this in a remarkable passage of his fragmentary letter on the Duties of a Priest, which was apparently written a little after this time.

"Let no one disbelieve the gods" (he writes) "from seeing and hearing that their statues and their temples have been insulted in some quarters. . . . . Let no one beguile us by his speeches, or unsettle us on the score of Providence. For those who reproach us on this head—I mean the prophets of the Jews—what will they say about their own Temple which has been thrice overthrown, and is not even now rising? This I have said with no wish to reproach them, inasmuch as I myself, at so late a day, had in purpose to rebuild it for the honour of Him who was worshipped there. Here I have alluded to it with the purpose of shewing that of human things nothing is imperishable, and that the prophets, who wrote as I have mentioned, raved, and were but the gossips of canting old women. Nothing, indeed, contradicts the notion of that God being great, but He is unfortunate in His prophets and interpreters. I say that they did not take care to purify their souls by a course of education, nor to open their fast-closed eyes, nor to dissipate the darkness which lay on them, and like men who see a great light through a mist, not clearly nor distinctly, and take it not for pure light but for fire, and are blind to all things round about it, they cry out loudly, 'Shudder and fear; Fire, Flame, Death, Sword, Lance,' expressing by many words that one destructive property of fire. But perhaps it is better to demonstrate separately how much these teachers of theology are inferior to our poets" (*Frag. Ep.* pp. 295 A–296 B; first adduced, I believe, by Warburton, *Julian*, bk. 1, ch. 4; cf. Newman, p. clxxviii. sq.). Dr. Newman's remarks on this passage may be quoted. "When it is considered that Julian was, as it were, defeated by the prophets of that very people he was aiding; that he desired to rebuild the Jewish Temple, and the Christians declared he could not, for the Jewish prophets had made it impossible, we surely may believe that in the foregoing passage this was the thought which was passing in his mind, while the prophetic emblem of fire haunted him, which had been so recently exhibited in the catastrophe by which he had been baffled" (*l. c.* p. clxxix.).

Warburton also refers to two passages of Libanius, in which he mentions *earthquakes* that presaged Julian's death. In the first place, he speaks of "earthquakes in Palestine and Syria destroying some whole cities and parts of others;" in the second passage, he connects them with the burning of the Temple of Apollo (*de Fortuna Sua*, p. 91; *Monodia in Jul.* p. 518 r).

From these heathen testimonies, and from the accounts of the fathers and historians of the church, Dr. Newman has put together the following detailed account of the occurrence, in which he chiefly follows Warburton. (S. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5, 4–7, pp. 149–151, an oration written this very year 363; S. Ambros. *Ep.* 40, 12, to Theodosius:—"Non audisti, imperator, quia cum iussisset Julianus reparari templum Hierosolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrarunt?" S. Chrys. *contra Judaeos et Gentiles*, 16, vol. 1, p. 709, ed. Gaume; *adv. Judaeos*, v. 11, vol. 1, pp. 789, 790; *contra Julianum et Gentiles*, 22, vol. 2, p. 685; Rufin. i. 37; Socr. iii. 20; Sozom. v. 22; Theodoret, iii. 20; Philostorgius, vii. 14, &c.)

The order of the incidents is, of course, not certain, but only a matter of probable inference: nor can we guarantee the details as they appear in the later writers.

"They declare as follows:—The work was interrupted by a violent whirlwind, says Theodoret, which scattered about vast quantities of lime, sand and other loose materials collected for the building. A storm of thunder and lightning followed; fire fell, says Socrates, and the workmen's tools, the spades, the axes, and the saws were melted down. Then came an earthquake, which threw up the stones of the old foundation, says Socrates; filled up the excavation, says Theodoret, which had been made for the new foundations; and, as Rufinus adds, threw down the buildings in the neighbourhood, and especially the public porticoes in which were numbers of the Jews who had been aiding in the undertaking, and who were buried in the ruins. The workmen returned to their work; but from the recesses, laid open by the earthquake, balls of fire burst out, says Ammianus; and that again and again as often as they renewed the attempt. The fiery mass, says Rufinus, raged

up and down the street for hours; and St. Gregory, that when some fled to a neighbouring church for safety the fire met them at the door and forced them back, with the loss either of life or of their extremities. At length the commotion ceased; a calm succeeded; and, as St. Gregory adds, in the sky appeared a luminous cross surrounded by a circle. Nay, upon the garments and the bodies of the persons present crosses were impressed, says St. Gregory; which were luminous by night, says Rufinus; and at other times of a dark colour, says Theodoret; and would not wash out, adds Socrates. In consequence the attempt was abandoned" (Newman, *l. c.* p. clxxvii.).

The reader will, no doubt, have observed that all these incidents present us only with a picture which resembles, even in its particular details, the extraordinary operations of what we call the forces of nature. Even for the luminous crosses there are some curious parallels in the natural history of storms of lightning and volcanic eruptions (see those collected by Warburton and quoted by Newman, p. clxxxii. notes). The cross in the sky, like that seen by Constantine, has its likeness in the effects of mock suns and parhelia. It is impossible to decide, especially at this distance of time, how far these parallels are thoroughly adequate as descriptions of what was seen and felt at the time. But, supposing them to have been so, a Christian may still fairly assert his right to call the event a miraculous interposition of God's providence. It fulfilled all the purposes which we can assign to the Scripture miracles. It gave "an impression of the present agency and of the will of God." It seemed to shew His severe disapproval of the attempt, and His determination to support the doctrine and prophecies of Christ. It came, like the vision of Constantine, at a critical epoch in the world's history. It was, as the heathen poet has it, a "dignus vindice nodus." All who were present or heard of the event at the time thought, we may be sure, that it was a sign from God.

As a miracle then it ranges beside those biblical miracles in which, at some critical moment, the forces of nature are seen to work strikingly for God's people, or against their enemies. In the Old Testament we have, for example, the instances of the plagues of Egypt, the passage of the Red Sea and the drowning of Pharaoh's host, the crossing of the Jordan, the prolongation of sunlight at the battle of Gibeon, the destruction of Sennacherib's great army in one night before Jerusalem; in the New the stilling of the storm, and the earthquakes and the darkness at the crucifixion. A difference, indeed, strikes us at first between the series of biblical miracles and the one now in question; viz., that in them there is generally some visible agent or representative of God calling for, and, as it were, giving the signal to the work of nature. There we have Moses with his rod, Joshua raising his hand to heaven, and the like. But this is not universal. In the case, *e.g.* of Sennacherib's army, the visible agent is at a distance. Hezekiah's prayers were in the Temple apart from the beleaguering host, and so may be fitly compared to the prayers of Christians which we may be sure were offered against the success of Julian. And, again, in the incidents which accompanied the crucifixion there was no visible signal given, but the darkness and the earthquake were, so to say, the spontaneous expressions of the sympathy of nature.

We see, then, in the Bible a number of miracles parallel to the one here supposed, in which the physical phenomena were apparently only extraordinary and opportune manifestations of the ordinary forces of nature. They might *almost* have passed as fortunate coincidences but for their extreme opportuneness. And yet the Church agrees to class them all as miracles. In this view then of the particular case before us, nature is to be compared to a prophet. A prophet, we know, sometimes moves about like ordinary men, doing the ordinary offices of life. Sometimes he speaks with inspiration, and breaks out into denunciations, predictions, and warnings. The repulse of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem is, like some others of those recorded in the Bible, a case of nature prophesying.

§ 7. *Julian's Persian Campaign and Death.*—March 5–June 27, 363.

Julian's route into Persia is marked with considerable exactness; the first part of it by a letter which he wrote to Libanius from Hierapolis (*Ep.* 27). It is curious to notice that he found the road in bad condition the very first day's march out of Antioch, a circumstance which does not give a very high idea of the completeness of his preparations for the campaign. At Litarbe he took leave of the senate of Antioch, who met him there for the last time, and in the terms which we have recounted. At Beroea, the modern Aleppo, he tells that he "conversed with the senate on matters of religion—all praised my discourse, but few only were convinced by it" (*Ep.* 27, p. 399 d). We learn from another author that he attempted on this occasion to persuade a Christian senator, who had disinherited his apostate son, to take him back again; and being somewhat roughly answered by the father, he offered to act the part of a parent to the young man himself (Theodoret, iii. 22). This was just such a scene as Julian loved in certain moods. He could on such occasions bear familiarity and even impertinence from an inferior, and exhibit a rather affected tolerance and magnanimity. I think we cannot doubt that Julian's personal presence was the reverse of imposing, and that persons in speaking to him easily forgot that he was their sovereign.

At Batnae (the scenery of which he compared to that of Daphne) he found ostentatious preparations for sacrifice upon the public roads, but thought them too obviously studied and too redolent of personal flattery. At Hierapolis on the Euphrates he was received by one whom he had never seen before, but regarded as an old friend from his connexion with his friend Sopater and particularly from his resistance to the solicitations of Constantius and Gallus (*Ep.* 27). Leaving Edessa on his left hand, probably as a city too distinctly Christian to be visited with comfort, he next proceeded to Carrhae, a place of vigorous pagan traditions, where he was on March 19. At some distance from the town, there was a famous temple of the Moon, in which it was worshipped both as a male and a female

deity, and which was known in history as the spot near which the emperor Caracalla was murdered (Herodian. iv. 13, 3; Spartian. *Caracallus*, 6, 6; 7, 3). Julian of course made a point of visiting it and offered sacrifices "according to the local rites." Of his secret doings in this temple there are different accounts. Ammianus had heard that he invested his relative Procopius, who was his only companion, with his paludamentum, and bid him seize the empire in case he died in the campaign on which they were engaged (Amm. xxiii. 3, 2). Among the Christians a report was current that he offered a human sacrifice. The story ran that he sealed up the temple and ordered it not to be opened till his return: and that after the news of his death people entered it and found a woman hanging by the hair of her head, and her body cut open as if to search for omens (Theodoret, iii. 26). The criticism of this story is not perfectly easy. The worship of the moon-god, the Assyrian Sin, was not, as far as we are aware, accompanied by human sacrifices in the country about Carrhae, or indeed elsewhere (so I learn from Mr. Sayce). We read, however, in many authors, that such sacrifices were offered, apparently to Mercury, for the purposes of divination, in this neighbourhood (Chwohlssohn, *die Ssabier*, cf. Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, pp. 403, 404). To such "local rites" as these it was not altogether unlikely that Julian would conform, and he obviously did many things in the name of religion that would at other times have been repugnant to his character. On the other hand, the story only comes to us in one comparatively late and somewhat careless author, and is one of a kind not unlikely to be invented *ad invidiam*, and indeed all the more likely if the customs of the place gave a certain air of probability to it. While, therefore, I do not think the story is to be summarily rejected, it cannot certainly be considered as decisive evidence.

From Carrhae two great roads diverge towards Persia, one to the left, keeping due east past Nisibis and across the Tigris, the other going generally in a south-easterly direction along the banks of the Euphrates. Julian chose the latter, but left a considerable body of troops under Procopius and Sebastianus to guard Mesopotamia, and to effect a junction with Arsaces satrap of Armenia, whose alliance he expected. Julian's army as it went along the river was accompanied by a large fleet, but he forbade any luxuries to be brought even for his own table. On March 27 he was at Callinicum and celebrated the festival of the Mother of the Gods (Amm. xxiii. 3, 7). At the beginning of April he came to Circesium (Carchemish) at the junction of the Chaboras and the Euphrates. Here he received distressing letters from his friend Sallustius in Gaul, urging him to give up his campaign as he felt sure that the gods were unfavourable and that it would have a disastrous issue (Amm. xxiii. 5, 6). At Zaitham (where Ammianus first begins to speak in the first person) they saw the high mound which marked the burial place of the emperor Gordian. The historian records numerous portents which met them on their march; amongst others, a lion which appeared at Dura gave rise to a curious dispute between the Etruscan augurs and the philosophers who followed in his train. The former shewed from their books that it was an ill omen; the latter (amongst whom were Maximus and Priscus) had historical precedents to prove that it need not be regarded as such. A similar dispute occurred the next day as to the meaning of a thunderstorm (xxiii. 5, 10 sq.). We may imagine that such superstitious discussions were not likely to embolden the soldiery; but Julian decided in favour of the philosophers, and animated the army with his own courage. In an harangue which he delivered at this time he tried to dispel the prejudice that the Romans had never invaded Persia with success. Among the most important of his officers was Hormisdas (elder brother of Sapor the reigning king of Persia), who had angered the nobles of his country by some threats he had used towards them in a moment of passion, had been thrown into prison by them, and had made his escape to the court of Constantine. He became apparently a sincere Christian, and yet remained a useful and trusted officer of Julian. By his intervention several Assyrian towns opened their gates to the invaders (xxiv. 1, 6, &c.). After some other successes they came to Pirisabora,[f] the most populous city of Assyria after Ctesiphon, and close to the outlets of the natural and artificial rivers that join the Euphrates to the Tigris. Julian was successful in taking Pirisabora in three days, and gave a donation on this occasion to his troops. The soldiers complained of its smallness, but were brought back to their duty by a spirited oration, in which he asserted his own contempt of life, and readiness, if need be, to retire into a private station (xxiv. 3, 4–7). He now turned to the east along the canal of Naharmalcha or King's river, which led direct to the great city of Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The country was inundated by the natives, and it required all Julian's inventive quickness and personal example to carry them through the marshes. He took another important city, Maogamalcha, in which his troops found a large booty. He himself would only accept as his share three pieces of gold, and a clever dumb boy, who was taught to express his meaning by signs. He refused even to see the beautiful female captives who were offered to him according to custom (xxiv. 4, 26, 27). After some other successes he arrived at the bank of the Tigris, at the ruins of the old Greek city of Seleucia opposite Ctesiphon. He forced the passage of the river by a very vigorous and dangerous movement in the face of the enemy, and found himself under the walls of the capital (Amm. xxiv. 6, 4–14).

But no threats or sarcasms could draw the inhabitants from their impregnable defences, and Sapor himself made no appearance. In the meanwhile the other forces of the Romans remained in Mesopotamia, where the two ambitious generals had fallen out, and received no support from Arsaces. But though Sapor did

[f] The date of Julian's arrival at this place may possibly be April 23. This is the date of the last law assigned to him in the two codes—*Cod. Theod.* xii. 7, 2, and *Cod. Just.* x. 73, 2—but with the place *Salonae*, which is impossible. Godefroy conjectures *acceptum Salonae*, or changes *Salonae* into *Sacronae*. Winer suggests *Chalanae*, and Kiessling *Pirisaboras*: see Hänel, and Krüger, *ad loc.*

not appear to give battle, he sent a secret ambassador with offers of an honourable peace, the exact terms of which are, however, unknown to us (Liban. *Epitaph.* p. 608; Socr. iii. 21; Ammianus is here defective). These Julian declined, against the advice of Hormisdas, and not improbably under the influence of his ambitious philosophers. The example of Alexander the Great was always before him, and according to some accounts he even believed that his soul had passed into himself by transmigration (Socr. *l. c.*). He was fired with all sorts of vague and enthusiastic projects; he longed to visit the plain of Arbela, and to overrun the whole Persian empire like his hero (Liban. *Epit.* p. 609). These ideas were kindled into action by the arts of a certain Persian noble, who pretended to be a deserter, indignant against his sovereign, but who in reality played the part of a second Zopyrus (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5, 11, p. 154; cf. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 67; Soz. vi. 1, p. 218). The fleet of course presented a difficulty. At all times it required a large number of men to man it, but a voyage up the stream of the Tigris (which would be the natural route for it to pursue) would have employed a still larger number of men to haul and row it (Lib. *Epit.* p. 610). He could not of course leave it to fall into the hands of the enemy, and he consequently determined upon the hazardous measure of burning it, with the exception of a very few vessels, which were to be placed on wheels. The order was executed at Abuzatha, where he halted five days (Zos. iii. 26). But a short time of reflection and a discovery that his Persian informants were deceiving him, made him regret his decision. He attempted to save some at least of the ships, but it was too late. Only twelve out of some 1100 were still uninjured. (Amm. xxiv. 7, 3–6; Zos. iii. 26, 4, says twenty-two, but this probably includes those first selected for carriage.) The information which we possess as to the circumstances which followed is obscure, but it is evident that what had been intended to be a triumphant progress almost insensibly became a retreat. The march was impeded by the burning of the country on the part of the enemy, which made it very difficult to procure forage and provisions. The Persian cavalry were perpetually harassing the outskirts of the army, and though beaten at close quarters were continually appearing in fresh swarms. The few ships that remained were insufficient to build a bridge by which the Romans might have opened communications with Mesopotamia. Nothing now was left but to pursue their way along the eastern bank of the Tigris, so as to reach the nearest friendly province of Corduene, in the south of Armenia, as quickly as possible. This was determined on June 16, only ten days before the death of Julian (Amm. xxiv. 8, 5). How far he had previously penetrated into the interior of the country it is not easy to determine. Not only is the text of Ammianus defective, but he seems confused in his geography, and does not give precise dates. The army reached the Tigris again at Symbra or Hucumbra, where they obtained a much needed supply of fresh provisions (Zos. iii. 27, 4; Amm. xxv. 1, 4). In the next few days the Romans fought several battles with success, but not of such a character as to ensure them a quiet march forwards. They suffered even more from want of food, and Julian bravely shared their privations on an equality with the commonest soldier (Amm. xxv. 2, 2). On the night of June 25, as he was studying some book of philosophy in his tent, he had a vision (as he told his intimates) of the Genius of the Republic leaving his tent in a mournful attitude, with a veil over his head, and over the cornucopia that he held in his hand—reminding him by contrast of the vision which he had seen the night before he was proclaimed Augustus. He shook off his natural terror, and went out into the night air to offer propitiatory sacrifices, when he received another shock from the appearance of a brilliant meteor, which he interpreted as a sign of the wrath of Mars, whom he had already offended (xxv. 2, 4; cf. xxiv. 6, 17). When day dawned the Etruscan diviners implored him to make no movement that day, or at least to put off his march for some hours. But his courage had returned with daylight, and he refused to delay, and gave the order to go forward. Several sudden attacks of the enemy in different quarters threw the army into confusion, and Julian, excited by the danger, rushed forwards without his breastplate, catching up a shield as he went. As he was raising his hands above his head to incite his men to the pursuit, a cavalry spear from an unknown hand grazed his arm, and lodged in his right side. Feeling himself wounded, he put his hand to the place, which he found bleeding profusely. He tried to draw out the spear head, but the sharp edges cut his fingers. He threw up his hand into the air with a convulsive motion, and fell fainting from his horse (Amm. xxv. 3, 7, compared with the other accounts). As he fell he uttered a cry, which was differently reported. Some said he threw his own blood towards heaven with the bitter words, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" (Theodoret, iii. 25). Others thought they heard him reproach the gods, and especially the Sun, his patron, for their desertion (Philostorg. vii. 15; Soz. vi. 2). He was at once borne to his tent, and his wound was dressed, no doubt by his friend Oribasius. For a moment he revived, and called for a horse and arms, but a gush of blood shewed how weak he really was. On learning that the place was called Phrygia, he gave up all hope, having been told by some diviner that he should die in Phrygia.

He addressed those who stood around him in a highly philosophic speech in the style of Socrates, of which we may well believe that Ammianus has preserved a correct report. He considered that death was sent him as a gift from the gods. He knew of no great faults he had committed either in a private station or as Caesar. He had always desired the good of his subjects, and had endeavoured to be a faithful servant of the republic. He had long known the decree of fate, that his death was impending, and thanked the supreme God that it had not come in any disgraceful or painful way, but in a glorious form. He would not discuss the appointment of his successor, lest he should pass over one who was worthy, or endanger the life of some one whom he thought fit. But like an honest child of the republic he hoped that it would find a good ruler after him.

He then distributed his personal effects to his

intimate friends, and asked among others for Anatolius, the master of the offices. Sallustius (the prefect of the East) replied that he was *happy*. Julian understood that he had fallen, but lamented the death of his friend with a natural feeling which he had restrained in thinking of his own.

Those who stood round could no longer restrain their grief, but he still kept his habit of command, and rebuked them for their want of high feeling. "My life gives me confidence of being taken to the islands of the blest, to have converse with heaven and the stars; it is mean to weep as if I had deserved to be condemned to Tartarus." (Lib. *Epit.* p. 614, *ἐπετίμα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα (τοῖς φιλοσόφοις) εἰ τῶν βεβιωμένων αὐτὸν εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀγόντων, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀξίως ταρτάρου βεβιωκότα δακρύουσιν*: Amm. xxv. 3, 22; "humile esse caelo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri principem dicens.") His last moments were spent in a difficult discussion with Maximus and Priscus on "the sublimity of souls." In the midst of this debate his wound burst afresh, and he called for a cup of cold water. He drank it, and passed away quietly at midnight on the evening of June 26, having not yet reached the age of thirty-two. (Amm. xxv. 3, 23; 5, 1; Socr. iii. 21, &c.)

It was never found out who threw the fatal spear, and though the Persians offered a reward, no one ever came forward to claim it. In such a mêlée it was quite possible that the weapon was discharged at a venture, or that the man who threw it fell himself shortly afterwards. The suggestion of Libanius that it was a Christian hand which thus wreaked vengeance on him was such as he would naturally make in his bitterness (*Epitaph.* pp. 612, 614). Gregory, Socrates, and Rufinus consider it uncertain whether the blow was dealt by a Persian or by one of his own soldiers (Greg. *Or.* v. 13, p. 155; Ruf. i. 36; Socr. iii. 21). Sozomen notices the suspicion of Libanius, and defends it in a spirit which cannot but be condemned (Soz. vi. 1).

The news of Julian's death, coupled with the intelligence that the army had elected a Christian, Jovian, to succeed him, caused enormous rejoicings, especially in Antioch. Several anecdotes are given of the knowledge of the event before the actual and authentic news was brought. Jovian was obliged to make peace by ceding the five Mesopotamian provinces, including Nisibis, which had been the bulwark of the empire in the East. Procopius was ordered to carry back the body to Tarsus, where it was interred with pagan ceremonies. The tomb was opposite to that of Maximinus Daïa, being separated only by the road, and thus the two last persecuting emperors were brought, as it were, face to face. On the tomb of Julian was engraved the following distich:

"Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ Τίγριν ἀγάῤῥοον ἐνθάδε κεῖται
ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής."

Zonaras (xiii. 13) and Cedrenus give an epitaph of four lines (also in Brünck's *analecta*, ii. p. 404):

Κύδνῳ ἐπ' ἀργυρεόντι ἀπ' Εὐφράτοιο ῥοάων
Περσίδος ἐκ γαίης ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ
Κινήσας στρατιήν, τόδ' Ἰουλιανὸς λάχε σῆμα
Ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

III.—*Character*.

Julian possesses a strongly marked character, with individual peculiarities which are more readily felt than analysed. He leaves upon us who stand at a distance of so many years the impression of a living man far more than most of those who are called historical personages. We like or dislike him as a matter of temperament, just as we are attracted to or repelled by our own contemporaries. We are inclined to judge him with something of the passion of actual partisanship, and of instinctive sympathy or antipathy. He is real and natural in the very strangeness and inconsistency of his conduct, and in the mixture of opposite qualities which it exhibits; and as a consequence of this inconsistency, it is impossible to say beforehand how his character will strike an observer. The most opposite and unexpected judgments have been formed upon him. He has been admired and pitied by religious-minded men, and detested and satirised by sceptics and atheists. His own friend Ammianus despised his superstition, and paints it in terms not much weaker than the invectives of Gregory and Chrysostom; Gibbon sneers at him alternately with his Christian opponents. A. Comte wished to appoint an annual day for execrating his memory in company with that of Bonaparte, as one of the "two principal opponents of progress," and as the "more insensate" of the two (*System of Positive Polity*, E. T. vol. i. p. 82; an ordinance afterwards withdrawn, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 351). Strauss treats him as a vain, reactionary dreamer, comparable to the mediaevalists who try to stay the march of modern thought. On the other hand, pietistic historians like Arnold, Neander, and even Ullmann, are tolerant and favourable towards him: thus deserting the standpoint of the ancient writers of the church.

The simple reason of this divergence is, of course, that the strongest force working in him was a self-confident religious enthusiasm, disguised under the form of self-surrender to a divine mission. Such a character constantly appears in different lights, and some of those who have judged him have looked chiefly at the sentimental side of his life, without considering his actions; while others have estimated him by his actions apart from his principles. There has been the more temptation to adopt this course because he was inconsistent himself in his conduct, and sometimes acted with, sometimes against, his principles; and hence any one who chooses to take a partial view of facts may easily find a justification in the positive statements of this or that historian, or of Julian himself.

A Christian who attempts to judge Julian without prejudice will probably go through several phases of opinion before he comes to a final estimate. All but the cold-hearted will sympathise, to some extent at least, with his religious enthusiasm, and with the sacrifices which he was ready to make in its behalf. It is impossible to doubt that he had a vein of noble sentiment, and a lofty and, in many ways, unselfish ambition. He had a real love of ideal beauty, and of the literary and artistic traditions of the past. There was something even pathetic in his hero-worship, and his attachment to those whom he supposed to be his friends.

If he was often pedantic and imitative, if he had a somewhat shallow and conceited manner, yet we must confess that much of this was the vice of the age, and this pettiness was thrown off in critical moments. Under strong excitement he often became simple, great, and natural.

Then, again, to take other features of his character, many persons will sympathise with his conservative instincts, and his wish to retain what was great in the culture and art of past ages; while others will be attracted by his mystic speculations and ascetic practices, which were akin to much that has been valued and admired in many great names in the history of the church.

But on reflection we cannot help perceiving that all this was combined with a ruling spirit and view of things which was essentially heathen, and therefore fundamentally defective, as well as antagonistic to all that we hold dearest and most vital. Julian was at bottom thoroughly one-sided. He was enthusiastic and even passionate in his religion; but it was the passion of the intellect and senses rather than that of the heart. The Christian ideas of love and grace were to him almost as if they had never existed. His whole scheme of individual life, and his whole philosophy of history, is at bottom pantheistic, that is to say, mechanical and fatalist, as we shall see in detail in the next section.

His natural instincts for well-doing were not indeed by any means wholly overlaid, and much (we may believe) of Christian habit remained; but his theory of virtue was as fruitless as that of any modern Hindu philosopher. The idea of the incarnation was foolishness to him, because he understood neither the greatness of God's will for collective humanity nor the need of atonement for man's sin. That God should take man's nature and die upon the cross appeared to him a mere madness, as it does to all who merely reason in an abstract intellectual plane of thought. Such a close contact of the finite and the infinite seemed shocking and even profane to the proud and morbid sensitiveness of the Neo-Platonist who saw God only in the pale light of reason, and judged of His goodness by the narrowness and meagreness of his own heart. Hence it came that conceit and pedantry in Julian developed into pride.

There were indeed special causes which to some extent account for this defect in his spiritual life. Much of his natural warmth of feeling had been chilled and soured by the sense of injustice and secret enmity under which he so long laboured. He could not forget the murder of his nearest relations, nor the suspicions, intrigues, and actual personal indignities of which he was the subject. His affections were thus deprived of their natural play, and when set free, they had a tendency to attach themselves to the first person who seemed to love him for his own sake; and these, we know, were unfortunately in many cases men of inferior character. His conscience was warped by the necessity (as he felt it) of long dissimulation; and his sense of responsibility was weakened by the slavery of living under suspicion and in a dependent and depressed position. He became a recluse and a dreamer, even when engaged in the eager bustle of political and military conflict. He never really understood human nature, though he had many of the elements of a popular hero. He had not the dignity of an emperor, and felt himself throughout rather a private citizen, though he governed in some respects extremely well.

These considerations make it intelligible how one who knew the better way by means of intelligence yet deliberately chose the worse. Julian knew the Bible far better than most modern sceptics, and knew it from his childhood. His is an example which may well puzzle those, if there are any, who believe that the Bible without the Christian life can make a man a Christian. We do not know much of his early surroundings, but what we know of them inclines us to suppose that their influence for good was but slight. His relation, Eusebius of Nicomedia, does not bear a high character. His pedagogue Mardonius was evidently more heathen than Christian in his sympathies, and a time-serving creature like Hecebolius was not likely to make much impression upon his pupil. But there was a pride, as we have said, in Julian's own nature, joined to a contempt for those to whom he was opposed, which, however it may have been aggravated by circumstances, prevented him from receiving the light that really shone upon him. The perception of this also makes us refrain from bestowing upon him the sympathy which we naturally feel for error in weaker natures.

We have endeavoured to give a fair general estimate of this remarkable character, with the full consciousness how hazardous such an estimate is. If any one wishes for a catalogue of qualities, which can, as it were, be ticketed and labelled, he cannot do better than read Ammianus's elaborate award (xxv. 4). The historian takes the four cardinal virtues, temperance, prudence, justice, and courage, and gives a due amount of praise tempered with some fault-finding under each head. His chastity[g] and

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[g] A good deal has been written on this topic. The points in favour of Julian are the strong praise of Ammianus and the absence of any definite attacks upon his morality in this respect. The points against him are:—(1) He twice writes of the *τροφεὺς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παιδίων*, *Epp.* 40, *Iamblicho*, p. 417 c, and 67 *Sosipatro*; but his only child by Helena died as soon as it was born; therefore it is argued the *παιδία* must have been illegitimate (Amm. xvi. 10, 18; cf. Liban. *Monod.* p. 519, *νέος τε καὶ οὐκ ὢν πατήρ*). (2) In the *Misopogon*, p. 519 c, d, Julian makes the dissolute Antiochenes say to him, *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τίς ἀνέξεταί σου; καθεύδεις ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὃ σου τὸν ἄγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμόν.* The *ὡς ἐπίπαν* = "ordinarily" or "generally," instead of "always," has been interpreted as leaving room for occasional exceptions. (3) Julian was not choice in his companions, when a religious procession or banquet was in hand (see the passages quoted above, p. 507, note c).

We have thus to set a number of rather weak inferences, each of which can by itself be explained away, against a strong positive statement. For example, the *τροφεὺς* may have been an official such as Constantius was very likely to have named with his minute particularity of regulation of Julian's household; or Julian may be speaking metaphorically, as has been suggested, of his librarian; or the letters may be spurious, as some have thought all the letters to Iamblichus are on other grounds.

On the whole, the evidence is not sufficient to outweigh

abstinence were remarkable. He aimed at justice, and to a great extent earned a high reputation for it. He was liberal to his friends, and careless of his own comforts and conveniences in a very remarkable degree; while he did much to lighten and equalise the burden of taxation upon his subjects. His successes in Gaul gained him the affection of the people, and his popularity with the soldiers may be gathered from the manner in which the dwellers in northern and western lands followed him into the midst of Persia. He may be said to have quelled a military tumult by the threat of retiring into private life.

The lighter qualities of his character present him in rather a disagreeable aspect. He was loquacious and inconsistent in small things as well as in great ones. He was, as we have frequently remarked, extremely superstitious, and even fanatical in his observance of religious rites, to a degree that made him appear trifling and undignified even to his friends. His manner was obviously irritating, and such as could not inspire respect in his subjects; and, on the other hand, he was too eager to gain popular applause. No one can doubt his cleverness and ability as a writer, but the greater number of his writings do not shew method, and they are often singularly deficient in judgment. An exception, perhaps, may be made in respect to the first oration to Constantius, the letter to the Athenians, and the Caesars. The latter, however, was a strange performance for one who was himself an emperor.

In person he was rather short, and awkwardly, though very strongly, built. His features were fine and well marked, and his eyes very brilliant; his mouth was rather over-large, and his lower lip was inclined to droop. As a young man he grew a beard, but he was required to cut it off when he became Caesar, and seems only to have grown it again after taking possession of Constantinople (see section VI. *Coins*). At Antioch it was allowed to grow to a great size. His neck was thick, and his head hung forward, and was set on broad and thick shoulders. His walk, as we have said before, was ungraceful; and he had an unsteady motion of the limbs, which, with his abrupt and nervous loquacity, suggest a somewhat epileptic constitution. There was in him, no doubt, some physical peculiarity which predisposed him to take such delight in the sensational excitements of Maximus and his sect. We have several notices of his ill-health at different times. (*Ep.* 48, *Zenoni medico;* St. Cyr. *in Jul.* vii. p. 234.) There is a fine life-size statue of Julian, of good and artistic workmanship, now standing in the ruined hall of his palace in the garden of the Hôtel Clugny at Paris. It is figured as the frontispiece to E. Talbot's translation of his works.

IV. *Theory of Religion.*

The most useful book on this subject is *Julien l'Apostat et sa Philosophie du Polythéisme*, by H. A. Naville, Paris and Neuchâtel, 1877. It is defective, however, in not going into the origin and relations of Julian's theory to that of other thinkers. A detailed study of Julian's system of religious philosophy is perhaps hardly in place in a sketch like the present. His theory, such as it was, was too superficial and occasional to leave much of a mark upon the history of thought. His book against Christianity became indeed a favourite weapon with infidels, but he never founded a school of positive belief. He was in fact an enthusiastic amateur, who employed some of the nights of a laborious career of public business in writing what, under the circumstances, must be called brilliant essays in the Neo-Platonic manner. He tells us that the oration in praise of the sun took him three nights (p. 157 C); that on the mother of the gods was composed, "without taking breath, in the short space of one night" (p. 178 D); the discourse against ignorant cynics was also the work of a single vigil. Such work as this may astonish us even now, but it cannot be a matter of surprise that it should be incomplete, rambling, and obscure.

There are, however, certain constantly recurring thoughts, which may be regarded as established principles with Julian; and of them we must give some account, prefacing what is to be said with some remarks on his relation to other thinkers. Julian forms one of that long line of remarkable men in the first four centuries after Christ who endeavoured to give a rational form to the religion and morality of the heathen world in opposition to the growing power of Christianity—men whose ill-success is one of the strongest proofs of the deadness of their own cause, and the vitality of that against which they strove. It may be debated indeed whether the earliest of his predecessors in this line of thought were conscious of the nature of the struggle in which they were engaged, but directly or indirectly whether by force of opposition or under the secret influence of the new religious movement they felt themselves called forth to give a new form to the faith of the old world. For it is a constantly observed fact, which almost merits the name of a law of social development, that one religious impulse stimulates and helps another, even when they do not at first meet in the clash of open conflict. When one man begins to think deeply of religion as a personal thing, his feeling is insensibly communicated to another, and so on to many whom the first never knows or even hears of.

And so we may say that Seneca and Plutarch, as well as Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Celsus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Hierocles, were all in their way precursors of Julian.

For the sake of clearness, we may define the objects of their efforts on behalf of paganism as three:

1. To unite popular beliefs in many gods with some conception of the unity of the divine being, and to give some consistent, if not rational, account of the origin of the world, and of the course of human history.

2. To defend the myths and legends of heathenism, and generally to establish heathen morals on a higher basis than that of mere custom.

3. To satisfy the yearnings of the soul for the knowledge of God, while rejecting the exclusive claims of the Jewish and Christian revelation.

1. *Doctrine as to the Nature of God.*—The birth

the positive testimony, which is supported by the seeming coldness of Julian's temperament in certain respects.

of Christ took place in the fulness of time, *i.e.* when mankind had been prepared for it, by many influences bearing them towards the acceptance of a revelation. One of the most important of these preparations was the movement towards monotheism. The old simple belief in many gods living together in a sort of upper world was broken down, and no system had a chance of being accepted by thinking men which did not assume at least the supremacy of one divine principle, and in some degree "justify" the action of Providence in dealing with mankind as a whole. But the worship of many gods had too deep a hold upon the fancy and affections, as well as the mind, of the people to be surrendered without a long struggle, and various methods were advanced to shelter and protect the current belief.

The systems thus formed were naturally all more or less pantheistic, finding unity in an informal abstraction from the phenomena of nature. But, as we should expect to be the case on European soil, they were neither logically pantheistic in the abstract way of the Hindu philosophical sects nor sharply dualistic like the speculations of the Gnostics and Manichaeans. The more practical minds of the Graeco-Roman world were satisfied to give an account of things as they appeared without overpowering and paralysing themselves by the insoluble question as to the existence and potencies of matter; and thus they were at once more inconsistent and less absurd than some of their contemporaries. While looking upon matter as something degrading, and upon contact with it as a thing to be avoided, they nevertheless did not define matter to be non-existent, or merely phenomenal, nor did they regard it as absolutely evil. In the same way, while they lost all true hold upon the personality of God, and believed in the eternity of the world (*e.g.* Jul. *Or.* iv. p. 132 C), they used the terms creation and providence, and spoke of communion with and likeness to God.

Into an eclectic system of this kind, it was not difficult to incorporate the gods of the heathen world, and to make them subserve a sort of philosophy of history. They come in, in fact, with Julian to take a double position:—(*a*) As intermediate beings employed in creation who protect the Supreme Being from too intimate contact with the world. (*b*) As accounting for the difference between nations, and so enabling men to uphold traditional usages without ceasing to hold to one ideal law and one truth (Jul. *Or.* vi. p. 184 C, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία, οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία).

The chief source of information on this part of Julian's theory is his *Fourth Oration, in praise of the Sovereign Sun.* The most striking feature of the theology proper of this system is its triple hierarchy of deities and worlds. Such a triple division was a common feature of Neo-Platonism and had its roots in thoughts current before the Christian era; but it was no doubt emphasised by later theorists as a counterpoise to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. That of Julian was probably borrowed from Iamblichus of Chalcis (uncle, it has been supposed, of his correspondent), to whom he frequently appeals in terms of the highest veneration (*e.g. Or.* iv. p. 146 A, 150 D, 157 D; see Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, § 69, vol. i. pp. 252–254, E. T.).

According to this belief there are three worlds informed and held together by three classes of divine beings. The highest and most spiritual is the κόσμος νοητός, or "intelligible world," the world of absolute immaterial essences, the centre of which is the One or the Good, who is the source of beings and of all beauty and perfection to the gods who surround him (p. 133 C).

Between this highly elevated region and the grosser material world comes the κόσμος νοερός, or "intelligent world," the centre of which is the sovereign sun, the great object of Julian's devotion. He receives his power from the Good, and communicates it not only to the gods around him, but also to the sensible world, the κόσμος αἰσθητός, in which we live. In this sphere the "visible disk" of the sun is the source of light and life, as the invisible sun is in the intelligible world. Any one who will read this oration with care will be convinced that Julian wished to find in his sovereign sun a substitute for the Christian doctrine of the second person of the blessed Trinity, and this appears in particular on pages 141, 142. (Cp. Naville, p. 104; Lamé, p. 234 foll.)

The position specially given to the sun is a proof of the advance of Oriental thought in the Roman empire, and it was certainly no new idea of Julian's. Amongst others, Aurelian and Elagabalus had made him their chief divinity, and Constantine himself had been specially devoted to the "Sol invictus." Julian, we have seen, had from his childhood been fascinated with the physical beauty of the light.

Towards the close of the century we find Macrobius arguing somewhat in the spirit of some modern enquirers that all heathen religion is the product of solar myths. Yet it is curious to observe the shifts to which Julian is put to prove this doctrine out of Homer and Hesiod, and from the customs of the ancient Greeks and Romans (pp. 135–137 and 148 foll.). He seems, indeed, conscious of the weakness of his arguments from the poets, and dismisses them with the remark that they have much that is human in their inspiration, and appeals to the directer revelations of the gods themselves—we must suppose in the visions which he claimed to receive (p. 137 C).

The connexion of this theory with the national gods is nowhere distinctly worked out. It is in fact part of the pantheistic character of this belief that the idea of the personality of the gods recedes or becomes prominent, like the figures in a magic lantern, according to the subject under discussion, without any shock to the dreamy Neo-Platonist. At one time they are mere essences or principles, at another they are Zeus, Apollo, Ares, &c. ruling and directing the fortunes of nations, and imposing upon them a peculiar type of character and special laws and institutions. At one moment they are little more than the ideas of Plato, at another they are actual δαίμονες, acting as lieutenants of the Creator. This last view is in essentials the same as that put forward by Celsus (probably in the reign of Marcus Aurelius) in his book, known to us from its refutation by Origen (bk. v. ch. 25 to 33). It is the view asserted at length by Julian in his books against the Christians, especially as a defence of the customs and institutions of antiquity against the innovations of

the religion which strove to break down all prejudices of class and nation. (St. Cyril. *adv. Jul.* iv. pp. 115, 116, 130, 141, 143, 148, &c.; cp. *Fragmentum Epistolae*, p. 292 C, D, ἄνθρωποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες, οἱ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αἰῶνος; for the subject generally, see Naville, ch. iii. "Les Dieux Nationaux.")

It is easy to see how fatal such a doctrine as this must be to anything like moral progress. If everything is as it is by the will of the gods, no custom, however revolting, lacks defence. It is strange that, after the refutation of this absurdity by Origen, any one should have been bold enough to put it forward as a serious theory (cp. Orig. *contra Celsum*, v. ch. 25–28 and 34–39).

With regard to the relation of images and sacrifices to the gods, who are worshipped by these means, there is an interesting passage in the *Fragment of the Letter to a Priest* (pp. 293 foll.). He warns his correspondent not to consider images as actually receiving worship, nor to suppose that the gods really need our sacrifices. But he defends their use as suitable to our own bodily condition. (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἐν σώματι σωματικὰς ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δέ εἰσιν αὐτοί, p. 293 D.) "Just as earthly kings desire to have honour paid them and their statues without actually *needing* it, so do the gods. The images of the gods are not the gods, and yet more than mere wood and stone. They ought to lead us up to the unseen. And yet being made by human art, they are liable to injury at the hands of wicked men, just as good men are unjustly put to death like Socrates, and Dion, and Empedotimus. But their murderers afterwards were punished by divine vengeance, and so have sacrilegious persons manifestly received a due reward in my reign." (Pp. 294 C–295 B.)

2. *Defence of Pagan Morality.*—We have already described at some length Julian's attempts to raise the morality of his heathen subordinates, especially in the priesthood. He was conscious of a defect, and strenuously set himself to remedy it, though he could do little more in the way of quotation of texts than allege a few general maxims drawn from ancient writers as to kindness to the poor, &c. His strongest argument is one that might well have made him hesitate—the shame of being so much outdone by the "Galileans."

Another branch of this subject was the relation of morality to Greek mythology, and with this he busied himself on two occasions, about the same time. The two orations, *The Praise of the Mother of the Gods* and *Against the Cynic Heraclius*, were probably both delivered about the time of the vernal equinox, while he was still at Constantinople, in the year 362. In the first of these he gives an elaborate explanation of the story of Attis; in the second he rebukes Heraclius for his immoral teaching in the form of myths, and gives an example of one which he thinks really edifying, which describes his own youth under the protection of the gods.

The explanation of the myth of Attis is important as a specimen of Julian's theology. According to modern interpreters, this myth, as well as that of Adonis in its hundred forms, describes merely the succession of the seasons. The mother of the gods is the earth; Attis is the sun, who warms and delights her. His disappearance into the cave signifies the sadness of winter, &c. Julian, on the other hand, adapts it to his speculations on the triple hierarchy of worlds. With him the mother of the gods is, as it were, the female principle of the highest and most spiritual world. He calls her the lady of all life, the mother and bride of great Zeus, the motherless virgin, she who bears children without passion, and creates things that are together with the Father (p. 166 A, B). Here we are landed into the full obscurity of Gnostic principles and emanations, and the whole story is evidently only a kind of converse arrangement of that which meets us in the Valentinian myth of Achamoth (see Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, lectures 11, 12). Attis is a principle of the second or intelligent world, "the productive and creative intelligence, the essence which descends into the farthest ends of matter to give birth to all things" (p. 161 C). It is difficult to see how he is distinguished in his functions with regard to creation from the sovereign sun, but this is only one of the many weak points of this fanciful exposition. It does not perhaps help us much to be told that his material type in the lowest world is the Milky Way, in which philosophers say that the impassible circumambient ether mingles with the passible elements of the world (p. 165 C). The mother of the gods engages Attis to remain ever faithful to herself, that is, to look always upward. Instead of this, he descends into the cave, and has commerce with the nymph, that is, produces the visible universe out of matter. The sun, who is the principle of harmony and restraint, something like the Valentinian Horus (ὅρος), sends the lion or fiery principle to put a stop to this production of visible forms. Then follows the ἐκτομή of Attis, which is defined as the ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας, the limit placed upon the process into infinity. The part played by the sun is indicated by the season at which the festival took place, the vernal equinox, when he produces equality of day and night (p. 168 C, D). All this is, of course, afterwards explained as a mere passionless eternal procedure on the part of the supposed gods. A real creation proceeding from God's love and good pleasure was a thought far above the scope of this philosophy, to which the world was as personal as the so-called gods.

We cannot go further into details on this subject, and they will be easily found by the reader for himself. Enough has been said to shew how thoroughly pantheistic was Julian's interpretation of the myths, how destructive of any true conception of the divine nature, how thoroughly unmoral, how utterly incapable of touching the heart, was his theology. Yet he could not but feel the need of some personal commerce with God, however inconsistent such a wish might be with his intellectual view of divine things. The consideration of this leads us to the next point.

3. *Intercourse with God.*—When Julian was in Asia Minor under the influence of the philosophers Eusebius and Chrysanthius, and heard the details of the wonderful works of Maximus, he said (according to Eunapius), "Farewell, and keep to your books if you will; you have revealed to me the man I was in search of" (Eunap. *Vita Maximi*, p. 51). This story has been discredited by some, who think it strange that so

great a lover of books as Julian should speak slightingly of them. But it is confirmed by his own language in his *Oration on the Sun* (p. 137 C):—"Let us say farewell to poetic descriptions: for they have much that is human mixed up with the divine. But let us go on to declare what the god himself seems to teach us both about himself and the other gods" (ix. 11, 5). Julian here appeals from a book revelation, as it were, to a direct instruction given him, no doubt, as he supposed, in the numerous visions in which he was visited by the gods.

We have already noticed Julian's enthusiasm for the mysteries and his love of all rites and practices which promised him a closer intercourse with the gods. He could never bring himself to acquiesce in the colder methods of some of the masters of the Neo-Platonic school. He was not satisfied with the intellectual ecstasy described by Plotinus, nor with the self-purification of Porphyry, who generally rejected sacrifice and divination (Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, § 68, notes, vol. i. p. 251, E. T.). The party of Iamblichus, to which Julian belonged, required something more exciting, something approaching to a control of God (theurgy), a quasi-mechanical method of communication with him, which could be put in force at will, and the result of which could be called by no other name than "Bacchic frenzy" (*Orat.* vii. pp. 217 D and 221 D, &c.). We know something by modern experience of the mixture of superstition and imposture which makes the theurgy of one age so like that of another, and we know that Julian was duped by men who were half deceivers and half deceived. He is one among many who are forced by an inward conviction to believe in supernatural revelation, but who will not have it except on their own terms. Of Julian, Libanius tells us somewhere that he knew the forms and lineaments of the gods as familiarly as those of his friends, and we have several times mentioned the visions which appeared to him at the great crises of his life. In his books against Christians he says, "Aesculapius often healed me, telling me of remedies" (S. Cyril. *adv. Jul.* viii. p. 234), and elsewhere he speaks of this deity as a sort of incarnate Saviour (*Or.* iv. p. 144 B, C).

This temper of mind indeed, while it speaks in high-flown, positive language of the knowledge of God, and pours contempt on the uninitiated, yet means something by the term knowledge very different from the sober and bracing certainty attained by Christian faith, hope, and love. There is in all the efforts of men of this kind, whether Neo-Platonic theurgists or modern "mediums," a trembling nervousness, which shews that the object grasped at is, after all, an object of sense rather than anything else. Here as elsewhere the pantheistic temper speaks grandly, but feels meanly.

Death indeed is looked forward to with some composure as the emancipation of the divine element in man from darkness. Julian several times prays for a happy death, and expected after it to be raised to communion with the gods. His two orations to the Sun and the Mother of the Gods both conclude with prayers of this kind, and we have already recounted the manner in which he actually met his end (Lib. *Epist.* p. 614; Amm. xxv. 3, 22). But the doctrine of the ascent (sublimitas) of souls, on which he was conversing with Maximus and Priscus when that end at last came, was a very different thing from the Christian's hope. It was in fact the same in substance as the barren and deadening Oriental doctrine of transmigration. And it is remarkable that Julian, who felt himself so favoured by the heavenly powers, in one of his most ardent prayers to the sun, looks forward to a felicity which has no certainty of being eternal. (*Or.* iv. p. 158 C; see some good remarks on the contrast between this and the Christian doctrine in Naville, pp. 59 foll.)

V. *Polemic against Christianity.*

We have already spoken at length of Julian's measures against Christianity. How near this effort was to his heart may be gathered by his prayer to the mother of the gods, where he speaks of "cleansing the Empire from the stain of atheism" as the great wish of his life (*Or.* v. p. 180 B). We have seen also that he abstained from anything like a general persecution or prohibition of Christianity, though certain *tendencies* to such a procedure are apparent, and might have developed if he had reigned much longer.

Julian, however, as long as he lived, preferred the method of persuasion to that of constraint, and his books against the Christians are an evidence of this temper. It is difficult to analyse them in their present form, and we may well believe that in the fulness of their original arrangement they were obscure and unmethodical. He begins by saying that he wishes to give the reasons which have convinced him that the Galilean doctrine is a human invention (Cyr. ii. p. 39). He then goes on to attack the narratives of the Bible as fabulous. He allows indeed that the Greeks have monstrous fables likewise (p. 44), but then they have philosophy, while Christians have nothing but the Bible, and are in fact barbarians.

If Christians attack the idolatry of heathens, Julian retorts, "you worship the wood of the cross, and refuse to worship the ancile which came down from heaven" (Cyr. vi. p. 194).

On the whole, he does not spend much time in such questions, but accepts the Bible as a generally true narrative, and rather attacks Christianity on grounds of supposed reason, and in connexion with and in contrast to Judaism.

We may follow Naville in considering the main body of his works under three heads: (1) his polemic against the monotheism of the Old Testament; (2) his attack upon the novel and aggressive character of Christian doctrine; (3) especially against the adoration of Christ as God, and the worship of "dead men," such as the martyrs (cp. Naville, pp. 175 foll.).

1. *Against the Monotheism of the Old Testament.*—Julian, as we have seen, regarded the gods of polytheism as links or intermediaries between the supreme God and the material world, and so as rendering the conception of creation easier and more philosophical. He contrasts Plato's doctrine of creation in the *Timaeus* with the abrupt statements of Moses, "God said," &c. (pp. 49–57). One might almost suppose (he urges) that Moses imagined God to have created nothing incorporeal, no intermediate spiritual or angelic beings, but to have Himself directly organised matter (p. 49).

He then goes on to argue against the supposi-

tion that the supreme God made absolute choice of the Hebrew nation as a peculiar people, to the exclusion of others. "If he is the God of all of us, and our common creator, why has he abandoned us?" (p. 106). Both in acts and morals the Hebrews are inferior. They have been always in slavery, and have invented nothing. As for morality, the imitation of God amongst the Jews is the imitation of a "jealous God," as in the case of Phinehas (Cyr. v. pp. 160–171). The worst of our generals never treated subject nations so cruelly as Moses treated the Canaanites (vi. p. 184). The only precepts in the decalogue not held in common by all nations are the two commandments against idolatry and for the observance of the sabbath.

The true view, to his mind, was of course that there was a God of the Jews, but that he was a local, national God, like those of other peoples, far inferior to the supreme God (iv. pp. 115, 116, 141, 148, &c.). In this way he was able to extend a certain amount of sympathy and favour to the Jews, as we have already seen. Sometimes he seems inclined to accept Jehovah as the creator of the visible world, while at other times he throws doubt upon this assumption; but in any case he considered Him a true object of worship. (*Ep.* 25, *Judaeis*, *εὐχὰς ποιῆσθε τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τῷ πάντων κρείττονι καὶ δημιουργῷ θεῷ*, and *Ep.* 63, *Theodoro*, pp. 453 D and 454, *ἐν μέρει θεοσεβεῖς ὄντες, ἐπείπερ ὃν τιμῶσιν . . . ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὄντα δυνατώτατον καὶ ἀγαθώτατον, ὃς ἐπιτροπεύει τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον*. But in Cyril. iv. p. 148, he blames Moses for confounding a partial and national God with the Creator.) Further, the Jewish usages of temples, altars, sacrifices, purifications, circumcision, &c. were all observed to have a close resemblance to those of heathenism, and were a foundation for many reproaches against the Galileans, who had abandoned so much that was laudable and respectable (vi. p. 202; vii. p. 238; ix. pp. 298, 299, 305, &c.).

2. This leads us to the second great topic—*Julian's Attack upon Christianity as a Novel and Revolutionary Religion.*—The bitterness with which he utters the word "Galilean," and his anger against Christians of both Jewish and gentile origin for deserting the ancestral laws of their respective peoples, appears elsewhere in some degree, but especially in these books. In the same spirit he puts Christianity much below Judaism. "If you who have deserted us had attached yourself to the doctrines of the Hebrews, you would not have been in so thoroughly bad a condition, though worse than you were before when you were amongst us. For you would have worshipped one God instead of many gods, and not, as is now the case, a man, or rather a number of miserable men. You would have had a hard and stern law, with much that is barbarous in it, instead of our mild and gentle customs, and would have been so far the losers; but you would have been purer and more holy in religious rites. As it is, you are like the leeches, and suck all the worst blood out of Hebraism and leave the purer behind" (Cyr. vi. pp. 201, 202). It was natural under these circumstances that the apostle Paul should be the special object of his dislike. "He surpasses all the impostors and charlatans who have ever existed" (Cyr. iii. p. 100). He accuses the Jewish Christians of having deserted a law which Moses declared to be eternal (ix. p. 319). Even Jesus himself said that he came to fulfil the law. Peter declared that he had a vision, in which God shewed him that no animal was impure (p. 314), and Paul boldly says: "Christ is the end of the law;" but Moses says: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it;" and "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things." (Cyr. ix. p. 320 = Deut. iv. 2, xxvii. 27; cp. x. pp. 348, 351, 354, 356, 358, where he attacks us for giving up sacrifice, circumcision, and the sabbath, and asserts that Abraham used divination and practised astrology.)

In the same spirit he sneers at baptism, which cannot cure leprosy, or gout, or dropsy, or any bodily infirmity, great or small, but which is said to remove all the transgressions of the soul—adulteries, thefts, &c.—so great is its penetrating power! (vii. p. 245).

The argument against the Christian interpretation of prophecy is also remarkable, but is too detailed to be discussed here. He comments textually on the blessing of Judah, Gen. xlix. 10; on the prophecy of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 17; on that of Moses, Deut. xviii. 15–18; and on the prophecy of Emmanuel, Is. vii. 14; and tries to shew that they have no reference outside Judaism itself, though the last is evidently a difficulty to him (pp. 253, 261, 262).

3. Lastly, the great object of Julian's attacks is *The Worship of Jesus as God, and the Adoration of the Martyrs.*—The argument on this head is partly concerned with the prophecies just quoted, partly with the New Testament itself. He asserts that Moses never speaks of "the first-born Son of God," while he does speak of "the sons of God," *i.e.* the angels, who have charge of different nations (Gen. vi. 2). On the other hand, he says expressly, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Cyr. ix. p. 290). Even if the prophecy of Emmanuel in Isaiah refers to Jesus, it gives you no right to call his mother *θεοτόκος*, as you constantly do. How could she bear God, being a human creature like ourselves? And how is her son the Saviour when God says, "I am, and there is no Saviour beside me"? (viii. p. 276).

"But you are so unfortunate as not even to keep to the apostles' traditions. Neither Matthew, Luke, nor Mark called Jesus God, but this excellent John, perceiving that a great multitude in many of the Greek and Italian cities were infected with this disease, and hearing, I suppose, that the sepulchres too of Peter and Paul were receiving worship, secretly indeed, but still receiving worship, first dared to assert it" (x. p. 327).

"He first speaks of God the Word, and then introduces John the Baptist's testimony about Jesus Christ, insinuating in this manner the idea that they are the same person" (*ib.*). "Some [*i.e.* the Gnostics] say that God the Word and Jesus Christ are different persons in John's [the evangelist's] mind, but this is not the case" (x. p. 333).

"John began this evil. You have gone on and added the worship of other dead men to that of the first dead man. You have filled all things with tombs and sepulchres; though

Jesus speaks of 'whited sepulchres full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness'" (p. 335). "Why, then, do you bow before tombs? The Jews did it, according to Isaiah, to obtain visions in dreams, and four apostles also probably did so after their master's death" (p. 339). (The reference is to Is. lxv. 4, "which remain among the graves and lodge among the monuments:" the words διὰ ἐνύπνια are added in the Greek version.)

In his letter to the Alexandrians he puts with equal force the folly of adoring a man, and not adoring the sun and the moon, especially the former, the great sun, the living, animated, intelligent, and beneficent image of the intelligible or spiritual Father (*Ep.* 51, p. 434).

It is strange to find this slighting disregard for men as objects of worship in one who assumed that he was a champion of pure Hellenism, especially in an emperor who succeeded a long line of deified emperors. But this only shews how strong was the pantheistic element in Julian's philosophy, as we have already frequently observed. Nor can we doubt that a great deal of his dislike to what he considered the Christian doctrine arose from aristocratic pride. He looked down upon Christ as a Galilean peasant, a subject of Augustus Caesar (Cyr. vi. p. 213). "It is hardly three hundred years since he began to be talked about. During all his life he did nothing worth recording, unless any one reckons it among very great acts to have cured halt and blind people, and to exorcise demoniacs in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany" (vi. p. 191). He looks upon Christians as parvenus who have assumed a position of power for which they were not fitted, and as having acted wantonly in its exercise in destroying temples and prosecuting their own heretics, &c. "Jesus and Paul never taught you this. They never expected that Christians would fill so important a place, and were satisfied with converting a few maid-servants and slaves, and by their means to get hold of their mistresses, and men like Cornelius and Sergius. If under the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius they have succeeded in convincing a single distinguished person, you may hold me for a liar in every thing" (vi. p. 206).

Any one who is familiar with the work of Celsus as preserved to us by Origen will notice the reappearance of many of the same topics. Julian is, however (as far as we have his work), much more superficial, and touches on fewer points. (Celsus may be studied advantageously in Keim's useful reproduction of his book, *Celsus' Wahres Wort*, Zürich, 1873.) He is also more favourable to the Jews, and less personal in his attacks on the character of our Blessed Lord. His familiar knowledge of the Bible and external Christianity for so many years could not but have *some* influence upon him in the direction of reverence. But what is remarkable is that he should have almost no appreciation of the need of redemption or of the contrast between Christian and heathen life. The absence of these feelings we must ascribe in great measure to the misfortune of his early training, to the Arianism of his teachers, and the unloveliness and unlovingness of his early surroundings.

Some allowance must also be made for the corruption and extravagance of some forms of popular religion, and for the rash and violent acts of fanaticism committed by many Christians. The superstitious cultus of martyrs, for instance, was no doubt disavowed by the highest minds of the 4th century, such as St. Athanasius and St. Augustine. But in the masses newly converted from paganism it formed a natural centre for much of the old superstition and fanaticism to cling to. (S. Athan. *Orat. contra Arianos*, ii. 32; S. Aug. *de Vera Religione*, 55; and especially *contra Faustum*, xx. 21.) Faustus the Manichee objected to Christians that they had only rejected their heathen idols for martyrs. St. Augustine replies, "Populus Christianus Memorias Martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandum imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adiuvetur: ita tamen ut nulli Martyrum, sed ipsi Deo Martyrum, quamvis in Memoriis Martyrum, constituamus altaria," where "Memoria" seems to mean a chapel. (See more on the whole subject in Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* § 99, vol. ii. pp. 25–40, E. T.; see also HELENA, INVENTION OF THE CROSS.) The exaggerated devotion of the people was thus, as in many other instances, a cause of scandal to men of culture, and set them against the church, much as is the case at the present day in modern France.

But besides all this there was in the family of Constantine generally a hardness and self-assertion, though accompanied with strong religious pressure, which made them inaccessible to Christian feeling on the subject of sin. The members of it believe strongly in their providential vocation to take a great part in religious questions, but are very rarely troubled by scruples as to their personal unworthiness. Julian's own character, as we have seen, was specially inconsistent, but the ruling element in it was self-confidence, which he disguised to himself as a reliance upon divine direction.

It is worth while in concluding this section to draw attention to some of Julian's admissions. He accepts the account of the Gospel miracles. He rejects the Gnostic interpretation of St. John, which separated the Word of God from the Christ. He witnesses to the common use of the term θεοτόκος long before the Nestorian troubles. His remarks about the worship of martyrs and the adoration of the cross have also some importance as facts in the history of Christian worship.

VI. *Coins.*

The following remarks on the coins of Julian are based upon J. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, vol. viii.; Mionnet, *De la Rareté et du Prix des Médailles Romaines*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1827, vol. ii. p. 291 foll.; and H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. vi., Paris, 1862 (a new edition is in preparation). The section in Eckhel is particularly good.

The writer has also examined a number of the coins in the British Museum with the kind assistance of Mr. H. Grueber. It is unfortunate that Count De Salis' arrangement was not completed before his death, and that he left no papers on the subject. Happily the chronological sequence of the different pieces is pretty clear.

The first thing that strikes us in the coins that belong to Julian's reign as Caesar is that

the head is unadorned with either wreath or diadem (like that of his brother Gallus), and quite beardless. He had worn a beard as a private person, but was obliged to cut it off when he was made Caesar (*ad Athen.* p. 274 C). The taunts mentioned by Ammianus, xvii. 11, 1, "capella, non homo," and "hirsutus" must refer back to his private life. The features in some of these early coins are very handsome and intelligent. He does not seem to have grown his famous beard immediately after his assumption of the title of Augustus. There are two very fine gold coins in the British Museum, probably struck at or just after the quinquennalia in Nov. 360, in which he has none: (1) FL · CL · IVLIANVS PER · AVG, bust to right with diadem; *reverse*, GLORIA REIPVBLICAE, figures of Rome and Constantinople holding a shield inscribed VOTIS · V MVLTIS · X and the mint-mark TR. (Treves). (2) A similar *obverse* and *reverse*, the latter with VOTIS · X MVLTIS · XX, and mint-mark LVG. (Lyons). These two coins are obviously close upon the same date, and shew (if any proof were needed) how impossible it is to use the number of VOTA to establish a date (see Eckhel's essay, *De Numis Votorum*, at the end of vol. viii.). Similar silver coins are described by Cohen, *l. c.*, Nos. 20, 32–40, pp. 360–363, not only with the mint-marks of Treves and Lyons, but also with those of Sirmium and Constantinople. We may probably infer from this that he was afraid to appear singular by wearing this appendage till he felt his power secure. We know that after his entrance into Constantinople he still employed a barber. Ammianus (xxii. 4, 9) tells us an anecdote which has often been quoted. During the first days of his residence in the place he sent for one to cut his hair ("ad demendum capillum"). A magnificently dressed person appeared, who struck him with amazement. "I sent for a barber, not an agent of finance," and, on enquiring about his salary, was informed that he had twenty rations of bread a day and the same number of forage for his horses, and a large annual salary, besides other valuable sources of income. This discovery led him to turn out all barbers and cooks and other officers of the kind as persons who were of no use to him. After this we must suppose he adopted the cynic manner of life as described above.

The beard which appears after this gets gradually longer. The coins of Antioch have a very long one attached to an anxious old-looking face, something like the representations of Zeus.

Another peculiarity of the early coins of Julian, besides the simplicity of the head and its attire, is the absence from them of any Christian symbols. The only one on record which bears such an emblem is given by Cohen, No. 51, p. 365, from Wiczay, and is in the judgment of connoisseurs of extremely doubtful genuineness. The *obverse* is said to be D · N · CL · IVLIANVS N · C ·; i.e. *dominus noster Claudius Julianus nobilis Caesar*, bust as usual to right: *reverse*, VIRTVS · AVG · N, Julian standing to left, holding a laurel branch, and a standard, and placing right foot on the back of a captive seated on the ground. Beneath the standard is said to be the ☧ (cp. F. W. Madden, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, No 69, p. 38, part i. for 1878). This absence of Christian symbols agrees with the view taken above of Julian's neutral relation to Christianity and heathenism in regard to legislation in Gaul.

If his coins as Caesar shew a curious absence of Christian symbols, those which he minted as Augustus are hardly less deficient in positive heathen types. The commonest reverse which approaches to heathenism is that of the bull with two stars above it, which is mentioned by some of the church historians as a memorial of his frequent sacrifices. (Soc. iii. 17; Soz. v. 19; Banduri, however, thinks rather of Apis and Mnevis; cp. Amm. xxii. 14, 6, 7.) Socrates (but not Sozomen) says that the bull stands beside an altar, but no coin of this kind is known to numismatists (Eckhel, *l. c.* p. 133). A tradition indeed is reported that Theodosius the Great melted down all the coins bearing Julian's face; but if so, he was very unsuccessful, as they are by no means rare, considering his short reign; and Socrates is probably in error (Banduri, *Imp. Orient.* p. 96, quoted by Eckhel, p. 127). It is also very remarkable that there are no coins of the mints of Constantinople, Cyzicus, Thessalonica, Lyons, Treves, Sirmium, &c., with inscriptions in honour of the Gods IOVI, MARTI, &c., and, what is still more striking, there is no reference to Julian's special patron, the sun.

The exceptions to this rule are a large class of copper coins struck in Egypt and a small number in Antioch. The Egyptian ones have sometimes an ordinary *obverse*, and a *reverse* with VOTA PVBLICA, and a figure of an Egyptian God such as Isis or Anubis; sometimes they have the epigraphs DEO SERAPIDI or SARAPIDI, ISIS FARIA, DEO SANCTO NILO, with different symbols from Egyptian mythology. This, however, is an exception more apparent than real. Eckhel shews that such coins were struck in Egypt even under Christian emperors such as Constantius II., Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian (Eckhel, pp. 137, 138). One is found coined, whilst Julian was Caesar, D · N · IVLIANVS NOB · CAESAR: *reverse* ISIS · FARIA, and beardless head of Julian surrounded with a gemmed crown (Eckhel, p. 136, from Banduri; Cohen, No. 70). The large number of this class in Julian's reign is no doubt to be attributed to the presence of a peculiarly zealous moneyer at Alexandria, and Eckhel very appositely recalls the fact that the Christian moneyer Dracontius was killed in a riot by the populace because he had overturned an altar set up in his mint (Amm. xxii. 11, 9). His successor, it would seem, was determined to be more popular. On these coins what appear to be Julian's features are sometimes represented with the emblems of Serapis, though the passage of Libanius which Eckhel quotes to illustrate this point is rendered inapplicable by a different and more probable reading. (*Epitaph.* p. 624, towards the end of the oration. The old edition reads, *πολλαὶ πόλεις ἐκεῖνον τοῖς τῶν θεῶν παραστήσαντες εἴδεσιν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶσι.* Reiske has restored *ἕδεσιν* from MSS. instead of *εἴδεσιν*.)

It is more questionable whether Helena is represented as *Isis Faria*, as has often been concluded by numismatists. But the discussion loses most of its interest if we are persuaded (as seems reasonable) that these coins were all struck in Egypt, and without special orders from

the emperor. They have indeed no mint mark, out from this type they certainly cannot have oeen struck in Gaul, and are almost certainly Alexandrian, and probably were not in any case minted during the few months between Julian's assumption of the title of Augustus and Helena's death, about the time of his quinquennalia. The reason for supposing that it was Helena who was thus (ideally) represented as Isis by the Egyptians is simply this, that Julian sometimes appears as Serapis alone, sometimes as Serapis with Isis, and that Isis sometimes appears by herself. (These coins are described in detail by Cohen, pp. 377 foll.; cp. Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 296 foll.)

The other coins of Julian's reign struck at Antioch with heathen inscriptions are much fewer, and they do not bear his name. Only two types are mentioned, viz.: (1) GENIO ANTIOCHENI. Antioch with a crown of towers and veiled seated on a rock, at her feet the river Orontes, swimming: *reverse*, APOLLONI SANCTO, Apollo dressed as a woman, standing looking to the left, holding a patera and a lyre; and (2) GENIO · CIVITATIS, bust of Antioch towered and veiled looking to right: *reverse*, same as preceding. (Eckhel, p. 137; Cohen, Nos. 54, 55.)

We conclude then that from policy Julian did not make any general issue of coins with heathen inscriptions or strongly marked heathen symbols, which would have shocked the feelings of his Christian subjects. The statements of Socrates and Sozomen quoted above are in perfect harmony with this conclusion. [J. W.]

JULIANUS (104), June 9, an anchoret near Edessa about the middle of the 4th century, whose life was written by St. Ephrem Syrus. He is commemorated on June 9. Papebroch (*Acta SS.* u. *infr.*) is disposed to identify him with the following.

(Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 14; Boll. *Acta SS.* June ii. 175; Ceillier, vi. 45; *Martyrol. Roman.* June 9.) [I. G. S.]

JULIANUS (105) SABAS, Oct. 18, an anchorite, whose history is narrated by Theodoret. He is believed by the later Bollandists (Oct. viii. 353) to have been a different person from the preceding, contrary to the conclusion of Papebroch. The internal evidence confirms this view. The Julian of Ephraim lived a recluse and stationary life, while Julian Sabas was a man of travel and extended influence. Sabas or Sabbas, says Theodoret, was a title of veneration, meaning an elder, which thus corresponds with "abbas" or father, so commonly applied to anchorites in the East. His cave was in Osrhoëne, he practised extraordinary asceticism, and endured the extremes of heat and fatigue. In 372, on the expulsion of Meletius bishop of Antioch, the triumphant Arian party gave out that Julian had embraced their views, whereupon Acacius (subsequently bishop of Berrhoea), accompanied by Asterius, went to Julian and induced him to visit Antioch, where his presence exposed the slander and encouraged the dispirited Catholics. He afterwards returned to his cave and there died. (Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 19; iv. c. 24; *Hist. Religios.* num. ii.; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Ceillier, viii. 238; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* ii. 700 iii. 1084, 1090.) [C. H.]

JULIANUS (106), a wealthy nobleman to whom Jerome writes a letter of consolation in the year 406 (*Ep.* 118, ed. Vall.). Some expressions in the letter make it probable that he lived in Dalmatia, others that he lived at Rome. Possibly his residence was chiefly at Rome, though his property was in the country east of the Adriatic. [W. H. F.]

JULIANUS (107), a Christian to whom Marcellus addressed his report of the Carthaginian conference. [MARCELLUS.] (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 286, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (108), a servant of Paulinus and Therasia. [PAULINUS.] (Aug. *Epp.* 24, 25, 27.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (109), a youth in whom St. Augustine took a warm interest. (Aug. *Ep.* 99.) [H. W. P.]

JULIANUS (110), a Samaritan rebel in the reign of Justinian (Joan. Malalas, *Chronog.* ii. 179; *Chron. Pasch.* a. a. 530; Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. Sab.* cap. 70, 71; Theoph. *Chronog.* in *Pat. Gr.* cviii. 411; Clinton, *F. R.* 529). It was probably this rebellion that evoked the edict of Nov. 22, 530, enforcing the penalties previously denounced against the Samaritans (*Cod. Just.* I. v. 19). [T. W. D.]

JULIANUS (111) ARGENTARIUS, of Ravenna. He was probably treasurer of the church of Ravenna, and may possibly have been an architect. His name is found in charters of the time (cf. note to Agnellus, in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 330). He was specially connected with the two great churches of St. Vitale and St. Apollinare in Classe. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravenn.* 78 in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* p. 330; Richter, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 72, 98; Rubeus, *Hist. Raven.* 153, 159; Montfaucon, *Diarium Ital.* cap. 7.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (112), the name of three anchorites mentioned by John Moschus, viz.:

i. A Stylite, whose pillar was about twenty-four miles from that of his contemporary Simeon Stylites, whom he survived (*Prat.* 28, 57, 58).

ii. An anchorite of the monastery of the Egyptians in Cilicia, twelve miles from Anazarbus (*Prat.* 51).

iii. An anchorite of the monastery of Scopulus near Rhosus who refused communion with Macarius patriarch of Jerusalem, but was warned by a brother anchorite not to separate from the church (*Prat.* 96). [C. H.]

JULIANUS (113), a converted Jew, to whom Gregory the Great in 594 ordered an annual supply of money to be given. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iv. indict. xii. ep. 33 in Migne, lxxvii. 708.) [A. H. D. A.]

JULIANUS (114), advocate of Alexandria, praised for his constancy and firmness for the faith in the Monothelite controversy. (S. Maxim. Conf. ep. 17 in *Pat. Gr.* xci. 579.) [W. J. S.]

JULIANUS (115), patron saint of Luxulyan in Cornwall, a name corrupted from Lau Julian

or Lan Sulian (Oliver's *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, 34; compare Haddan and Stubbs, i. 144–45, for a similar relation of the names Julien and Sulgen or Sulien, Sulien being the Welsh form of the name, which has been made into Julien). A Julien occurs as one of the daughters of Brychan of Brecknock. A St. Julian or Ulian is found in Tintagel; and the parish of Maker, opposite Plymouth, is dedicated to St. Julian. William of Worcester, 82, quotes from the Franciscan *Martyrology* of Salisbury, "S. Julliani commemoratio xvi. kalend. Febr.," perhaps a mistake for "vi. kal. Feb." if this refers to "St. Julien, bishop and confessor." For a Welsh Sulien, whose day is Sept. 1, see R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 220, and compare Kerslake's *Damnonia outside Cornwall*, 430. The parish of Luxulyan is now dedicated to SS. Cyric and Julitta, the better known name Julitta having assimilated Julian to itself. St. Julitta has also the parish of St. Juliot in Cornwall; her day in the Roman calendar was July 30 (in others June 14 or 16). The story of Julitta and her child Cyric was popular, and St. Basil wrote in praise of her [see above, v. CYRICUS]. There was a cell of St. Cyric in the Cornish parish of St. Veep; for a full account see Oliver's *Monasticon*, 69, where other dedications to these favourite saints are mentioned; see also R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 82, 97, 307; Kerslake's *The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter*, p. 11, and his *Damnonia outside Cornwall*, 421. In the *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, 276–77, are printed six Welsh hymns, invoking the intercession of these saints. [C. W. B.]

JULITTA (1), July 16, martyr at Tarsus in 304 or 305. Her acts were declared apocryphal by pope Gelasius, as having been composed by heretics. A certain bishop, Zeno or Zozimus, having obtained them, wrote in the 6th century to Theodorus bishop of Iconium for a true narrative. He applied to two officials of the court (Justinian I. being emperor), Marcianus chancellor of the notaries, and Zeno of the imperial council, who furnished him with a true account as prescribed in the family traditions and records of her family in Iconium. Their narrative will be found in Combefis, *Mart. Triump.* p. 231. *Mart.* Usuard. commemorates them on Jun. 16, and places their passion at Antioch. (Baron. *Annal.* 305, 315; Bas. *Men.*; Ceillier, iii. 42; Fleury, *H. E.* l. ix. 5, 7.) Concerning the decree of pope Gelasius and the Roman council of 494, by which the acts of St. Julitta were condemned, together with the apocryphal gospels and suspected works of the fathers, see the dissertations of Mansi appended to Nat. Alexand. *H. E.* saec. v. cap. ii. art. x. cap. v. art. xviii.; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. xxx. sec. 35; Du Pin, *H. E.* i. 521, ed. Dub. 1723. [G. T. S.]

JULITTA (2), July 30, virgin, and martyr with Dorothea at Caesarea, in Cappadocia, A.D. 306. [BARLAAM.] (Boll. *Acta SS.* 30 Jul. vii. 141; Fleury, *H. E.* l. ix. s. 39; Baron. ann. 304, lxvii.; Nat. Alex. *H. E.* saec. iv. cap. i.) The Basilian Menology gives her under July 31. [G. T. S.]

JULITTA (3). [SEVEN MARTYRS OF ANCYRA.]

JULITTA (4), a widow lady of Cappadocia, on whose behalf Basil wrote in 372 to Helladius, a member of the household of the prefect of Cappadocia, begging him to use his influence for her with his master (Basil. *Epist.* 107 [287], 108 [288], 109 [422]). Tillemont is inclined to identify her with other widows (ἐλευθέραι) to whom some of Basil's letters are addressed. But for this there seem no sufficient grounds. [E. V.]

JULIUS, AELIUS PUBLIUS. [AELIUS.]

JULIUS (1), seventh bishop of Lyons in the 3rd century. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 15.) [R. T. S.]

JULIUS (2), second bishop of Vicohabentia (Voghenza), c. A.D. 331. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 517; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 15.) [R. S. G.]

JULIUS (3), the name of a bishop of Milan at a synod said to have been held at Rome in 337 under pope Julius (Isid. Merc. in *Pat. Lat.* cxxx. 615; Mansi, ii. 1269). He is placed by Ughelli between Eustorgius and Protasius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 41; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xi. 58; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr.* iv. 311.) [R. S. G.]

JULIUS (4), bishop of Thebes in Boeotia, signed the canons of the council of Sardica, A.D. 344. (Mansi, iii. 38; Le Quien, ii. 211.) [L. D.]

JULIUS (5), bishop of Rome after Marcus from 6th Feb. A.D. 337 to 12th April, 352, during fifteen years two months and six days, elected after a vacancy of four months. His pontificate is especially notable for his defence of Athanasius, and for the canons of Sardica enacted during its course.

When Julius became pope, Athanasius was in exile at Trèves after his first deposition by the council of Tyre, having been banished by Constantine the Great in 336 at the instance of the Eusebian party. Constantine, who died on the Whitsunday of the year 337, was succeeded by his three sons, who divided the empire between them. Constantine II., the eldest, obtained the new capital of Constantinople, Constantius ruled over Thrace and the countries of the East, Constans over Italy and the West. In the year 338 Constantine II., writing from Trèves, informed the Alexandrians that he was carrying out his father's intentions in restoring Athanasius; and, with the assent of the two other emperors, the exile returned to his see, and was received in triumph. But the Eusebians (as the prevalent heretical party, professing a modified form of Arianism, was now called) continued their machinations. Their chief leader, Eusebius of Nicomedia, having succeeded in obtaining the patriarchate of Constantinople, and Acacius, another leader, having become bishop of Caesarea, the restoration of Athanasius was by them declared invalid; and one Pistus was set up as bishop of Alexandria in his stead. A deputation was now sent to Rome, consisting of a presbyter Macarius, with two deacons, Martyrius and Hesychius, in order to induce Julius to declare against Athanasius and acknowledge Pistus; the former being charged, in addition to previous accusations, with having resumed his see after

deposition without the sanction of a synod, and with having sold for his own benefit the corn allowed to the Alexandrian church. On the other hand, the Catholic bishops of Egypt issued an encyclic in his favour, and he himself sent presbyters to Rome to support his cause. Both his deputation and that of the Eusebians had interviews with Julius, and maintained their cases before him. According to Athanasius himself in his Apology, and to Julius in his letter written afterwards to the Eusebians, the accusing party was so discomfited in argument that Macarius secretly withdrew from Rome, and his colleagues who remained there, having failed to convince the pope, desired him to convene a general council at which the charges against Athanasius might be heard before himself as judge. Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 11) and Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 7) state that Eusebius wrote to Julius requesting him to assume the judgment of the case. But this is not asserted by Julius himself in referring to the matter, and is improbable in itself. He consented to the proposal, undertaking to hold a council at such place as Athanasius might choose, and seems to have sent a synodical letter to the Eusebians, apprising them of his intention. This appears to have been the state of things at the close of the year 339. The dates of the several events that followed are not without difficulty. Those adopted as most probable in the article on ATHANASIUS will be given below.

Early in 340 it appears that Pistus had been given up as the rival bishop, and that one Gregory, a Cappadocian, had been violently intruded by Philagrius the praefect of Egypt into the see; whereupon the Lenten services of that year had been the occasion of atrocious treatment of the Catholics of Alexandria. Athanasius, having concealed himself for a time in the neighbourhood, and prepared an encyclic in which he detailed the proceedings, seems to have departed for Rome in the Easter season of the same year (340), and to have been welcomed there by Julius, who, after his arrival, sent two presbyters, Elpidius and Philoxenes, with a letter to Eusebius and his party, fixing the time and place of the proposed synod; viz. December 340, at Rome. To this council the Eusebians not only refused to come, but also detained the envoys of Julius beyond the time fixed for it. For Elpidius and Philoxenes did not return to Rome till the January of 341, bringing with them then a letter, of which no authentic editions remain, but the purport of which is gathered from the reply of Julius to be mentioned presently. Julius suppressed this letter for some time in the hope, he said, that the eventual arrival of some of the Eusebians in Rome might spare him the pain of making it public, and in this hope also he deferred the assembling of the council. But no one came. However anxious the Eusebians had been to enlist the pope on their side against Athanasius, and though the proposal of a council under him had been made by their emissaries, they were by no means prepared now to submit to his adjudication. On the contrary, they took advantage of the dedication of a new cathedral at Antioch to hold a council of their own there, known as the "Dedication Council" (probably in August 341), which was attended by ninety-seven bishops. Here, besides preparing canons and three creeds, designed to convince the Western church of their orthodoxy, they confirmed the sentence of the council of Tyre against Athanasius, and endeavoured to preclude all prospect of his restoration by a canon with retrospective force, which debarred even from a hearing any bishop or priest who should have officiated after a canonical deposition. Julius meanwhile had at length made public the letter above referred to, and, being still in ignorance of the proceedings at Antioch, assembled his council in the church of the presbyter Vito at Rome. It seems to have met in the November of 341, Athanasius being stated to have been then a year and a half in Rome. It was attended by more than fifty bishops. The old as well as the more recent accusations were considered; the acts of the council of Tyre, and those of the inquiry in the Mareotis about the broken chalice [see ATHANASIUS], which had been left at Rome by the Eusebian envoys two years before, were produced; witnesses were heard in disproof of the charges, and in proof of Eusebian atrocities; and the result was the complete acquittal of Athanasius, and confirmation of communion with him, which, indeed, had never been discontinued by Julius and the Roman church. Marcellus of Ancyra also, who had been deposed and banished on a charge of heresy by a Eusebian council at Constantinople in 336, and who had been for fifteen months in Rome, was declared orthodox on the strength of his confession of faith, which satisfied the council. Other bishops and priests, from Thrace, Coelesyria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt, are said by Julius in his subsequent synodal letter to have been present to complain of injuries suffered from the Eusebian party. The historians Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 15) and Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 8) say that all the deposed bishops were reinstated by Julius in virtue of the prerogative of the Roman see, and that he wrote vigorous letters in their defence, reprehending the Eastern bishops, and summoning some of the accusers to appear at Rome. But there seems to be much exaggeration in these statements. Paul certainly, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, whom Eusebius had succeeded, and who is mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen among the successful appellants, was not restored till the death of his rival in 342, and then only for a time, and not through the action of Julius: nor did Athanasius regain his see till 346. Indeed, Sozomen, in another passage (iii. 10), acknowledges that Julius effected nothing at the time by his letters in favour of Athanasius and Paul, and consequently referred their cause to the Emperor Constans. His real attitude and action with respect to the troubles in the East are best seen in the long letter which he addressed to the Easterns at the desire of the Roman council after its close, which has been preserved entire by Athanasius (*Apolog. contr. Arian.* 21–36). He begins by animadverting strongly on the tone of the letter brought back to him by his envoys, which was such, he says, that when he had at last reluctantly shewn it to others they could hardly believe it to be genuine. His own action in the matter had been complained of in the letter. He therefore both defends himself and recriminates, writing to the following effect:—"You object to having your own synodal judgment (that of Tyre) questioned in a second council. But

this is no unprecedented proceeding. The council of Nice permitted the acts of one synod to be examined in another: and, if your own judgment were right, you should have rejoiced in the opportunity of having it confirmed; and how can you, of all men, complain, when it was at the instance of your own emissaries, when worsted by the advocates of Athanasius, that the Roman council was convened? You certainly are not in a position to plead the irreversibility of the decision of a synod, having yourselves reversed even the judgment of Nice in admitting Arians to communion. If on this ground you complain of my receiving Athanasius, much more may I complain of you for asking me to acknowledge Pistus, a man alleged by the envoys of Athanasius to have been condemned as an Arian at Nice, and admitted by your own representatives to have been ordained by one Secundus, who had been so condemned. It must have been from chagrin at being so utterly refuted in his advocacy of Pistus that your emissary Macarius fled by night, though in weak health, from Rome." He next refers, in a vein of sarcasm, to an allegation of his correspondents as to the equality of all bishops, which they had made either in justification of their having judged a bishop of Alexandria, or in deprecation of the case being referred to Rome. "If, as you write, you hold the honour of all bishops to be equal, and unaffected by the greatness of their sees, this view comes ill from those who have shewn themselves so anxious to get translated from their own small sees to greater ones." He here alludes to Eusebius himself, who had passed from Berytus to Nicomedia, and thence to Constantinople. Having next treated as frivolous their plea of the shortness of the time allowed for their attendance at the Roman council, he meets their further complaint that his letter of summons had been addressed only to Eusebius and his party, instead of the whole Eastern episcopate. "I naturally wrote (he says) to those who had written to me. If you expected me to address you all, you ought all to have addressed me." And, he adds emphatically, "though I alone wrote, I did so in the name of, and as expressing the sentiments of, all the Italian bishops." He then proceeds to justify at length the action of himself and of the Roman council. The letters of accusation against Athanasius had been from strangers living at a distance from him, and had been found to contradict each other: the testimonies in his favour from his own people, who knew him well, had been clear and consistent. He exposes the falsity of the charges about the murder of Arsenius and the broken chalice, and the unfairness of the Mareotic inquiry. He contrasts the conduct of Athanasius, who had come of his own accord to Rome to court investigation, with the unwillingness of his accusers to appear against him. He dwells on the uncanonical intrusion of Gregory the Cappadocian by military force into the Alexandrian see, and on the atrocities that had been committed to enforce acceptance of him. "It is you," he adds, "who have set at nought the canons, and disturbed the church's peace; not we, as you allege, who have entertained a just appeal, and acquitted the innocent." After briefly justifying also the acquittal of Marcellus from the charge of heresy, he calls upon those to whom he writes to remedy the wrong that had been done by repudiating the base conspiracy of a few. Lastly, he points out what would have been the proper course of procedure in case of any just cause of suspicion against the bishops in question. This part of his letter is important, as shewing his own view of his position in relation to the church at large. "If (he says) they were guilty, as you say they were, they ought to have been judged canonically, not after your method. All of us (*i.e.* the whole episcopate) ought to have been written to, that so justice might be done by all. For they were bishops who suffered these things, and bishops of no ordinary sees, but of such as were founded by apostles personally. Why, then, were you unwilling to write to us (*i.e.* to the Roman church) especially about the Alexandrian see? Can you be ignorant that this is the custom; that we should be written to in the first place, so that hence (*i.e.* from this church) what is just may be defined? Wherefore, if a suspicion against the bishop had arisen there (*i.e.* in Alexandria), it ought to have been referred hither to our church. But now, having never informed us of the case, they wish us to accept their condemnation, in which we had no part. Not so do the ordinances of St. Paul direct: not so do the fathers teach: this is pride, and a new ambition. I beseech you, hear me gladly. I write this for the public good: for what we have received from the blessed Peter I signify to you." If this language is carefully weighed, it will hardly be found to bear out the inferences of Socrates (ii. 8, 17) and of Sozomen (iii. 10), that, according to church law, enactments made without the consent of the bishop of Rome were held to be invalid. It certainly implies no claim to exclusive jurisdiction over all churches. All that Julius insists on is that charges against the bishops of great sees ought, according to apostolic tradition and canonical rule, to be referred to the whole episcopate of the church catholic; and that, in the case of a bishop of Alexandria at least, custom gave the initiative of proceedings to the bishop of Rome. In this reference to custom, he probably has in view the case of Dionysius of Alexandria, the charges against whom had been laid before Dionysius of Rome. The allegation made in the earlier part of his letter of the fathers of Nice having sanctioned the reconsideration of the decisions of synods is more difficult to account for. The only Nicene canon at all cognate to the subject is the fifth, which requires biennial provincial synods to review excommunications pronounced by bishops. But this is really irrelevant to the point at issue. He may be alluding to the action of the Nicene Council itself[a] in entertaining the case of Arius after he had already been synodically condemned at Alexandria. The whole action of pope Julius in this matter appears open to no exception, though it might seem at first sight an uncanonical proceeding to reverse in an Italian synod the decisions of an Eastern one on an Eastern question. But, if the synod consisted of Westerns only, it was the fault of the

[a] This indeed was one of the purposes which the emperor had at heart in convening it. Just as the synod of Arles had also met by his orders to reconsider the acquittal of St. Caecilian, decreed in the previous synod of Rome under Melchiades.—E. S. Ff.

Easterns themselves, who refused to attend it, though it had been at the suggestion of their own emissaries that Julius had convened it: there had been a notorious miscarriage of justice, which required some remedy: and, after all, what the Roman synod did was only to confirm the continuance of communion with Eastern prelates who were held to have been unjustly condemned. It had no power to do more. Still, the position of Julius on this occasion may be regarded as a step towards subsequent papal claims of a more advanced kind; and it probably suggested the canons of Sardica, pregnant with results, which will come under notice presently.

After the proceedings detailed above, Athanasius remained still in Rome, till, in the fourth year of his residence there—probably in the summer of 343—he received a summons from the emperor Constans to meet him at Milan (Athanas. *Apolog. ad Imp. Constantium*, 4). The death of Constantine II. in 340 had left Constans sole emperor of the West, and he had now been urged by certain bishops to propose to the Eastern emperor, Constantius, the holding of a new council, at which both East and West should be fully represented; and it was with a view to this that Athanasius was now sent for. With the concurrence of the two emperors such a council was summoned to meet at the Moesian town of Sardica on the confines of their empires, probably towards the end of the year 343. The usually received date of the council of Sardica (viz. 347) has been concluded, from recent investigations, to be erroneous. (*See* Art. on ATHANASIUS, p. 190, *note*.) The scheme of united action failed in consequence of the Eastern bishops having refused, after their arrival, to take part in the proceedings. They withdrew, along with five Western prelates, to Philippopolis, within the Eastern empire, where they held a separate synod of their own. Notwithstanding their absence, the rest of the Westerns met at Sardica, being presided over by the venerable Hosius of Cordova, who, some twenty years before, had taken the lead at Nice. In some editions of the Acts of the Council he, Vincentius of Capua, Calepodius of Naples, and Januarius of Beneventum, are designated legates of the Roman see. But this designation seems due only to the desire, which appears also in other cases, of assigning the presidency of all councils to the pope. According to Athanasius (*Apolog. contr. Arian.* 50), Julius was represented by two presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenes, whose names appear ("Julius Romae per Archidamum et Philoxenem presbyteros") in the signatures to the synodal letter of the council after that of Hosius. Hosius undoubtedly presided, and there is no sign of his having done so as the pope's deputy either in the Acts of the Council or in the letter sent from it to Julius at the close of its sittings. Nor can the initiative, any more than the presidency, of the council be assigned to Julius. Sozomen indeed (iii. 10) says that Julius, when his own letter to the Eastern bishops had done no good, wrote to Constans on the subject, who thereupon requested his brother to send three of the Eastern bishops to him; that they were consequently sent, but, having concealed from Constans what had been done at Antioch, were sent home again. This, however, was previous to, and had no direct connexion with, the council of Sardica. The idea of its convention having been initiated by Julius is inconsistent with the statement of Athanasius himself, who calls God to witness that when he was summoned to Milan he was entirely ignorant of the purpose of the summons, but found afterwards that it was because "certain bishops" who were there had been moving Constans to induce Constantius to allow a general council to be assembled (*Apolog. ad Imp. Constantium*, 4). If Julius had been the mover, it is unlikely that Athanasius, who was with him at Rome, would have been ignorant of the purpose of his summons, or that he would have spoken only of "certain bishops." The fact seems to be that the council was convened, by whomsoever first suggested, by the emperors on their own authority, to review the whole past proceedings, whether at Tyre, at Antioch, or at Rome; and that without asking the pope's leave, or inviting him to take the lead. The council, however, when it met after the secession of the Eastern bishops, did all that he could have desired, had he himself presided. It confirmed and promulgated anew all the decisions of the Roman council, decreed the restoration of the banished orthodox prelates, and excommunicated the Eusebian intruders. It also passed twenty-one canons of discipline, three of which are of special historical importance. The extant Acts of the Council give them thus. Canon III. (*al.* III., IV.) "Bishop Osius said: This also is necessary to be added, that bishops pass not from their own province to another in which there are bishops, unless perhaps on the invitation of their brethren there, that we may not seem to close the gate of charity. And, if in any province a bishop have a controversy against a brother bishop, let neither of the two call upon a bishop from another province to take cognisance of it. But, should any one of the bishops have been condemned in any case, and think that he has good cause for a reconsideration of it, let us (if it please you) honour the memory of the blessed Apostle St. Peter, so that Julius, the Roman bishop, be written to by those who have examined the case; and, if he should judge that the trial ought to be renewed, let it be renewed, and let him appoint judges. But, if he should decide that the case is such that what has been done ought not to be reconsidered, what he thus decides shall be confirmed. *Si hoc omnibus placet?* The synod replied, *Placet.*"

Canon IV. (*al.* V.) "Bishop Gaudentius said: Let it, if it please you, be added to this decree that when any bishop has been deposed by the judgment of bishops who dwell in neighbouring places (*in finitimis locis*), and he has proclaimed his intention of taking his case to Rome, no other bishop shall by any means be ordained to his see till the cause has been determined in the judgment of the Roman bishop."

Canon V. (*al.* VII.) "Bishop Osius said: It has seemed good to us (*placuit*) that if any bishop has been accused, and the assembled bishops of his own region have deposed him, and if he has appealed to the bishop of the Roman church, and if the latter is willing to hear him, and considers it just that the inquiry should be renewed, let him deign to write to the bishops of a neighbouring province, that they may diligently inquire into everythirg, and give their sentence

according to the truth. But if the appellant in his supplication should have moved the Roman bishop to send a presbyter (*al.* presbyters) 'de suo latere,' it shall be in his (*i.e.* the Roman bishop's) power to do whatever he thinks right. And if he should decide to send persons having his own authority to sit in judgment with the bishops, it shall be at his option to do so. But if he should think the bishops sufficient for terminating the business, he shall do what approves itself to his most wise judgment."[b] On these canons the following remarks may be made. *First*, they were designed to provide what recent events had shewn the need of, and what the existing church system did not adequately furnish; a recognised court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes. The canons of Nice had provided none beyond the provincial synod. If a bishop felt aggrieved by the sentence of the bishops of his province, his only strictly canonical redress was by appeal to a general council, which could be but a rare event, and was dependent on the will of princes. The need was now felt of a readier remedy. *Secondly*, it is to be observed how this remedy was provided: viz. by giving the Roman bishop the power, if he thought fit, of causing the judgment of provincial synods to be reconsidered; but only on the appeal of the aggrieved party, and only in one or other of certain prescribed ways. He might, when appealed to, refuse to take the matter up at all, thus confirming the decision of the provincial synod; or he might constitute the bishops of a neighbouring province as a court of appeal; and he might further, if requested, and if he thought it necessary, send one or more presbyters as his legates to watch the proceedings; or appoint representatives of himself to sit as assessors in the court. But he was not empowered either to interfere unless appealed to, or to summon the case to Rome to be heard before himself in synod; still less of course to adjudicate alone. *Thirdly*, it is evident that this course of procedure was sanctioned for the first time at Sardica. The canons, on the face of them, were not a mere confirmation of a traditional prerogative of Rome. The words of Hosius were, "Let us, if it please you, honour the memory of the blessed Apostle St. Peter," *i.e.* by conceding this power to the Roman bishop. *Fourthly*, the power in question was definitely given only to the then reigning pope, Julius, who is mentioned by name; and it has hence been supposed that it was not meant to be accorded to his successors (cf. Richer. *Hist. Concil. General.* t. i. c. 3, § 4). But it seems more natural to conclude that the arrangement was at any rate intended to be permanent, since both the need for it and the grounds assigned for it were permanent. *Fifthly*, since it was the causes of Eastern bishops that led to the enactment of these canons, it is probable that they were meant to apply to the whole church, and not to the Western only. The Greek canonists, Balsamon and Zonaras, maintain their narrower scope; and it is true that, the council having consisted of Westerns only, they were never accepted by the churches of the East. But though the council of Sardica was not in fact oecumenical, the emperors had intended it to be so, and the Roman canonists call it so in virtue of the general summons. Still they do not give it rank as a separate one of this nature, regarding it rather as an appendage to that of Nice; and it seems probable that its canons were from the first added at Rome[c] to those of Nice as supplementary to them, since in the well-known case of Apiarius, the African presbyter, which arose in the time of Zosimus (A.D. 417), this pope quoted them as Nicene; and pope Innocent (A.D. 402) seems previously to have done the same in defending his appellate jurisdiction over the church in Gaul. In the African case the error was eventually exposed by reference to the copies of the Nicene canons preserved at Constantinople and Alexandria, and the Africans thereupon distinctly repudiated the claims of Rome which rested upon this false foundation. But Boniface and Coelestine, the successors of Zosimus, continued to refer to these canons as Nicene; as did Leo I. in 449; and this continued to be the Roman position. It was probably a mistake originally, arising from the cause above mentioned; but the persistence of the popes in quoting these canons as Nicene after the mistake had been discovered is with reason adduced as an early instance of Roman unfairness in support of papal claims. It is further a significant fact, that in some Roman copies of the canons in question the name of Sylvester was substituted for that of Julius, as if with an intention of throwing their date back to the Nicene period.[d]

[b] The editions of these canons, extant in Greek and Latin translations, vary in their wording and arrangement of them, but all agree in the drift as given above. Doubts have been entertained of their authenticity, but they are generally accepted. See Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* 2nd period, Div. I. ch. iii. note 7, where references are given.

[More than six years ago a paper was prepared by me for the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES exhaustively going into the question of their genuineness, and pronouncing against it with confidence. This paper remained in an unlocked box in the Bodleian Library for a year or more; when quite by accident I saw, among the new books of 1875 just received there, a work by Professor Aloisius Vincenzi, printed that year at the Vatican, entitled *De Hebraeorum et Christianorum sacrâ Monarchiâ*, and called a second edition of it. Part II. c. 7 of this work contains an elaborate disproof of the genuineness of these canons, on grounds so similar to my own, that I removed my MS., and the result was, that it was overlooked, when it should have been sent in for publication. Since then, more facts have come to light confirming my conclusion. But this is, *not* that they were forged in Africa by the orthodox bishops—which is the amusing hypothesis of M. Vincenzi—but in, or not far from Rome.—E. S. Ff.]

[c] In the collection of canons used at Rome, those of later synods appear to have been appended to those of Nice without distinction. Quesnel has published such a collection, containing forty-six canons, whereas twenty only were made at Nice, and twenty-one at Sardica. (*Codex Canonum et Constitutionum Eccl. Rom. Append. ad Leonis Opera Quesnelli.*)

Certainly, the earliest allusion to them is where pope Liberius says, in a letter whose genuineness has been needlessly questioned, "secutus traditionem majorum presbyteros urbis Romae . . . *de latere meo.*" What reference could be more direct than this? "ad Alexandriam ad supradictum Athanasium direxi, ut ad urbem Romam veniret." (*Frag.* iv. ap. S. Hil.)—E. S. Ff.

[d] See note on "Julio" in Can. iii. of the Sardican canons, "*Ex interpretatione Dionysii Exigui*" (Labbe, t. ii. p. 274); *Quidam MSS. habent Sylvestro.*' The same

The scope also of the canons came in time to be extended beyond its real import, being made to involve the power of the pope to summon at his will all cases to be heard before himself at Rome.* Our proper conclusion on the whole question seems to be, that, though these canons were probably intended by their framers to bind the whole church, the authority that imposed them was not really adequate to the purpose; but that the popes afterwards appealed to them unfairly in support of their claims by misrepresenting both their authority and their scope.

At the close of its sittings, the council of Sardica addressed letters to the two emperors, to Julius, to the church of Alexandria, to the bishops of Egypt and Libya, and an encyclic "to all bishops." The letters to the emperors have not been preserved. In that to Julius the reason he had alleged for not attending the council,—viz. the necessity of his remaining in Rome to guard against the schemes of heretics—is allowed as sufficient; and he is presumed to have been present in spirit. He is told that, though the documents sent him and the oral report of his emissaries would inform him of what had been done, it was thought fit to send him also a brief summary. The most religious emperors had permitted the council to discuss anew all past proceedings, and hence the following questions had been considered:—(1) The definition of the true faith; (2) The condemnation or acquittal of those whom the Eusebians had deposed; (3) The charges against the Eusebians themselves of having unjustly condemned and persecuted the orthodox. For full information as to the council's decisions on these questions, he is referred to the letters written to the emperors; and he is directed, rather than requested ("tua autem excellens prudentia disponere debet, ut per tua scripta &c."), to inform the bishops of Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily of what had been done, that they might know with whom to hold communion. A list is appended of those who had been excommunicated by the synod. The whole drift of the letter is inconsistent with the idea of the council having been convened by the pope himself, or held in his name, or considered dependent on him for ratification of its decrees. He is not even charged with the promulgation of them, except to the bishops under his more immediate jurisdiction. The only expression pointing to his pre-eminent position is one in which it is said that it would appear to be best and exceedingly fitting (optimum et valde congruentissimum) that "the head, that is the see of St. Peter," should be informed respecting every single province. Nor is there in the letter to the Alexandrians, or in the encyclic to all bishops, any reference to him as having initiated or taken part in the council; only in the latter a passing allusion to the previous council which he (*comminister noster dilectissimus*) had convened at Rome. The letter to Julius is signed, first by Hosius, and then by fifty-eight other bishops, being probably those who were present at the close of the council. But as many as 284 are given by Athanasius (*Apolog. contr. Arian.* 49, 50), as having assented to its decrees, and signed its encyclic letter. They include, from various parts of the West with a few from the East 78, from Gaul and Britain 34, from Africa 36, from Egypt 94, from Italy 15, from Cyprus 12, from Palestine 15.

It was not till October 346, some three years after the council, that Athanasius was allowed to return to his see. From Sardica he went to Naissus in Upper Dacia, and thence, at the invitation of Constans, to Aquileia, where he remained till he was at length recalled by Constantius. On his way thence to Alexandria he again visited Rome, and was again cordially received by Julius, who took the occasion of writing a letter of congratulation to the clergy and laity of Alexandria, remarkable for its

substitution is made in the collection published by Quesnel, referred to in our last note.

* One specimen might here be dwelt upon at some length, if for no other reason, to direct attention to facts of history not hitherto taken into account by critics and commentators in dealing with an as yet unexplained statement of the three Greek historians, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen. Theodoret, the earliest of the three, "composed his history," says Cave, "A.D. 450;" when, undoubtedly, the circumstances of his own appeal to Rome from the Latrocinium, and restoration by pope Leo the year before, would be fresh in his mind. He says of Julius: "Is vero ecclesiasticam legem secutus, et ipsos Romam venire jussit, et Athanasium ad dicendam causam evocavit" (ii. 4). This is but the language of Liberius already given in the preceding note, interpreted by his own case. Socrates (ii. 17) and Sozomen, in discussing the course pursued by the same pope, say there was an ecclesiastical canon forbidding any canonical action on the part of the churches, in opposition to the judgment of the bishop of Rome. This expression, μὴ κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, has been misunderstood. Accustomed as we have been to speak of the canons of councils as the only canons of antiquity with which we have to do, we forget the earlier and once exclusive meaning of the word to designate the clergy-roll of each church. Socrates and Sozomen had both meanings in their eye. An ecclesiastical canon—a canon of Sardica—debarred the churches from canonizing, in other words from making any changes in their clergy-roll, deposing bishops as Athanasius, or priests as Aparius—either in opposition to, or without waiting for, the judgment of the bishop of Rome. Facts alone shew this to be the identic meaning of all three passages: and also that it is to the canons of Sardica that all three writers alike refer. As these canons had not yet been regularly translated into Greek, which they were for the first time by John Scholasticus in the next century, they refer to their general import, rather than to their exact words. Further, that Constantinople must have been acquainted with them both at that time, and some time before, is clear, not only from the appeal of Theodoret himself, which was founded on them, but also from the inquiry made of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople by the Africans for the genuine Nicene canons, to compare with the canon quoted against them as Nicene by Zosimus. For, of course, this canon must have been brought under notice thus at both places. Lastly, one of these patriarchs, St. Cyril, in order to impart greater weight to his position, on starting to sit in judgment on the patriarch of new Rome, armed himself with legatine powers from pope Celestine, and came to Ephesus thus equipped, after the manner of Faustinus at Carthage, though carrying out his precedent on a grander scale. Thus the three Greek historians of the 5th century do nothing more than interpret the Sardican canons by the facts of their own times, which had happened since they became current, and the acts of Julius by the Sardican canons with their enlarged scope; which of course was in marked contrast even to their tentative language, and therefore much more to his actual deeds.—E S Ff.

warmth of feeling and beauty of expression. He regards the return at last of their beloved bishop after such prolonged affliction as a reward granted to their unwavering affection for him, to their continual prayers for him, to their letters of sympathy that had consoled him in his exile, as well as to his own faithfulness. He dwells on the holy character of Athanasius, his resoluteness in defence of the faith, his endurance of persecution, his contempt of death and danger. He congratulates them on receiving him back among them all the more glorious for his long trials and his fully proved innocence. He pictures vividly the scene in Alexandria, where he would be welcomed home by rejoicing crowds. And he ends by a prayer for a full and lasting reward of their faith and allegiance to be granted to themselves and their posterity both in this world and the world to come. The letter is the more admirable for the absence of all bitterness of expression towards the party of persecutors. Two copies of it remain; one given by Socrates (ii. 23), the other by Athanasius himself (*Apol. contr. Arian.* 52); and it may be taken as a sign of the modesty of the saint that in the latter the greater part of his own praises is omitted.

The only further notice we find of Julius is that of his having received the recantation of Valens and Ursacius, two notable opponents of Athanasius who had been condemned at Sardica. During the time of his temporary triumph they had already recanted before a synod at Milan, and written a pacific letter to Athanasius; but, not content with this, they went also of their own accord, A.D. 347, to Rome, where they presented a humble apologetic letter to Julius, and were admitted to communion (Athanas. *Histor. Arian. ad Monachos*, 26; Hilar. Fragm. i.). Their profession, however (in which they owned the falsity of their charges against Athanasius and renounced Arian heresy), proved afterwards to have been insincere. For when, after the death of Constans in 350, and the defeat of Maxentius in 351, the tide of imperial favour began to turn, they recanted their recantation, which they said had been made only under fear of Constans. But Julius, who died April 12, 352, was spared the pain of having to cope with the troublous times which ensued. The fresh charges, which were now got up, and sent to him and the emperor, arrived at Rome too late for him to entertain them. [LIBERIUS.]

The only extant writings of pope Julius are the two letters, to the Eusebians and to the Alexandrians, which have been referred to above. Two others, to the Easterns in the cause of Athanasius, asserting in strong terms the authority of the Roman see—being the first and second of his reputed letters—are certainly spurious, and are allowed to be so by Baronius and Binius. Gennadius (*de Script. Eccl.* c. 2), Evagrius (iii. 31), and Leontius (*commentar. de sect. act.* 8), speak of another letter, said to have been written by him to one Didymus about the Incarnation, containing heretical views; but regarded by them as really composed by Apollinarius under the name of Julius. Leontius mentions seven such supposititious letters. Ten *decreta* are ascribed to him in the collections of Gratian and Ivo. One of them is interesting for its allusion to certain usages in the celebration of the Eucharist;—viz. that of using milk, or the expressed juice of grapes, instead of wine; that of administering the bread dipped in the wine, after the manner of the Greeks at the present day; and that of making use of a linen cloth soaked in must, reserved through the year, and moistened with water for each celebration. All these are condemned, except the use of the unfermented juice of the grape, in which (it is said) is the efficacy of wine. This is allowed in case of need, if mixed with water, which is alleged to be always necessary to represent the people, as the wine represents the blood of Christ.

Among the numerous Oriental liturgies, current under the names of apostles, bishops of Rome, and others, the Syrian Jacobites had one ascribed to Julius;—so mentioned by Abraham Echellensis in notes to Hebed-Jesu, and so accounted by the later Maronites. It cannot, however, possibly belong to him or his age. (See Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* vol. ii. pp. 227, 234; Bona, *de Rebus Liturg.* Lib. ii. c. 9 (1), and Sala's *note*.)

Julius was buried, according to the Liberian and Felician catalogues, "in coemeterio Calepodii ad Callistum" on the Aurelian Way, where he had built a basilica. He is celebrated as a saint in Usuard and the *Roman Martyrology*, April 12, thus: "S. Julius papa, qui adversus Arianos pro fide catholica plurimum laboravit, ac multis praeclare gestis, sanctitate celebris quiescit in pace. Sepultus via Aurelia."

In the *Liber Pontificalis*, and in *Bede's Martyrology*, he is said to have been banished for ten months, and to have returned to his see after the death of the emperor Constantius. This is manifestly erroneous, since Constantius undoubtedly survived him. The authorities for this life appear in the references that have been given. [J. B—y.]

JULIUS AFRICANUS. [AFRICANUS.]

JULIUS (6), bishop of Paphos, present at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, ii. 1059.) [L. D.]

JULIUS (7), African bishop, probably the same as Julianus (4), bearer of the letter to pope Innocent from the councils of Carthage and Milevis A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 181, 182; Tillemont, 264, vol. xiii. p. 693.) [H. W. P.]

JULIUS, of Cavaillon. [JULIANUS (18).]

JULIUS (8), 23rd bishop of Avignon in the list of Dom Polycarpe de la Rivière (*Gall. Christ.* i. 862). In the year 439 a Julius was present at the council of Riez in Narbonne (Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* v. 1195, Florence, 1759–98; cf. Bar. Pag. an. 439, n. xv.). He is said to have died in 449. His name does not appear in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 797), or in Gams's *Series Episc.* (p. 503). [S. A. B.]

JULIUS (9) (JULIANUS), bishop of Puteoli (*Gesta de Nom. Acacii*, in Labbe, iv. 1079 D), probably the bishop Julius to whom, A.D. 448, Leo the Great intrusted the execution of certain disciplinary measures in the church of Beneventum. [See DORUS, Leo Mag. *Ep.* xix. 736.] Certainly he, in company with Renatus the presbyter and Hilarus the deacon (q. v.), carried to Flavian of Constantinople the famous "tome" of

St. Leo in June 449, and acted as his legate in the "robber" council of Ephesus (Leo Mag. *Ep.* xxxiii. 866, Migne). The legates are described by Leo as sent "de latere meo" (*Ep.* xxxii. 859, xxxiv. 870. He was not the first pope to use this phrase; see p. 530 *sup.* and the Ballerini *in loc.* Migne). The fact that Julius appears in the "acta" of the council most frequently as Julianus has caused him to be confused with Julian of Cos. That it was this prelate, however, and not Julian of Cos, who was the papal legate at Ephesus is proved by Leo's letter to the latter (xxxiv. 870), and by the fact that the legate did not know Greek, which Julian of Cos certainly did (see JULIANUS; Labbe, iv. 121 B; see also Tillemont, xv. note 21, pp. 901–2). Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. x., Prosper, *Chron.* and *Gesta de Nom. Acac.* in Labbe, iv. 1079 D, call the papal legate Julius, not Julianus (see also Marianus Scotus, *Chron.* ann. 450 in *Pat. Lat.* cxlvii. 726). On Quesnel's hypothesis, that Julius and not Renatus died on the road to Ephesus, and that Julian took his place, cf. Tillemont, *l.c.*, and Hefele, *Concil.* ii. 368, 369. On their arrival at Ephesus the legates lodged with Flavian; it was on the ground that they had lived with him, and been tampered with by him (*συνεκροτήθησαν*, Lat. *munerati*), that Eutyches took exception to their impartiality as judges (Labbe, iv. 149 B).

The assertion of Liberatus (*Breviarium*, cap. xii.) that the Roman legates could not take part in the council ("assidere non *passi sunt*" are his words) because the precedence was not given to them as representing Rome, and because Leo's letter was not read, is not in harmony with the acta of the council (see Tillemont, xv. notes 26 and 27, p. 904). They undoubtedly did take part in the proceedings of the council, and Julius ranked after Dioscorus. His interpreter, as he could not speak Greek, was Florentius bishop of Sardis (Labbe, iv. 122 B). We read that he made several efforts to resist Dioscorus (q. v.), especially urging that Leo's letter should be read, but he does not seem to have been so prominent in opposition as Hilarus the deacon (Labbe, iv. 128 B, 149 B, 302 D). Leo, however, expresses high commendation of the conduct of his legates generally. They protested in the council, he says, and declared that no violence should sever them from the truth (*Ep.* 45, 922). He speaks to Theodosius, the emperor, of intelligence having been brought him of the acts of the synod by the bishop whom he had sent, as well as by the deacon (*Ep.* xliii. 902); but this in other letters (xliv. 911, xlv. 919) is corrected by the statement that only Hilarus made his escape to Rome. What happened to Julius we do not know, nor do we hear anything of him subsequently (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi. 272). Ughelli and Cappelletti (xix. 647, 669) name him Julianus and make him sixth bishop of Puteoli between Theodore and Stephen. [C. G.]

JULIUS (10), bishop of Magarmell, or Vagarmeli, in Numidia, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 211.) [R. S. G.]

JULIUS (11), bishop of Aegae (Ayas Kala), on the coast of Cilicia. Dionysius Telmarensis states that Julius was exiled by the emperor Justin I., in the year A.D. 518, for maintaining Monophysite opinions. (Assemann. *Dissert. de Monoph.* num. ii. p. 3 in *Bibl. Orient.* ii.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 896.) [J. de S.]

JULIUS, of Grumentum. [JULIANUS (46).]

JULIUS (12), Oct. 22, martyr commemorated by the Copts and Abyssinians, and thought to have suffered before Constantine. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 537.) [G. T. S.]

JULIUS (13), Aug. 19, senator and martyr at Rome under Commodus. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Roman.*) [C. H.]

JULIUS (14), martyr at Dorostorum (Silistria) in Moesia in the reign of Alexander Severus. Commemorated on May 27. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Roman.*) [C. H.]

JULIUS (15), said to have been martyred with Aaron at Caerleon-upon-Usk in the persecution of Diocletian, 304, but the story is doubtful. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 96; *Liber Landavensis*, 27, 215; Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 6, 30.) [C. W. B.]

JULIUS (16), one of the eighteen martyrs of Saragossa, commemorated April 16. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JULIUS (17), priest, with his brother Julianus, deacon, are commemorated on Jan. 31 (Boll. *Acta SS.* 31 Jan. ii. 1101). See also the *Auctaria* of Usuardus, *Mart. Auct.* [J. G.]

JULIUS (18), martyr with Potamia in the city of Thagura or Tagora, an episcopal city in Numidia, commemorated on Dec. 5. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Mart. Roman.*; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 300.) [C. H.]

JULIUS (19), martyr at Geldaba or Gildoba (a place not identified) in Thrace; commemorated on Dec. 20. (Usuard. *Mart.* and note· *Mart. Roman.*) [C. H.]

JULIUS (20), one of the deacons anathematised along with Arius by Alexander bishop of Alexandria. (Theod. *H. E.* i. 3 al. 4, s. f.) [C. H.]

JULIUS (21), an Arian presbyter of Alexandria, expelled together with Arius by bishop Alexander, and restored by the emperor Constantius in the time of Athanasius. (Athan. *Hist. Ar.* §71.) [C. H.]

JUMAELUS (JUMAHEL, JUNEME), ninth bishop of Dol, in Brittany, perhaps near the beginning of the 8th century; it is not certain that he is distinct from Juthinaelus, the eleventh bishop. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 1041.) [S. A. B.]

JUNABUI, pupil of St. Dubricius at Hentland, Herefordshire, in the 5th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 315–321, 316, 324, 409, 624.) [J. G.]

JUNAN is noticed by Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 200) at Dec. 2 as one who flourished with great favour and authority in Scotland in the reign of Kenneth II. If Junan be one of the many forms of Adamnan, he lived about a century from either of the Kenneths, but he may have been a different person. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 242, 360.) [J. G.]

JUNCUS, ST., the patron saint of Pelynt, near Looe, in Cornwall (William of Worcester, 114), but his church is now dedicated to St. Mary, as in so many other cases, St. Mary being a favourite dedication in later times.

[C. W. B.]

JUNEME, bishop of Dol. [JUMAELUS.]

JUNEMENUS, bishop of Dol. [JUTHINAELUS.]

JUNIANUS (1), Donatist bishop of Lamiggiga in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 645), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 133.)

[H. W. P.]

JUNIANUS (2), bishop of Simina, in Proconsular Africa, was at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 647; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 281.)

[R. S. G.]

JUNIANUS (3), anchoret at Limoges, commemorated on Oct. 16, with St. Amandus his master (Boll. *Acta SS.* 16 Oct. vii. 848 sq.). His name appears frequently in the Martyrologies (Boll. *ib.* 841; Usuardus, *Mart. Auct.* Oct. 16), and the miracles wrought at his tomb upon the blind and paralytic are affirmed on personal knowledge by St. Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Conf.* c. 103), within sixty years after his death. See also Murray's *Handbook of France*, p. 244.

[J. G.]

JUNIANUS (4), Aug. 13, founder and first abbat of the monastery of Mariacum (Maire), in the 6th century. We are indebted for all we know of him to a life written in the reign of Louis the Pious, by Vulfinus Boëtius. The biographer's distance from the events he relates—nearly two centuries and a half—would detract largely from the value of his narrative, unless, as the critics assert, he merely retouched an older life, which they suppose to have been written by Auremundus, the saint's disciple and successor in the abbacy. (See *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 537, and Ceillier, xi. 693, xii. 364.) This life is to be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 307–319, Paris, 1688–1701, and in Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 38–46. It was also published by Labbe, and part of it is incorporated into Duchesne's *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, tom. i. 542–544, as bearing on French history. (*Hist. Litt.* iv. 500, 501.)

[S. A. B.]

JUNILIUS (Ἰουνίλιος, JUNILLUS), an African by birth, whence he is commonly known as Junilius Africanus. He filled for seven years in the court of the emperor Justinian the important office of quaestor of the sacred palace, in which office he succeeded the celebrated Tribonian (Procop. *Anecd.* c. 20). The same authority informs us that on the death of Junilius, he was succeeded by Constantine, whom the Acts of the 5th general council shew to have held the office in A.D. 553. The death of Junilius may therefore be placed a year or two earlier. This office of quaestor was one of a judicial character, and in particular all appeals from the provinces would come before him for examination. We may be sure that this office would only be conferred on one who had distinguished himself by successful practice as a lawyer. Procopius, however, describes Junilius as ignorant of law, as acquainted only with Latin literature, as never having received any proper education in Greek, as speaking that language in such a way as often to excite the laughter of his attendants, and as disgracefully avaricious and corrupt in the administration of his office. We must not lay too much stress on this disparaging account of Procopius, the slanderous character of whose Secret History is well known. Junilius, though a layman, took great interest in theological studies. The theological activity of Justinian having made it necessary that a deputation of African bishops should visit Constantinople, one of them, PRIMASIUS of Adrumetum (*q. v.*), naturally came into conversation with his distinguished countryman, Junilius. Primasius made it his business to enquire who among the Greeks was distinguished as a theologian, to which Junilius replied that he knew one Paul [PAUL OF NISIBIS], a Persian by race, who had been educated in the school of the Syrians at Nisibis, where theology was taught by public masters in the same systematic manner as the secular studies of grammar and rhetoric were expounded elsewhere. On further enquiry Junilius owned that he was in possession of an introduction to the Scriptures by this Paul, which on the solicitation of Primasius he translated into Latin, merely altering it by breaking it up into question and answer, so as to throw it into the catechetical form. Kihn identifies this work of Paul with that which Ebedjesu (Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* III. i. 87; Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 369) calls Maschelmonutho desurtho ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܣܘܪܬܐ. The work of Junilius was called "Instituta regularia divinae legis," but is commonly known as "De partibus divinae legis," a title which really is only that of the first chapter. Junilius, speaking of the two books of which his work consists, modestly contrasts himself with those who had brought into the Lord's treasury gold, silver, or precious stones: he, like the poor widow, had thrown in all he had, only two mites, and those borrowed. The scientific logical arrangement of this work soon gained for it popularity in the West, and shortly after its publication Junilius is named by Cassiodorus (*Institut.* i. 10) among the "Introductores divinae Scripturae." Several MSS. of it are extant. The first printed edition was published by Gastius, Basle, 1545. It has been since often reprinted in libraries of the Fathers, among which we only think it necessary to name Galland, vol. xii., Migne, vol. lxviii. The latest and best edition, for which 13 MSS. have been collated, is by Professor Kihn of Würzburg (Kihn: *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, Freiburg, 1880), a work admirable for the thoroughness of its investigations; and it may be said that few commentators have done more to throw light on their author than Kihn has done for Junilius.

Works on ecclesiastical writers had almost with one consent represented Junilius as an African bishop, and Utica had been conjectured as possibly his see. Galland, though unwilling to oppose the prevalent opinion, had expressed himself as not satisfied with the evidence for it. Kihn reports that of the 13 MSS. which he had consulted, only 4, and these clearly derived from a common source, give Junilius the appellation of bishop, and that not in the title but

in the subscription at the end, a place where copyists are often bountiful of titles of honour. The work itself, dedicated to "his most reverend father Primasius," and speaking in the third person of the "fellow bishops of Primasius," gives no hint that the author claimed like dignity for himself. Kihn found new evidence to throw doubt on the episcopal character of Junilius. To the account which we gave (Vol. II. p. 583) of the writings of FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS must be added that there were published by Reifferscheid, in 1872, in a Programme of the University of Breslau (*Index Scholarum*, &c.) under the name of *Anecdota Casinensia*, some remains drawn from the library of Monte Casino, and that these included five previously unpublished letters by Ferrandus. One of these was a letter of recommendation addressed to Junilius, and from a comparison with the forms of address used in other letters sent to ecclesiastics, Kihn concluded that Junilius could not have been a bishop, nor even a priest or deacon. The address gives him the title "illustris," and Kihn perceived that, according to the usage of the time, this could not be taken for a mere complimentary epithet, but must have been a title to which his correspondent had an official right. On examining what offices conferred this title, he found that they were only those of the very highest rank, and among these he found only two which it was likely Junilius could have held; that of Master of the Offices and Quaestor, and of these the latter seemed to him the most probable; but he long searched in vain for evidence that Junilius had held either office, and it was only when after repeated disappointments his hopes had sunk to zero, that his sagacious research was rewarded by finding in Procopius the account which we have already given, completely establishing the conclusion at which he had on other grounds already arrived. The chief importance of this result is that we learn that the work of Junilius does not, as has been often assumed, represent an African school of theology, but the Syrian; and in fact Kihn conclusively shews that the work (although possibly Junilius was not aware of it himself) is all founded on the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*q. v.*).

Junilius divides the books of Scripture into two classes. The first, which alone he calls Canonical Scripture, are of perfect authority; the second added by many (plures adjungunt) are of secondary (mediae) authority; all other books are thrown into a third class as of no authority. The first class consists of—(1) *Historical Books*: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, and in the N. T. the four Gospels and Acts; (2) (*Prophetical*, in which what is evidently intended for a chronological arrangement is substituted for that more usual): Psalms, Hosea, Isaiah, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. As for John's Apocalypse he says that amongst the Easterns it is much doubted of. (3) *Proverbial or parabolic*: the Proverbs of Solomon and the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach. (4) *Doctrinal*: Ecclesiastes, the 14 Epistles of St. Paul in the order now usual, including that to the Hebrews, the first epistle of St. Peter, and that of St. John. In his second class he counts as added by very many—(1) *Historical*: Chronicles, Job, Esdras (no doubt including Nehemiah), Judith, Esther, and Maccabees; (3) *Proverbial*: Wisdom and the Song of Songs; (4) *Doctrinal*: the Epistles of James, 2 Peter, Jude, 2, 3 John. This list makes no express mention of the Lamentations nor of Baruch, which no doubt were included in Jeremiah, nor of the book of Tobit, which book however is quoted in a later part of the treatise. Kihn is no doubt right in regarding the omission of Tobit as being due only to the accidental error of an early transcriber; for it is not conceivable that a writer of the time should have designedly refused to include Tobit even in his list of deuterocanonical books. Junilius gives as a reason for not reckoning the books of the second class as canonical that the Hebrews make this difference, as Jerome and others testify. This is clearly incorrect with regard to several of the books in question, and one is tempted to think (though Kihn is of a different opinion) that Junilius himself added this reference to Jerome, and did not find it in his Greek original. The low place assigned to the book of Job and to the Song of Solomon is in accordance with the estimate of these books formed by Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is to be noted that Junilius quotes as Peter's a passage from his second epistle, which he had not admitted into his list of canonical books. It is to be remarked also that he describes the Psalms and the books of Ecclesiastes and Job as written in metre (see Bickell, *Metrices biblicae regulae*). The work of Junilius presents a great number of other points of interest (as for example his answer, ii. 29, to the question how we prove the books of Scripture to have been written by divine inspiration) on which we have not space to enlarge.

As the date of publication of the work of Junilius, Kihn assigns the year 551, in which year the chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis records the presence at Constantinople of the African bishops Reparatus, Firmus, Primasius, and Verecundus. He makes it probable that Junilius might have met Paul of Nisibis at Constantinople as early as 543. We do not venture to oppose the judgment of one entitled to speak with so high authority; but it would have seemed to us probable that the introduction into the West of this product of the Nestorian school of theology took place at an earlier period of the controversy about the Three Chapters than 551. It is of course by no means unlikely that Primasius paid earlier visits to Constantinople than that of which we have evidence on record. A commentary on the first chapter of Genesis had been ascribed to Junilius, but clearly wrongly. It is now generally attributed to Bede.

[G. S.]

JUNILLA (JONILLA, JOVILLA), martyr at Langres, c. A.D. 189, commemorated Jan. 17. (Basil. *Menol.* ii. 115; Tillem. *Mém.* iii. 41, 608; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 179, xxxvii.) [C. H.]

JUNIOR (1), Donatist bishop of Rusicade. [FAUSTINIANUS (5).] [H. W. P.]

JUNIOR (2), bishop of Tigillaba, in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 322.)

[R. S. G.]

JUNIOR (2), bishop of Verona, at the end of the 6th century. (Mansi, x. 466; Hefele, § 281; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 589; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 749; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. ii. 3; see also Paulus Diaconus, iii. 26.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUNIUS (1) (Cyp. *Ep.* 57), fifth bishop in title of Ep. Syn. Carth. 2, sub Cyp. *de Pace*, *Ep.* 70; third bishop in title of Ep. Syn. Carth. 5, sub Cyp. *de Bap.* i. [E. W. B.]

JUNIUS (2) (*Sentt. Epp.*), eighty-sixth suffrage in Syn. Carth. 7, sub Cyp. *de Bap.* 3, bishop of Neapolis (? Tripolis). His signature next to bishop of Oea seems to indicate that Neapolis was in prov. Trip. (Morcelli). [E. W. B.]

JUNIUS (3), a short-hand writer (exceptor). [EDESIUS (2).] [H. W. P.]

JURANUS is the second in the list of seven hermits from an island in the Tiber, who accompanied St. Regulus into Scotland in the reign of King Hungus. (Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 187; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 360.) [J. G.]

JURATA, Donatist bishop of Turretamallia, Turris Tamallensis, or Turris Tamalleni, a fortified town on the borders of Byzacene and Tripolis (Ant. *Itin.* 74, 3) (Telemin), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411, i. 126, 208. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 208, 458, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

JURWINUS (JURMANUS, JURMINUS), a son (according to the *Historia Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, p. 15) of Anna, king of the East Angles, by his wife Hereswitha, and brother of the king Aldulf, of Sexburga, Ethelberga of Brie, Etheldreda of Ely, and Wihtberga of Dereham. This account is, however, certainly erroneous; Hereswitha being the wife of Ethelhere and not of Anna. William of Malmesbury, who gives him the name of Germinus (*G. P.* lib. ii. § 74), mentions his tomb at Bury St. Edmunds, but adds that he had not been able to discover what his achievements were. The author of the *Historia Eliensis*, referring to the *Gesta Pontificum Angliae*, must have had the work of William of Malmesbury in view, although he could have found there no evidence of the sanctity of life and justice which he attributed to Germinus. [S.]

JUSTA (1), May 14, martyr with Justina and Heredina in Sardinia according to local tradition, which variously names the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Diocletian as the period. (Boll. *Acta. SS.* Mai. iii. 271.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTA (2), Aug. 1, virgin martyr at Aquila, a town of the Vestini near Amiternum in Italy, probably in the persecution of Diocletian. (*Acta SS.* Aug. i. 38.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTA (3), and her sister Rufina, virgin martyrs in the 3rd century, were natives of Seville. They are said to have suffered in A.D. 287. They are commemorated July 19. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 276; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* iv. 163; Boll. *AA. SS.* Jul. iv. 583; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 284; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de Canones de la Eglesia Española*, ii. 87; Usuard. *Mart.* in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 275.) [F. D.]

JUSTA (4), one of five martyrs at Carthage, buried in the basilica of Faustus, commemorated on July 15. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [CATULINUS.] [C. H.]

JUSTA (5), daughter of the emperor Valentinian I. She was unmarried. (Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 31; Ducange, *Fam. Aug.* p. 59.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTAN (JUSTIN, JUSTUS), surnamed Lene, is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tallaght*, at July 29, and is supposed by Colgan to be the Justus whom St. Patrick left as a deacon at the church of Fidhart in Ui-Maine, and who is said in the same *Life of St. Patrick* to have lived to such an age as, when 140 years old, to have baptized St. Ciaran (Sept. 9) of Clonmacnoise from the service book given him by St. Patrick. Colgan also imagines that he may be the Justin whom St. Patrick left as a presbyter at the church of Ardbraccan with the Ui Tortain. If there be truth in this, he was Justus, son of Fergus, son of Enda Niadh, son of Breasal Brealach, who died A.D. 435 (*Four Mast.*); but the dates present the difficulty of a great-grandson of Breasal being a priest in the time of St. Patrick. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 136, c. 49, 151, c. 14, 177, n. [95], 184, n. [24], 267, col. 1, and *Acta SS.* 312, c. 5, 313, n. [16]; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 279.) [J. G.]

JUSTIANUS (1) (JUSTINIANUS), bishop of Vercellae, present at the council held under Eusebius of Milan, A.D. 451. He subscribes the synodical letter of the council to Leo the Great (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 97, 1084; *Italia Sacra*, iv. 762). He is commemorated as a saint on March 21. (Bolland. *AA. SS.* March, vol. iii. 262; Capelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 366.) [C. G.]

JUSTIANUS (2) (JUSTINIANUS), named by Tirechan among the disciples of St. Patrick (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 518), and called Mac Hy. He is probably Justus the deacon or Justus the priest. [JUSTAN.] [J. G.]

JUSTINA (1), Oct. 7, virgin and supposed martyr under Nero or Maximian. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 Oct. iii. 790.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTINA (2), martyr. [JUSTA (1).]

JUSTINA (3), July 13, reputed martyr at Tergestum (Trieste) in 289. Her legend is substantially the same as that of Dorothea, with an alteration of the names, Theophilus in the legend of Dorothea being Zeno in that of Justina. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 483.) [C. H.]

JUSTINA (4), virgin martyr at Antioch, commemorated by the Greeks on Oct. 2 (*Menaea*; Basil. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.), and by the Latins on Sept. 26 (Bede, Usuard, *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Ado). Her history is contained in that of St. Cyprian the martyr of Antioch [CYPRIANUS (2)]. Gregory Nazianzen, in his oration on the martyrdom of Cyprian (orat. 18 al. 24), refers to her much. Aldhelm dwells on her story in his metrical work, *De Laudibus Virginum* (p. 186, ed. Giles), and in his prose treatise *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (§ 43, Giles, p. 57). Cleus the Bollandist (*Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 195) elaborately examines all that has been written of the two martyrs. [C. H.]

JUSTINA (5), empress, second wife of Valentinian I., was a Sicilian by birth, and was, according to Zosimus (iv. 19 and 43), the widow of Magnentius, who had been killed in A.D. 353. Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 31) gives a romantic account, which Tillemont (*Emp.* v. 682) proves to be unfounded, of how the empress Severa by her praises of the beauty of her friend Justina so inflamed the passions of Valentinian, that he passed a law legalizing polygamy, and availed himself of it to marry Justina in the lifetime of Severa. In reality it is probable that Valentinian divorced his first wife for some reason or other (*Chron. Pasch.* 302), and then espoused Justina. The date of the marriage was probably A.D. 368.

Justina was an Arian, but during her husband's lifetime concealed her opinions (Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxi. 523). She, however, endeavoured to prevent him from allowing St. Martin of Tours to enter his presence (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* ii. in *Patr. Lat.* xx. 205). In A.D. 375, with her infant son Valentinian, she accompanied her husband to Pannonia, and when he died at Bregetio, on Nov. 17, was at Murocincta or Acincta (Buda), a hundred miles away. The soldiers, six days after Valentinian's death, proclaimed her son Valentinian, then a boy about five years old, emperor, jointly with his brother Gratian and his uncle Valens; Italy, Illyricum and Africa being the portion of the empire allotted to him, an arrangement afterwards recognized by Gratian, who, however, apparently kept the government of the whole of the West in his own hands till his death in A.D. 383. (See Tillemont's arguments on the subject, *Emp.* v. 705–709.) Justina at once took advantage of the influence which her position as mother of the infant emperor gave her to advance the interests of her sect. In pursuing this object she soon came into collision with St. Ambrose. The first contest between them was probably about A.D. 380, when St. Ambrose was summoned to Sirmium to take part in the consecration of Anemius as bishop of that see; the empress, on the other hand, being desirous that the new bishop should be consecrated by the Arians. According to Paulinus (*Vita S. Ambrosii*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xiv. 30), a miracle terrified the opponents of St. Ambrose, and the Catholics were allowed to consecrate their bishop in peace. The sequestration by Gratian of a basilica at Milan, which he afterwards restored, an event which happened about this time, is with considerable probability referred to Justina's influence (S. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, i. 1. 604, in *Patr. Lat.* xvi. 709).

After the murder of Gratian and the seizure by Maximus of Spain, Gaul, and Britain in A.D. 383, Justina, who, with her infant son, had taken up her residence in the Imperial Palace at Milan, had recourse to her former opponent St. Ambrose. She placed her son in his hands, and induced him to undertake the delicate task of going as ambassador to Maximus in order to persuade him to be contented with the provinces that had been Gratian's, and to leave Valentinian in undisturbed possession of Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum (S. Ambrose, *Epp.* 20, 21, 24; Id. *De Obitu Valentiniani*, 1182 in *Patr. Lat.* xvi. 1001, 1007, 1035, 1368). His mission was successful, at any rate for a time, but the ungrateful Justina, when he had hardly returned a year, began to assail him at Easter, 385, with the object of obtaining one of the churches at Milan for the use of her fellow Arians. For an account of this memorable struggle see AMBROSIUS (Vol. I. 94, 95). It should be added that by a constitution (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 1, 4), dated January 21, A.D. 386, and drawn up by her direction (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 13), those who held the opinions sanctioned by the Council of Ariminum were granted the right of meeting for public worship, Catholics being forbidden under pain of death to offer any opposition or even to endeavour secretly to get the law repealed.

If Paulinus may be believed (*Vita S. Ambrosii*, 20), Justina, in addition to her open attacks on St. Ambrose, twice sent persons to assassinate him, but on each occasion he was miraculously preserved. Notwithstanding her ill-treatment of St. Ambrose, when danger again threatened, Justina once more had recourse to his services. After Easter, A.D. 387, he was sent to Trier to ask that the body of Gratian should be restored to his brother, and to avert Maximus's threatened invasion of Italy (*Ep.* 24). His mission was unsuccessful; Maximus crossed the Alps in the autumn, and made himself master of Italy without striking a blow. Valentinian and his mother and sisters fled by sea to Thessalonica, whence she sent to Theodosius imploring his help. Zosimus (iv. 44) narrates how she overcame his reluctance by the charms of her daughter, the beautiful Galla, whose hand was the reward of his assistance. Tillemont indeed (*Emp.* v. 740) doubts the story, as Marcellinus states that Galla went to Constantinople in A.D. 386, but he does not state that the marriage took place in that year, and the Duc de Broglie (*L'Église et l'Empire*, iii. 228), gives conclusive reasons for preferring the later date.

While Theodosius prepared to invade Italy by land a naval expedition was despatched against Rome. According to Zosimus (iv. 45, 46), Justina and her son accompanied the fleet, evaded the squadron under Andragathius, and reached Italy, but this statement is wrong as regards Valentinian, and probably is equally so as regards his mother. Some time in A.D. 388, the year of her son's restoration, Justina died (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 14; Rufinus, *H. E.* ii. 17). Besides Valentinian and Galla she had by Valentinian two daughters, Grata and Justa, who died unmarried (Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 31).

[F. D.]

JUSTINIANUS (1), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia between Justinus and Antoninus, cir. 237. It seems an inadvertence in Gams (*Ser. Episc.* p. 419) to call him Justinianus II. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* i. 599.)

[J. de S.]

JUSTINIANUS (2), bishop of the Rauraci, recorded as attending the (apocryphal) council of Cologne, A.D. 346 (Mansi, ii. 1371). A Justinianus occurs among the bishops (under the head of Gallia) who accepted the Sardican decrees (A.D. 343), but are recorded without sees (Mansi, iii. 67), but there is no bishop of this name in the Ballerini list of those who attended the council (*ib.* iii. 43). The

Sammarthani reckon him as the first known bishop of Basel, his successor being Pantalus (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 426). [R. T. S.]

JUSTINIANUS (3) (STINAN), Aug. 23, said to have come from Brittany to Wales in the time of St. David (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 238; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 160). The existence of a ruined chapel dedicated to St. Stinan, near St. David's in Pembrokeshire, seems to make his existence probable. There is a church of Llanstinan in the same county. [C. W. B.]

JUSTINIANUS (4), bishop of Valencia towards the middle of the 6th century. Isidore gives a short biography of him in his *De Viris Ill.* (cap. 33). According to Isidore Justinianus wrote a book of *responsiones* addressed to a certain Rusticus in confutation of various Arian and Donatist errors. It is the opinion of certain modern scholars that the work current under the name of Ildefonsus, *Liber de Cognitione Baptismi*, is only a working-up by him of the earlier work of Justinianus described by Isidore. (See art. ILDEFONSUS; Helfferich, *Der Westgothische Arianismus*, pp. 41–49; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 1, 455.) Justinianus flourished under Theudes (531–546), and subscribed the acts of the council of Valencia in the fifteenth year of that king (A.D. 546). (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 158; Cave, i. 511; Ceillier, xi. 265.) [M. A. W.]

JUSTINIANUS (5), bishop of Abula (Avila) in 610 (?). His signature appears among those of the disputed *Decretum Gundemari*. [GUNTHIMAR.] (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 21.) [PRISCILLIAN.] [M. A. W.]

JUSTINIANUS, bishop of Vercellae [JUSTIANUS (1)]; of Tyana [JUSTINUS (20)].

JUSTINIANUS (6) I., Roman emperor (527–565). The account to be given here may be conveniently divided into five heads: (1) the life and personal character of Justinian; (2) his foreign policy and the leading political events of his reign; (3) his internal administration of the Roman empire; (4) his ecclesiastical policy and position; (5) his legislative work as a codifier and reformer of the law and a creator of new law.

I. *Life and Character.*—Justinian was born at Tauresium, a place on the borders of Illyricum and Macedonia, close to the fortress of Bederiana. It was in the district called Dardania, and has commonly been identified with the modern town of Giustendil; but it has lately been remarked that Giustendil is too far from the spot to which other evidence points, and Uskiub, the ancient Scupi, is suggested by an accomplished traveller as more probably the birthplace of the emperor (see Procop. *Aedif.* iv. 1, and Tozer, *Highlands of European Turkey*, ii. p. 370). After he came to the throne, he built at his birthplace a city which he named Justiniana Prima, and made the capital of the province and seat of an archbishop. His father's name was Istok, which is Latinized or Graecized as Sabatius; his mother's, Biglenixa, Latinized into Vigilantia. His own name is said to have been Uprauda, of which Justinianus, it has been suggested, was a translation, though as Justinianus seems a name drawn from that of his uncle Justinus, by whom he was adopted, it is more likely that if there be any relation (which after all is improbable) between the barbarian and the Roman names, it is with Justinus that Uprauda might rather be connected. The word Uprauda has been supposed to point to a Gothic origin; and we know that there were many Goths scattered over Illyricum. But Vpravda is an older form of the Slavonic word Pravda, meaning straight or right; so more probably the name is Slavonic, and Justinian himself the offspring of one of those Slavic families which had settled in Macedonia in the middle of the fifth century. Istok and Biglenixa have also a Slavonic sound (see Schafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer*, vol. ii. p. 160, of German translation, and Ujfalvy: *Imperator Justinianus Genti Slavicae vindicatus*) Anyhow, it is clear that he was a barbarian, who probably learnt Latin before he learnt Greek, and who always continued to speak Greek with a marked foreign accent (Proc. *Anecd.* 14). The year of his birth is not certain; A.D. 483 seems the most probable date. Early in life he came to Constantinople, and attached himself to the fortunes of his uncle Justin, a soldier from the same district, who, by service in the imperial guards under the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, had risen to high place. There is a story (see Alemanni, professing to quote Theophilus, in notes to c. 9 of Proc. *Anecd.*) that Justinian was at one time sent as a hostage to the court of Theodoric in Italy, as Theodoric himself had been in his youth a hostage at Constantinople. If it be true, this would have given him an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the condition of Italy under Ostrogothic rule, which might have contributed to the success of his subsequent enterprises there. There is nothing to shew how old Justinian was when he came to the Eastern capital; but we hear that he diligently prosecuted his education there in law and theology as well as in general literature, and the influence of his uncle would no doubt procure for him employment in the civil service of the state. When he was thirty-five years of age the emperor Anastasius died, and Justin stepped without opposition into the vacant throne. He was an illiterate soldier, and weakened by age, so that the help of his more active nephew was valuable, and, indeed, almost necessary to him. We gather from several authorities that while the conduct of legal and judicial business was left, at least at first, in the hands of the quaestor Proclus (Proc. *Anecd.* c. 6), the ecclesiastical affairs and the general administration of the state fell under the control of Justinian. He became consul in A.D. 521, entered the senate, and was ultimately appointed master-general of the army in the East (Proc. *Pers.* c. 12). Justinian became co-emperor with Justin in A.D. 527, having for some time previous been regarded as his uncle's probable successor (Proc. *Pers.* c. 11), since Justin had no children, and on Justin's death, a month later, he assumed without question the sole sovereignty of the Roman world, and retained it till his death in A.D. 565, at the age of 82, when he was peaceably succeeded by his nephew Justin II.

In A.D. 526 he married Theodora, a woman of singular beauty, and still more remarkable charms of manner and intellect. According to

Procopius the empress Euphemia (originally called Lupicina), wife of Justin, was vehemently opposed to the marriage, and Justinian had to wait till after her death (*Anecd.* cap. 9). Theodora is said to have been a native of Cyprus, and had been a comedian, so that her lover was forced before the wedding could take place to obtain from the emperor Justin the repeal of a law which forbade the marriage of actresses with persons of the highest rank (see Cod. v. 5, 23). The gossip of the time, starting from this undoubted fact, made very free with her life, adventures, and character. It has accumulated in the *Anecdota*, or unpublished memoirs, ascribed to, and no doubt written by (although there has been a controversy on the point), Procopius, a variety of scandalous tales regarding her earlier career, the truth of which it is unnecessary to discuss here [see THEODORA]. She soon acquired an almost unbounded dominion over Justinian's mind, and was commonly regarded as the source of many of his schemes and enterprises. She died in A.D. 548, and the emperor did not marry again.

Although most of what we know directly about Justinian comes from Procopius (*q. v.*), this does not diminish the difficulty of forming a comprehensive and consistent view of his abilities and character. For while Procopius, in the works which were written for publication, and published during his own and Justinian's lifetime, the histories of the African, Gothic, and Persian wars, has spoken, not indeed with servility, but with that guarded respect which a despotic sovereign may expect, and in the *De Aedificiis*, which looks as if it was written at the express direction of Justinian in a kind of official way, has loaded the emperor with fulsome praise—he turns round and reviles him in the *Anecdota* (which did not appear till after—probably long after—the author's death) with a bitterness which to some extent defeats his purpose. [See PROCOPIUS.] Setting aside exaggerations in both directions, it may be concluded that Justinian was a man of considerable, if not first-rate abilities. He was well-educated, according to the ideas and customs of the time, and more or less conversant with many branches of knowledge. Procopius accuses him of being a barbarian both in mind and speech, which probably means only that he spoke Greek like an Illyrian provincial (*Anecd.* c. 14). Of his action in legal and theological matters it will be necessary to speak at length in a later part of this article. His artistic taste is evidenced by the many beautiful buildings which he erected in different parts of the empire, two among which—those of St. Sophia at Constantinople and St. Vitalis at Ravenna (though it does not appear that he had any share in designing this latter)—have had the unique distinction of becoming architectural models for subsequent ages, the one for the East and the other for the West. Several hymns still used in the orthodox Eastern church are ascribed to his pen, and he is the author of a treatise against the Monophysites, which Cardinal Mai has published. The records of his government and administration shew him to have been possessed of great ingenuity and enterprise, but the enterprise was often prompted more by vanity and the lust of power than by a regard to the welfare of his people, and his ingenuity was not guided or controlled by prudence, or by a solid knowledge of the economical conditions of prosperity. There was much more cleverness than wisdom about him; we see in his policy few indications of deep and statesmanlike foresight. The chief feature of his character, however, and that to which his fame and greatness are chiefly due, is his extraordinary industry and assiduity. He seemed to live for work, and toiled upon the throne harder than any clerk in his own service. Activity—restless and unwearied activity—which insisted on dealing with every subject, and very often on making changes for the mere sake of change, is the quality in him of which we derive the most distinct impression, both from the open praise and the secret censure of Procopius, as well as from the official records of his work. With this industry, he was naturally also abstemious and regular in his life and habits, observing the fasts of the church very strictly, able to go without food for a long period, taking little sleep, and spending most of his time, when not actually giving audiences, in pacing up and down the rooms of the palace listening to readers or dictating to an amanuensis. In fact, he cared little for any of the more vulgar pleasures (though he shewed an excessive partiality for the blue faction, he does not appear to have been personally addicted to the games of the circus); and he yielded to no influences except those of his wife Theodora. We are told that he was easy of access—a rare merit in the despotic centre of a highly formal court—pleasant and reassuring in his manners, but also deceitful, and capable both of treachery and of ingratitude, the proverbial vice of princes. How far this ingratitude was in the most notable case, that of Belisarius, excused by apprehensions of danger, is a problem not wholly solved or soluble. Wantonly cruel he does not seem to have been, and on several occasions he shewed an unexpected clemency, but his heart was a cold one, which shrank from no severities that his intellect judged useful.

In person he was well formed, rather above the middle height, with a ruddy and smiling countenance. Besides his effigy on coins, we have two probably contemporary portraits among the mosaics of Ravenna, one in the apse of the church of San Vitale, built in his reign, in which he appears among a number of other figures, the other now detached from its place, wherever that was, and preserved in the noble church of Sant' Apollinare in Urbe. They shew the same face, but the stiffness of the material makes it doubtful how far the portrait can be considered faithful. There is a certain air of gravity and thoughtfulness about the countenance and of dignity in the figure in the San Vitale mosaic. It bears a pretty close resemblance to his effigy on his coins.

II. The political events of Justinian's reign belong rather to the general history of the time than to an account of his own life. They may be read in the treatises of Procopius on the Vandalic war, the Gothic war, and the Persian war [see PROCOPIUS], in the narrative of Agathias, who continues Procopius from A.D. 552 to 558, in Theophanes's *Chronographia* (all three in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians), in the ecclesiastical history of Eva-

grius, and in several other authorities of less importance, who may be found referred to in Gibbon (who has given in his fortieth and three following chapters a full and brilliant picture of Justinian's times), and in Le Beau (*Histoire du Bas Empire*, vols. viii. and ix., with St. Martin's notes). Finlay (*Greece under the Romans*, vol. i. of new edition) has some valuable remarks, as also Hertzberg, *Griechenland unter der Römer*, vol. iii.; see also Dahn, *Prokopios von Caesarea*.

At Justinian's accession the empire was generally at peace; though the Danubian frontier was disturbed by the inroads of the barbarian tribes; and hostilities lingered on with the Persians, then ruled by Kobad (Cabades), in Mesopotamia and Armenia. In Italy the great Theodoric had just died, and the East Gothic sceptre had descended to his grandson Athalaric, whose mother, Amalasuntha, was acting as regent. The Vandal Hilderic was reigning in Africa; in Gaul Clovis had founded a great dominion, and reduced to a more or less dependent position the Visigeths and Burgundians. There is nothing to shew that Justinian had before his accession meditated any large schemes of conquest; but when the opportunity offered he embraced it eagerly. A revolt had taken place among the Vandals against Hilderic; and the Roman population of the province of Tripoli, refusing to acknowledge Gelimer, who had seized the crown, applied for aid to Justinian. An expedition was despatched in A.D. 533, under Belisarius, which landed without opposition, defeated Gelimer in two comparatively slight engagements, and reduced the whole Vandal kingdom to submission in the space of little more than three months. That the conquest was accomplished with so much ease is probably to be ascribed to the sympathy which the Roman population shewed to invaders of their own faith, the Vandals being not only Arians, but bigoted and persecuting Arians, and to the sluggishness of the Vandals themselves, who, never numerous, were scattered through their wide dominions, and had been effeminated by luxury and security. Not long after Gelimer was himself taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople. The Vandals who survived the war seem to have been rapidly absorbed into the African population; anyhow, we hear no more of them. The fleet of Belisarius received in rapid succession the submission of Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles, all of which had obeyed the naval power of the Vandals. Orthodoxy was re-established there and in Africa. By a Constitution addressed to Solomon, the praetorian prefect in Africa, Justinian directed the laws against heretics to be put in force against the Arians and Donatists in Africa, and their meetings to be altogether forbidden (see the Constitution in Baronius ad ann. 535). The orthodox bishops met in a council, in which 207 prelates were present, and addressed a letter to pope John I. (Baron. ad ann. 535). This letter was answered by Agapetus, who had in the meantime succeeded on John's death. The orthodox churches of Africa were restored to the full enjoyment of their rights, property, and privileges. But the African church and province never regained its former prosperity. The misgovernment of the imperial lieutenants completed the ruin which the Vandals had begun, and the wild Moorish tribes encroached in all directions on the Roman population. A serious insurrection broke out in A.D. 543, and was suppressed with difficulty by the energy of Solomon, the governor of Africa. Another even more furious arose among the heathen Moors in A.D. 543. Solomon was killed and defeated by them. They maintained themselves in arms with more or less success for fifteen years. Great part of the country, once the most productive part of the Roman dominions, relapsed into solitude and neglect; the Christian part of the population was still divided by the mutual jealousies of Donatists, Arians, and orthodox. The ruin of these superb territories was completed by the Mohammedan conquerors of the succeeding century.

The success of his enterprise against the Vandals, which had appeared very hazardous to some of Justinian's wisest counsellors, encouraged him to attempt the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths, who had held it and Sicily since the invasion under Theodoric in A.D. 493–4. The circumstances were favourable to his designs of conquest, and if they did not suggest the latter, certainly quickened him in carrying them out.

Even in Theodoric's time the position of the East Gothic monarchy, though it included not only Italy but also Dalmatia, Illyricum, part of Pannonia, Rhoetia and Noricum, and the south-east corner of Gaul, though it exerted a kind of hegemony over Spain and the Germanic peoples to the north and north-east of Italy, was by no means secure. The Goths were a comparatively small Teutonic colony, almost isolated in this southern land. They were scattered in detached groups over it, numbering probably only some 700,000 in all, and they were more or less affected and weakened by a tendency to adopt the habits and ideas of the Italian population. Moreover, this very population regarded them with suspicion and dislike, not only as barbarian invaders, but also as Arian heretics. Theodoric had done his utmost to conciliate the pope and the orthodox clergy by confirming them in all their rights and giving no preference to ecclesiastics of his own sect. While the emperors were suspected of Monophysitism, these efforts of the Gothic king were fairly successful, since the schism between Rome and Constantinople prevented the orthodox Westerns from recognizing the Eastern monarch as the legitimate secular head of the Christian world. But when the orthodox Justin and Justinian had restored peace and cordiality between the Eastern and Western churches (*infr.* p. 545), the natural inclinations of the Italians towards a Roman emperor and an orthodox sovereign revived with full force, and became a source of serious danger to the Gothic power. It was probably his alarm at signs of this disaffection that impelled Theodoric to his severe treatment of Boethius and Symmachus. [See THEODORIC.] The perils, which were considerable even under his strong government, became far graver under his weak and distracted successors. Upon his death in A.D. 526, the crown passed to his grandson Athalaric, then a child, who nominally assumed the government after a few years, but being still a youth, and falling into a consumption, left the management of affairs to his mother Amalasuntha. She perceiving his approaching

end, knowing that the Goths would not brook the rule of a woman, and fearing the vengeance of the relatives of three Gothic nobles whom she had put to death, opened negotiations with Justinian, and even promised to surrender Italy to him on having her own safety ensured and being received at Constantinople. Meanwhile Athalaric died, and Amalasuntha, who could not bear to part with the power she had now so long wielded, placed on the throne beside herself her cousin Theodahad, the last male offspring of the Amal race, which was the first among the Goths, and usually gave kings to the nation. Theodahad was, however, equally cruel, cowardly, and incapable. He seized Amalasuntha, confined her in an island of the lake of Bolsena, and before long allowed her to be put to death there by the kinsfolk of the slain nobles. The empress Theodora has been accused of having caused this murder by private instructions given to Peter, Justinian's envoy in Italy; and the motive alleged is her fear that a woman of such high birth, finished education, and commanding gifts of character might, if permitted to come to Constantinople, shake Justinian's fidelity to herself (see Procop. *Anecdota*, c. 16). The story may be true; Theodora's character is not such as to make it improbable, but there is nothing either in the circumstances or in the authority of the person who relates it to require us to accept it. When Justinian heard of the queen's death, he declared war, and professed himself her avenger. An army was moved upon Dalmatia, which, in a few combats, drove the Goths from their posts there; and at the same time negotiations were opened with the Franks, whom the emperor invited to co-operate with him, as good Catholics, against the Arian Goths.

The emperors at Constantinople conceived themselves to have been ever since the extinction of the western branch of the empire in A.D. 476, *de jure* sovereigns of Italy and the whole West, regarding the Gothic kings partly as their lieutenants, partly as mere usurpers. Justinian therefore scarcely thought any pretext needed; so far as one was wanted, he found it in the death of Amalasuntha, who had placed herself under his protection, and in some petty grounds of complaint which he had against the Goths respecting Lilybaeum, the reception in Italy of deserters from his African army, and the treatment by the Goths of the Gepidae in Pannonia. Besides the Dalmatian force, he despatched Belisarius from Constantinople with a fleet, and over 7000 men, of whom 3000 were Isaurian infantry, in the autumn of 535. He first landed in Sicily, where there were but few Ostrogothic troops, and reduced it easily in a few weeks, meeting with no resistance except at Palermo. Then he attacked Italy, landing at Rhegium, and moving northwards with little opposition from the Goths and a more or less active welcome from the Roman population. The first serious resistance was made by Naples, where a small garrison, with a Gothic faction, consisting partly of Jews, among the townspeople held out with great courage twenty-one days. From Naples he advanced to Rome, and occupied it in December 536. The Ostrogoths had shortly before risen against the cowardly and worthless Theodahad, suspecting him of meaning to betray them to the emperor and thereby win his favour. In his place the army near Rome chose for king Witigis, a warrior whose mature age and experience atoned for the comparative humbleness of his origin. He seized and put to death Theodahad, and in order to strengthen his position divorced his own wife and married Matasuntha, a daughter of Amalasuntha, and thus a member of the Amal family. Witigis repaired to Ravenna to concentrate his scattered forces there and prepare for the campaign. He purchased peace and the promise of help from the Franks by ceding to them Theodoric's conquests in south-eastern Gaul, obtaining from a general assembly of the Gothic nation a ratification of his choice as king. Meanwhile not only had Belisarius begun to strengthen himself in Rome, but the whole south, east, and centre of Italy, including Tuscany, had come over to the emperor, the Gothic detachments either retiring northwards or themselves deserting. The Italian clergy seem to have been eager in welcoming the Eastern armies. Pope Silverius was foremost in urging the Romans to break the oath of fidelity they had just taken to Witigis, and the great senatorial families all obeyed the same impulse, partly perhaps from religious hostility to the Arians, partly from a natural pride which disliked Gothic rule, and which may have been strengthened by resentment for the executions of Boethius and Symmachus. When Witigis had gathered an army estimated at 150,000 Goths, he advanced against Rome, whose fortifications Belisarius had by this time repaired, and which he had provisioned from Sicily. His own force was small, nor were the inhabitants of Rome of much use for war; but his personal bravery, as well as his military skill, enabled him to resist successfully all the attacks which the Goths made from the seven camps they had formed round the city. The walls of Rome were strong, the Goths were unpractised in siege operations, and seem to have had little artillery; the imperial army, although small, was expert, and contained one arm, the mounted bowmen, to which Witigis had nothing similar to oppose. After he had lost many men from disease and hunger, as well as in fighting, he sent envoys to Constantinople to ask for peace, urging that Theodoric had occupied Italy at the request of the emperor Zeno, so that the legal title of the Goths was good, and even offering to cede Sicily, Naples, and Campania, and to pay an annual tribute. Justinian however refused all overtures. The siege, which had been suspended by an armistice, was resumed, but with no better success. Meanwhile an imperial general, John the Sanguinary, obtained important advantages in eastern Italy, took Ariminum, threatened Ravenna. To save his capital, Witigis broke up his camp before Rome a year and nine days from the time he formed it, and retired with a greatly reduced army. Belisarius followed him, and invested Ravenna, which was soon reduced to straits by want of food. Witigis, besides sending envoys to stir up Chosroes of Persia to attack Justinian, had been begging help from the Franks, and their king Theodebert had at last agreed to send him a contingent of 10,000 troops, Burgundians, not Franks, that the existing treaty between Justinian and the Frankish power might not appear to be violated. Ultimately Theodebert did himself appear at the head of an army, but,

instead of relieving Witigis, he attacked and defeated first a Gothic and then an imperial detachment, ravaged the country along the Po, then shamelessly proposed to the Goths to aid them to drive out the Romans if they would yield half Italy to him for his pains. Belisarius, scarcely less active in diplomacy than in war, induced the Goths to reject this offer; they indeed felt that the hardness of Justinian was better than the utter faithlessness of the Franks. At last the Gothic chieftains in Ravenna, disgusted by the ill-fortune which attended Witigis, opened communication with Belisarius, whose genius had won their admiration, proposing to make him emperor of the West, sovereign both of Goths and Italians, independent of Constantinople. His fidelity was proof against this temptation, but he used it to prevent their acceptance of terms of peace which Justinian, foreseeing the outbreak of another Persian war, had at last offered, and to obtain an entrance for himself and his troops into the impregnable Ravenna. Then he seized Witigis and his treasures, and sailed with him and them for Constantinople, leaving the imperial power supreme in Italy. Justinian treated the captive king with indulgence, assigning him a residence in Asia Minor with a competent livelihood. The Goths, or such of them as had survived the two terrible sieges, gathered at Pavia, and were for making Uraias, nephew of Witigis, their king. When he refused, alleging the ill-luck which had attended his uncle, they chose Hildibad, an able warrior, but of no specially exalted rank. He gathered troops round him in North Italy, and had begun to make head against the Romans, when he was murdered by a private enemy. Then Erarich, a Rugian warrior, was chosen king by his own people, who had accompanied the Goths into Italy and shared their subsequent fortunes, and accepted by most of the Goths. When he, too, had perished after a few months, though not before he had disgraced himself by proposing to surrender Italy to Justinian on condition of receiving a great treasure for himself, the choice of the nation fell upon Totila, otherwise called Baduila, a nephew of Hildibad, and a man not more remarkable for his military energy and personal courage than for the gentleness and nobility of his character. Justinian's revenue commissioners, among whom a certain Alexander was conspicuous for his skill and harshness in extortion, had introduced into reconquered Italy the whole oppressive system of taxation which prevailed in the Eastern empire. The people, already reduced to beggary by the long wars which had desolated their country since the fall of the Western throne, evils and losses which the breathing-space under Theodoric had not been sufficient to repair, found themselves called on to pay taxes apparently as heavy as those which were levied on the flourishing regions of Asia Minor. They were even required to make up arrears that had not been demanded by the Goths; in fact, they found themselves in all respects far worse off than they had been under Gothic rule. Hence a spirit of disaffection spread apace among them. Totila recovered fortress after fortress from the incompetent generals who had succeeded Belisarius, till he was master of most part of Italy. At last Justinian in alarm sent Belisarius back, but this time without a sufficient force and with still more insufficient supplies of money. He was thus unable to effect much against the Goths, but kept moving by sea from place to place, till at last he succeeded in recovering Rome, which Totila had some time before entered, and had been on the point of levelling with the ground that it might not serve as a stronghold for the imperialists. After this Belisarius obtained from Justinian the permission to return which he had been (in despair of success) for some time seeking. Totila then recovered not only all Italy, except the three strongholds of Ravenna, Ancona, and Otranto, but also Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. He had restored the Gothic kingdom to a better position than it had held since the death of Theoderic. Knowing, however, its real weakness, the number of Gothic fighting men having been reduced from some 150,000 to not a third of that number in the war under Witigis, Totila repeatedly sought peace for Justinian. The emperor, although personally embittered against the Goths, and very anxious to have Italy, and especially Rome, again under his direct government, might possibly have consented but for the presence at Constantinople of a number of Romans of high rank, members of senatorial families. This band of *émigrés*, as one may call them, powerfully seconded by the Italian ecclesiastics, urged Justinian to send another expedition, dwelling not only on the sufferings of the country and their own, but doubtless even more on the hollowness of the Gothic power. At first an army was despatched under the command of Germanus, a nephew of Justinian, who was accompanied by Matasuntha, whom he had married after her divorce from Witigis. This was done in the not unfounded belief that many of the Goths would refuse to fight against the last daughter of the Amal house. But the plan was frustrated by the sudden death of Germanus. Then a strong force was fitted out and sent against Italy under the command of the eunuch Narses, an Armenian, who had already distinguished himself as the most accomplished general of the empire. Totila, with an army, which seems to have been inferior both in number and in appointments, gave battle near Taginae, a small town between Urbino and Fossombrone.

Probably he may have found it necessary to prevent defections by making a stand, instead of protracting the war, as prudence would rather have suggested. The issue was fatal to the Gothic name. Totila's army was defeated, and the hero himself slain. With him died the last hopes of the kingdom. The Goths however, who were now desperate, raised Teia, one of their most famous warriors, to the throne, and put to death all or most of their Roman senatorial hostages, together with some illustrious Roman youths whom Totila had kept around his person in court employments. To save a large part of the Gothic treasure which was defended against the imperialists in a fortress near Cumae, Teia marched south, and perished, sustaining a single combat against tremendous odds at the Lactarian mount, E. of Naples, in Campania. The remainder of his following, including his brother Aligern, capitulated on terms of safe departure; while some of the Goths in northern Italy offered the crown to

Butelin, an Alemannic chieftain, who with his brother Leutharis had dashed across the Alps at the head of a host of Alemannians and Burgundians, with the connivance of the Frankish king Theodebald. Narses, however, destroyed Butelin and his host in a great battle near Casilinum in Campania A.D. 544. The small remains of the Gothic nation either passed into Spain and Gaul to mingle with other barbarians, or were lost among the Roman population of Italy, which now relpased altogether and finally into Justinian's hands. It was however a desolated and depopulated Italy that he received. Nor was it long left to his successors. In A.D. 568, three years after his death, Alboin led the Lombard nation across the Istrian and Venetian Alps, occupied the whole north, together with the districts, dukedoms as they afterwards became, round Benevento and Spoleto. The Eastern emperors continued sovereigns of the rest and of Sicily; but their power was uncertain, and it ceased over the whole north and middle of Italy, including Rome, in the eighth century, when the contest regarding images led to the hostility of the popes and the revolt of the Italians, followed soon after by the establishment of the Frankish power in Italy. All this was the consequence of Justinian's invasion: for if he had left the Ostrogoths unmolested, they would probably have established a national monarchy in Italy, which might have checked the growth of papal power and have repelled transalpine enemies.

The third great struggle of Justinian's reign was that which he maintained against the Persians. Their empire was then under Kobad and Chosroes Anushirvan in the zenith of its power. Kobad had carried on with so much success the strife of the two powers, almost unbroken since the rise of the Sassanid dynasty in the third century, that the Roman armies were decidedly inferior in the field, and thought they did well when by careful strategy they held their positions against the more valiant and numerous Persian troops. In fact, they depended chiefly on the strength of their frontier fortresses, particularly the city of Dara. At the end of Justin's reign, Justinian had despatched Belisarius to the Euphrates, where his skill restored courage to the Roman army and turned the balance against Kobad. After several campaigns, Chosroes, who succeeded Kobad in A.D. 531, concluded in 533, on obtaining from the emperor eleven thousand pounds of gold, a peace which gave rest to the eastern provinces. In 539 war broke out again, partly owing to Justinian's intrigues, partly to the jealousy and alarm with which Chosroes saw the Roman victories in Africa and Italy. These feelings had been further stimulated by envoys sent by the Gothic king Witigis, though they did not reach Chosroes till Witigis had himself fallen. And at the same time a revolt against Justinian broke out in Armenia, a part of whose people appealed to the Persians for help. Chosroes took the command of a vast force, which the Roman generals were quite unable to resist in the open field. In 540 he reduced several cities, and was bought off by others, and after a short siege captured by assault Antioch, by far the greatest town of the eastern part of the empire, sacked it, and carried off many thousands of the inhabitants to a new city which he built for them near Ctesiphon, his own capital. These calamities, which reflect gravely on the prudence of Justinian, who ought never to have allowed the war to break out if his resources did not enable him to put a force in the field, and who certainly had not properly bestirred himself to send sufficient troops to the frontier, produced a profound impression throughout the world. Next year Belisarius was sent to Syria; but still with too small a force to enable him to take the offensive vigorously. Chosroes had gone off towards Colchis, so the moment was favourable for an advance. Belisarius however could only succeed in ravaging Mesopotamia, and taking the town of Sisaurana. Next year he had to confront Chosroes himself, and by his skilful conduct not only stopped the Persian invasion, but even forced the king to recross the Euphrates with some loss of credit. Then he was again recalled, owing, it would seem, to the suspicions of Theodora, and for two or three years the war languished. In 544 Chosroes laid siege to Edessa, and when he found himself unable to take it agreed to a peace, which gave some rest to the Syrian provinces. The war had now however blazed out in a fresh place, at the south-east corner of the Black Sea, where the Lazes, a wild race who have remained there ever since to attract the notice of diplomatists in our own day, had in 539 revolted from Justinian and invited the entrance of a Persian force led by Chosroes himself in 540. A fierce struggle followed during twenty-two years, interrupted once by a four years' truce. The most striking incidents in it were the repeated captures and recaptures of the strong fortress of Petra which the Romans had erected on the coast, apparently not very far from the modern town of Batoum. The truce for five years, which was concluded in A.D. 557 between Persia and the empire, did not interrupt this Lazic war; but Chosroes ultimately came to see that this region was not really a vulnerable part of the Roman dominions, nor one in itself worth conquering. Towards the end of Justinian's reign the fighting slackened; a peace for fifty years was concluded in A.D. 562. The terms of the treaty were humiliating to Justinian, for by it he undertook to pay thirty thousand gold pieces in every year; but the Persians abandoned Lazica, and it was agreed that neither party should erect any fortress on the frontier, that trade should go on freely, and that there should be reciprocal extradition of those who escaped from either empire to the other. (See the interesting provisions of the treaty in Menander Protector. *Exc. Legat.*) This peace lasted only ten years; but the war which began in A.D. 572 lies outside the reign of Justinian.

Less famous, but perhaps even more ruinous than these three great wars were the contests which Justinian had to maintain against the barbarians of Scythia and the Danube. From the Alps to the Black Sea, the northern border of the empire was the scene of a seldom intermitted warfare. The various tribes whom the Roman historian calls Huns, and who included the race subsequently distinguished as Bulgarians, poured from the south of what is now Russia down upon Thrace, ravaged it as well as Macedonia, penetrated on one occasion to the isthmus of Corinth, and six years before Justinian's death, in 559, appeared in great

force under the walls of Constantinople, from which they were repulsed by the skill and vigour of Belisarius. The Slavonians, among whom we find the tribe called Antes sometimes particularly mentioned, were established in what is now Wallachia; their incursions were more frequent and as destructive as those of the Huns. Further to the west, the rival powers of the Gepidae and the Lombards, while maintaining war with one another, ravaged Illyricum and the north-west of Macedonia. It surprises us to find how little regular resistance seems to have been made to all these attacks. Although Justinian had built or repaired an immense number of fortresses (specified in Procopius, *Aedif.* bk. iv.), along the Danube and through his north-western provinces generally, the garrisons were too small or too timid to stop the invasions of these swiftly-moving and ferocious barbarians: nor do we ever hear of any regular army being kept in the field to watch and check them. Not only were villages destroyed and cultivated land laid waste, but immense numbers of the inhabitants were carried off into slavery, comparatively few of whom can have been ransomed. The only serious efforts which the emperor made against these enemies (besides the building of fortresses) were made by diplomacy. His policy was to foment hostilities between neighbouring tribes, taking sometimes one, sometimes another, into alliance with the empire, and offering large presents which were often so regular as to amount to a kind of black mail, by which to buy them off for the moment, or induce them to turn their arms against some other barbarian power. His activity as a negotiator was unwearied. Embassies from all parts of the barbarian world were from time to time arriving at Constantinople, exciting the wonder of the people by their strange garb and manners, and returning home laden with gifts and promises. Even the tribes of the Baltic and the Turks of Central Asia seem to have thus come into relations with him. His policy was much blamed in his own time (see especially Procop. *Anec.*), and may appear to have been shortsighted by supplying fresh inducements to the barbarians to renew their attacks, and letting them know the wealth of the capital; but before we condemn it we ought to consider whether any other policy was possible, and whether the incidental advantages of a diffusion of Roman influence and culture among the border tribes may not have been considerable.

III. We possess no systematic account of the internal state of the empire in Justinian's time, and can only gather what it must have been from occasional notices by historians like Procopius and Agathias, and from a study of Justinian's legislative measures. The civil service was, and had long been, in a high state of efficiency, as it consisted of trained officials, carefully distributed into departments, and subordinated to one another. Such alterations as Justinian made tended to perfect this organization, and to render all its members more completely the engines and slaves of the crown. He rearranged some of the provinces by edicts which convey an idea of the staff which each governor commanded (see *e.g.* Nov. xxiv.–xxxi.). He appears to have in several instances weakened the local municipal institutions which still existed, particularly in the cities of Greece, by withdrawing their local revenues: and such authority as they thus lost would no doubt fall to imperial officials. The most important function of the administration was the collection of taxes. Justinian spent enormous sums not only on his wars but in the erection of churches, fortresses, and public buildings of every kind (a list will be found in the *De Aedificiis* of Procopius), and he was therefore always in want of money. Oppressive as the taxation had been before his time, he seems to have made it even more stringent; and when the land-tax and other ordinary sources of revenue failed, he was driven to such discreditable expedients as the sale of public offices, and even, we are told, to the prostitution of justice and the unjust confiscation of the property of private persons who had incurred his displeasure or were suspected of disloyalty. Though the instances of such wickedness rest chiefly on the prejudiced and untrustworthy authority of the *Anecdota* of Procopius (who ascribes the worst to the immediate action of the empress), stories which may be found in other historians give some support to the accusation. On one occasion he attempted to debase the coin, but was checked by a threatened insurrection in the capital. The same charges of venality and extortion are brought against Tribonian, John of Cappadocia, and others of Justinian's ministers. The administration of justice must have been greatly improved by the promulgation of the whole binding law in the Codex, Pandects, and Institutes: and great importance was evidently attached to the maintenance of the law-schools of Berytus and Constantinople; it is however probable enough that corruption may have largely prevailed among the judges. Brilliant as Justinian's reign may appear to us, the sufferings endured by the people from war, taxation, the persecution of heretics, the blows struck at the privileges of various classes and professions, as well as from the great plague and from destructive earthquakes, made his rule unpopular. The rebellions in Africa, and the disaffection of the reconquered Italians have been already mentioned. In Constantinople, not to speak of minor seditions, there occurred a tremendous insurrection in January A.D. 532, arising out of a tumult in the hippodrome, and apparently due, partly to resentment at the maladministration of John of Cappadocia, partly to the presence in the city of a large number of starving immigrants. The revolters held the city for some days, set fire to some of the finest buildings, drove Justinian into his palace fortress, and proclaimed Hypatius, nephew of the deceased emperor Anastasius, as emperor. Having no concerted plan of action, part of them, belonging to the blue faction of the chariot races, were induced to abandon the rest, who were then surprised and slaughtered by the imperial guards under the command of Belisarius. Thirty thousand people are said to have perished in this rising, which goes by the name of the Nika sedition, from the watchword used by the rebels. (See an interesting account of it by W. A. Schmidt, *Der Aufstand in Constantinopel unter Kaiser Justinian.*)

Justinian's commercial legislation was marked by the usual shortsightedness and ignorance of

economic principles which we observe among the statesmen of the Roman empire. His monopolies and the other restrictions imposed upon trade must have done much to injure the still active commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. He does however deserve some credit for the efforts which he made to open up new channels for the traffic in silk, efforts which ultimately succeeded through the boldness of two Persian monks, who conveyed the eggs of the worm in a hollow cane from China to the empire. Thus the manufacture of this article was no longer at the mercy of the Persians, who had stopped the supply in time of war, and the culture of the silkworm became thenceforward an important branch of industry in the Roman East.

Upon a review of Justinian's domestic government as a whole, with its mingled extravagance and rapacity, its restless activity, producing (except as regards the law, to be considered hereafter) few permanently beneficial results, its faults appear greatly to outweigh its merits. Even his great buildings, the most enduring monuments of his taste and zeal, were dearly purchased by the fiscal oppression which enabled him to raise them. His subjects had grown tired of him long before his death; but later ages looked back to his reign as a period of conquest abroad and magnificence at home, and accepted the surname of the Great.

IV. Ecclesiastical policy occupied no small share of Justinian's thoughts and care. As conducted by him, it may be considered under several separate heads, as it referred to theological doctrine, to the constitution of the church and hierarchy, to his dealings with the heretics and schismatics who abounded in the empire, and finally to the heathen, who had not yet ceased to exist, though rapidly diminishing in number.

Justinian's first object when he had been influencing or administering the government in the lifetime of his uncle the emperor Justin I. was to re-establish the communion of the church of Constantinople with that of Rome, which had been interrupted owing to the controversies arising out of the Monophysite heresy. The two emperors who preceded Justin, viz. Zeno the author, and Anastasius the maintainer of the Henoticon, had been more than suspected of Monophysitism and were detested by the more earnest adherents of the council of Chalcedon. Justinian wrote to Hormisdas, who was then pope, a letter (printed in Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* ad ann. 518, 520), desiring to put an end to the schism, and it was accordingly, after long negotiations (for which see article HORMISDAS), closed in A.D. 519 after having lasted from A.D. 484, when the patriarch Acacius of Constantinople had been condemned by pope Felix II. On his accession in A.D. 527, Justinian professed himself a zealous supporter of the Two Natures and the decrees of Chalcedon, and the firmness of his throne is no doubt partly to be attributed to this coincidence of his own theological views with those of the bulk of his subjects in Constantinople, Thrace, and Asia Minor. Not only did he, as several previous sovereigns had done, pride himself upon his orthodoxy; he had great confidence in his own powers as a theologian, and took an active part in all the controversies of the time. Being a diligent student and a person of some literary pretensions, he both read and wrote a good deal on theological topics. One book, in Greek, against the Monophysites, has been preserved; and was published by cardinal Angelo Mai from a Vatican MS. (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vii. 292). Others, letters which rise to the dimensions of regular treatises or edicts, may be found in Mansi, vol. ix., among the Acta of the Fifth General Council. Justinian's ecclesiastical policy, so far as it can be made out from the frequently prejudiced accounts of our informants, had two main objects, which were not, however, by any means consistently or undeviatingly pursued. The first of these was the maintenance of the orthodox doctrine of the Four Councils, and especially of Chalcedon. The second was the reconciliation of the Monophysites, or at least the inducing by apparent concessions the more moderate members of that party to accept the decrees of Chalcedon. He was generally so thorough-going, so self-satisfied, and so willing to attain his ends by persecuting, that one is a little surprised to see him occasionally shew tenderness to those whom at other times he condemns as heretics. The explanation probably is that, having been at one time under Monophysite influences, there were tendencies towards that view left in him, which occasionally, and most notably at the very end of his life, asserted themselves. And there was in his court an active, though probably concealed Monophysite party, which was headed by, and sheltered itself under, the empress Theodora. The known difference of opinion between the two royal consorts caused much surprise among their subjects, and was by some attributed to design (*κατ' οἰκονομίαν* says Evagrius) in order that he might know all the secrets of one party, and have its support, she those of the other. One of the emperor's first acts was to summon a conference of leading theologians on both sides so as to bring about a reconciliation, and induce the Monophysites to accept the Chalcedonian formulae. After several sittings, however, in one of which Justinian delivered a long allocution, vital points were reached on which neither side could yield, and the conference was dissolved. Among the Monophysite leaders of the time were a certain Severus, an active but violent man, who had been deposed from the patriarchate of Antioch in the time of Justin, and one Anthimus bishop of Trebizond. These men seem to have acquired much influence in Theodora's coterie, and it was probably owing to her persuasions that in A.D. 535 Anthimus was raised to the patriarchate of Constantinople, in spite of the doctrinal suspicions attaching to him. Unluckily for him, an embassy, from the East Gothic king Theodahad, who had then succeeded his murdered wife Amalasuntha, arrived shortly afterwards (Feb. 536 A.D.) at Constantinople. At its head was pope Agapetus. Having heard of the suspicions attaching to the opinions of Anthimus, and disapproving, according to the custom of Rome, of translations from one bishopric to another, he refused to communicate with the patriarch till he should have purged himself from the charge of heresy, and insisted that, when purged, he should return to his see of Trebizond. Justinian (perhaps owing to the support which Theodora seems to

have given to Anthimus) was at first displeased and resisted; there is even a story that he so threatened Agapetus that the pope answered: "I came hither expecting to find a Constantine and I have found a Diocletian" (Anast. *Vita Agapeti*). However Agapetus prevailed, so much so that the Romans, as we gather from Anastasius, thought he had actually arraigned and brought to submission and orthodoxy the emperor himself, an idea which found its way into Dante (cf. *Paradiso*, canto vi. and the *Tesoretto* of Dante's preceptor, Brunetto Latini, p. 279 of Bolognese edition of 1878). Anthimus was deposed, though whether by Agapetus, or by a council, or by the authority of the emperor alone, does not very clearly appear. Baronius of course claims the first. Theophanes (*Chronogr.* p. 184) says that a synod was convoked against the Monophysites by Agapetus; and the edict of Justinian, issued to the synod held not long afterwards, speaks of Anthimus as deposed first by the opinion of Agapetus, also by that of the holy synod held in Constantinople. Mansi however (viii. p. 869) thinks there was merely an informal gathering of bishops in Constantinople, after the deposition, which presented an address to pope Agapetus, and Theophanes may easily have mistaken the subsequent synod for one deposing the patriarch. Mennas, head of the hospitium of Samson in Constantinople, was appointed in the place of Anthimus, and consecrated by Agapetus, who soon afterwards died, having asked the emperor, however, to have the charge of heresy against Anthimus properly investigated. Accordingly, by the directions of Justinian, the new patriarch Mennas called a local synod—σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα—which met during the months of May and June A.D. 536. Its *Acta* are fully preserved, and may be read in Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. viii. (cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. pp. 742–753). Anthimus is cited, does not appear, and is thereupon condemned and deposed from his see of Trebizond. On the complaint or suggestion of certain monks of Palestine, the synod goes on to deal with other persons suspected of Monophysitism, and anathematizes Severus, formerly patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, and Zoaras. An attempt is made to procure the destruction of a monastery said to be full of Eutychians, the one in fact which Zoaras haunts, but is avoided by the prudence of Mennas, who deprecates the taking any step except with the authority and approbation of the emperor. Two months after the synod, in August A.D. 536, Justinian issues an edict addressed to Mennas in which he confirms all that the synod had done, condemns anew the heretics denounced by it, forbids them to remain in Constantinople or in any great town, to disseminate their doctrines, to baptize. Their books are to be burnt and their adherents exiled. Among the various charges enumerated, some of which consist of personal accusations against Severus, we find that of obtaining protection from powerful persons near the emperor. The gist of the offences is Monophysitism and consequent schismatic proceedings.

After this there appears to have been a period of comparative calm in the ecclesiastical world of Constantinople, till unhappily some one turned the emperor's zeal into a new track, by calling his attention to the growth of Origenistic opinions in the East, and especially in Syria.

Origen's writings seem to have been comparatively little known, or at least discussed, for some time back, even in the East, and in the West not at all. However, about the beginning of the sixth century, there had been in the monasteries of Palestine, and particularly in that great one called the New Laura, a considerable diffusion of his opinions, which excited the alarm of St. Sabas, and, at the time we have now reached, of the patriarch Peter of Jerusalem. The latter took the opportunity of the presence at Jerusalem of Pelagius, apocrisiarius of the Roman bishop, to induce him to make representations to the emperor on the subject, and sent along with him four monks, for the purpose of accusing the followers of Origen. This was in 543. The four monks laid before Justinian a writing, full of charges against Origenism, and were supported by Pelagius, and by Mennas, who was still patriarch. Among Justinian's chief ecclesiastical associates and confidants, were two bishops belonging to the Origenist party, Theodore Ascidas, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Domitian, bishop of Ancyra. Both these prelates, who had formerly been monks, and may have risen by the favour of Theodora, resided usually at Constantinople, and had much influence with the emperor. Nevertheless they seem to have feared the charge of heresy too much to resist the monks from Palestine, and perhaps did not own their attachment to Origen's writings. Anyhow the emperor promptly condemned the accused opinions, issuing a long edict addressed to the patriarch Mennas, in which he classes Origen among the heretics, and singles out for anathema ten particular doctrines contained in his writings. A local council was thereupon convoked by Mennas, which dutifully echoed the emperor's edict, publishing its anathemas against fourteen propositions drawn from Origen, and condemning his person. Both Justinian and the theologians of his time generally were, it need hardly be said, quite out of sympathy with Origen, unable to appreciate the fine side of his writings, and disposed to be startled and shocked by many of his theories. Indeed his faults would hardly be more repellent to them than his virtues.

Theodore and Domitian had submitted, but their mortification drove them to take action in another way, and thus to awaken a long, needless, and most mischievous controversy. Justinian, it would seem, haunted by his old desire, one in itself proper enough, to bring back the Monophysite party to orthodoxy and church communion, was at work upon a treatise on the Incarnation, whereby he trusted to convince and conciliate the stubborn Acephali (or extremer Monophysites) of Egypt. Theodore, according to our authorities, suggested to him that a simpler way of winning back those who disliked the council of Chalcedon, would be to get certain writings condemned which that council had approved, but which the Monophysites disliked as being of a distinctly Nestorian tendency. (See Liberatus ap. Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* xii. 160, as to Theodore, and Facundus, b. i. c. 2, as to Domitian of Ancyra; cf. also Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 38; and *Vita S. Sabae*.) They singled

out three particular persons and treatises for condemnation, which soon became famous under the name of the τρία κεφάλαια (*tria capitula*), which we usually translate Three Chapters, but would be better called the Three Articles, viz. the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a writer whom the Origenists always disliked, the treatise of Theodoret against Cyril and his twelve articles, and the letter of (or attributed to) Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to the Persian bishop Maris. As Hefele remarks (*Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 777) the words τρία κεφάλαια probably originally denoted three propositions in Justinian's edict of condemnation, *i.e.* three sentences or paragraphs containing three several anathemas—(1) on the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; (2) on the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus against Cyril of Alexandria, and on behalf of Nestorius; and (3) the epistle of Ibas to Maris. These three paragraphs were probably similar to the paragraphs 12-14 in Justinian's second edict called the ὁμολογία πιστέως; and were doubtless those which bishops were required to sign by way of evidencing their concurrence in the anathema. Later on, as the matter came to be constantly in men's mouths, the term τρία κεφάλαια began to be applied to the three topics of which the question consisted, so that at last it came to mean the persons and writings impugned; *i.e* (1) Theodore and his writings; (2) Theodoret's impugned writings; (3) The epistle of Ibas. And this is the usual sense in the authors of the time (*e.g.* Facundus of Hermiane, whose treatise is entitled *Defensio pro Tribus Capitulis*), and in the protocols of the Fifth General Council. Unwise and unfortunate as this attack upon the three deceased theologians proved, it was not so utterly wanton and unprecedented as a modern student might at first sight fancy. The Monophysites had occasionally alleged as a ground for rejecting the decrees of Chalcedon that that council had approved Theodoret and Ibas, whose teaching was (in their view) tainted with Nestorianism. Theodore of Mopsuestia was, with his master Diodorus of Tarsus, in a sense the fountain of all the errors. Nestorius, as well as Theodoret, had been his pupil. Bishop Rabulas of Edessa had attacked his doctrines soon after his (Theodore's) death (in A.D. 448), and the (general) council of Ephesus would no doubt have condemned him had he not been then already dead. In fact Cyril of Alexandria had impeached his memory before the emperor Theodosius II., but the emperor prudently declined to pursue a theological opponent into the other world. The Nestorians still appealed to Theodore as their highest authority, and triumphantly pointed to the fact that he had never been condemned. Against Theodoret and Ibas the case was weaker. Both had joined in anathematizing Nestorius at Chalcedon, and been restored to their sees. But both had attacked Cyril, who, though claimed by the Monophysites, was also a bulwark of orthodoxy, and the epistle to Maris was a violent assault on the council of Ephesus. It might therefore be with some show of plausibility alleged that the authority of that council was not established while these assailants seemed to be protected by the aegis of Chalcedon.

Using such arguments as these, and seconded by the arts of the bitter Theodora (says Liberatus, *ut supra*), Theodore Ascidas and Domitian persuaded Justinian to compose and issue a treatise or edict against the Three Articles, conceiving that when he had thus committed himself his vanity would not allow him to draw back, and that the risk of his being worked upon by others, and turning angrily round upon them with his usual changeableness (solita levitate), would thus be avoided. The account is given by hostile authorities, but it is in itself sufficiently probable. Justinian fell into the trap, and lighted in mere heedlessness a flame which burnt long and fiercely in the church. Desisting from his book against the Acephali, he forthwith composed the suggested edict, which was issued between 543 and 545, probably in 545 A.D. It has perished, only three or four short extracts being preserved by Facundus. It was circulated through the church that it might obtain the signatures of the bishops. Some difficulty was at first found. The four Eastern patriarchs were naturally afraid of the consequences of reopening any question as to the authority of the council of Chalcedon. Mennas, after some hesitation, signed, but subject to a promise given him on oath, that he might withdraw his signature if the bishop of Rome should refuse to agree. He remembered the last schism and the victory of Rome, and had no taste for another. The other three patriarchs, Ephraim of Antioch, Peter of Jerusalem, Zoilus of Alexandria, under real or imagined threats of deposition, obeyed and signed, and after more or less intimidation to the unwilling, and the offer of various rewards to the servile, the great majority of the bishops through Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia, fell in with the emperor's wish. Being mostly strong Chalcedonians, they cannot have liked the course he compelled them to take, but having rich sees, and being wholly dependent on the state, they were not the men to make martyrs of themselves for anything less than a doctrinal difficulty of the first moment. In the Western provinces, where the bishops had less to lose, and had been accustomed to face Arian potentates, Justinian found a less ready spirit of compliance. The bishops of Africa led the opposition to his edict, and they were largely supported by those of Italy, Gaul, Illyricum, and Dalmatia. In Rome much alarm was produced by the arrival of the edict, and by the emperor's command to Vigilius, lately chosen pope, to repair to Constantinople. The papal secretary Stephen, and Dacius archbishop of Milan, who were then in Constantinople, had both broken off communion with Mennas upon his signing, and their reports would no doubt influence ecclesiastical opinion in Rome. Vigilius, we are told, and may well believe, was unwilling to go to Constantinople. Anastasius even relates a long story about his being seized by the imperial messengers in the church of St. Caecilia, and carried by force on board ship, but this is evidently later tradition. We hear on better authority that he was besought, as he started from Rome, not to consent to the condemnation of the Three Articles. There is a story told by Liberatus (c. 22), and accepted by modern writers, that when Vigilius had been formerly papal representative at Constantinople, a compact had been made by him with Theodora and other leading Monophy-

sites, whereby, in return for their procuring his election as pope, he should play into their hands, and endeavour to subvert the authority of the council of Chalcedon. A letter alleged to have been written by him to the Monophysite bishops Theodosius, Anthimus, and Severus is given by Liberatus. The deposition of Sylverius managed by Belisarius, acting under the orders of Theodora, and the choice in his stead of Vigilius, are supposed to be the fulfilment of the first part of this plot. Vigilius had been frequently summoned by Theodora to carry out his part of the contract, for which he had already received the promised consideration, but he had evaded doing so. Now, however, Theodora had got her opportunity, which she could use all the better because Justinian naturally expected the pope to meet his wishes. Accordingly, we hear that she enforced by terrible threats his required appearance at Constantinople. Vigilius had a difficult part to play, for while he could not venture openly to oppose the emperor, and must have feared (whether he had really been party to any such plot or not) the anger of Theodora, he had also to reckon with the all but universal loyalty to the council of Chalcedon of the Roman church, and of the Western churches generally. Accordingly he played fast and loose, tergiversated, temporised, tried to please everybody, and, as usually happens, pleased nobody. The details of his behaviour belong rather to his own biography (see VIGILIUS), or the history of the Fifth General Council, than to the life of Justinian. It may therefore be sufficient to mention that he arrived in Constantinople in A.D. 547, having spent nearly a year in Sicily on his way; that he there at first assumed an attitude of hostility to the assailants of the Three Articles, and even refused to communicate with the patriarch Mennas, although he was secretly induced, by a promise, made under oath, that his compliance should not be used against him, to undertake to concur in Justinian's condemnation (Facundus, *contra Mocianum*, 592 D, Sirmond, ii. 593 E). After a time, in A.D. 548, he issued a document called the *Judicatum*, wherein he deliberately condemned the Three Articles, saving, however, the authority of the council of Chalcedon. He admits this to be a "dispensatio," needed by the fact that the Council's approval of the condemned teachers had become a stumbling-block. He might urge that these three men had been really in error, and that he could not be supposed to be impairing the authority of the Council, while he expressly saved it. However this was not the view of the Western bishops, nor even of all his own immediate retinue, whose opposition obliged him, after a while, to recall his *Judicatum*. About this time, in A.D. 548, the empress Theodora died, but matters had gone too far against the Three Articles, and Justinian had become too thoroughly committed for her loss to make much difference. He continued to coerce the recalcitrant bishops of Africa, depriving some of their sees, and after various negotiations with Vigilius, and putting him under a secret oath to condemn the three teachers, Justinian issued in A.D. 551 a second edict against the Three Articles addressed to the whole Christian world, which has been preserved under the name of the Confession of Faith, ὁμολογία πίστεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (printed in Mansi, ix. 537). This edict in its dimensions and style is nothing less than a theological treatise, taking the writings of the three impugned doctors, and discovering heresies in them by a process of minute scrutiny and inference. Vigilius was required to subscribe it, but whether from conscientious scruples, or from fear of what might await him in the West, he refused, and, to escape the consequences of Justinian's anger, took refuge in the basilica of St. Peter at Constantinople, from which the imperial messengers were unable, even by physical violence, to drag him away. Persuaded by a safe-conduct to return, he again escaped to the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. Here he remained, protesting his fears of the emperor, until the latter, who was anxious to obtain his concurrence in the summoning of a general council, since that now appeared to be the only solution for the dissensions and anxieties which the question of the Three Articles had excited, succeeded after long negotiations in inducing him to withdraw his ecclesiastical censure of the edict and its supporters. He then returned to Constantinople to await the opening of the council. His own wish had been to have a council in Sicily or Italy, that the Western prelates might attend and strengthen him. But Justinian would not agree to this; so after various proposals and counter proposals, one being that a small conference should be held, which Vigilius wished to be of four Oriental bishops, the three patriarchs and one other, to meet himself and three Westerns, while Justinian conceived that it ought to consist of five bishops from each patriarchate, the emperor became naturally tired of the shifty turnings of his antagonist, and, without more ado, himself summoned the council to meet at Constantinople. The first sitting was on May 5, A.D. 553. Eutychius, who, upon the death of Mennas in August 552, had become patriarch of Constantinople, presided. By him sat Apollinaris of Alexandria and Domninus of Antioch. Eustochius of Jerusalem was represented by three bishops. Altogether 151 bishops were present at the opening, while 164 signed at the end. Of these the very large majority belonged to the Eastern patriarchates. Six from Africa attended, but more than twenty were kept away by Vigilius, who himself refused to attend, knowing well that he would be overborne by numbers. To the invitations addressed to him, both by the emperor and the council, he returned evasive replies, alleging first that he was ill, and then that the Western church was not adequately represented, and declaring he would send a statement of his views in writing. This he did in a document called the *Constitutum* (printed in Mansi, ix. 61), and presented, not to the council, but to Justinian himself, who however refused to receive it. The council then went on its way without troubling itself about the pope's absence. Justinian addressed a letter to the fathers, reproaching Vigilius for his tergiversation, and requiring his name to be struck out of the diptychs, as having by his defence of Theodoret and Ibas excluded himself from the right to church-fellowship. Therewith he also produced evidence that the pope had already solemnly promised, both to himself and Theodora, to procure the condemnation of the Three Articles.

Thereupon the council, paying no further heed to Vigilius, proceeded with its examination of the writings impugned. (The details may be read in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. § 267–274. The *Acta*, nearly all of which are extant only in a Latin translation, may be read in Mansi, vol. ix.; see also under CONSTANTINOPLE, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.) The upshot was, as might have been expected from the unlimited control which Justinian exercised over his bishops, that Theodore of Mopsuestia was anathematized absolutely, while the rehabilitation which Theodoret and Ibas had met with from the fathers of Chalcedon stood them in such good stead that they, as persons, escaped, while anathema was pronounced against Theodoret's treatise in opposition to Cyril's Twelve Articles, and against the letter to Maris, which passed under the name of Ibas, but which the council, like the emperor, professed to consider doubtfully authentic. A series of fourteen articles, or anathematizations, was prepared, most of which corresponded closely with the articles of Justinian's ὁμολογία πίστεως, and in which the orthodox faith of the Trinity and Incarnation is restated. A recognition of the first four general councils and formal acceptance of their decrees was of course adopted, and in the eleventh article a general anathema against a number of heretics, viz. Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Origen, Nestorius, Eutyches, together with their adherents, and all those persons who have been anathematized by any of the four preceding general councils. It has been often supposed, and the belief is indeed as old as Evagrius, who was born before the date of the council, that the opinions of Origen and his followers were formally condemned at this council. (See Evagr. iv. c. 38; Theoph. *Chronogr.* p. 354 of Bonn edition, vol. i.) But this has arisen from confounding the former local council under Mennas in A.D. 543 with this General Council. The only reference to Origen which appears in the extant records of the proceedings is in the general anathema in which his name occurs. It is not therefore correct to say, as has sometimes been said, that any particular doctrines of his have ever been condemned by the whole church. And several writers of weight have even argued from the fact that he had not been condemned, like the six others mentioned above, by any general council, and that his heresies belong to a different group, so to speak, from theirs, as also from his not appearing among the persons condemned in Justinian's second edict, the ὁμολογία πίστεως before mentioned, which in other respects the eleventh article or anathema of the Fifth General Council follows exactly, that the name of Origen in that article or anathema is a later insertion. However, not only does the name appear in the Latin copy of the acts of the council which went to Rome, but the hostility to the decrees of the council shewn by the Origenist monks of the New Laura in Palestine may seem to imply that the council had assailed the memory to which they were so much attached. The fourteen articles which were the result of the council's labours were subscribed at the last sitting, on June 2, 553, by all the bishops, 164 in number, headed by Eutychius of Constantinople. Eight African bishops were among the signers. There can be no great doubt that Justinian, following the established usage of the Roman emperors, issued forthwith an edict confirming the decrees of the council. Such edict, however, if issued, has not been preserved. He certainly sent the decrees all over the empire for signature by the bishops. Little opposition was experienced in the Eastern world. The monks of the New Laura, who attacked the decrees, were chased out by the imperial general Anastasius, and probably a certain number of clergy may have been deposed, this being the punishment which the council had threatened against bishops or other clerics who should teach or speak against it. We hear, however, of only one bishop, Alexander of Abydus, who was deposed. It is interesting to know from Cyril of Scythopolis that this tenacious prelate perished in a great earthquake which befel Constantinople soon after the council, as a judgment for his resistance. Bishop Victor of Tununum, however, when he mentions this terrible earthquake, which overthrew many altars in the churches, has a different explanation to give of it. Like most of his African brethren, he was a defender of the Three Articles, and he tells us that Providence sent the earthquake as a punishment on the emperor and city for the sins of the council in shaking the faith of Chalcedon. Vigilius and the Western ecclesiastics in his train, who had signed the *Constitutum*, appear to have held out for some time. According to Anastasius (*Vita Vigilii*, with which cf. Marcellinus's *Chronicle*), the pope was banished, and of the clergy some were banished to Upper Egypt, and some condemned to work in the mines. Vigilius was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made; and the victories of Narses over the Gothic kings, Totila and Teias, which had just taken place, had made him more than ever the emperor's subject and laid Rome completely at Justinian's mercy. There was thus every motive for compliance. He had been six weary years at Constantinople, and must have sometimes felt that in purchasing the papal chair by his promises to Theodora he had made a bad bargain. Accordingly in December 553, Vigilius issued a letter (preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and printed in Mansi, *Concilia* ix. 414), addressed to the patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, in which he laments the discord which the enemy of mankind had aroused between himself and his brethren the other bishops, but owns that he was in the wrong, and is now glad to confess it, the darkness that had clouded his mind having been dispelled by a more thorough examination of the Three Articles with the writings of the fathers. He then proceeds to condemn and anathematize Theodore, Theodoret, and the letter of Ibas, repeating in some instances verbally the anathemas pronounced by the council. All this is not to prejudice the authority of the council of Chalcedon, which of course never meant to approve these heresies. A second manifesto of Vigilius, of February 554, and which seems to have been a *Constitutum* addressed to the bishops of the West, contains more elaborate examination of the letter of Ibas (whose authenticity he altogether denies), and a similar anathema upon the Three Articles. His object doubtless was to justify himself fully to the Western church, and escape from the effect of his former declarations against the condemna-

tion of what Chalcedon had spared. Being then released by Justinian, he set off for Rome, but died in Syracuse upon the journey. The deacon Pelagius, who had played so considerable a part in the attack upon Origen while acting as papal apocrisiarius at Constantinople, succeeded him. He was apparently nominated by Justinian; at least we do not hear of any regular election. Anastasius tells an improbable story of Justinian having asked the Roman prelates in Constantinople whether they would have Vigilius or Pelagius for pope, and of their saying that they desired Vigilius back again, but would take Pelagius on the next vacancy. Pelagius had at one time been opposed to the condemnation of the Three Articles, and had signed the first *Constitutum* of Vigilius, but had no doubt made his peace with the emperor, and when he became pope lost no time in announcing his adhesion to the Fifth General Council. Whether from this, or owing to the suspicion which lay on him of having ill-used Vigilius, and even contributed to his death, he was very unpopular at Rome. Only two bishops could be procured to join in his consecration. A serious schism followed the promulgation in the West of the anathemas of the Fifth Council. The bishops of Dalmatia and Illyricum were hottest in their opposition, and their archbishop Frontinus was taken to Constantinople, and thence banished to Upper Egypt. A manifesto by Justinian, addressed to some Western bishops (printed in Mansi, ix. p. 589), has been supposed to be an answer to remonstrances addressed to him by these Illyrians. The resistance in Africa was broken by similar violent means, a good many bishops being deposed and imprisoned in convents, under the auspices of the metropolitan Primasius of Carthage, and by the secular arm of the governor. In Gaul and Spain there was great discontent, which, however, did not go the length of a complete breach with Rome, while in North Italy the bishops of Tuscany, the province of Milan, and Istria and Venetia, broke off communion with the pope. The patriarchate of Aquileia, afterwards removed to Grado, and finally divided into the two small patriarchates of Grado and Aquileia, arose out of this schism, which did not come to an end till the beginning of the eighth century. Ultimately the whole Western church was brought by the efforts of the popes to recognise the Fifth General Council. The effect, however, which Justinian had been encouraged to expect, and which would appear to have been his inducement for raising this unhappy question, was not attained. Not a single Monophysite seems to have returned to the Orthodox church. The Egyptian Acephali in particular were as stubborn as ever.

Having entered on the slippery path of tampering with heretics, Justinian was led in his last days himself to lapse into heresy. Although Theodora was no longer alive to lead him astray, he seems to have come again under Monophysite influences. The doctrine that the body of Christ was insensible to fleshly passions and weaknesses, was in fact incorruptible, and so not ordinary flesh at all, had been broached early in the century by bishop Julian of Halicarnassus, a leading Monophysite, in opposition to the view of Severus, the already mentioned some time patriarch of Antioch, that Christ's body was corruptible up to the resurrection, and only afterwards ceased to be so. The question excited vehement disputes in Alexandria, where the school of Julian received the name of Aphthartodocetae or Phantasiastae (those who hold incorruptibility, those who believe in an unreal body), while the Severians were stigmatized as Phthartolatrae (worshippers of the corruptible). Justinian, whose arbitrary temper was not lessened by the weaknesses of age, published an edict declaring the doctrine of Aphthartodocetism to be orthodox, and requiring the assent of all patriarchs and bishops to this new article. He had always been inclined, even when opposing Monophysitism, to magnify the divine element in the nature of Christ, had for instance approved the formula "God suffered for us," or "one of the Trinity suffered," of the so-called Theopaschitae. Eutychius of Constantinople was deposed for refusing to adhere to the edict. Anastasius of Antioch, whose praises are celebrated by Evagrius (*Eccl. Hist.* iv. 40), was threatened, and no doubt others would have been found to resist a doctrine which deviated so considerably from the standards of Chalcedon, and appeared to verge dangerously near to Docetism or even Manichaeism. At this moment, however, Justinian died in A.D. 565, and the controversy at once collapsed, for his successor took comparatively slight interest in theological questions, and allowed the various parties to wrangle with little interference from the secular arm.

The general character of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy is sufficiently indicated by the facts already narrated. He was at the same time positive and unstable, apt to change his views, and accessible to the flatteries and influences of those who surrounded him, yet, withal, very opinionated in insisting upon any view he happened at the time to hold, and prepared to enforce compliance by the free employment of his despotic power. In spite of his protestations of respect for the clergy, the important place they held at his court, and the privileges which his legislation gave them, he never hesitated to resort to despotism and banishment to make them bend to his will. No Roman emperor so nearly assumed the position of a temporal pope, and none was so favourably placed for it, because after his time the power of the empire in the West steadily declined, by the loss first of North Italy, and afterwards of Africa. Nor had any preceding sovereign been so much interested in theological disputes, or arrogated to himself so great a right of interference. His control over the fifth council appears much more direct and considerable than that of his predecessors over the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. He was not less tyrannical towards the popes Sylverius and Vigilius, and has therefore incurred the wrath of modern papal writers, notably of cardinal Baronius.

Justinian was through his life a resolute, though (as has been seen) not always a consistent, persecutor. Among the heretics who were the objects of his severities, two classes may be distinguished, those who were undoubtedly Christians and accepted the faith of Nicaea, and those who went further astray and were tainted by errors savouring of heathenism. The former, including Nestorians and Eutychians, were punished with deposition from

ecclesiastical office, with excommunication, and occasionally with banishment. The latter, including Manichaeans, Gnostics, and Montanists, were more severely dealt with, were deprived of all civil rights, and forbidden to meet for the purposes of their worship. The enforcement of these penalties was often carried out with much cruelty, and sometimes produced sanguinary contests. The Montanists of Phrygia, being required to undergo baptism, shut themselves up in their churches, killed their wives and children, and set fire to the buildings. Similar rigours were inflicted on the Jews and Samaritans, though the Jews, as a serviceable element in the population, seem to have in practice fared somewhat better than the others. The revolts of the Samaritans, caused by the prohibition to take any property by inheritance, caused a terrible war, which desolated the part of Syria they inhabited. Its results at last so frightened Justinian that he relaxed by a constitution issued in A.D. 551 some of the penalties he had imposed on them (Nov. 129). As respects heathenism, it is not very easy to determine precisely how far the laws directed against it were carried out. They punish apostasy with death; they require all persons to undergo baptism, and they deprive pagans of all civil rights and privileges, while, of course, forbidding any public exercise of pagan worship. In spite of this, there can be no doubt that a great number of pagans continued to exist, not only among the population of the wilder and more mountainous districts of Greece and Asia Minor, but also among the cultivated and wealthy classes of the capital, and (probably) of other great cities likewise. We hear of an inquisition at Constantinople early (in the third year) in Justinian's reign (Theoph. *Chron.* p. 153), which revealed the existence of a large number of pagans in the higher official classes. An ordinance was then issued, forbidding all civil employment to persons not orthodox Christians, and three months were allowed for conversion. Not long before, we are told, Justinian had taken away all the churches of the heretics, except one of the Arians, and given them to the orthodox (Theoph. p. 150). This was followed by energetic enquiries through Western Asia Minor, which are said to have resulted in the enforced baptism of 70,000 persons. In spite of these measures, however, paganism continued to exist both in the less frequented parts of Asia Minor and in Greece. We hear of it in Achaia, while among the mountain tribes of Taygetus it survived till the days of Basil the First (867–886). The only place, however, where persons of intellectual and social eminence continued to openly avow themselves heathens was Athens, whose university, although sadly crippled, still survived, and drew a certain concourse of studious youth. These students were probably mostly members of the now dominant church, as were the officials of the city; but the professors, or at least the most distinguished among them, were not Christians. Although they were rather speculative moralists and mystics, making philosophy their rule of life, than worshippers of the old deities of Olympus, still their influence was decidedly anti-Christian. The policy of the Eastern emperors had for some time been hostile to Athens, not only on religious grounds, but also because they desired to advance the fame and import nce of their own imperial university of Constantinople. Early in the 6th century, Damascius, a Syrian by birth, a Neo-Platonist by conviction, and a resolute heathen, became head of the Platonic Academy. Justinian had very little sympathy or tenderness for old institutions, and could hardly have been expe ted to be tolerant towards pagans when he was so severe against Eutychians and Nestorians. In A.D. 528, on the discovery of crypto-paganism in his capital, he issued several stringent constitutions, one of which, forbidding "persons persisting in the madness of Hellenism to teach any branch of knowledge," struck directly at the Athenian professors. In 529 he sent a copy of the then just published *Codex Constitutionum*, which contained this ordinance, to Athens, with a prohibition to teach law there any longer. He was anxious, probably as a means of securing the uniformity of law over the empire, to have it taught only at Constantinople and Berytus. Law was not one of the leading studies at Athens, still this prohibition must have tended to drive away students. Shortly afterwards another constitution appeared, prohibiting the further teaching of philosophy at Athens, and at the same time such property as yet remained to the Platonic Academy was seized and applied to public purposes. This finally extinguished the university. Damascius and six of his colleagues presently proceeded (in 532) to the court of Chosroes, king of Persia, at Ctesiphon, apparently expecting to find in him a sort of philosopher king, after the fashion of Plato's Republic. They were, however, disappointed, and before many months returned to the Roman empire, in which Chosroes secured for them, by a treaty he was then negotiating with Justinian, the freedom to live unbaptized and unmolested. They did not, however, settle again in Athens, which rapidly became a Christian city even in externals, its temples being turned into churches. So one may ascribe to Justinian the extinction in the Roman world of open and cultivated paganism as well as of the Platonic philosophy.

V. Justinian's legislation falls to be considered under two principal heads—his work as a codifier and consolidator of pre-existing law, and his own new laws, some of which were incorporated in the *Codex Constitutionum*; while others, published subsequently, and not officially collected by him, remain as detached statutes, and go by the name of the Novels (*Novellae Constitutiones*).

First as to his codification.

The law of Rome was drawn from a variety of sources. In the days of the free republic it consisted in strictness, solely of *leges*, statutes passed by the *comitia centuriata* or *comitia tributa* (these latter being called also *plebiscita*). Numerous commentaries were written upon these by the jurists, and numerous dicta, or expressions of opinion relating to legal questions uttered by them, were preserved, partly by oral tradition, partly in writing, which acquired authority scarcely inferior to that of the *leges* themselves. These were called the *interpretatio*. There were also of course the edicts of the magistrates, especially of the praetor, which had practically the force of law, though not part of the *jus civile*, but in theory mere temporary declarations of the magistrate's will. When the republic had

by degrees been turned into a monarchy, the *leges* ceased to be passed, and were replaced by the *senatus consulta*, decrees of the senate; and ultimately by ordinances of the emperor, *rescripta, decreta, edicta*, &c., which went by the common name of *Constitutiones*. The edicts also continued to be issued by the magistrates annually until the time of Hadrian, when the Edictum Perpetuum was settled by Salvius Julianus. In the time of Augustus the practice grew up for the emperor to give his commission to a certain number of the more distinguished jurists to deliver, under his authority, their opinions, signed and sealed. These opinions thus came to be quoted as law in the same sense as if they had emanated directly from the sovereign, and became the means of introducing a great deal of new law into the system. As these commissioned jurists were generally also the composers of treatises on legal subjects, their writings soon began to enjoy the same weight as authorities which their formal opinions had received from the emperor's commission. During the two centuries from the time of Augustus to that of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235), under whom lived Modestinus, the last of the great so-called classical jurists, a vast mass of law was built up by the constant labours of these jurists, who both commented on the *leges, senatus consulta*, and edicts of the magistrates, and also compiled systematic treatises upon every department of jurisprudence. After the time of Modestinus, the succession of great legal writers practically came to an end, but the treatises then existing continued to be received and quoted as law in the tribunals over the whole empire. Legislation was now in the hands of the emperors alone, who continued to issue numerous constitutions, the bulk of which soon became very large. Thus in the days of Justinian, three hundred years after Alexander Severus, the subsisting and effective law of the Roman empire consisted of two great divisions: firstly, the imperial constitutions; and secondly, the writings of the great jurists of the later republic and earlier empire. These latter being all, or nearly all, from three to five centuries old in his time, were sometimes distinguished as the *jus vetus*, while the constitutions, the majority of which were much later in date, were called *jus novum*. *Jus vetus* of course included the *leges* and *senatus consulta*, and even to some extent the earlier imperial constitutions, because all these had been commented on in, and in fact practically incorporated with, the treatises of the jurists. And it also included not only the edict of the praetor, finally fixed and permanently enacted as a law by Hadrian, upon its settlement by Salvius Julianus, but also all the commentaries on this and other edicts. In Justinian's time this immense twofold mass of law had got into a very unsatisfactory state. It was so vast that no private person was rich enough to purchase it all, nor indeed would it have been easy to find a great many of the treatises, or a great many of the constitutions, for authorised copies of the latter do not seem to have been published by the state beyond the few sent to certain high officials when first issued. Even the official libraries do not appear to have contained complete collections. Probably most practising advocates and judges possessed but a very small number of law books; and this must have caused serious confusion and difficulty, because on the argument of a case no one could tell what authorities might be cited on the other side, and the judge might be surprised by the production of constitutions, or treatises enjoying the force of law, which he had never heard of, and whose authenticity he might have no means of determining. Moreover in this immense mass of law there were many inconsistencies and repugnancies, later constitutions repealing or modifying earlier ones, one jurist differing from another, or interpreting an ordinance in a different sense from that which some later ordinance appeared to put upon it. Besides, the change in customs, ideas, economical and social conditions which had taken place since the treatises of the jurists were composed, and the earlier constitutions, even those so late as the time of Diocletian, were issued, particularly the vast changes involved in the establishment of Christianity as the dominant and general religion of the empire, had rendered much of the old law, though still formally unrepealed, practically obsolete. There was therefore a crying and overwhelming necessity for sweeping reforms both in the substance and in the outward form and expression of the law. Such reforms had been attempted in the time of Theodosius II., when the Theodosian Codex, containing a collection of the later constitutions not gathered into the collections made in the 4th century by Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, had been prepared and published A.D. 438. (See THEODOSIUS II.) This, however, dealt only with the imperial constitutions, not with the writings of the jurists, although to gather and digest these also had been a part of the plan of the large-minded advisers of Theodosius II. And now, nearly a century after the time of that emperor, the old evils were found to be as serious as ever, while the further changes in society had made the necessity for abolishing antiquated enactments even greater.

Justinian set to work so promptly after his accession that we may reasonably suppose he had meditated already upon the measures which were called for, and fixed his eyes on the men to be used as instruments. Very sensibly, he began with the easier part of the task, the codification of *jus novum*, the imperial constitutions of more recent date. A commission, consisting of John, ex-quaestor, and nine other eminent lawyers, of whom six were officials, Tribonian among them, one (Theophilus) professor of law, and two practising advocates, was appointed in February A.D. 528 with orders to go through the whole mass of constitutions and select out of them for preservation those which were still in force and of practical importance. The directions (preserved in the prefaces to the *Codex*) were to take the three existing collections, *Codex Gregorianus, C. Hermogenianus, C. Theodosianus*, and the uncollected later constitutions, and to rearrange under certain headings or titles the constitutions to be recognised as law, following in the distribution of the several constitutions within each title a chronological order. All superfluous matter, all preambles, all purely temporary provisions, were to be omitted, as well as all laws which had become practically obsolete. Contradictions were to be set right by striking

out one or other of the conflicting passages. Power was given to alter the substance by the insertion or omission of such expressions as were needed to make the law conformable to existing practice, or consistent with itself, and generally to promote brevity and clearness. The Commissioners were even empowered to insert constitutions whose authenticity had been doubtful, if they found them useful. (See Const. *Haec Quae* prefixed to the *Codex*.) Pursuing these instructions, the commissioners distributed the matter before them into ten books, in general conformity with the order of the *Edictum perpetuum* (the praetorian edict as finally settled by Salvius Julianus in the reign of Hadrian), subdivided the books into titles, and in each title made the order of constitutions chronological. Of course some considerable care and judgment were needed in expunging contradictions, and deciding what superfluities might be rejected. Still in the main the work was of a comparatively simple nature, and it was therefore accomplished with creditable speed in less than fourteen months. In April, A.D. 529, the *Codex Constitutionum* was formally promulgated, and copies sent into every province of the empire, with directions that it should supersede all other constitutions or collections of constitutions previously in force. (See Const. *Summa Reipublicae* prefixed to the *Codex*.) The next step was to deal with the *jus vetus*, the law contained in the writings of the authorised jurists, which practically included (as has been already explained) so much of the old *leges*, *senatus consulta*, and *edicta* as had retained any practical importance. But before proceeding to codify this mass of law a preliminary difficulty had to be dealt with. There were, as already remarked, many differences of opinion among the jurists whose writings had legal authority, some of such differences having arisen between the two famous schools of Sabinians and Proculians, and others having appeared after those schools had ceased to exist. Where the five leading authorities (Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, Modestinus, and Gaius) differed, the judge was required by a law of Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. to follow the opinion of the majority; and the general and earlier rule was that in cases where opinions were equal the judge might adopt whichever view he pleased (Cod. Theod. iii. 27, 3; cf. Gai. i. 7). Much confusion and uncertainty of course arose from these oppositions of opinion among the jurists; and the decline in the learning and ability of the judicial functionaries must have seriously aggravated the evil. Justinian accordingly prepared and issued a series of constitutions, fifty in number, dealing with and settling the disputed points. These are known as the *Quinquaginta Decisiones*. (See Const. *Cordi Nobis* prefixed to the *Codex*.) At the same time a large number of other ordinances were promulgated, amending the law in various respects and abolishing obsolete provisions. The ground being thus cleared, he appointed a commission of sixteen lawyers, under the presidency of Tribonian, who had now become quaestor. One was a high official, four were professors of law, the other eleven were practising counsel. Four had acquired experience by serving on the Code Commission. The instructions given to them are stated in the constitution *Deo Auctore*, *Cod.* i. 17, 1; and the manner in which the work was executed in the constitution *Tanta* (*Cod.* i. 17, 2), and in those called *Omnem reipublicae* and *Dedit nobis* (Δέδωκεν), prefixed to the Digest. Summarised, these instructions were as follows —To collect into one body whatever was best worth preserving in the writings of the authorised jurists, making extracts in such a way as that there should be neither repetition nor contradiction, but only one statement of the law should be set forth upon each of the many points whereon discrepant views had formerly prevailed. No regard was to be paid to the writings of private unauthorised jurists. All authors admitted were to be deemed of equal value, since the weight to be ultimately given to the Digest was to be that of the imperial sanction (*omnia nostra facimus*). Redundancies were to be cut off, errors in the manuscripts or in the expression were to be set right, alterations to be introduced where necessary, the version finally propounded by the compilers was to be taken to be that of the original writer. No *antinomia* (contradiction) is to be allowed to remain. Nothing is to be repealed which has been already enacted in the Codex. Rules of law which have become obsolete are to be passed over. The work is to be distributed into fifty books, following, in general, the order of the Codex and of the Perpetual Edict. The constitution containing these directions is dated in December 530. The commissioners set to work with promptitude, distributing themselves into several committees for the purpose of making swifter progress. The mass of books to be read through for the purpose of making extracts was enormous; not less, we are told, than two thousand treatises, containing three millions of "verses" (apparently sentences). Many of these were supplied by Tribonian from his large private law library. The work, to which the names of *Digesta* or Pandectae (Πανδέκται—all receivers) are indifferently given by Justinian, was completed in the autumn of A.D. 533, and published to the world with two prefatory constitutions (*Omnem reipublicae* and *Dedit nobis*) on December 16th of that year. As had been originally proposed, the Digest consists of fifty books, which seem to follow more or less the order of the praetorian Edict. Each book is divided into titles, each title into the extracts, which are sometimes only a line or two, sometimes of considerable length. The present division into numbered paragraphs dates from the Middle Ages. The arrangement of the matter in the titles is unscientific, and was long a puzzle; it has now however been cleared up by the industry and acuteness of Bluhme (*Die Ordnung der Fragmente in den Pandekten titeln*), who shews that the commissioners worked in three or four committees, each committee taking a particular class of books to peruse and make extracts from, and inserting together in the title all the extracts it had made from books of that class. The first of these classes included the commentaries on Sabinus, the second, commentaries on the Edict, the third miscellaneous dicta, opinions, definitions, &c., of Papinian and several of the later jurists, while the fourth consisted of some miscellaneous treatises of less importance. In some titles, one or other of these classes is quite wanting; and occasionally the

plan of arrangement has not been adhered to, or has been subsequently changed. The result is a want of rational nexus, which not only confuses the reader but indicates that the commissioners either did not care for scientific symmetry, or were in too great a hurry to have leisure to labour towards it. In recent times Pothier and others have rearranged the substance of each title, but as the established modern method of citation is by the extracts and paragraphs in the order wherein they appear in the original, it is usually more convenient to employ the book in Justinian's own form. He divides it into seven departments and fifty books, explaining the scheme of arrangement, which to a modern eye appears clumsy and unscientific. The total number of titles is 432, and of extracts from the jurists 9123. Prefixed to each extract is the name of the jurist whose it is, and of the treatise from which it is taken. The most numerous extracts, amounting to about one-third of the whole, are from Ulpian, who was not only a very voluminous writer but also one of the latest and highest legal authorities of the classical period. Next in quantity comes Paulus. The total number of jurists extracted from is thirty-nine. The whole book is published as an imperial constitution, and derives its force from the imperial sanction, which at the same time abrogates all the pre-existing law, except, of course, that contained in the *Codex* and subsequently published constitutions, and therewith forbids all reference to the works of the earlier jurists themselves. Nothing written by them, no part of the older law, not even the venerable Twelve Tables themselves, shall thenceforth have any legal authority. No judge nor advocate shall travel out of the four corners of these two new statutes, the *Codex* and the *Digesta*. To preserve their integrity Justinian actually forbids any commentaries to be written on the Digest, directing that even the Greek translation, which it was of course necessary to permit, should be a literal one, following exactly the order and phraseology of the Latin original. He further requires all copies to be made without the use of abbreviations or signs, lest the text should become corrupted. If difficulties of interpretation should arise, he directs the sovereign to be consulted as to the true meaning; if errors should be discovered, which he admits to be, notwithstanding the care used, still possible, or if circumstances should so change that any enactments would become unsuitable, he undertakes to remedy them by fresh constitutions. (See Const. *Tanta*, *Cod.* i. 17, 2.)

While the Digest was in progress, Justinian directed three of the chief commissioners—Tribonian, Theophilus, professor of law in the university of Constantinople, and Dorotheus, professor of law at Berytus (Beyrut in Syria, the other great law-school of the empire), to prepare an elementary manual for educational purposes, based on the existing treatises, and especially on the deservedly popular Institutes of Gaius, but brought up to the state of the law as changed by recent emperors, and by Justinian himself. This treatise, which consists, like the work of Gaius, of four books, dealing in succession with the law of Persons, of Things, and of Actions, was published shortly before the Digest, not only as a text-book for teaching, but also as a law, a constitution with full imperial authority. It is the treatise which we know now as Justinian's *Institutiones*.

So many changes had been made in the law since the publication of the *Codex Constitutionum*, especially by the issuing of the Fifty Decisions, that it naturally occurred to the emperor or to Tribonian, whom we may take to have been the prompter of most of his acts in these matters, that a revised edition of the collection of constitutions should be prepared, to include those published since A.D. 529, while it omitted others contained in that collection which had been in the interval repealed, or had become unnecessary. Thus the whole scheme of consolidation would be more complete and satisfactory, for these new constitutions being included in the *Codex*, judges and lawyers would have the whole law in their hands in the one volume, without the necessity of providing themselves with copies of ordinances which had appeared separately at intervals of time. Tribonian and four other commissioners were named for this work, with full powers of altering the *Codex* in every respect, not only by inserting the new constitutions, but by retrenching and amending the first edition, so as to make it conform in all respects to the law as settled. On November 16, 534, this revised *Codex* was issued with an introductory constitution (now prefixed to it) called *Cordi nobis*, addressed to the senate of Constantinople, which confirms it, explains the motives for its construction, and gives it sole validity, abrogating the former edition altogether. No copies of that older edition have been preserved, and the *Codex* we now have is this new one (repetitae praelectionis). It is divided into 12 books and 765 titles, containing 4652 constitutions, the earliest of which dates from Hadrian. The arrangement, while generally corresponding to, still differs in many points from, that of the Digest, and the topics dealt with are of course to a great extent different, since the contents of the Digest are nearly all not later in date than the time of Modestinus (A.D. 244); while far the larger part of the constitutions in the *Codex* are more recent, and perhaps a half of them the work of the Christian emperors. Administrative regulations of course occupy a much larger part of the *Codex* than of the Digest.

The necessity which Justinian foresaw for fresh legislation now arose, and although he must have felt that the completeness of his collections was to some extent marred by adding other constitutions to them, it was only natural that the appetite for legal reforms which he had contracted should prompt him to further change. Between the year 534 and the end of his reign a large number of constitutions appeared, the majority during the lifetime of Tribonian (who died in A.D. 545). We have in one of the collections which has been preserved 168 such constitutions, but several of these are by Justin II. and Tiberius. Some not in this collection have been preserved elsewhere, and probably some have been lost altogether, so that the total number, which cannot have been less than 166, may have been considerably larger. These are called, by way of opposition to the previously consolidated law, *Novellae Constitutiones post Codicem* (νεαραὶ διατάξεις), or shortly *Novellae* (νεαραί), Novels. They mostly have the form of edicts or general

ıws rather than that of *rescripta*, which had hiefly prevailed in earlier times, and are usually ddressed to some exalted civil official, or, in cclesiastical matters, to the patriarch of Contantinople or some other great prelate, who is harged to send them to the provincial goverıors, or to the metropolitans and bishops, as the ase may be. The majority are in Greek, the ongue then most general over the empire, but ome were originally published in Latin, and a ew in both languages. They do not appear to ıave ever been gathered into one officially anctioned volume (although this had originally een promised, see Const. *Cordi nobis*), but several rivate collections were made, from which our resent text is derived. The three on which that ext rests are the Epitome of Julian, containing 125 Novels in Latin, the Greek collection made ıt Constantinople not very long after Justinian's leath, containing 168 Novels (some, as remarked ıbove, by Justin II. and Tiberius II.) and the hirteen edicts; and the Authenticum (or *Liber Authenticarum*), or *vulgata versio*, in Latin, conaining 134 Novels. This was the collection ommonly used in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, and only 97 of the constitutions contained n it were commented on—*glossatae*—by the lossatores of the Middle Ages. Only these herefore have been received as binding law n those modern states which recognize the ivil law. (See as to the Novels the treatise of Biener, *Geschichte der Novellen Justinians*, and generally as to the history and editions of the *Corpus Juris*, Rudorff, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1857.)

The Corpus Juris Civilis, which under Justinian became the sole law of the Roman empire, ınd which was accepted in the early Middle Ages ıs the law of Germany, Southern France, and Italy, and has exerted a great influence on the jurisprudence even of countries which, like England, repudiate (except in special departments) its authority, consists of the four parts already mentioned—the *Codex*, the *Digesta*, the *Institutiones*, and the *Novellae*. It need hardly be said that they do not constitute a code in the modern sense of the word (*e.g.* as we talk of the Italian or French code, the code of Louisiana, &c.). They consist (*a*) of two collections of detached aws or rules, not welded into one new body, but etaining in their parts the traces of their original reation, (*b*) of a short elementary text-book, which partly summarizes and partly explains the ontents of those two collections, and (*c*) of a ıumber of detached ordinances issued during a period of thirty years, and modifying, in some ery important respects, the law contained in the wo large collections. Now, as we have come in nodern times to understand by codification the eduction of the whole law into one scientific ystem of rules, which are new in form and expresion, though of course for the most part old in subtance, the work which Justinian did would be etter described as a Consolidation than a Codifiation. In his *Codex* and *Digesta* he frames no ıew rules—he merely collocates in a new order xtracts from the pre-existing law-sources. The ındertaking which he accomplished was no doubt ar less splendid than a codification of the whole aw of the Roman empire would have been. But t must be remembered, firstly, that the knowledge and juristic ability of Justinian's age were not equal to so great a task; and secondly, that if it had been carried out, the precious fragments of ancient legal thought which have been preserved in the Digest would in all probability have perished. As it is, the composition of the Digest has no doubt been one of the causes why so little of the vast and admirable juristic literature of the earlier Roman empire has come down to us. Still, in the Digest a good deal has been saved, of which a complete codification by Tribonian would have deprived us, a loss which would have been poorly replaced by his own work. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that Justinian exercised a wise discretion in attempting no more than he did attempt. And many as are the faults which may be pointed out in the arrangement of his *Codex* and Digest, and in the occasional disproportion of fulness of treatment to the importance of the topic, the work was done decidedly better than what we know of the literary and scientific characteristics of Justinian's age from its other productions would have led us to expect.

Justinian's Corpus Juris held its ground as the supreme law book of the empire for little more than three centuries. By that time the condition of society had so greatly changed, so much of the earlier law had become obsolete, and, one may probably add, the level of legal learning and ability had so sadly sunk, that something shorter, less elaborate, more adapted to the needs and capacities of the time was required. Accordingly the emperors, Basil the Macedonian, Constantine, and Leo the philosopher, directed the preparation of a new law book, which, revised and finally issued under Leo about A.D. 890, received the name of the Basilica, or Imperial Code. It contains, in sixty books, a complete system of law for the Eastern Empire, retaining, of course, a great deal of the substance of Justinian's Corpus Juris, but in a wholly altered form; the extracts from the *Codex* of constitutions, and those from the Pandects and Novels being all thrown into one new *Codex*, and intermingled with later matter. It is all in Greek; is much less bulky than the Corpus Juris, and has come down to us imperfect. The best edition is Haimbach's, Leipzig, 1833–1851, with supplement by Zacharia, Leipzig, 1846.

It remains to speak of the new legislation whereof Justinian was the author. It is contained partly in the *Codex* and partly in the Novels. The legal changes made by the constitutions of the first seven years of his reign, which have been incorporated in the *Codex*, are many of them solutions of problems, or settlements of disputes which had perplexed or divided the earlier jurists. These were promulgated in the *Quinquaginta Decisiones* already mentioned. A considerable number more relate to administrative subjects; while the rest are too miscellaneous, running over the whole field of law, to be even summarised here. As regards those which the student of Christian history is most directly concerned with—viz. the ecclesiastical constitutions, it would be tedious, and it is not necessary for the purposes of this article, to give a minute account of the principal legislative changes due to Justinian in church matters. These will better find their place in the articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, which deal with the main subjects on which his legislative activity ex-

pended itself in this direction. A few remarks may, however, be profitably made on the emperor's ecclesiastical laws as contained firstly in the *Codex Constitutionum*, where they are abbreviated; and, secondly, in the collection of the Novels, where they appear at full and often wearisome length. The earlier ones are of course those in the *Codex*, while the Novels extend from A.D. 534 to 565.

In the *Codex* the first thirteen titles of the first book are occupied by laws relating to Christian theology and doctrine. Title I. is styled "De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica et ut nemo de ea publice contendere audeat," and contains (besides extracts from laws of earlier emperors) four laws by Justinian, beginning with the fifth, some of which have been taken into the *Codex* from the *Collectio Constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum*, and which lay down the true orthodox faith as defined by the first four general councils, and anathematize "Nestorius the man-worshipper, Eutyches the insane, Apollinaris the soul destroyer," and all who agree with these several heretics. One of these constitutions is an edict addressed by Justinian to pope John (as well as to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople), with the reply of the pope confirming the edict as a declaration of the faith. The second title is, "De Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis et de rebus et privilegiis earum," and contains eight laws by Justinian, which deal chiefly with legacies to churches, or other pious or charitable uses, and with the management of church property. The third title is, "De Episcopis et clericis et orphanotrophiis et xenodochiis et brephotrophiis et ptochotrophiis et asceteriis et monachis et privilegiis eorum et castrensi peculio et de redimendis captivis et de nuptiis clericorum vetitis seu permissis." Sixteen of the laws in it (less than one-third in number, but more than one-half in bulk) are by Justinian, and treat of a great many topics, including the election and qualifications of bishops and priests, the choice of the heads (ἡγούμενοι, αι) of monasteries and nunneries, the observance of a pure and strict life in monasteries, the management of church property by the bishop and steward, with various provisions relating to charitable foundations, to the residence of the clergy at their churches, and the regular maintenance of divine service there, and to wills of property for church purposes. The fourth title, "De Episcopali Audientia et de diversis capitulis quae ad ius curamque et reverentiam pontificalem pertinent," is almost equally miscellaneous in its contents. Fourteen of the constitutions in it are by Justinian. The fifth, "De Haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis," contains a selection of persecuting or disabling laws from the time of Constantine down to and including Justinian's own. The penalties threatened, and the general severity of tone, steadily increase as time goes on, and the number of different kinds of heretics included in the denunciations is enlarged. In the one case (c. 21) a distinction is drawn by the emperor between the blacker and the less atrocious kinds of heretics and infidels. "Manichaeis Borboritis et paganis, necnon Samaritis et Montanistis et Ascodrogitis et Ophitis omne testimonium sicut et alias legitimas conversationes sancimus esse interdictum. Aliis vero haereticis tantum modo iudicialia testimonia contra orthodoxos, secundum quod constitutum est, volumus esse inhibita." The sixth title, "Ne sanctum baptisma iteretur;" the seventh, "De Apostatis;" the eighth, "Nemini licere signum Salvatoris, Christi humi vel in silice vel in marmore aut insculpere aut pingere;" the ninth, "De Judaeis et coelicolis;" and the tenth, "Ne Christianum mancipium haereticus vel paganus vel Judaeus habeat vel possideat vel circumcidat," are comparatively short, and contain only laws of earlier emperors. In the eleventh, "De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis" we find an interesting collection of the various enactments against paganism from the famous edict of Constantius in A.D. 353 onwards, winding up with a general command to all heathens to be baptized forthwith, on pain of losing all their property and all civic rights; while death is the penalty for any one who, having been baptized, relapses into heathenism. All sacrifices, or other acts of pagan worship, are of course strictly forbidden and severely punishable; all gifts of property to any heathen temple or purpose are confiscated, the temples being all destroyed or appropriated to other uses, and the teaching of paganism, and indeed any teaching by any pagan, is absolutely prohibited. The twelfth and thirteenth titles, "De his qui ad ecclesias confugiunt vel ibi exclamant," and "De his qui in ecclesiis manumittuntur," are of less importance They illustrate the growth of the mischievous right of sanctuary in churches, and the practice of manumission there. With the fourteenth title, "De Legibus et Constitutionibus Principum et edictis," ordinary civil legislation begins. Of course a good many references to ecclesiastical matters, and especially to the jurisdiction of the bishops, are scattered through other parts of the *Codex*. It will be seen from this summary that neither Justinian nor his predecessors had conceived the idea of framing a complete body of laws or rules for the government of the church, its hierarchical constitution and administration, much less for its internal discipline or its ritual. These things had been left to be settled by custom, by the authority of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, by the canons of councils passed as occasion arose. Not that the civil monarch supposed such topics to lie beyond the scope of his action, for in Constantinople the emperors, and Justinian most of all, regarded themselves as clothed with a supreme executive authority over the religious no less than the secular society. No such distinction as was afterwards asserted in the West between the temporal and spiritual powers had then been thought of. No Eastern ecclesiastic denied the emperor's right to summon general councils, direct them, and confirm their decrees. But, in point of fact, the emperors had been content to leave to churchmen the settling of what were regarded as being more or less technical and professional matters, which they were fittest to settle. The narrow and bigoted spirit, which runs through the persecuting laws included in the *Codex*, is fully as conspicuous in Justinian's own as in those of any of his predecessors. Moreover, by re-enacting them he made himself responsible for all that they contained. There is, however, this excuse to be made for him and them, that they might, in that age of the world, well believe it possible

to stamp out heresy by a sufficiently vigorous exercise of the arm of flesh. And they did in fact succeed in stamping out paganism, though in one or two mountainous districts of Greece (such as the dells of Taygetus), and perhaps of Asia Minor, it lingered secretly on for two or three centuries more.

The Novels, as has already been said, are the constitutions issued by Justinian from A.D. 535 till his death in A.D. 565. Their topics are very various. Of the 153 in all to which the 168 appearing in the largest collection may be reduced by deducting four which are repeated, four which seem to be really *formae* issued by the praetorian prefect, and seven which belong to Justin II. and Tiberius II., the following rough classification may be made.

Relating to	ecclesiastical and religious matters	33
"	administrative topics	27
"	legal arrangements and procedure	21
"	the law of marriage and divorce	12
"	the law of inheritance	11
"	the law of obligations	9
"	the law of status and family relations	5
"	political arrangements of the provinces	10
"	crimes and moral reform.	7
	Special and miscellaneous	18
		153

To these there may be added eleven *edicta*, not usually classed among the Novels, and mostly either special or administrative, and several constitutions drawn from various sources, and now, with the *edicta*, usually printed as an appendix to the Novels. These also are mostly either political or administrative or special; none of any ecclesiastical importance.

Most of the Novels were originally issued in Greek, which was the language of the great majority of Justinian's subjects, although not that of his own birth province, Illyricum. Those which were composed in Latin mostly refer to one or more of the provinces, such as Thrace, Africa, Sicily, where Latin was chiefly, or at any rate largely, spoken.

Those which are here classed as special and miscellaneous include some which relate to particular places (*e.g.* Constantinople) only; and some which are in the nature of *rescripta* or *decreta*, answers given by the emperor to particular questions addressed to him or decisions pronounced in cases brought before him as supreme judge by a sort of petition of appeal. As instances Nov. 155, 158, 159, 160 may be referred to. The largest group of Novels is the ecclesiastical. Next in number come those which deal with the civil and military, but especially the civil, administration of the state, and those (it is hard to draw a line between them) which relate to procedure and the conduct of legal business. These taken together number forty-eight. They throw a great deal of light on the condition of the empire and the character of the public service. In private law, the subjects most frequently handled are the law of inheritance and the law of marriage. In that of inheritance some very sweeping and usually beneficial changes are made, particularly by the famous Novel 118, which abolishes what remained of the antiquated rules of agnatic succession, and has substituted that clear, simple, intelligible system on which the law of intestate succession to personal estate in all the countries of modern Europe is based, a system so obviously just and convenient that a superficial observer may wonder why the Romans should have taken so long to reach it. Marriage and the legal relations arising thereout are dealt with, not only in the twelve Novels above mentioned, but in several others also, where they come in among other disparate topics, as well as in some of the Novels which have been here classed as Special and Miscellaneous. This was a subject which Justinian was fond of tinkering at, and not always successfully. The most remarkable of his provisions are to be found in Novels 117 (sects. 10 and 12) and 134 (sect. 11), in which he greatly limits the freedom of divorce previously allowed by the law, going to the very verge of abolishing the power which either party had theretofore of putting an end to the marriage. It may even be contended that by these Novels he actually did enact the invalidity of such a divorce: but the truer construction of them seems to be that though the word *prohibemus* is used of the divorces by mutual consent, and the punishment of life-long imprisonment in a monastery inflicted, there is nothing which goes so far as positively to retain the marriage-tie in existence, making the divorce null and void. However this severity was found unmaintainable: such complaints arose from all quarters that in A.D. 566 ten years after the 134th Novel appeared, the emperor Justin II., nephew and successor of Justinian, repealed (Nov. cxl.) the penalties provided by it and by the 117th, leaving the law as it had stood under the legislation of earlier sovereigns. A great many provisions regarding dowries are to be found in these Novels, springing from the desire to simplify what was a rather complicated branch of the law, and to make it secure the interests of the wife. Several constitutions, prompted by a desire for moral reformation, deal with criminal law, several relate to guardianship, the position of freedmen, and other parts of the law of persons, and nine deal with the law of obligations; none of them of any great importance. Both this department of the law and that which relates to what are called Real Rights had been (except some points relating to Inheritance) so thoroughly handled by the great jurists that comparatively few amendments were possible: nor are these topics (Obligations and Real Rights), however interesting to the scientific lawyer, so attractive to the amateur in morals and legislation as are those with which Justinian chiefly occupied himself. Among the ecclesiastical Novels, which are here reckoned as thirty-three in number, several groups may be distinguished. One group contains those which deal with the temporal rights and relations of the church and her ministers as holders of property. Eight constitutions may be referred to it, most of which are occupied with the question of the length of the period at which a good title to lands originally belonging to the church may be acquired by adverse enjoyment; and with the conditions and restrictions under which ecclesiastical lands

may be alienated for a term or in perpetuity: both of them topics which gave Justinian much trouble, and on which he was sometimes obliged to reconsider and modify his first enactments. A second group comprises constitutions which are merely local in their application, having reference to some particular province (*e. g.* Nov. 37 to Africa) or to some particular church (*e. g.* Nov. 3 to the Great Church of Constantinople, Nov. 40 to the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem), or particular see (*e. g.* Nov. 11 to the privileges of the archiepiscopal chair of Justiniana Prima in Illyricum). To a third and more important group may be referred the constitutions, thirteen in number, which deal with ecclesiastical organization and discipline, the mode of choosing bishops and other clerics, their qualifications, the jurisdiction of bishops, the restrictions on the jurisdiction of civil courts in causes where clerics are concerned (a matter of great interest to any one who looks forward on the questions which were to occupy mediaeval Europe), the rights, immunities, and position generally of the clergy (*e. g.* the exemption of a bishop from *patria potestas*, Nov. 81, the devolution of the property of a cleric dying intestate without legal heirs, Nov. 131, § 13), the regulations under which a church or oratory may be built, endowed, and consecrated, the internal discipline of monasteries and regulation of monastic life. It is not easy to classify these thirteen Novels under the topics they deal with, for these are a good deal mixed up together; indeed this whole classification is not, and could not be made, quite exact, since many Novels of one group contain some provisions which ought to have been placed in another. Several of these constitutions are re-enactments of preceding ones, or are in the nature of what we should call Consolidation Acts, summing up in one statute a number of scattered provisions contained in preceding ones. A fourth and last group includes four ordinances levelled at heretics (a good many provisions affecting whom incidentally occur in the other Novels, especially those of the last preceding group). One of these four is called Edictum de Fide, and is a short appeal to heretics to return to the safe teaching and anathematizings of the Catholic church (Nov. 132): another is directed against Jews and Samaritans, refusing to them all such immunities from public burdens as their exclusion from public offices and honours might otherwise have appeared to imply (Nov. 45); a third deprives heretic women of the privileges granted by Justinian's previous laws to women in respect of their *dos*; and the fourth is a sentence of deposition and anathema against Anthimus, some time patriarch of Constantinople, Severus, some time patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, Zoaras, and other persons tainted or supposed to be tainted with Monophysitism, issued in confirmation of the sentence passed upon them by the synod which met at Constantinople under the presidency of the patriarch Mennas in A.D. 536, as to which see *supr.* p. 546. The most generally remarkable characteristics of these ecclesiastical statutes, over and above the spirit of bitter intolerance which they breathe, are the strong disposition to favour in every way the church, the clerical order, and the monastic life; and the assumption throughout of a complete right of control by the imperial legislator over all sorts of ecclesiastical affairs and questions. Although there are of course some matters, such as those of ritual, penance, and so forth, which are not touched at all or touched very slightly, still the impression conveyed here, as well as in the *Codex*, is that the civil power claims a universal and paramount right of legislating for the church: nor is there any distinction laid down or recognized as already existing between matters reserved for the legislative action of the church alone in her synods and those which the emperor may deal with. He does no doubt always speak with the utmost respect of the sacred canons, sometimes quotes them, professes to confirm them, and in one place (Nov. 131, § 1) expressly declares that all the canons of the four great general councils are to have the force and rank of laws (τάξιν νόμων ἐπέχειν). But there is no admission of the exclusive right of the church or of any ecclesiastical dignitary or body to legislate on any particular topics: this is indeed implicitly excluded by the laws, especially those in the first book of the *Codex*, which deal with the most specially spiritual of spiritual questions, the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith. It is therefore not surprising that the African bishops who wrote against him in the matter of the Three Articles (*supr.* pp. 546–8) complain of his conduct as arrogating to the magistrate what belonged of right to the duly constituted officers of the church. Justinian appears to have conceived of himself as a despot in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal, finding his own bishops subservient, and assuming that subservience of ecclesiastical authorities, which had been the tradition of the empire (despite the occasional outbreaks of resistance to princes of suspected orthodoxy), to be the natural and almost necessary relative position of the temporal and spiritual powers. He probably never dreamt of the dangerous consequences which might follow the exemptions from civil jurisdiction which he conceded to the clergy, and the large powers of administering not only ecclesiastical but charitable property which he conferred on the bishops. And indeed the result proved that in the East these exemptions and powers were not dangerous. The Eastern emperor always maintained his authority over the church; while different political conditions enabled the Western patriarch and the Western church generally to throw off the control of the civil power and even extend its own jurisdiction over civil causes.

The provisions of these ecclesiastical Novels throw a good deal of light on the state of the Eastern church in the 6th century, and the evils which it was thought necessary to remedy. We hear once or twice of the ignorance of the clergy, persons being sometimes ordained who could not read the prayers used in the sacramental services of the Supper and Baptism (Nov. 6 and 137). Irregularities in monastic life were of course frequent, as appears from the penalties threatened (Nov. 5 and 133). Bishops were too fond of residing away from their sees, so that a prohibition to the administrator to send money to them while absent was deemed needful (Nov. 6, § 3; Nov. 123, § 9). The rules that a bishop must be unmarried, and a priest either unmarried or married only once and to a

virgin, are insisted on. The habit of building churches, perhaps out of ostentation, and leaving them unprovided with funds sufficient for their due maintenance and service, is checked (Novs. 57 and 67), as also that of having private chapels in houses, or celebrating the sacred mysteries in houses (Novs. 58 and 131). The canonical direction to hold provincial synods twice or at the least once a year is often neglected, and is renewed (Nov. 138). The substance of the enactments contained in these Novels, as well as in the *Codex*, upon such matters as the election of bishops, celibacy of clergy, permanency of monastic vows, and so forth, will be found under the appropriate heads in the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES. The regulations regarding a monastic life have a special interest for the ecclesiastical historian from their being very shortly anterior to the creation of the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia. Benedict was a contemporary of Justinian. [BENEDICTUS OF NURSIA.] [J. B.]

JUSTINIANUS (7) **II.** (RHINOTMETUS) succeeded his father Constantine Pogonatus in September, A.D. 685 (Anastasius, *Vita Joannis V.* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxviii. 875), being then sixteen years of age. The first act of his reign was to renew the existing treaty of peace with the Caliph Abdalmelik, the most important stipulation being the removal of the Mardaites, a warlike tribe of Lebanon, who had formed a bulwark to the empire against Mohammedan invasion (Theophanes, *Chron.* 301–303 in Migne, *Patr. Graec.* cviii. 733–737).

Probably early in his reign, the bishop of Coloneia in Pontus denounced to him the Paulician followers of Constantinus Silvanus [CONSTANTINUS (6)], who were increasing rapidly in that district. Justinian ordered them to be assembled, and put to the question, and such as obstinately persisted in their heresy to be burnt alive (Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manichaeorum*, c. 27 in *Patr. Graec.* civ. 1281). In A.D. 687 Justinian wrote to pope Conon, announcing that he had found the Acts of the sixth council, and promising always to obey and uphold its decrees (Anastasius, *Vita Cononis*).

In A.D. 691, at the invitation of Justinian, the Trullan or Quinisext Council met at Constantinople. For an account of its object and proceedings see CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCIL OF (35) in *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* When its decrees were sent to pope Sergius he declared he would die rather than accept them. The enraged emperor thereon sent Zacharias, the proto-spatharius, to Rome with orders to seize the pope and to carry him to Constantinople. The army of Ravenna however marched to Rome and prevented Zacharias executing his mission, and he narrowly escaped with his life from their fury (Anastasius, *Vita Sergii*, 161). In A.D. 694 the Mohammedans invaded Asia Minor, and carried off a great number of prisoners. All these disasters might have occurred without shaking the throne of Justinian had he not alienated the people and ecclesiastics of Constantinople by his oppression. Like his great namesake, he had a passion for building; the Triclinium called after him in the palace and walls surrounding the palace were his work. The eunuch Stephanus the Persian, a cruel and bloodthirsty man, was his minister for these works. Theodotus, a former recluse of Thrace, who had been called from his retirement to the management of the treasury, was in cruelty a worthy colleague of Stephanus. He harassed men of rank and wealth not only among the provincials but the citizens of Constantinople with exactions and confiscations. All these acts of misgovernment increased the popular hatred against Justinian, and he committed the additional imprudence of pulling down the church of the Virgin near the palace in order to erect on the site a fountain and seats for the party of the Veneti, and thereby made himself odious to the patriarch and clergy [CALLINICUS (2)]. In the autumn of the following year (695) came a revolution; Leontius, who had been three years in prison, was suddenly released and sent to take the command in Greece. He was about to embark, and when taking leave of his friends reproached them with the non-fulfilment of their prediction that he would be emperor, and lamented that he would be in hourly expectation of his death-warrant. They promised that their predictions would be fulfilled if he obeyed them. His servants were at once armed, the prison was seized by a stratagem, and the prisoners set free, and a cry was raised throughout the city, "All Christians to Saint Sophia." The patriarch, who had discovered that orders had been given by Justinian for a general massacre, of which he was to be the first victim, came to the assembled multitude and sanctioned their enterprise with the words, "This is the day which the Lord hath made." A rush was made to the hippodrome, where at daybreak Justinian was dragged before the enraged people. His life was spared for his father's sake (Nic. Cp. Patr. in Migne, *Patr. Graec.* c. 940), but his nose was cut off (whence comes his name of Rhinotmetus), and, according to some accounts, either his tongue or his ears as well, and he was banished to Cherson in the Crimea. His ministers Theodotus and Stephanus were dragged through the streets and finally burnt.

At Cherson he so alarmed the citizens by his boasts that he would one day recover his throne, that they deliberated about putting him to death or delivering him to the emperor. Hearing of their intentions he fled to the Khan of the Chazars, who received him hospitably, and gave him his sister Theodora in marriage; but afterwards had to escape to Terbelis the king of the Bulgarians. Terbelis received him honourably, and collected a mighty host of Bulgarians and Sclaves to restore him to his throne.

Towards the end of 705 they marched on Constantinople. Three days were spent in unsuccessful negotiations with the citizens, who replied only by insults; finally Justinian, with a few comrades, succeeded in entering at night by an aqueduct, and made himself master of the city. Never was a victory more cruelly used. Innumerable multitudes of citizens and soldiers were executed in various ways, many being put into sacks and thrown into the sea. Callinicus the patriarch was deposed, blinded, and exiled to Rome. In his place was appointed a recluse of Amastris named Cyrus, who had predicted to Justinian his restoration (Agnellus, *Vita S. Felicis* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cvi. 701).

Justinian soon after his restoration sent two metropolitans to pope John VII. demanding the

return of the tomes containing the canons of the Quinisext council which he had sent in the pontificate of Sergius, asking him to confirm those he approved and to strike out those to which he objected. The pope, however, afraid of giving offence to the terrible emperor, sent back the tomes unaltered (Anastasius, *Vita Joannis VII.*). In A.D. 708 Justinian violated the peace with the Bulgarians. He was taken by surprise at Anchialus, while the greater part of his army were foraging in the adjoining country. They were routed with great slaughter, and many prisoners and vast booty were taken by the Bulgarians. Justinian with those that escaped held out for three days, and then managed to escape by night to his ships, and returned, covered with disgrace, to Constantinople.

In A.D. 709 he sent a fleet and army under Theodorus, the commander of the troops in Sicily, to Ravenna, whose inhabitants he believed to have been implicated in his deposition. The city was plundered and the chief citizens were seized and taken to Constantinople and put to death there, while Felix the archbishop [FELIX (140)] was blinded and banished to Pontus.

Meanwhile the Arabs renewed their inroads on the eastern frontiers. Their most important success was the capture of Tyana in Cappadocia, after defeating the relieving army with great loss.

In A.D. 710 pope Constantine was summoned to Constantinople to give his submission to the canons of the Quinisext council [CONSTANTINUS I., POPE].

When Justinian had taken such revenge upon the people of Ravenna, it was not likely he would forget that the Chersonites had actually plotted to kill him or deliver him to Apsimar. In A.D. 710 he sent a mighty armament against their city with orders to slay all the inhabitants. The city was taken without resistance; but the result was that the remnant of the Chersonites revolted from Justinian, implored the protection of the Khan of the Chazars, and proclaimed Philippicus Bardanes, who had been banished thither, as emperor. Justinian made a movement which left Constantinople undefended; Philippicus sailed straight there from the Crimea, and took the city without striking a blow. Elias, the spatharius, whose children had been murdered and whose wife had been outraged by Justinian's orders, marched into Asia Minor against him. Justinian's army, after a short parley with Elias, deserted him on being promised an amnesty, and the emperor himself was seized by Elias and beheaded with his own hand. His head was presented to Philippicus, who sent it throughout his western dominions as far as Rome. The date of Justinian's death was the end of A.D. 711. His character in its conjunction of impetuous energy and ruthless cruelty strikingly resembles that of his grandfather Constans. [F. D.]

JUSTINUS (1), traditionary first bishop of Sipontum (Siponto), said to have been ordained bishop of that city by the apostle Peter, A.D. 44, and to have lived till A.D. 111. A presbyter of Sipontum, of the same name, appears to have suffered martyrdom under Maximian, and there may be some confusion between the two. (Sarnelli, *Vescovi Sipontini*, p. 16; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vii. 1106; Cappelletti, xx. 578.) [R. S. G.]

JUSTINUS (2) MARTYR, ST., son of Priscus, grandson of Bacchius; born at Flavia Neapolis (a town named after the emperor Flavius Vespasian, built hard by the ruins of the ancient Sychem [Eusebius, *Onomast.*], and now known as Nablous), in Syrian Palestine (*Apol.* i. 1).

He calls himself a Samaritan (*Dialog.* ch. 120, § 349, C, "my race, the Samaritans I mean"), so that his family had, probably, settled there definitely; but he is, obviously, not a Samaritan in the strict sense, either by blood or by religion; nothing in his writing would point to such an origin; he has not heard, even, of Moses or of the Prophets, until well on in life; he classes himself among those Gentiles to whom the Gospel was opened so largely when the main mass (*Apol.* i. 53, § 88, B) of the house of Jacob, in which he includes by name the Samaritans as well as the Jews, rejected it. He speaks of being brought up in heathen customs, of his being uncircumcised (*Dialog.* ch. 29, § 246, C), of his having received a thoroughly Greek education (*Dialog.* ch. 2, § 219). The name of his grandfather is Greek, of his father, and of himself, Latin; little can be got from them to shew his actual race. He is content to call himself a Samaritan, and we cannot do otherwise.

What we know of his life is gathered, almost entirely, from his own writings, and chiefly from his famous description of the studies through which he passed to his conversion, given in the beginning of his *Dialogue* with the Jew Tryphon. The opening of the *Dialogue* discovers Justin walking in the covered colonnades of a city, which Eusebius identifies with Ephesus (*H. E.* iv. 18), at a time shortly after the wars of the Romans against Bar-cochba in 132–136 (*Dialog.* ch. 1, § 217). To the Jew, who salutes him as a philosopher with whom he is anxious to converse, he recounts the story of his philosophic experiences, though we gain but little clue as to where, or at what time, these experiences occurred. He speaks of the days when he first felt the longing to share in that wisdom "which is, verily, the highest possession, the most valued by God, to whom it, alone, leads and unites us; for those are indeed holy who have applied their mind to philosophy." "With this hope in my heart, I gave myself, first, to a Stoic teacher; but when, after staying some time in his school, I got nothing told me about God (for my teacher himself knew nothing, and professed that such knowledge was unnecessary), I left him, and went to another, a Peripatetic, who thought himself a clever fellow. He kept me with him for the first few days, and then asked me to fix a salary for him, in order that our intercourse together might be profitable to both; at which I left him, not thinking him to be a genuine philosopher at all. But my soul was still bursting with a passionate desire to hear the sweet and excellent secret of philosophy, and so I went to a famous Pythagorean, a man who made much of his wisdom; and, as I talked with him, and expressed my desire to become his pupil and follower, he suddenly said, 'No doubt, then, you have already studied music, and astronomy, and geometry; for you surely

do not fancy that you can gaze upon the truths which condition a happy life without having first learnt those lessons which draw the soul round from things of sense, and fit it for the world of spirit, so that it may be able to see the Beautiful, and the Good.' Much he said in praise of these studies, speaking of them as entirely essential, and so sent me away; for indeed I had to confess to him that I knew nothing of them. I was much grieved at this failure of my hopes, and all the more because I could not help thinking that he was a man who knew something; but then, when I thought of all the time that I should be taking over those studies, I could not endure the long delay, and so, in my difficulty, I thought of trying the Platonics, for their fame stood high. I went, for this, chiefly to a man who had lately settled in our town, an intelligent man, who was thought highly of by his school, and I advanced some way with him, and gave up the greater part of every day to it; and I was delighted with the perception of the Incorporeal, and the contemplation of the Ideas gave wings to my mind, and quickly I thought to become wise, and expected that, if it were not for my dull sight, I should be, in a moment, looking upon God; for this sight is the fulfilment of the Platonic philosophy.

"It was while I was in this frame of mind that one day I had a wish for quiet meditation, away from the beaten track of men, and so went to a bit of ground not far from the sea; and there, just as I was nearing the place where I looked to be alone with my thoughts, an old man, of a pleasant countenance, and with a gentle and dignified mien, came following me a little behind. I turned upon him, and stood still, with my eyes fixed closely on him, at which he said, 'Do you know me?'

"I denied it.

"'Why, then, do you look at me so narrowly?' he said.

"'Because I am surprised to find you here, in a place where I did not expect to see any one.'

"'I have been anxious about some of my people,' he said; 'they are away from home, and so I am come to see whether there is any chance of their appearing back again. But you, for what are you come here?'

"'I delight,' I answered, 'in these strolls, in which I can hold converse with myself, without interruption; a place like this is most favourable for such talking as I love.'

"'Ah, you are a lover of talk, and not of action, or of reality,' he said. 'You are one, I suppose, who cares more for reasons than for facts, for words than for deeds.'

"'And how, indeed,' I answered, 'can a man act more efficiently than in exhibiting the reason that governs all, or than in laying hold of it, and there, borne aloft on it, looking down on others who stray helplessly below, and do nothing sane, or dear to God. Without philosophy and right reason, there is no possible wisdom. Every man, therefore, ought to esteem philosophy as his noblest work, and to let all else come second or third to it; for, by philosophy, things are made right and acceptable, without it, they become common, and vulgar.'

"'Philosophy, then, is the true cause of happiness, is it?' he asked in reply.

"'Yes, indeed, it is,' I said, 'it and it alone.'"

A discussion follows on the possibility of philosophy giving the true knowledge of God, which is Happiness; at the close of which Justin confesses that his philosophy supplies no clear account of the soul, nor of its capacity to perceive the Divine, nor of the character of its life; the old man speaks with a decision that he professes to owe neither to Plato nor to Pythagoras, who are the bulwarks of philosophy; what teacher is there who can give certainty where such as these fail?

So Justin asks; and the old man replies that there have been men, far older than all these philosophers, men blessed and upright and beloved of God, who spoke by the spirit of God, and are called Prophets. These alone have seen the truth, and spoken it to men; not as reasoners who argue it out, for they go higher than all argument, but as witnesses of the truth, who are worthy to be believed, since the events which they foretold have indeed come to pass, and so compel us to rely on their words, as also the wonders which they have worked to the honour and glory of God the Father, and of His Christ. "Pray thou, then, that the gates of the Light may be opened too for thee; for these things can only be seen and known by those to whom God and His Christ have given understanding."

The old man departed, and Justin saw him no more; but in his soul the flame was fired, and a passion of love arose in him for these prophets, the friends of Christ; and as he turned it over in his breast, he found that here indeed lay the one and only sure and worthy philosophy. After this fashion, then, he won his title of philosopher.

This is all the account we have of his education and conversion. The scene with the old man is, perhaps, idealised; it has a savour of Plato; but the imagination of Justin was hardly equal to producing, unaided, such vivid detail of scenery and character. The description would imply that he was somewhat advanced in study, but still not past the enthusiasms of earlier life. The event, apparently, occurs in Flavia Neapolis, *i.e.* "OUR town," in which the Platonist teacher had settled; but "our town" may mean the town in which he and Tryphon were conversing, *i.e.*, according to Eusebius, Ephesus. It must have happened before the Bar-cochba wars, if it is they from which Tryphon was flying when Justin met him. The conversion itself takes the form of a passage from the imperfect to the perfect philosophy; and throughout his life he retains the impress of such a conversion. He is not rescued from intellectual despair, rather he is in the highest condition of confidence at the moment when the old man meets him. The aim with which he started on his studies does not fail him; it is it which he achieves in becoming a Christian. Hence he is not thrown into an attitude of antagonism to that which he leaves; his new faith does not break with the old, so much as fulfil it. He still, therefore, calls himself the philosopher, still invites men to enter his school, still wears the philosopher's cloak (*Dialog.* i. § 217; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 11; cf. the Acts of Justin). From the first, philosophy had been pursued with the religious aim of attaining the highest spiritual happiness by communing with God; the certified knowledge of God, therefore, pro-

fessed by the prophets, and made manifest in Christ, comes to him as the crown of his existing aspiration.

One other motive he records to have affected his conversion, *i.e.* his wondering admiration at the steadfastness of Christians under persecution. "When I was still attached to the doctrine of Plato," he says (*Apol.* ii. 12, § 50, A), "and used to hear the accusations which were hurled against Christians, and yet saw them perfectly fearless in the face of death, and of all that is terrible, I understood that it was impossible that they should be living all the time a life of wickedness and lust." This appeal, which the moral steadfastness of the Christians had made upon him, he continually brings to bear upon others in his *Apologies* (*Apol.* i. 8, § 57; *Apol.* i. 11, § 58, E, &c.).

Perhaps, too, the lack of moral reality and energy, in the doctrines of philosophy, was not unfelt by Justin, for his words seem sometimes to recall the old man's taunt, "You are a man of words, and not of deeds" (cf. *Apol.* i. 14, § 61, E, "For Christ was no Sophist, but His word was the power of God").

We have no details on the life that followed his baptism. He seems to have come to Rome, and, perhaps, to have stayed there some time, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 11). His peculiar office was to bring forward the Christian apologetic into the publicity of active controversy in the schools. The collision with Tryphon in the Colonnades is probably but a specimen of the intellectual intercourse which Justin challenged by wearing the philosopher's cloak. The introduction to the *Dialogue* appears to record a familiar habit. The *Second Apology* mentions a dispute that had taken place with Crescens the Cynic (*Apol.* ii. 3, § 43, B, C). So, too, the memory passed vividly down to Eusebius, of Justin's characteristic attitude. "It was then," he writes, "that St. Justin flourished, who, under the dress of a philosopher, preached the word of God, and defended the truth of our faith by his writings as well as by his words." So again, the acts of his martyrdom speak of him as sitting in the house of Martinus, a recognised place of meeting for Christians, and there conversing with any who visited him, imparting to them the true doctrine. The persons condemned with him are companions of his, whom he has gathered about him, and so converted. "I took delight," says one of them, Evelpistus, "in listening to Justin's discourse."

When persecution fell sharply upon the church, he was in the van of those who considered it their first duty to make public to their judges the doctrine and life so foully accused. "Every sane man," he writes, "will pronounce this to be the honourable and only right requirement, *i.e.* that the subject should make clear the principles of their life and doctrine, and that the rulers should then be guided by perfect knowledge in deciding the case." "It is our business," he repeats, "to offer to all men the opportunity of examining our life and teaching, so that we may not be ourselves responsible, instead of those who are given to ignoring our affairs, for the punishment due to that which they blindly commit" (*Apol.* i. 3, § 54).

So, in the *Dialogue* with Tryphon, he speaks of the guilt that he will incur before the judgment seat of Christ if he do not freely and ungrudgingly open to them his knowledge of the meaning of Scripture (*Dialog.* ch. 58, § 280, B); and, again, he says: "We struggle to dissuade you from being led astray by the slanders spread against us by the evil demons, because we know that every man who can tell the truth, and tells it not, shall be judged of God: as God has borne witness by Ezechiel, saying, 'I have set thee as a watchman to the house of Judah. If a sinner sin, and thou dost not bear witness against him, he shall die in his sin, but of thee will I require his blood'" (*Dialog.* ch. 82, § 308, E). Such was the rigorous urgency which impelled Justin to do his utmost to bring his faith forward into the daylight. He held himself responsible for any ignorance in others which it was possible for him to remove. He brought into Christianity something of that Platonic enthusiasm which made the philosopher a holy and responsible missionary, whose sacred duty it was to let all men receive the truth in his possession without money and without price. Of what importance such a temper would be in the service of the church, we can guess from the constant taunt of the heathen against the Christians for their timid and suspicious secrecy—"Silent before others, they chatter under their breath in dark corners of the streets, to each other."

It is this freedom of apologetic which crowned itself towards the close of Justin's life in the three works of his which alone can be accepted as undoubtedly authentic: the two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew.* It is this same freedom which brought him to his death. It will be well, before discussing the works, to complete his life by recording such facts as we know about his death.

The secret cause of his seizure is supposed by Eusebius to have been the enmity of an opponent whom he had convicted of ignorance, Crescens the Cynic. "Crescens," Tatian writes, "who made himself a nest in Rome, while professing to despise death, proved his fear of it by scheming to bring Justin and myself to death as to an evil thing" (*Oratio*, c. 32; cf. Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 16). Tatian does not assert that Crescens succeeded; but, if he implies it, then we have an ominous foreshadowing of the reality in the *Second Apology.* "Certainly, for myself, I expect to be taken in the plots of some such a one as I have named" (*i.e.* a relation, or a neighbour, or friend, who bears some grudge against him); "or anyhow of Crescens, that lover of noise (φιλοψόφου) and display . . . . whom I have convicted of possessing no real knowledge of our affairs . . . though he publicly declares that he knows us to be atheists and impious" (*Apol.* ii. 3, § 47). For the reality of his violent death for the cause of Christ, we have the indubitable testimony of his historic title, Justin Martyr. For the actual account of it, we are dependent on the *Acts of his Martyrdom*, which embody, probably without serious change, the simple and forcible tradition which the 3rd century retained of the death-scene. They have the appearance of containing genuine matter. According to these, he and his companions are brought before Rusticus, the prefect of the city, and are simply commanded to sacrifice to the gods, without any mention of Crescens, or of Justin's *Apologies*

to the emperors. Justin, on examination, professes to have found the final truth in Christianity, after exploring all other systems; this truth, he declares, consists in adoring the one God, who has made all things, visible and invisible, and in adoring Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was foretold by the prophets to be coming into the world to preach salvation and teach good doctrine.

He declares that Christians meet wherever they choose or can, seeing that their God is not limited to this or that place, but fills heaven and earth; but he confesses that he himself, on this, his second, visit to Rome, holds meetings for his followers in the house of one Martinus, near the baths of Timotinus, there and there only. After a brave refusal to sacrifice, and an assurance of his certainty of salvation in Christ, he and those with him are condemned to be beaten with rods and beheaded. They pass out to their death, praising God, and confessing their Saviour; the faithful secretly carry off their bodies to a fit burial.

Such are the fragments left to us of his life; between what dates do they fall?

To answer this, we have (1) the internal evidence of the writings, and (2) the external traditions, chiefly of Eusebius, partially of Epiphanius, Tatian, &c. The internal evidence seems to be the most positive; we will, therefore, start with it, and test it by the traditions.

Taking the *First Apology*, what do we get?

The title is decisive; it is addressed to the "Emperor Titus Aelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Caesar; to Verissimus his son, philosopher, and to Lucius, the natural son of a philosophic Caesar, the adopted son of a pious Caesar." (So the latter part runs, if the reading in Eusebius, and several MSS., of φιλοσόφου for φιλοσόφῳ, be taken, it being almost impossible to call Lucius himself "a philosopher," while it seems just possible to give his father Aelius Verus the name.) Here we are clear; we have Antoninus Pius, as sole emperor, with his two imperial companions, adopted by him as sons at the request of Hadrian, *i.e.* Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* (Transl.) vol. ii. 446, 1851). With this the Eusebian tradition agrees; according to it, the first *Apology* was addressed to Antoninus; in the *Chronicon*, it is definitely assigned to about the year 141 A.D., the fourth of that reign. Antoninus reigned from 137 A.D. to 161 A.D.; will 141 suit Justin's language?

According to some, even this is not early enough, for the title omits to salute Aurelius as Caesar, which he became publicly in 140 A.D. Against this lie several weighty objections. (1) Lucius Verus is called, possibly philosopher, certainly "ἐραστὴς παιδείας," lover of culture; but by 140 he is only ten years old. (2) Marcion is spoken of in the *Apology* as the greatest type of heresy, "with a following spread over every race of men," but Marcion, according to Irenaeus, &c., was a follower of Cerdon, who, with Valentinus, came to Rome and taught under the popeship of Hyginus, according to Eusebius and the *Chronicles*, between 139 and 142. Justin's language, omitting Valentinus, seems to belong to a time when Marcion's pre-eminence had overshadowed the earlier heretics (cf. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der Ketzergeschichte*, 1875, pp. 21, 22), and this could hardly be till well after 140. Marcion may have begun his teaching before, but it is under Antoninus (according to general authority, cf. Tertullian, Clement, &c.), that he succeeds in putting himself in the front, and arrives at Rome. Yet, already before the *Apology*, Justin has written a book against him, with other heretics (*Apol.* i. 26, § 70, C). The dates of the popes may be uncertain, but it is nevertheless difficult to attribute to Marcion this immense position in the very first years of Antoninus (cf. contra, Semisch, Justin, p. 73. 1840).

(3) Justin professes to be writing 150 years after our Lord's birth, a round number, it is true, but in a context where the object is to diminish the interval, and therefore not likely to exceed it so largely for the mere sake of a round number. Without very positive evidence against it, the year 148—*i.e.* Justin's 150 A.D.—should be taken as the approximate date.

And the evidence is not quite positive, for a conjectural correction of Justin's title transposes the καί from after, to before, the καίσαρι which closes the titles given to Antoninus; it is awkward to close with the lower name; it is more natural to suppose the καίσαρι to begin the address to Aurelius, in antithesis to the αὐτοκράτωρ given to Antoninus. If so, Aurelius is called Caesar; and, then, the date is later than 140 (Ritter, Volkmar; cf. contra, Semisch, Just. p. 67, 1840). This seems confirmed by the constant references to the co-ordinate philosophy and piety of the rulers, which incline us strongly to believe Aurelius to be sharing, actually, even if not yet officially, the power with Antoninus; officially, this was not made a fact until 147–8. This is more remarkably true of the second *Apology*, the pronounced language of which induces Volkmar to believe Aurelius to be already an official colleague of Antoninus. (Cf. *Apol.* i. 2, § 53, C; i. 12, § 59, D; *Apol.* ii. 2, 43, B; cf. Volkmar, *Theolog. Jahrb. von Baur und Zeller*, 14 N. 1855.) On the other hand, both *Apologies* limit markedly the title αὐτοκράτωρ to a single name, Antoninus Pius. (Cf. *Apol.* i. 1, § 53; *Apol.* ii. 2, § 42, C, § 43, B. Cf. Forschungen: T. Zahn, 1 part, p. 279.)

These reasons, apparently, tend to placing the first *Apology* somewhere near the end of the first half of the reign of Antoninus. This would not conflict with two other references to times. (1) That to the deification of Antoninus, *i.e.* 131 (*Apol.* i. 29, § 72), and that to the wars of Bar-cochba, 132, 136 (*Apol.* i. 31, § 72). Both have the same formula: τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ πολέμῳ and Ἀντινόου τοῦ νῦν γεγενημένου. The expression is vague, but, we suppose, requires that these two events should be well within the memories of Justin's readers.

What of the second *Apology*?

Here, the address has at last, after many confusions, been determined to refer to Antoninus again, and Marcus Aurelius. This address is indirect; it is found in 2, § 42, C, where a single emperor is definitely meant, and in the last chapter, where the rulers are spoken of in the plural; and in 2, § 43, B, it is found that there are two people in office, Pius the αὐτοκράτωρ, and a philosopher, who is saluted as son of Caesar; and continued reference is made to the mingled piety and philosophy of these personages. These two, with the well-known

titles, can hardly be other than Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. This is made almost a certainty when we consider that the second *Apology* seems to have followed close at the heels of the first; it is true that it stands separate, making a new start, going over the ground in its own way; but it bears all the mark of a sequel or appendix to the first. (Cf. Volkmar, in *Theolog. Jahrb.* 1855, N. 14; cf. Hort, in *Journal of Classic and Sacred Philol.* vol. iii. p. 155, 1857, of which much use is made in the article.) This is clear, among other things, from the references made in the second to the first *Apology* (cf. *Apol.* ii. 4, § 43; *Apol.* ii. 6, § 45; ii. 8, § 46), as to a writing close at hand and freshly remembered.

The only internal difficulty is the expression καίσαρος παιδί, attached to this philosopher; Aurelius was not a Caesar's son; but it is suggested (see Hort, *l. c.*) from a reading traced in a Codex C of Eusebius, that an "οὐδὲ" has been omitted between φιλοσόφῳ and καίσαρος, and that thus Lucius Verus, son of that Aelius Verus whose only fame it was to have been first called merely "Caesar" (Spartian. Ael. V. *Vita*), is intended by this latter name; so that the three of the first *Apology* are all repeated here. All other hypotheses seem loaded with difficulty, since they compel us, (1) either to call Marcus Aurelius by the name of "Pius," which is utterly unprecedented; or (2) Lucius by the name of Philosopher, which is profoundly meaningless. The main argument against this placing of the second *Apology* in the days of Antoninus is the statement of Eusebius, that Justin died in the days of Marcus Aurelius, to whom he wrote his second *Apology* (Eusebius, iv. 15, 18). This is repeated by Jerome. But Eusebius is very indistinct in his *Chronicon* about this subject, where he seems to place Justin's day earlier, and to be vague about the year of his death, referring to it under the account of the year 156. He himself places the first *Apology* in 141, yet the second must follow pretty soon after the first. He does not appear to possess other evidence than the writings in our hands. He is contradicted by another line of tradition, represented by Epiphanius, Cedrenus, Glycas. Above all, the title "Pius" used in the *Apology* is inexplicable on this supposition. It appears impossible to escape from this difficulty by supposing Eusebius to refer to a lost *Apology*, as was suggested by Scaliger, followed by Donaldson (*Crit. Hist. of Ch. Lit.* vol. ii. 1866, pp. 62–344). Eusebius definitely quotes our second *Apology* as the one in which Justin foretells his own death; it is to it that he refers when he speaks of the book presented to Aurelius.

But if it be accepted that the second *Apology* is addressed to Antoninus, and, probably, follows the first by no long interval, is it yet clear under which emperor Justin died? For the death under Antoninus it may be said (1) that Justin writes as if he expected the malice of Crescens to win its aim shortly; and that, according to Tatian, as interpreted by Eusebius, Justin did perish by the intrigues of Crescens (*Apol.* ii. 3; Tatian. *Or. ad Graecos*, 19); (2) that Epiphanius, by laying in 149–150 the rise of Tatian's heretical school, must have supposed Justin to be then dead; (3) that an independent tradition, possibly Alexandrian, represented by Cedrenus, places his death under Antoninus (cf. Hort, *l. c.*). But against this it is urged (1) that Epiphanius is helplessly wrong in assigning Justin's martyrdom to the days of Hadrian, and that this cannot but cause distrust of his date for Tatian; (2) that the *Dialogue* with Tryphon followed certainly the first *Apology*, and, if the first is quite close to the second, then the second also: that it refers to the peril of threatened death as vivid, but yet as passed (*Dialog.* 120, § 349), so that Crescens must have been baffled for the time, and an interval allowed sufficient for the production of a work of this size; (3) that the Acts of Justin report the name of Rusticus prefect of the city as the executing magistrate; that there is no reason to doubt this; and that there is no Rusticus prefect about this time except the famous tutor of M. Aurelius, made consul for the second time, apparently, in 161, prefect in 163 (cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres Complètes*, viii. p. 549). There seems no way of escaping this, except by doubting that it was a prefect that condemned him, a doubt which has every probability against it.

How, then, about Lollius Urbicus, the magistrate attacked in the second *Apology*? This famous man had been already in high command against Bar-cochba in 133, had been legate to South Germany, and then to Britain before 141; and a stone still records the raising of a wall which he undertook, according to Capitolinus, between the Clyde and the Forth, which was finished by 145 (cf. Mommsen in Hort, *l. c.*; Volkmar, *l. c.*; Aubé, *St. Justin*, p. 69). When he became prefect is uncertain; it might come soon after his return from these high offices; it anyhow preceded the date of the *Apology* of Aquilcius, which is supposed to have been written about 156, and refers to it (cf. *Apol.* 274). Borghesi believes it to have continued until shortly before the death of Antoninus, *i.e.* until about 158–159, when he was succeeded by Salvius Julianus, who held office until the end of 162, when Rusticus followed (Borghesi, *Œuvres Comp.* viii. 549; Tillemont, *Hist. Ecclés.* (1701) ii. 327, on St. Felicitas; cf. Spartian, *Did. Jul.* c. 1; Ulpian, *Digest.* xxxvii. xiv. 17). The prefecture of Urbicus, then, allows for any date for the second *Apology* from about 145 down to the closing years of Antoninus. But if so, then it appears unlikely that Justin's martyrdom followed closely on his second *Apology*, for tradition would have no reason to change the name of the prefect if it had been the very man whom Justin had so publicly and prophetically challenged in the *Apology*. The change of name, surely, suggests that it was not under Urbicus that he suffered, but if not under Urbicus, then we are apparently carried down to the very last year of Antoninus, and there remains no reason for not at once attributing the martyrdom to the days of the great Rusticus in or after 163, following, if so, very closely the death of St. Felicitas under Salvius Julianus in 162. The only difficulty is that of supposing ten years or more to intervene between the *Apology* and the martyrdom; but this is not so impossible when we know that in this interval we are bound to insert his largest work, the *Dialogue*; and again when we remember that the intimate connection between Crescens of the second *Apology* and the death of Justin is quite conjectural; that the words of Tatian allow for a failure

of the intrigue quite as much as a success, and that the Acts make no mention of Crescens at all. It seems more natural then to suppose that the danger from Crescens passed, and that an entirely new crisis brought about the death. (Cf. Volkmar, *Theol. J.* Jan. 1855. Cf. also Th. Zahn, Forschungen, 1 part, p. 277.)

There we must leave the question; the date of the *Apologies* is more important than the date of the martyrdom, and we have seen some reason to throw them back as far in the reign of Antoninus as is consistent with the prominence attributed to Marcion.

Of the date of Justin's birth, we have nothing certain. By Epiphanius he is stated to have been thirty years old at the date of his death. It is impossible to know what traditional authority this represents. The question seems outside all criticism. The evidence is not forthcoming. Only it may be noticed that there is no sign of great age in Justin's writings; they have still the impetus of strong life about them. He is in full intellectual vigour, we should gather, at the moment of his martyrdom. For the date of his conversion we have hardly a fragment of evidence beyond the fact already referred to, that it must be placed before the wars of Bar-cochba, 132–136 (*Dialog.* i. 1, § 217). Eusebius supposes him to have been still unconverted at the date of Antinous, A.D. 131 (*Hist.* iv. 8), but it is a question whether Eusebius has any evidence for this except *Apol.* i. 29, § 72, which certainly does not involve it.

The genuineness of the three writings already mentioned is universally accepted. The first *Apology* most definitely pronounces itself to be Justin's; the second obviously belongs to the first; the *Dialogue* claims to be written by a Samaritan, who had addressed the emperor; its personal history of the writer exactly tallies with his attitude towards philosophy in the *Apologies*. The peculiar phrase ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων occurs in these three works, and in them alone. The whole tone of the three works agrees with the period assigned to them. The external evidence gathered up in Eusebius is strong and unbroken (cf. Euseb. iv. 18).

But it is otherwise with a mass of writing attributed by tradition to Justin. Here there are difficulties of varying force. (1) We have an *Oratio ad Graecos*; is this the Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας spoken of as Justin's by Eusebius (*Hist.* iv. 18)? It does not deal with the problem attributed to it by Eusebius, *i.e.* the main mass of philosophical questions and the nature of demons. On the contrary, it is concerned with the immorality of heathen religion; it is short, not long, as Eusebius says, yet it does not shew signs of mutilation. There remains, therefore, no external evidence for it at all, while Eusebius's account would lead us to believe that the real speech was lost, for we have nothing answering to his description. Internally, it offers no *conclusive* evidence against itself, though it is written with more art than is usual with Justin. Grabe supposes it very doubtful, or much mutilated; Maranus thinks it Justin's, but not identical with the Λόγος mentioned in Eusebius. Semler, Möhler, later critics, doubt its genuineness. Otto, in his *De Scriptis J. M.*, supports it.

(2) A λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας, or *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, supposed to be the same with the Ἔλεγχος, mentioned by Eusebius, followed by Jerome, on the ground that its appeal lies in its attack; it is quoted by St. John Damascene. In this *Cohortatio* some differences have been noted from the acknowledged works of Justin. The author does not seem to be so thoroughly acquainted with the heathen philosophies. He attributes the origin of Polytheism to men's mistaken traditions rather than to definite impulses of evil spirits. He does not speak much of the Λόγος (cf. Kaye, *Justin M.* p. 6; and also Donaldson, *Critic. Hist. of Ch. Lit.* vol. ii. the Apologists). He says nothing of the germinal Word. He is far more negative to the Gentile philosophy than in the *Apologies*. The style, again, is more polished and artistic. The defence of it against these criticisms will be found in Otto, *de Scriptis J. M.* They might, possibly, be withstood, if there was strong counter external evidence; but this is wanting. We have only the notice by Eusebius of a book with another title. We have no positive evidence to this being that book.

(3) A fragment, περὶ Ἀναστάσεως, is quoted as Justin's by St. John Damascene. No book is attributed to Justin with this title by other writers, but it is argued by Grabe, &c., that it is part of the great work against all the heresies, since it is itself extremely polemical. Here, again, we are in this case—that if it is genuine the only external evidence for it does not refer to it correctly, and the evidence itself is extremely late. It is impossible to rest on such testimony as this, and this being so, internal difficulties are of weight. It is disallowed, therefore, by much later criticism. Its defence may be found in Otto, *de Scriptis*.

(4) A book, περὶ Μοναρχίας, mentioned by Eusebius as exhibiting the unique supremacy of God, from Christian as well as from Greek books (*Hist.* iv. 18), of which we are supposed to possess the latter half, in which the Gentile evidence for the authority of God is brought forward. But there seems to be no reason to suppose the work a fragment (cf. Donaldson, *l. c.*). The genuineness has been under discussion since it was doubted by Petavius, &c.; as it stands, it certainly does not correspond with the work recorded by Eusebius. The points in its favour may be found in Otto, *de Scriptis*, especially the note, p. 51, where the analogies with Justin's thinking are noted. Altogether, we have no positive evidence to depend upon. (Cf. on all this, Semisch, J. M. p. 163–167, 1840.)

These works may be classified as very doubtful; others are decidedly ungenuine.

(1) The ἀνατροπὴ δογμάτων τινῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν, which hardly any one defends.

(2) The Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς Ὀρθοδόξους, with its cognate Ἐρωτήσεις Χριστιανικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, and Ἐρωτήσεις Ἑλληνικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς. In these Irenaeus, Origen, the Manichees are referred to. Christianity is already paramount, &c.

(3) The letter to Diognetus, formerly attributed to him, has nothing of his style or character about it.

(4) The letter to Zenas and Serenus.

(5) The ἔκθεσις τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, a work later than Nicaea.

Several works of Justin have been entirely lost:

(1) The book against all the heresies, to which he refers in *Apol.* i. 26, § 70.

(2) The book against Marcion, referred to by Irenaeus (iv. *contra Her.* c. 14; cf. v. 26), supposed by some to be part of the large work mentioned above.

(3) A book called Ψάλτης, and another περὶ ψυχῆς, in which he contrasts his own doctrine with that of the Greek philosophers (Euseb. *Hist.* iv. 18).

"Many other works of his," says Eusebius, "are in the hands of the brethren." Evidently, however little we hold in our hands, he must have written a great deal, and the three undoubted works still in our possession will perhaps account for this voluminous character of his writings. For these three pieces are written loosely and unsystematically, and read like the outpouring of a mind that had ranged widely in its studies of heathen literature and philosophy, and had massed a large store of general knowledge, which could be easily and effectively brought to bear upon the subject that was astir, without any scrupulous regard to the artistic or symmetrical appearance of the result produced. The writer is frank, open, confident, with a generous optimism that prompts him to pour out freely his convictions, and his reasons for conviction, as if he could not but believe that men would agree with him, if only he could exhibit to them the arguments which had such force and clearness to him himself. His intellectual powers were not of that delicacy and subtlety which would make them critically conscious of their own use and work; they were not dialectic, so much as discursive; they were, therefore, unhampered, free to be at the service of his moral persuasions, acting under the spur of the higher impulse, with large and abundant vigour. There is no apparent return of the intellect upon its own handiwork, to perfect, or complete, or polish it; no intellectual anxiety, or severity, or discontent. He seldom, one would fancy, looks back, seldom forward, as he writes; there is but little care for a more elaborate rhetoric than such as comes spontaneously from the natural fervour of the writer; there is no foresight of an artistic climax; no sign of afterwork spent on improving an eloquent passage. Everything appears to be used as it comes to hand, without any rigidity of method, or exactness of plan. It is true that the two *Apologies* must have been written under the pressure of immediate need; the second, especially in its abrupt opening, bears the traces of the sudden excitement under the stress of which it was produced; but, on the other hand, there would be every possible reason for making the appeal for Christianity rhetorically effective and brilliant. The emperors are addressed throughout in the name of culture and philosophy. There is an urgent desire to exhibit the faith, as a system of thought deserving the attention of the highest and most cultivated minds. And when we turn to the *Dialogue*, which, however much it may represent an original conversation casually begun and accidentally protracted, was yet composed long after the event, probably, and in the quiet of leisurely reflection, we meet with the same looseness of treatment, the same disregard of careful finish. It is true that the opening of the *Dialogue* offers the one exception to this; the description of the search for truth with its close by the solitary shore, and under the visionary influence of the old and unknown stranger, is powerfully worked with a pleasant relief of light and shade, and a graceful tender dignity. Some touch of his old master, Plato, seems to have moved him for a moment, to endeavour, with success, after a more delicate and picturesque perfection than is usual with him; but the rest of the work almost entirely abandons the effort with which it began. Very little is done to sustain the play and animation of a dialogue. There is very little definite order in the argument. Each point is taken just as it occurs. There is less unity in the whole than in the *Apologies* themselves. The discussion of a multitude of texts, one following another, in which the force of the argument all turns, necessarily prohibits any artistic grace.

Yet, with all this lack of literary perfection or of strong speculative originality, Justin's writing, especially in the first Apology, is full of direct and striking force; it moves easily and pleasingly; his thinking is fresh, healthy, vigorous, and to the point; his wide knowledge is used with practical skill; his whole tone and character are immensely attractive by their genuineness, their simplicity, their generous high-mindedness, their frank and confident energy.

He himself denies the claim of eloquence (*Dialog.* c. 58): "I am not anxious to exhibit an array of words merely remarkable for its skill; for indeed for this I have not the capacity," though Tryphon courteously doubts this profession of inability. A careful examination of Justin's style is given in Otto's prolegomena to his edition (vol. i. lxiv.). He notices that Justin seldom abandons the diction of common life; that the order of his sentences is often hampered; the structure of his pronouncements often weak and intricate, his phrases and words not carefully selected. He notices for long digressions, *Dialog.* c. 30–40, c. 63–66, c. 79–83, &c.; for needless additions, *Apol.* i. 27–29, c. 43–44, *Apol.* ii. c. 3–9; for repetitions, cf. *Apol.* i. 4, § 55, C, with 7, § 56, D, c. 6, § 56, B, C, with 13, § 60, C, D, *Dialog.* 33, § 250, D, E, with c. 83, § 309, D, C, &c. For imperfect sentences: *Dialog.* c. 56. For unusual expressions, *Dialog.* c. 2, *αἱρεῖ με ἡ νόησις*; c. 131, *ἀνάριθμος εἰπεῖν*; *Dialog.* 114, *ὕδωρ βρυούσης ταῖς καρδίαις*; *Apol.* i. 53, *ἐμφορέω πειθὼ καὶ πίστιν τινί*; *Apol.* i. 44, *μέλον ἐστί* for *μέλει*, &c. He continually uses shortened phrases, cf. *Apol.* ii. 13, *οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότριά ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, &c. He leaves words to be supplied; he varies his use of the same words; he changes the grammatical construction as he writes.

Otto notices as characteristic, the accumulation of words of like signification; cf. *Apol.* i. 12, *ἀρωγοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι*; c. 14, *δοῦλοι καὶ ὑπηρέται*, &c.

For words of rare use, Otto mentions *Dialog.* c. 80, *ὁ αἱρεσιώτης*; c. 117, *ἁμαξόβιος*; c. 62, *ἀναμφιλέκτως*; *Apol.* i. 2, *ἀνθρωπαρέσκεια*; c. 27, *ἀρρητοποιός*; c. 55, *βαναυσουργός*; *Apol.* i. 33, 35, *θεοφοροῦμαι*; *Apol.* i. 18, *ὀνειροπομπός*; c. 9, *μορφοποιέω*; *Apol.* i. 61, *προαμαρτάνω*; c. 44, *προγνώστης*; *Dialog.* 79, 89, *ἐνδοτικός*; c. 35, *ἐπιλήψιμος*; c. 120, *καρπογονέω*; c. 56, *κυριολογέω*; c. 20, *νεκριμαῖος*; c. 122, *περιττολογέω*; c. 118,

123, φιλεριστέω, &c.; *Apol.* ii. 2, ἐκδυσωπέω; c. 13, παμμάχως; c. 6, φαρμακευτής, &c.

For words quite peculiar to Justin: *Apol.* i. 39, ἀλληλοφόνται; c. 46, ἀλογισταίνω; c. 49, βραχυεπῶς; c. 18, δαιμονιόληπτος; c. 19, εἰκονοποιέω, ἐπάντευσις; c. 45, προαγγελτικός; c. 56, συνεπιγνώμων; *Apol.* ii. 11, ἐρωτοποιέω; c. 3, φιλόψοφος; *Dial.* 14, ἀζυμοφαγία; c. 53, ἀσαγής; c. 139, διακατάσχεσις; c. 44, 46, 47, δικαιοπραξία; c. 135, ἐπείσαξις; c. 134, θειώδης; c. 49, λαοπηγησία; c. 119, ὁμοιόπιστος; c. 118, περικεκομμένως; c. 107, σακκοφορέω; c. 131, προανιστορέω; c. 94, συκοφαντητός; c. 53, ὑποσαγής; c. 64, 67, φιλέριστοι; c. 85, ψηφιστικός.

The first *Apology*, called ἡ δευτέρα in two principal MSS. A, B; but, evidently, in spite of one adverse reference (*Hist.* iv. 17), known as the first to Eusebius (*Hist.* ii. 13, iv. 18), and referred to as the first, by the second, is composed with much more care and completeness than the second. It is addressed (as has been mentioned) to the emperor Antoninus Pius, to Verissimus, his son, the philosopher, and to Lucius, the natural son of a philosophic (if this reading, the most pointed and effective, may be trusted), the adopted son of a pious, Caesar, and together with them, to the sacred senate, and the whole people of the Romans. Antoninus had been adopted by Hadrian, on the condition of himself adopting Marcus Aurelius Verissimus, then seventeen years of age, son of Hadrian's sister, and Lucius Verus, then eight years of age, son of L. Aelius Verus, a favourite of Hadrian, who, according to Spartian (Ael. Ver. *Vita*), "nihil habet in suâ vitâ memorabile nisi quod primus tantum 'Caesar' est appellatus." In contrast with the gathered majesty of Rome thus grandly saluted, comes the title of those for whom the appeal to the magnificent authority is made, together with the name of him who ventures on this hazardous defence; it is, "on behalf of those who, taken as they are from out of every race of men, are yet everywhere unjustly hated and persecuted, that he, Justinus, the son of Priscus, of the Syrian city of Flavia-Neapolis in Palestine, himself one of those detested men, makes his address and entreaty."

He proceeds to define and justify his position of apologist before the rulers, with supreme dignity and confidence. He comes before them, as before men who, famous as they are for genuine integrity and philosophy, will be sure to follow that reason which bids them love and hold the truth, in spite of the prejudice of the multitude, even though it be at the risk of ruin. He calls upon them to let it be seen whether they are the loyal guardians of right, and the lovers of culture, which they are reported to be. For himself, he comes to them with no aim of winning favour by flattery; but, simply, to demand for himself and for his fellows the justice of an exact and critical examination, in which the judgment shall be given without regard to prejudice, or to superstition, or to irrational panic, or any long-established evil fame. It is, as it were, for the sake of the governors and their justice, that he seems to be asking a trial, for, "as for us Christians," he proudly declares, "we do not consider that we can suffer any ill from any one, unless we are convicted of wickedness or evil-doing; you can kill us indeed, but damage us you cannot" (*Apol.* i. 2, 54, A); "Princes who prefer prejudice to truth, can do no more harm than robbers in a desert" (*Apol.* i. 12, § 59, E).

So he opens his *Apology*, which can be roughly divided into three divisions, in the first of which (ch. 3–23) he refutes, generally, the false charges made against Christianity, and establishes their innocence. In the second (ch. 23–61) he exhibits the truth of the Christian system, and how it has got misunderstood. In the third (ch. 61–68) he reveals the character of the Christian worship and customs.

The charges against the Christians, encountered in Part I., are these: (1) The very fact of Christianity is itself treated as a punishable crime; Justin appeals to the principle of tolerance, *i.e.* that opinions should not be considered criminal, unless they result in criminal acts. "A name is, surely, not to be judged good or bad, except in regard to the actions belonging to it" (ch. iv.).

So he passes to the second charge (ch. 6), *i.e.* Atheism; and certainly, he allows, the Christians disbelieve in such gods as these; but how can they, with any justice, be called Atheists, who reverence and worship the Father of all Righteousness and Temperance and Virtue, Himself pure from all touch of evil, and the Son who came from the Father, and taught us this, and the whole Host of Angels that accompany Him, and are made like unto Him, and the Prophetical Spirit. "These are they whom we honour in reason and truth, offering our knowledge of them to all who will learn of us."

But (3) it is charged that some Christians have been proved malefactors. Yes, very likely, for we all are called Christians, however much we vary, just as under the single name of philosopher, there may be covered an endless variety of systems. Therefore, let every one of us be tried on his merits. If he is convicted of evil, let him pay the penalty, only let it be as an evil-doer, not as a Christian. If he be innocent of crime, let him be acquitted though he be a Christian.

We are charged (4) with aiming at a kingdom. But this can hardly be a kingdom on earth; for, then, we should be ruining all our hopes of it by our willingness to die for the name of Christ. Yet we never attempt to conceal our faith; and here Justin makes a direct appeal.

"Surely," he cries, "we are the best friends that a ruler could desire, we who believe in a God whose eye no crime can escape, no falsehood deceive; we who look for an eternal judgment, not only on our deeds, but even on our thoughts! So our Master, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has taught us.

For the reality and true character of this faith in God through Christ, he offers the proof of the Christian's moral conversion. "We who once delighted in adultery, now are become chaste; once given to magic, now are consecrated to the one good God; once loving wealth above all things, now hold all our goods in common, and share them with the poor; once full of hatred and slaughter, now live together in peace, and pray for our enemies, and strive to convert our persecutors."

All this is emphasised by our belief in the Resurrection of the Body, in which we shall hereafter suffer pain for all our sins done here (ch. 18).

Is this incredible? Yet it is believed not only by us, but by all who turn to magic rites,

to spiritualists, to witches, to frenzied seers, to oracles at Dodona or Delphi; by Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, by Homer and Virgil.

Here begins a defence of Christian doctrine, on the ground of its likeness to doctrines already held in heathenism (ch. 21).

We alone are hated, even though we hold the same as the Greeks; we alone are killed for our faith, even though we do nothing bad.

(Ch. 30.) He turns to a new objection. "How do you know the genuineness of your Christ, or that He was not some clever magic-worker?"

Justin's answer is, by the proof of prophecy. The books of the Jews, translated in the Septuagint, in spite of the bitter hatred of the Jews against us, speak, years before the event, of us and of our Christ.

(Ch. 43.) He refutes the objection that belief in prophecy implies belief in fate. To believe in moral responsibility is necessarily to deny necessity.

It is by the foreknowledge of God which can tell how human choice will act, that prophecy is possible (ch. 44).

Prophecy, then, without any inconsistency, can speak as it does, of the ascension and dominion of Christ; and we, therefore, firmly believe in these events, and you will not stop us, for you can only kill us.

(Ch. 46.) A new objection: were all men irresponsible before 150 years ago, when Christ was born, under Quirinus?

No, there were Christians before Christ, men who lived in the power of the Word of God, Socrates and Heraclitus, Abraham and Elias.

(Ch. 56.) The demons have deceived men before Christ by the tales of Polytheism; and after Christ, by the impieties of Simon, Menander, and Marcion; but they have never been able to make men disbelieve in the end of the world, and the judgment to come: nor have they been able to conceal the advent of Christ.

(Ch. 59.) Not only Polytheism but Philosophy has stolen from our books. In all this, it is not that we happen to think as others do, but that they have imitated and used that which is really ours.

(Ch. 61–67.) He has spoken of Faith in Christ, and Regeneration of Life; he will now tell what this exactly means; and so proceeds to describe the Baptism by which the Regeneration is effected; the reasons for this rite of Baptism; its accomplishment in the Name of the Nameless God, called the Father, in the Name of the Son, Jesus Christ, crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the Name of the Holy Spirit, who spake by the Prophets.

He describes (ch. 65) the Eucharistic Feast to which the baptized are admitted, and gives a brief account of the character to be attributed to the bread and wine then consecrated, and of the authority on which this rests.

He speaks once more of the feast, as it recurs on the Sundays, when they all assemble together, and (ch. 68) closes rather abruptly, with the personal directness which, throughout, gives dignity to the *Apology*. He pleads before the emperors, as an equal who explains himself to an equal, more anxious to ensure an understanding with those whom he respects, than to save himself; he writes because he is responsible for any failure of justice that occurs through an ignorance that he might remove: for, even though he is eager to clear himself, he has a certain proud, almost defiant assurance in reserve, which makes him almost ashamed of appearing to put out all his force into a defence. "If my words seem to you agreeable to reason and truth, then give them their due value; if they strike you as trifling, then treat them lightly as trifles; but, at least, do not decree death against those who do nothing wrong, as if they were enemies of the state. For, if you continue in iniquity, we foretell that you will not be able to escape the future judgment of God; we shall be content to cry, God's will be done!"

He adds an epistle of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, by which he could claim a fair trial such as he has asked for; but he would rather ask it as a matter of plain justice, than by right of law or precedent.

This letter of Hadrian's, we are told by Eusebius, was preserved by Justin in its Latin form (*Hist.* iv. 8), and thrown by him into Greek. Its style suits the age of Hadrian (Otto, edit. of Justin, vol. i. note on p. 190); it is considered genuine by Aubé, Ueberweg, doubted by Keim (*Theol. Jahrb.* t. xv.; Tub. 1856, p. 387). It gives so little to the Christians, that it seems hardly likely to be fictitious.

It may be asked, why, if it be genuine, the Christians did not appeal to it more constantly; or why, then, were they still persecuted under Hadrian, as we know they were, since it was then that Quadratus and Aristides wrote their *Apologies*? The answer seems to be, that the letter, after all, does not deny Christianity to be a crime; it remains an offence against the law, and if so, the letter allows Fundanus to give judgment accordingly. All it ensures is an open trial, with regular and examined witnesses; it also promises punishment to an accuser who fails to prove his charge. Of course, if so, the letter fails to grant what Justin demanded, *i.e.* that Christianity itself should not be considered a criminal offence; but Justin himself evidently feels disinclined to rest his case on the letter: he does not press it, he appeals to it quite carelessly, without emphasis or stress; evidently it is not a charter on which he can afford to take his stand; he brings it in, not as granting him his whole suit, but vaguely as guaranteeing Christians the sort of trial (τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι καθὰ ἠξιώσαμεν) that they demanded. It would be an immense gain to force upon the mind of the governors that they were not to act blindly and recklessly, but that, if they punished Christians, they were punishing them directly as criminals, for then comes in all the force of Justin's apology, how *can* it be just to consider such innocent people to be criminals?

It was certainly, then, worth his while to quote it, even though it did not go beyond the lines laid down by Trajan; while, as long as it does not go beyond these lines it may well be genuine. It would allow for the fact of persecution occurring under Hadrian, and yet would account for Hadrian himself not being known as a persecutor. (Cf. Tert. *Apol.* v.) It tallies exactly with the limits of humanity to which it was then conceivable for an emperor to attain. The letter itself is addressed to Fundanus in answer to in-

quiries from his predecessor Serenus Granianus (cf. Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiat.* n. 128, p. 197, Paris, 1872), inquiries very much correspondent, apparently, to those of Pliny to Trajan.

The second *Apology*, possibly an appendix to the first (Otto, ed. p. lxxxi.; Volkmar, *Baur und Zell. Theolog. Jahrb.* t. xiv. Tub. 1855; Keim, *Protest. K.-Z.* Ber. 1873, n. 28, col. 619), anyhow written at no long interval after the first, begins abruptly with an appeal directly to the Romans (which may have led to its being supposed to be addressed to the senate as the traditional title wrongly states), but is, in reality, addressed to the imperial rulers (cf. ch. 3, 14, 15), together with the whole people. These rulers, under whom the affairs which led to the *Apology* occurred, are, it has been argued, the emperor Pius and the philosopher Marcus Aurelius, and, according to a suggested reading, Lucius Verus, son of Caesar. The opening betrays by its suddenness, and emphasises by dwelling on the speed with which the *Apology* had been produced, the excitement under which it was composed. "Things had happened within the last two days in Rome," which were but too much like the irrational actions which the magistrates were everywhere carrying on, and which had driven Justin to write an *Apology* on behalf of his own people, who are, though the Romans know it not, and will not have it, their brothers, of like feelings with themselves. He writes it because everywhere any one who is chastised for an offence is prompted by his own evil passions, and helped by the devils who hate us, and by the judges whom these devils hold in their power, to bring us Christians to the death.

(Ch. 2.) To illustrate this, he relates the case which had so fired him with indignation; it is very typical of what Christians were subject to. The dissolute wife of a dissolute man is converted, and is anxious to separate from a husband who persists in unnatural and extravagant vice; her friends strongly dissuade her, her husband holds out some hopes of amendment, so she forces herself to remain; at last he goes a trip to Alexandria, and plunges into worse debauchery; she takes the step, sends a writ of divorce, and leaves him. Then this "good and noble husband" bethought himself of accusing her of being a Christian. While her case was pending, he managed to get a centurion who had under his charge a certain Ptolemaus, the wife's master in the faith, whom Urbicus had imprisoned, to challenge him with being a Christian. Ptolemaus, in obedience to his conscience, admits it, on which he is at once put into fetters, and long incarcerated; then, brought up before Urbicus, he is asked this one question, "Are you a Christian?" and on confessing it is at once condemned to death. Lucius, a Christian, cannot contain himself and publicly challenges Urbicus to justify a decision which punishes a man simply for the name of Christian. "You, too, are a Christian, I suppose?" is the only answer that he gets from Urbicus; and on confessing it, he, too, is condemned to death, declaring as he goes that he is glad to be free of rulers so unjust, and to depart to the Father and King of Heaven. Yet a third, in the same way passes to a like punishment; "And I, too, myself," breaks in Justin, "look for the same fate, for I, too, have enemies who have a grudge against me, and are likely enough to take this way of avenging themselves; Crescens especially, the sham philosopher, whom I have convicted of entire ignorance about the Christianity which he slanders."

(Ch. 4.) It may be said in scorn, "Be off, then, to your God in Heaven by killing yourselves, and trouble us no longer!" But Christians believe the world to be made by God to fulfil His purpose, they are not at liberty to destroy, as far as in them lies, the human race, for whom the world was created. Nor yet can they deny their faith, for this would be (1) to allow its guilt, as well as (2) to lie; and (3) would leave you in your evil prejudices.

(Ch. 5.) "Why does God not help His own?" He spares to punish and destroy the evil world, for the sake of this holy seed, the Christians, who are the real reason why God still preserves the order of nature, which the fallen angels have so corrupted.

(Ch. 7.) But a destruction by fire will come at last; so far the stories are right; a fire freely willed of God for the punishment of those who have freely sinned.

(Ch. 9.) Two retorts may be made. (1) This eternal fire is a mere frightening for children. (2) It supposes men to be virtuous through fear of punishment, not through love of virtue.

Justin answers that it is impossible to believe that God is, or that He cares for man, or that there is any absolute reality in virtue and vice, such as justifies rulers in punishing the guilty, without holding that God rewards the one, and punishes the other.

(Ch. 11.) Another reason why God allows us to suffer: it is because all men must pay the debt of death; and it is because of the blessedness won through discipline and probation; as Xenophon pictured in the choice of Hercules. We are as athletes who prove their virtue by risking death.

(Ch. 12.) By this Justin himself had been moved when he, while still a Platonist, saw how bravely a Christian suffered. How could they be sensual who so readily died to the world? You slay us who are innocent for doing things which you yourselves and your gods openly commit.

(Ch. 13.) These are the foul lies by which the devils try to hide from you the truth of Christ, at which lies we who possess the truth can afford to laugh; for our truth is that which all philosophers aimed after in their measure, but which, by their contradictions and inconsistencies, they confessed themselves not to have reached; which Truth was made man for us that He might share our sufferings and bring us healing.

(Ch. 14.) "For this truth's sake I ask you to make known this book of mine," that others may know the supernatural height of Christian doctrine, or at least may recognise that it is not like those lower philosophies of Sotades, and Epicurus, and Philaenis, which nevertheless are openly allowed to be heard and read. He closes with a prayer that all may learn the truth; and that the rulers may, for their own sakes, give a decision worthy of their high characters.

The effect of these *Apologies* upon the rulers of Rome is unknown; only we do know that the ex-

pectation by Justin of his death was not disappointed, and that Marcus Aurelius still mistrusted the motives which made Christians martyrs, and saw no reason to stay the outcry of the Roman crowd, when it demanded Christian victims. It remained a legal crime to be a Christian. Indeed, according to Roman ideas of government, it could hardly cease to be criminal as long as Christianity continued its private and peculiar organisation, and found it impossible to conform to the general tests of good citizenship, such as the oath to the emperor, &c. The *Apologies* never hint at any concession on such points, they are defiant in their statement that their present position is entirely innocent, and that, therefore, there is nothing which they can offer to withdraw or surrender. The very vigour of the *Apologies* must have revealed the intense and violent collision of Christian life with all the mass of pagan custom and pagan temper in which the solidity of Rome had laid its foundation. At the same time, though the practical outcome of the *Apologies* was so negative, we cannot argue from that, that the effect of so confident and large-minded a defence was not widely operative. The church itself evidently felt thoroughly satisfied and gratified by what Justin had put out for her; she ranked him among her most valued defenders; she set his name high, and followed much in his footsteps. A whole world of her theology dates itself from his writings. The church must have seen reason to believe that he had accomplished his task with success.

The *Dialogue* with Trypho follows the first *Apology*, and probably the second also, in the years between 142 and 148 according to Hort; in 155 according to Volkmar; in 160–164 according to Keim. It was written to report to a dear friend, Marcus Pompeius (cf. ch. 8, § 225, D; ch 141, § 371, D), a discussion which Justin had held with the Jews during the time of the Bar-cochba wars. Nothing is said of the motives with which it was written for Marcus. The discussion represents the Christian polemic against the Jews; but it is to be noticed that Justin forces this form of discussion on Trypho; for Trypho makes his advance as a philosopher rather than as a Jew, and it is Justin who turns the talk on to the Jewish Scriptures by expressing his surprise at a Jew being still engaged in searching for truth in the Pagan philosophers when he possessed already in the Scriptures the authorised exponent of revealed wisdom, for the sake of whose secured certainty Justin himself had left behind him all other human systems. Trypho is, indeed, a most curious type of Judaism; a light and superficial inquirer in the courts of the schools, surrounded by a band of loud and lively friends, he begins with a reference to a Socratic at Argos, who had taught him to address courteously all who wore the philosopher's cloak, in the hope of learning, through the pleasant interchange of thoughts, something that would be useful to both. He smiles gracefully as he inquires what opinion Justin holds about the gods, and, apparently, justifies his philosophic studies in the face of Scripture, by claiming that the philosophers are equally with Moses searchers after the being of God. After the noisy friends have been avoided by retirement to a quiet seat, Trypho opens the question with the air of a free and tolerant seeker after truth; he has read the Gospel, and found in it a morality too high for real practice; and he is ready to acknowledge the piety of the better Christians. What he wonders at is that with so much goodness, they should nevertheless live as Gentiles without keeping the pure laws of God, *e.g.* the Sabbath and circumcision, by which He separates the holy from sinners; he wonders, too, how those who place their hope in a man can yet hope for a reward from God. He would most gladly have all this explained (cf. ch. 57, § 280, A; ch. 68, § 293, A). Trypho then is no fierce Jewish opponent, prepared to attack; he does not expect the Jewish controversy; he is a Jew, indeed, and holds to the Law, and has read the Christian books, and is quite prepared to meet their arguments, and can discuss the points of prophecy with them; but he does not profess to have made this his aim, he adopts the tone almost of an inquirer. "We were not prepared," he says in ch. 56, "for such perilous questions; for we have never before heard any one investigating and searching out and proving these things as you do. You see," he says at the end, "that it was not from any set purpose or preparation, that we got to talking on this subject" (cf. also ch. 63, § 286, D; ch. 90, § 17, C). He confesses himself much pleased with the interview; to have got more than he expected; he wishes he could come again; he begs Justin to remember him as a friend; he prays that Justin may come safely through his approaching voyage (ch. 142). We are far from the fierce fury of the Pharisee, or of the settled controversialist. It is the Jew under a new aspect that we find here, the Jew of culture, of the open and tolerant mind, with the easy courtesy of the literary world, to whom the law represents the customary and unquestioned habit of life with which God is satisfied, but to whom it is not the least the satisfaction of all his intellectual longings, the crown of philosophic endeavour, the mirror of wisdom. In front of such apparent openness, and willingness and easy-going lightness as this, it is perhaps not without artistic skill that Justin hints at the fierce and implacable hatred of Jew against Christian which had tortured and slain Christians without pity under Bar-cochba, and made Jews everywhere the most violent and remorseless of the church's slanderers and persecutors (ch. 108, § 335).

The *Dialogue* takes two days in the delivery; we assume this to have been an actual fact from the clumsiness of the repetition made necessary by the new hearers of the second day. No exact period is named at which the break occurs, but it has already happened, when we come to ch. 85: Grabe places it between ch. 70 and ch. 78, and imagines the end of the first portion of the *Dialogue* to be lost, but the MSS. do not bear this out (Grabe, *Spic. Pat.* ii. 163). Some fresh friends of Trypho add themselves to the party on the second day (cf. ch. 118, § 346, C); he speaks sometimes as if they were only two, at other times as if they were many. One of them is named Mnaseas (ch. 85, § 312), "the other" agrees readily with Justin's argument about the serpent, and is eager to hear more (ch. 74, § 322, B). They shout disapproval once, as if they were in a theatre (ch. 122, § 351, A). The whole is spoken as they sit on

some stone seats in the middle of the gymnasium, just as Justin is preparing to sail on a voyage.

After the scenic introduction in which Justin gives the personal experience which made him acknowledge the high philosophy of the Jewish Scriptures as fulfilled in Christ, the actual argument begins at ch. 10. The points especially raised by Trypho were two, *i.e.* how the Christians could profess to serve God, and yet (1) break God's given law, and (2) believe in a human Saviour (cf. ch. 10, § 227, D). The purity of Christian living is acknowledged; the problem is its consistency with its creed.

Justin's argument in explanation may be very roughly divided into three parts (Otto, Prolegomena). In the first, ch. 11–47, he refutes Trypho's conception of the binding character of the Jewish law, which refutation involves him also in a partial answer to the second part of the problem, *i.e.* the nature of the Christ in whom they trust; for the passing away of the Law turns on the character of the Christ of whom it prophesies.

In the second part, ch. 48–ch. 108, he definitely takes up this second part of the problem, and expounds the absolute divinity of Christ, His pre-existence, incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension, by virtue of which the belief in Him is proved consistent with belief in God alone.

In the third part, ch. 109, he passes to what is the necessary outcome of these two principles, the conversion of the Gentiles, the new Israel, the abandonment of the old Israel, the sons of Abraham, unless they will accept the new covenant.

The whole is rested on the Scriptures, on the interpretation of prophecy. Justin starts with a claim to believe absolutely in the God of Israel; here is his common ground with Trypho (ch. 11), both therefore accept the old revelation (cf. ch. 68, § 298, A; cf. ch. 57, § 279, B; ch. 56, § 277, D). "I should not endure your argument," Trypho says (ch. 56, § 277, D), "unless you referred all to the Scriptures; but I see you try to find all your reasons in them, and announce no other God but the Supreme Creator of the world." Even when angry, Trypho dare not dispute the scriptural argument, "as was clear from his face" (ch. 79, § 305, D). Justin professes to have no dialectic power, but such as he gains from his skill in interpreting Scripture (ch. 58, § 290, B).

The whole *Dialogue*, therefore, is a perfect store-house of early Christian interpretation of Scripture. This forms its wonderful value; it carries us back to that first effort at interpretation, which dates itself from St. Peter's earliest speech at the election of Matthias, and knits itself so closely with the walk to Emmaus, when the Scriptures were first opened, and it was seen from them that Christ must suffer. The Old Testament is still the sacred guide and continual companion of the Christian Life, the type of the *written* revelation; everything is there. Only, by the side of it we already feel in Justin that a new power has appeared, a fresh canon is forming, another book is beginning to assert itself. It is just because Justin appears at the moment when this is gradually becoming clear that his work is full of such crucial interest.

In these three works, *i. e.* the two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue*, Justin covers a large part of the theological field. His treatment of the various questions on which he touches became an historic moment in Christian literature, and is peculiarly typical of the earliest form of Christian speculation outside and beyond the immediate lines laid down by the Apostolic writings. The Apostolic fathers were rather practical than speculative. The doctrinal works of people like Melito of Sardis are lost. It is the Apologists in whom Christianity, according to its preserved records, first prominently applies itself to the elucidation of its dogmatic position in face of questions as yet unattempted or unsolved, and of these Apologists Justin is among the earliest and the most famous. But in considering his theology it will be well to remember that we only possess his exoteric utterances; he is explaining his position to a Jew, or to an emperor; he is, in both cases, distinctly apologetic, *i.e.* he is taking up the position of his opponents, he is claiming to rely as much on the Old Testament, to believe as much on the absolute and only God as Trypho, to be as genuinely and reasonably philosophic as Marcus Aurelius. It is true he is very frank, apparently, and unreserved; but he cannot, for all that, be read without regard to the especial, pressing, and limited conditions under which he wrote. He is not spontaneously developing the Christian's creed, but is striving, under the stress of a critical emergency, how to exhibit it most effectively and least suspiciously, to an alien and unsympathetic audience, an audience prepared not merely to discuss but to judge and to kill. The whole position tended to increase and quicken the natural tendency of Justin's mind towards an optimistic insistence on likenesses and agreements, rather than on differences between himself and his opponents. This is not said to discredit his utterances, but simply in order to consider them, as all intelligent criticism must consider them, under their actual historical conditions. Justin is not to be read as if we were reading a dogmatic treatise of St. Thomas. Again, it is not unnecessary to remember how much Justin is moving on what is as yet new ground to a great extent; he is pioneering, he is venturing along unmarked and unexamined roads. Christian doctrine is still forming itself under his hands, and even on some most essential and cardinal points. At such a stage it is impossible to foresee all the consequences of an expression. Many a formula, sufficient for the immediate purpose, may have to be reconsidered in view of fresh eventualities. It is hopelessly illogical for us at a time like his, while Christianity is in the first flush of intellectual confidence, advancing towards a dominion which she foreknows to be her own, to look for that disciplined precision, and anxious forethought, and deliberate care, which would characterise her selected expressions after the subtle sifting of a hundred later controversies.

Justin's *Theology*, then, begins in the presence of (1) Jewish Monotheism, and (2) of the Primal and Absolute and Universal Cause of all Existence, posited by the philosophic consciousness of Paganism. He has to state how his conception of the Deity stands to these two great positions.

He answers, that he believes (1) in a God identical with the God of the Jews; "There is no other God, nor ever has been, but He who made and ordered the Universe; that very God who brought your fathers, Trypho, out of Egypt, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (*Dialog.* 11, § 228, A).

This God of creation is the one cause of all existence, therefore known as the Father: ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων (*Dialog.* 114, § 342, A), or τῶν πάντων (*Apol.* i. 8, § 57, A); ποιητὴν τοῦ ὅλου καὶ πατέρα: ὁ δημιουργὸς πάντων καὶ πατὴρ ὁ Κύριος: ὁ δεσπότης (cf. *Apol.* i. 12, § 60, A; *Apol.* i. 61, § 94, D, &c.). In *Apol.* ii. 6, § 44, D, he sums up all the names by which the absolute God may be known, πατήρ, Θεός, κτίστης, κύριος, δεσπότης. This is his cardinal and prevailing expression for God the Father—that He is the Maker and Ordainer and Lord of all creation. This God, the Father, though revealed to man under those names which describe His works, is Himself, in Himself, utterly nameless, whom it would be blasphemy to limit by a name, since He is unoriginate, ἀγέννητος, and has, therefore, no more ancient Being than Himself from whom to receive His name (*Apol.* ii. 6, § 44, D). He remains, therefore, ἄρρητος (*Apol.* i. 13, § 61, A, § 94, D; *Apol.* ii. 10, § 49, A, 12, § 50, C; *Dial.* 126, § 355, C); ἀνωνόμαστος (*Apol.* i. 63, 95, C, &c.). He is "the only God," ὁ μόνος Θεός. He is in Himself, εἷς καὶ μόνος, incapable of leaving Heaven: ἀεὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις μένων; for Him an Incarnation was incredible (*Dial.* 127, § 357, A). So far he is at one with Plato (cf. *Apol.* ii. 10, § 48; Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23, C), as well as with Trypho. There will be felt, in all this, a certain *abstractness* in Justin's conception of the Father; he is still touched by Platonism.

(2) But, besides the Father, Justin undertakes to exhibit the Divinity of a Second Person, the Son, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός (*Apol.* ii. 6, § 44), υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ (*Apol.* i. 13, § 60, C), to whom is allotted the second place, in honour and worship, after the ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντα Θεὸν γεννήτορα τῶν ἁπάντων. He is, primarily, ὁ Λόγος, the Word of God, with God before creation began, συνὴν τῷ πατρὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων (*Dialog.* 62, § 285, D). With Him the Father communicated (προσομιλεῖ), having begotten Him before all things (γέννημα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεγέννητο). The manner of this begetting is spoken of as a projection (τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα). Such is the Λόγος, called by Solomon the Wisdom, who coexisted with the Father at that moment when, at the beginning, by Him the Father made and perfected all things (*Apol.* ii. 6, § 44, E; *Dialog.* 62, § 285, D). He it is who is ὁ Θεός, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθείς, and who is known as the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Power, and the Glory of Him who begat Him (*Dialog.* 61, § 284, A, B).

The Son is the instrument of "Creation" (δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε); hence (in addition to His primal names, Λόγος, Υἱός), called Χριστός, κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτόν; but this name is in itself of unknown significance, just as the title "God" is no real name, but rather expresses a natural opinion, inborn in man, about an unutterable fact. Christ's Being, therefore, as well as the Father's, is beyond all human expression, and is known only economically; for, if this is true of the title Χριστός, it can hardly but be true of the higher names, Λόγος and Υἱός.

This Λόγος is identical with the Man Jesus, conceived through the Will of the Father on behalf of man, named Jesus, as being a Man and a Saviour.

Justin holds, then, the entire Divinity of Him who was born a Man, and crucified under Pontius Pilate. Nothing can be more pronounced or decided than his position; it is brought to the front by the necessities of both his arguments, that with the Jew and that with the Gentile. He starts with this position, that he worships as God, a man Christ Jesus; it is this that he has to justify to the Gentile (cf. *Apol.* i. 21, 22, § 67). "In that we say," he says, "that the Word, which is the first-begotten of God, has been born without human mixture, as Jesus Christ, our Master, who was crucified and died, and rose again;" or, again, "Jesus Christ, who alone was begotten to be the only Son of God, being the Word of God, and the first-born, and the Power of God (πρωτότοκος καὶ δύναμις), became Man by the will of the Father, and taught us these things." These are his statements, and he justifies their possibility to the emperors by appeals to Greek Mythology, *i.e.* he is so fast bound to this belief that he has to run the risk of all the discredit that will attach to it in the minds of the philosophic statesmen to whom he is appealing from its likeness to the debasing fables which their intellectualism either rationalised or discarded. That Justin is conscious of this risk of discredit is clear from chapters 53 and 54 of the first *Apology*, with which we may compare the taunt of Trypho (*Dialog.* 67, § 219, B). So again, in the *Dialogue*, it is the Christian worship of a man that puzzles Trypho; and the first necessity for Justin is to exhibit the consistency of this with the supreme monarchy of God. "First shew me," asks Trypho (in ch. 50 of the *Dialogue*), "how you can prove there is any other God besides the Creator of the universe?" and this not in any economical sense, but verily and indeed (cf. *Dialog.* 55, § 274, C); and Justin accepts the task, undertaking to exhibit Jesus, the Christ, born of a virgin, as Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων (*Dialog.* 36, § 254, E), to shew Him to be, at the same time, both Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος, and also ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄνθρωπος (*Dialog.* 59, § 382, C). The rigour with which this is posited may be tested by the crucial case, so much discussed, of the appearance to Abraham at Mamre. Here, it is allowed, after a little discussion, that no angelic manifestation satisfies the language used by Scripture. It is certainly God Himself who is spoken of. Justin undertakes to prove that this cannot be God the Father, but must be other than He who created all things—"*other*," he means, "in number, in person, not in will or spirit" (*Dialog.* 56, § 276, D, ἕτερος, ἀριθμῷ λέγω ἀλλ' οὐ γνώμῃ). So, again, he applies to this Divine Being the tremendous words delivered to Moses from the midst of the Burning Bush, and he will not suffer this to be qualified or weakened by any such subtle distinctions as Trypho attempts to draw between the angel who was seen of Moses, and the voice of God that spoke. He insists, against any such subtleties, that whatever Presence of God was actually there manifested was the Presence, not of the Supreme

Creator, who cannot be imagined to have left His Highest Heaven, but of that Being who, being God, announces Himself to Moses as the God who had shewn Himself to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. To Him, therefore, apply the words "I am that I am."

By these two cases, specimens of a hundred others drawn from Law and Psalm and Prophets, it will be seen how clearly the problem was present to Justin, and how definitely he had envisaged its solution so far as the Old Testament was concerned; in direct collision with the Monotheism of the Jew, he defends himself, not by withdrawing or modifying his assertions, but by girding himself up to the supreme task of discovering the evidence for His Dual Godhead in the very heart of the ancient Revelation itself; and he discovers this evidence not in any by-ways or minor incidents, but in the very core and centre of those most essential manifestations of God to Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and Joshua, on the reality and solidity of which the whole fabric of Jewish faith and worship was reared.

This being so, Justin has to set himself to consider in what way these two Divine Beings stand to each other. Given the existence of a Second Person who can so effectually identify Himself with the first as to be called ὁ Θεός, how can we conceive the harmony and unity of such a Duality? Justin is clear that the distinction between the two Beings is real; it is a numerical distinction. The Word is no mere emanation of the Father, inseparable from Him as the light is inseparable from the Son. He is a real subsistence, born of the Father's Will (*Dialog.* 128, § 358, B). The words used, therefore, to express their relation are words of companionship, of intercourse, of συνῆν, προσομιλεῖ (cf. *Dialog.* 62, § 285, C, D, where he brings out the fact of this personal intercourse as involved in the consultations at the creation of man). They are two distinct Beings then, but yet they must be one, in order not to dissolve the absoluteness of the only Godhead. Such a unity may be pictured by the connection between a thought and the Reason that thinks it. The thought projected by the Reason is not a piece cut off the Reason that fathered it, yet is it identical in character with the Reason as if it were a part of that Reason itself. Or, again, it may be pictured by the unity of a flame with the fire from which it was taken. Such a flame is identical in nature with the original fire, yet it is not a part of that original fire, removed from it, for that original fire is exactly such as it was, undiminished and unmodified. And, nevertheless, the flame taken from it lives and burns in a separate reality of its own. Such a unity, again, is morally realised in the entire identification of the life and action of the Son with the will and mind of the Father (*Dialog.* 56, § 276, D).

Difficulties present themselves at each of these examples of the unbroken unity.

First, as to the analogy of the fire, or of the thought, the very force of the parallel compels us to think of a stage prior to the dual condition in which that which is now dual was single. What then of the existence of the Word before it became the προβληθὲν γέννημα? Justin is content with the statements: (1) That "before all things," already "at the beginning," this projection had been effected, the two Persons were already distinct (cf. *Dialog.* 62, § 285, D; 56, § 276, C, τὸν καὶ πρὸ ποιήσεως κόσμου ὄντα Θεόν). (2) That besides this actual projection of the Λόγος there is a state which may be described as a condition of inner companionship with God the Creator (συνῆν). This precedence is never distinctly asserted to be temporal by Justin. In the *Dialogue* the συνών is stated to be eternal in exactly that sense in which the γέννημα is eternal, *i.e.* as being "before all things." It is not stated to possess an *absolute* eternity, in distinction from the relative eternity of the γέννημα, though a certain mental distinction between the two conditions is perhaps implied in the famous passage of the second *Apol.* ch. 6. Even here, however, there is some indistinctness; the language *may* imply two sequent conditions (καὶ συνών, καὶ γεννώμενος), but it may just as well state two relations of the Son to the Father, both affirmed to be "before all things," but neither clearly regarded as preceding the other in time. On the whole, it looks as if Justin had no more absolute formula for eternity than "πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων," and this he certainly applies to the γεννώμενος equally with the συνών. If so, any priority that he may possibly intend to attribute to the συνών is a logical priority. In any case the expression συνών, which must express the most absolute and eternal relation of the Son to the Father, is an expression of intercourse, of companionship, of personal duality; it is closely allied to προσομιλεῖ (*Dialog.* 61, 285, D).

It appears then more likely, from Justin's language, that he does not definitely pronounce on the question how the process of Begetting consists with the absolute eternity of the Personal Word begotten. He vaguely suggests an inward communion preceding the outward, in which the Word was, as it were, hidden within the bosom of the Father. But there is no precise realisation of a Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικός. He hardly seems conscious of this difficulty suggested by his two analogies of the thought and the flame; he is satisfied with expressing, by them, the unity, and yet distinctness, of the Father and the Son. He is content to state that this unity in difference existed from the very first, before all created things. But his analysis seems hardly to have pressed back to the final question, which Arian logic discovered to lie behind all minor issues, *i.e.* was there a moment when the Father was not yet a Father? And such a suspension of analysis would be all the more natural, since Justin, in the writings before us, hardly enters on the contemplation of the Nature of God in and to Himself. His most essential conception of God is of Him as the Creator. It is always as the source of all things—the Father, the Maker, the Lord of the Universe—that he presents God to us. He is ὁ πατὴρ καὶ δημιουργὸς τοῦ ὅλου, &c. It is God in His relation to His works, that we contemplate. This is our starting-point, especially since it is only through His workings that we can name or know God at all. What He was in Himself before all His works does not seem considered, and it is therefore all the more sufficient to state that God came to the making of the world, already dual in character. It is not stated that it was for the sole purpose of creation that this duality came into existence. The passage in the *Apol.* ii. 6, rather implies that it was the name

Χριστός that accrued to the Word, as the instrument of creation, though, of course, to all theology, and especially to a theology so cosmological as Justin's, the characteristic functions of the Second Person are regarded chiefly as concerned with creation. He still asserts that the moment at which creation was to begin found the Son already existent, as ὁ Θεός, in personal intercourse with the Father. With this he leaves us, only affirming that that character of Paternity which constitutes the relation of God to the world, had a prior and peculiar significance and reality in the relation that bonded together the absolute God and His Word (cf. *Apol.* ii. 6, § 44, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός).

Justin's metaphysic, then, culminates in the assertion of this essential Sonship pre-existent to the creation. This being so, his language remains as indecisive on the ulterior question of the origin of the Sonship, as is the language of Proverbs on the eternity of the Wisdom. In both cases the utmost expression for eternity that their logic had attained to is used. It is useless to press them for an answer to the puzzles of a later logic, which carried the problem back into that very eternity which closed their horizon. Only it must be remembered that it was inevitable that the natural and unsystematised language used before the Arian controversy should be capable of an Arian interpretation. Since the Father is indeed alone ἀγέννητος, the sole unoriginate fount of the Divine life, the expressions that were used about Him, and about the Son, must necessarily impute to Him an underivative, to the Son a derivative Being; and must, therefore, tend to class the Son rather with the rest of τὰ γεννητά than with the sole ἀγεννητόν. It could only be at the end of a most subtle and delicate reflection that Christian logic could possibly realise that it was bound, if it would be finally consistent with itself, to class the derived Being of the Son, by virtue of the absolute eternity of its derivation, on the side of τὸ ἀγεννητόν rather than on that of τὰ γεννητά. Justin, in the full flush of readiness to sweep in to the service of faith the dear and familiar language of his former Platonism, may have left himself unguarded and careless on this uttermost point of the philosophy of the Incarnation; but it will not easily be doubted—by any one who has observed how he develops the full divinity of the Son over all the ground which his logic covered with a boldness and a vigour that, in face of the inevitable obstacles, prejudices, misunderstandings excited by such a creed, are perfectly astonishing—what answer he would have given if the final issue of the position had once presented itself definitely to him.

Justin had also affirmed the *moral* unity of the Son with the Father. This is not stated to be the ground of the Unity. The analogies of the Thought and of the Flame, on the contrary, imply a unity of substance to be the ground of the κυρίως υἱότης, but it is introduced in order to explain the consistency of his belief with the reality of a single supreme Will in the Godhead (*Dialog.* 56, § 274), and the explanation naturally led him to affirm the complete subordination of the Son to the will of the Father. The Son is the expression of the Father's mind, the δύναμιν λογικήν, which He begat from Himself. He is the interpreter of His Purpose, the instrument by which He designs. In everything, therefore, the Son is conditioned by the supreme Will; His office, His very nature, is to be ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ ὑπηρέτης. All His highest titles, υἱός and λόγος, as well as others, belong to Him by virtue of His serving the Father's purpose and being born by the Father's Will (ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς θελήσει γεγεννῆσθαι, *Dialog.* 61, § 384, B). "I say that He never did anything but what the Maker of the world, above whom there is no God at all, willed that He should do" (*Dialog.* 56, § 276). The Father is above all. Trypho would not endure to listen to Justin if he did not hold this (*Dialog.* 56, § 278, B). The Son is then subordinate, and perfectly subordinate, but this subordination is such that it can allow the Son to identify Himself utterly with the Father, as with Moses at the Bush, and so to be called ὁ Κύριος and ὁ Θεός.

In the expression "born of the Father's Will" we are once more close to Arian controversy. Was there then a moment when the Father had not yet willed to have a Son? If so, how can the Son be eternal? Yet, if not, how was the Father's will free? Justin has no such questions put to him. He states this dependence of the Son for His very Being on the Will of the Father without anxiety as to His right to be named ὁ Θεός, and to receive worship in the absolute sense in which a Jew would understand that title and that worship. And here, again, surely it was inevitable that the Christian consciousness should have so stated frankly the subordinate and dependent character of the eternal Sonship, before it appreciated the subtle puzzle that would ensue when logic began its critical work upon the novel and double-sided conception. Subordination of the Son to the Father must represent the immediate, primary, natural, and intelligible method of presenting to the reflecting mind the reconciliation of the duality of Persons with the unity of Will. The very name of Son, or of the Word, implied it. So far, too, the logic inherited from the philosophies would supply the needful formula. It would take time to discover that Christianity held implicitly, in its faith in the entire Divinity of the Son, a position which, if ever it was to be made consistent with the explicit formula of the subordination, must necessitate an entirely new and original logical effort, such as would justify the synthesis already achieved by the Christian's intuitive belief in the absolute Divinity of a dependent and subordinate Son. This new logical effort was made when Athanasius recognised the dilemma into which the old logic of the Schools had thrown the Christian position, and, instead of abandoning either of the alternatives, evolved a higher logic, which could accept both. For it must be remembered, if we are to be impartial to Justin, that the Nicene controversy did not end in one side adopting one horn of the dilemma, and the other the other horn. It was not closed by the church throwing over the subordination, while the Arian threw over the entire Divinity of the Son. Nicaea effected a decision between those who accepted the dilemma, and those who rose above it. It was a decision between those who, by clinging to the older logic, found themselves forced by the intellectual necessities of the dependence to abandon the substantial equality of the Son; and those who while confessing the

subordination, were determined that it should be made theoretically consistent with the absolute Divinity, against which it appeared hopelessly to collide.

This being the result of Nicaea, the only possible test by which to try Justin (who certainly held both the divinity and the subordination), would be to ask whether, if he had seen the dilemma, he would have held the subordination of the Son to be the primary and imperative truth to the logical needs of which the fulness of the divine Sonship must be thrown over, or whether he would have felt the latter truth to be so intimately essential that a novel logic must be called into existence which should interpret it into accordance with the subordination. Our answer to such a question must, at the best, be problematical; it must depend on our conception of the main tendencies of Justin's writings. And here it cannot but be felt that Justin's *faith* is a great deal more pronounced and definite than his Platonic logic; that the one is clear and strong where the other is vague and arbitrary, and, if so, that in a conflict between the two it is not very doubtful which would go to the wall. Justin's temper of mind is the complete reverse of that of Arius.

So much for Justin's treatment of the inner and absolute relations between the Father and the Son. On the ministerial activities of the Son for the Father he is much more explicit.

The Word has one chief mission from the Father, that of interpreting Him to man; hence He received the name of *ἄγγελος* (cf. *Dialog.* 56, § 275). He accomplishes this (1) to the Jews by means of the Theophanies, and through the lips of the prophets. Of the Theophanies I have already given instances. Justin attributes to the Second Person the appearance at Mamre to Abraham, in the Burning Bush to Moses, in the Vision of the Ladder to Jacob, by the Camp to Joshua. As to the prophets, He is spoken of as the direct inspirer whose spirit moves them, and whose words they speak. Cf. *Apol.* i. 36, § 76, D. The whole manifold Scripture, with all its many parts and voices, is, as it were, a great play written by a single author, the Word of God, who alone speaks through all the characters displayed. Of this Justin gives instances in ch. 37, 38, 39.

Again, He is, not only the *inward* force, but the *outward* object also, to which all prophecy is directed. The Jewish Scripture has in Him a permanent aim, a fixed canon; it all arranges itself round Him (cf. *Apol.* i. 31, § 73, A). To foretell Him and His work is the one purpose of prophecy. By it, His whole life in its main outlines is described, His advent, His birth from the virgin, His coming to man's estate, His curing of the sick, His raising the dead, His being hated, and unknown, and crucified, His death, resurrection, and ascension, His divine sonship, His mission of the apostles, His success among the Gentiles (*Apol.* i. 31, § 73).

(2) Justin attributes a revelation of the Word to the Gentiles, as well as to the Jews; to them He is the *ἄγγελος*, the interpreter of the Father, not by *prophetic* anticipations, but by *partial* manifestation, of Himself. Every man in every race possesses a germ of the Word, by the power of which men knew what truth they did know, and did what good they did do; above all, the philosophers and lawgivers who, in their rational inquiries and speculations, were obeying the measure of the Word within them (*κατὰ λόγου μέρος . . . δι' εὑρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας*. *Apol.* ii. 10, § 48, C). It is Justin, then, who promulgates the famous formula: *Ὅσα παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐστι* (*Apol.* ii. 13, § 51). "We do not believe less, but more, than Empedocles and Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato," he says: "we approve what they rightly said; but our doctrine is higher than theirs;" "not that the teaching of Plato is different from that of Christ, but that it is not entirely the same;" and so too with the Stoics, and poets, and historians (cf. *Apol.* i. 18, § 65, C; *Apol.* ii. 10, 13). This is the principle which the Alexandrians are to develop. These ancient friends of Christ, for their obedience to the Word, were hated like Christians are hated, as impious and curious busy-bodies; chief of them all was Socrates, who was martyred for Christ. With him are mentioned Heraclitus, Musonius the Stoic, &c. It is in the exercising of human reason to search out God that such as these obeyed the power of the Word, the Reason of God (*λόγῳ πειραθέντες τὰ πράγματα θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐλέγξαι . . . διὰ λόγου ζητήσεως θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγνώστου ἐπίγνωσιν* (*Apol.* ii. 10, § 48; cf. *Apol.* i. 5, § 55, E: *λόγῳ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἐξεταστικῶς*). The difference between this general, and the Christian, revelations lies in the *partial* character of the *λόγος σπερματικός*; each philosopher, &c. saw only a part of the Word. Hence came the contradictions of the philosophic system, the inconsistencies of human law; each was but partially right; and some had one part, some another. Christians possess the *whole* Word of God, in the person of Christ Jesus; they, therefore, hold the canon of truth which distinguishes all that was good and true of old, from the false and the confused with which it was mixed up (*Apol.* ii. 9, 10, § 47). This distinction is radical; "since the germ and image of something, given to man according to the measure of his capacity, is quite distinct from that very thing itself which permits itself, by its own favour, to be so given and communicated" (*Apol.* ii. 13, § 51, C). This clear distinction exhibits the full reality of the personality attributed by Justin to the Word revealed in Christ; it is personality which distinguishes itself so decisively from the influence and energy which it exercises; it is it again which makes the distinction between a partial and a complete revelation to be so radical. The completeness of the Christian revelation lies in its being the revelation of Christ's Person (cf. *Apol.* ii. 10, § 48, *ὅς ἐστι Χριστός*; *Apol.* ii. 13, § 51).

Hence, the Revelation of the Word concentrates itself in the Incarnation; for so only, and then only, is the Word Himself in His *personal* reality, as distinct from all His activities, and superior to all His influences, made manifest and actual to man. "Our truth is more sublime than all human doctrine," says Justin, "on account of the entirety with which the divine Reason has appeared, for our sakes, as Christ, being manifested as body, and reason, and spirit" (*Apol.* ii. 10, § 48, B). It is because the Word of the absolute and ineffable God has "become a man for our sakes, sharing our passions, and curing our ills," that we surpass all the philosophers

whose wisdom we claim to be ours (*Apol.* ii. 13, § 50). Christians now can worship and love the Word. They possess in Him a doctor who will authoritatively determine the truth, separating it from the confusions introduced into it by the demons (*Apol.* ii. 13, § 51; *Apol.* ii. 9, § 48, B). He has thus made the certain and secure revelation of the Father, which Socrates pronounced to be so difficult and perilous by the way of human reasoning; and He has made this revelation effective and universal, by being Himself no mere reasoner, but the very Power of the Ineffable God (*δύναμίς ἐστι τοῦ Πατρός*, *Apol.* ii. 10, § 49, A; cf. *Apol.* i. 23, § 68, B). This Power of God avails to ensure security of truth to those even who cannot use reasoning effectively, to artisans and utterly unlearned people.

The identification of the man Christ Jesus with the antecedent Word of God is entire and unhesitating. Nothing can exceed Justin's preciseness. "Christ who was known in part by Socrates, for He was and is the Word which is in every man, and foretold things both by the prophets and in His own Person, when He took upon Him our nature and taught these things" (*Apol.* ii. 10, § 49, A). Here it is identically the same Person who is known to Socrates, and inspires the prophets, and taught mankind in the flesh (cf. *Apol.* i. 23: "Jesus Christ, who is the Word of God, His First-born, His Power, His only Son, was also made man;" cf. *Apol.* i. 63, § 96, A).

In consequence of the pre-existence, the Incarnation could only be effected by a supernatural birth. It is because the Christ existed personally in Himself before the ages, and then endured to be born as a man, that He could not be begotten by man, but must be born solely by the will of the Father who originally begat Him. Such a birth would be unnecessary for a human Christ; those, therefore, who held that God's Christ was not pre-existent or Divine, would not hold that He was born supernaturally of a virgin. So Justin claims that Trypho might accept the proofs that Jesus was Christ, even though he should fail to convince him of the eternal pre-existence and virgin-birth of Jesus (*Dialog.* 48, § 267, B); and here Justin confesses that some who are called Christians, and acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, yet hold Him to be a man born of men. He denies that he could ever agree with these people, even though the main mass of Christians now agreeing with him were to turn against him: but he speaks of these Ebionites with a mildness that is rather startling when we consider the immense strength and definiteness of His own belief, with which belief his own church, as he tells us, fully agreed, and which belief he would himself hold, on the supreme authority of the prophets and of Christ's own words, even though a majority in His church were ever to abandon it. Apparently he is justifying the possibility of the *pis-aller*, which he proposes to Trypho. It is a novelty to Trypho, it seems, to hear of there being such Christians: he expects them to hold what Justin holds. Evidently, the common church faith in the pre-existence and divinity of Christ is so entire that it already has a theology which is anxious to use the agony in the garden and the bitter cry on the cross as proofs that Christ was actually a man who could suffer pain (*Dialog.* 103, § 331, D, &c.), as if it were the humanity that was more likely to be doubted than the divinity. This supernatural birth is justified by Isaiah's prophecy (which he accuses the Jews of having corrupted, by changing *παρθένος* into *νεᾶνις*, and which the demons have caricatured in the myth of Perseus) (*Dialog.* 68, § 294), by Psalm cx.: "From the womb I begat thee" (*Dial.* 63, 286, D); and from many other texts in which Justin sees it foreshadowed that the blood of Christ would come not by human mixture, but solely by the will of God (*Apol.* i. 32, § 74; *Dialog.* 76, § 301). His language on this goes so far, that it seems sometimes hardly consistent with the perfect manhood of Christ. He is "*like* a son of man," *i. e.* not born of human seed. His blood is called the "blood of the grape," because it came not to Him from man, but direct from the will of the Father. He is the "stone cut without hands," &c.

The purpose of the Incarnation is to save men from evil deeds and evil powers, and to teach assured truth (*Apol.* i. 23, § 68, C; *ἐπ' ἀλλαγῇ καὶ ἐπαναγωγῇ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους*; *Apol.* ii. 9, § 48, B). He brings to bear the full divine energy (*ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Πατρός*) on a race diseased and deceived through the action of devils. So He is the medicine to cure (*Apol.* ii. 13, § 51, D), which He becomes by sharing our humanity (*τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμέτοχος*). He is therefore called the Saviour (*Apol.* i. 61, § 94, A), in whom we receive remission of sins and regeneration. His mode of action is by (1) teaching, as the Word, which is no mere persuasive argument but is a Power penetrating deeper than the sun into the recesses of the soul (*Dialog.* 121, § 350, A), enabling us not only to hear and understand, but to be saved (*Apol.* ii. 12, § 49). His truth is an absolute canon by which to sift the true from the false in human speculations, since He, the Entire Word, distinguishes with certainty, amid the confusion of the philosophies, that in them which is His own working. So completely and uniquely authoritative is He, that it is by His teaching alone that men rightly know and worship the one Father and God (*Apol.* i. 13). (2) He saves, secondly, by suffering on the cross: so sharing in all the reality of our flesh (cf. *Dialog.* 98, § 324, D, *γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ἀντιληπτικὸς παθῶν*). He destroys death by death. He gains possession of men by the cross (cf. *Dialog.* 134, § 364, C, *δι' αἵματος καὶ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ κτησάμενος αὐτούς*). By His blood He loosens the power of the devil (*Dialog.* 94, § 322, A); He removes death (*Dialog.* 105, § 332); by His blood He purifies those who believe (*Apol.* i. 32, § 74, A): hence, He, as crucified, is the Priest, the Eternal High Priest (cf. *Dialog.* 116, 343, E). Man's power to keep blameless, and to drive out devils, follows the economy of His Passion (*Dialog.* 31, § 247, D). Hence He is called *βοηθός* and *λυτρωτής* (*Dialog.* 30, § 247, C), the hope of Christians is hung on the crucifixion of Christ (*Dialog.* 96, § 323, C). By His stripes we are healed (*Dialog.* 17, § 234, E, 336, D). So He is the Paschal Lamb, who saves from death by the sprinkling of blood (*Dialog.* 111, § 338, C). He saved, by submitting to that which all men deserved for sin, *i.e.* the curse pronounced on all who kept not the law; therefore He was

crucified, because the curse lay on crucifixion; but He was no more under God's curse when He endured our curse, than was the Brazen Serpent, which was ordered by God, though He had condemned all images. God saved of old by an image without violating the Second Commandment; He saves now, by a Crucified, those who are worthy of the Curse, without, for that, laying His Curse on the Crucified. It is the Jews, and not God, who now fulfil the text by "cursing him that hung on the tree" (*Dialog.* 96, 323). This cross and suffering the Father willed for man's sake, that on His Christ might fall the curse of all men: He willed it, knowing that He would raise Him again from this death, as Christ testified on the cross by His appeal to the Father. This coming of Christ to be despised, to suffer, to die, is justified by many appeals to prophecy, especially to Psalm xxii. (*Dialog.* 98, § 325), to Jacob's blessing, Genesis xlix. 8, 12, &c. It is the "hidden power of God which is exhibited in the crucified Christ" (*Dialog.* 49, § 269, C). This power (ἰσχὺς τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ, *Dialog.* 91, § 318, B) began to manifest its hidden efficacy, from the day of the resurrection; those who have faith in the cross, and exercise penitence, are, through the power of Christ, the great and eternal priest, stripped of the filthy garments of sin, and clothed with new robes, and made priests, through whom everywhere sacrifices are offered (*Dialog.* 116, § 344). Christ Himself is raised from the grave, to be led up into heaven, by the Father, there to be retained until He shall strike down all the devils His enemies, and until the number of the elect righteous shall be fulfilled, when He will be shewn in glory on the throne of His manifested kingdom. Then will be the great judgment of devils and sinners, but that judgment is delayed solely for the sake of gathering in all who may yet be willing to believe and repent (*Apol.* i. 45, § 82, D; *Apol.* ii. 7, § 45, B); till it comes, Christ sends down power on His Apostles, by which they, and all who will, consecrate themselves to the one God (*Apol.* i. 50, § 86, B, 49, § 85, B). This present efficacy of Christ is evident in the power of Christians over devils, who are bound and expelled by their adjuration (cf. *Dialog.* 76, § 302, A). This power offered to all, manifests itself especially among the Gentiles, and is rejected by Jew and Samaritan, as many a prophecy had foretold (*Dialog.* 91, § 319, A; cf. *Dialog.* 120, § 348, &c. to end of *Dialog.*). It calls men by the road of faith into friendship and blessing, and penitence and compunction, and assures them of a kingdom to come, eternal and incorruptible (cf. *Dialog.* 139, § 369, A). All on whom the power of the cross comes are gathered with one mind into one synagogue, and one church, a church born of His name and called by His name, addressed by the word in Scripture as His daughter, "Hearken, O daughter" (*Dialog.* 63, § 287, B). This church is described, with St. Paul's comparison, as one body, ἓν καλεῖται καὶ ἔστι σῶμα (*Dialog.* 42, § 261, A).

The eternal kingdom comes with Christ's second advent, in glory, as judge. He will judge every man, up to Adam himself (*Dialog.* 132, § 362, A); then shall the sinners and the devils weep, for to them He will allot a place in that eternal fire, which will destroy this world; believers He will admit to the kingdom, recalling the dead to life, and establishing them in an eternal and indissoluble kingdom, themselves incorruptible, immortal, painless (*Dialog.* 117, § 345, B). This is the Melchisedec, king of Salem, eternal Priest of the Most High, who will remake a new heaven and a new earth, into which holy land His circumcised shall enter (*Dialog.* 113, § 341, A). This kingdom is generally spoken of as in heaven, as not earthly (cf. *Apol.* i. 11, § 59, A, &c.); it is a home with God, for the sake of which Christians easily despise all earthly delights, and lusts, and the fear of death. In one famous passage in the *Dialogue* (80, § 306, B; cf. *Dialog.* 113, § 341, A) he professes his agreement with the Jewish belief of a millennium in a restored and beautified Jerusalem; he claims to have explained himself already on this point, though nothing is to be found of this explanation in the *Dialogue;* many share this belief with him, he says, yet many pious and orthodox Christians reject it; it is only those who are, according to Justin, ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, who hold this faith with him, based on Isaiah lxv. 17, and on the Revelation of "one of themselves, by name John, an apostle of Christ," who speaks of a first resurrection, and then a second eternal resurrection and judgment of all men. Evidently there are no words of our Lord's to support this belief; it is a pious opinion, resting on the literal reading of the Apocalypse, held by the most strict believers, but not necessary to a pure and true faith (καθαρὰ καὶ εὐσεβὴς γνώμη). Far different are those who deny the future resurrection of the body altogether, and believe in an immediate entrance of the souls of Christians into heaven: "let Trypho beware of deeming such to be Christians at all." The resurrection of the body is one of the cardinal points of Justin's creed (cf. *Apol.* i. 18, foll.); it is essential to the reality of future punishment, and to the fulness of a Christian's security against all loss in death; it is to be justified by an appeal to the wonder of our first creation, and to the miracles of Christ (*Dialog.* 69, § 296, A).

When this Advent will be, we know not, though it may be soon. It will be preceded by the appearance of the Man of Iniquity.

Such is Justin's doctrine on the Second Person in the Godhead. On the action of the Third Person, he is not so definite; not that he is not continually speaking of Him, but His person and office are not always distinguished with precision from those of the Second Person. He is there, in Justin's creed, a recognised element in it, constantly occurring; but it is as if Justin's metaphysic had not yet had time or occasion to dwell on this point with anxiety or exactness.

The most definite mention of Him is in the typical formula for the object of Christian worship, and sacramental service; here He is distinctly allied to the First and Second Persons as the alone Third, who shares with them the adoration of Christians, and the ministration of grace (cf. *Apol.* i. 13, § 60, E, Πνεῦμα προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τιμῶμεν, where he is explaining what it is that Christians worship); again, in *Apology,* i. 60, § 93, B, he claims for the Spirit the truth of that τὸ τρίτον, which Plato was supposed to have suggested. Here, as in the former case, the τρίτον is parallel to ἡ δευτέρα χώρα, the place of the Son, and must, therefore, be understood in something of the same significance as that; and that "second place" signified, we know,

a difference in number, in fact, in personality, not a mere logical distinction; yet it included such a unity of substance and will, that the terminology of the Godhead could be directly applied to it, with the exception of those symbols of absolute supremacy, *i.e.* the titles, "Father," "Creator," &c. As the Holy Spirit is directly included within the lines of the object worshipped, so is He directly implicated in the divine action upon men: thus the baptismal and sacrificial formula unite His name with that of the Father and the Son (*Apol.* i. 61, § 94, A, 65, § 97, D, 67, § 98, C). He, with the Son, is the medium by which praise and thanksgiving are offered to the Father; His is the third name in the might of which the Christian receives regeneration. One curious passage gives Him a strange place: in *Apology*, i. 6, § 56, C, Justin refutes the charge of Atheism by claiming that Christians honour and adore (*σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν*) "both God the Father, and the Son who came from Him, and the host of good angels that follow Him, and are made like to Him, and the Prophetic Spirit also." Here the angels are brought in front of the Spirit, through the need, probably, of expressing their unity with Christ by virtue of which they become the objects of Christian reverence (*ἐξομοιουμένων*). Several attempts have been made to avoid this sudden introduction of the angels, by various interpreters (cf. Otto's note on the passage, edit. vol. i. 1, 21); but it is hardly possible to read the passage otherwise than as it stands. It must be explained by its position; Justin is quite precise and clear in other passages, where the position attributed to the Holy Spirit is definitely marked, and this sentence, therefore, must be interpreted in accordance with them, not they be confused by it. He is, here, quickly and generally, portraying to the emperors the distance between Christianity and Atheism; to do so, he brings in all that made Christian worship most full and multitudinous in character, adding to those whom alone He elsewhere presents as the threefold object of adoration, those Spirits to whom, for their likeness and closeness to God, the Christian church paid honour and reverence. These, if introduced at all, are best introduced in close company with that Divine Person to whom they are peculiarly attached, and from whom especially they derive their title to sanctity (cf. *Dialog.* 31, § 247, E; *Apol.* i. 52, § 87–8; *Dialog.* 61, § 284, B), our Lord being Himself *ὁ ἄγγελος*, and being therefore named *ἀρχιστράτηγος*, the captain of the angelic host. Only through Him can they be reverenced; while the Holy Spirit receives worship by right of Himself. Justin, by throwing in at the end *σεβόμεθα* with *προσκυνοῦμεν*, covers all the varieties of adoration that his inclusion of angels may have made requisite; and he adds *λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες*, as if to suggest that there were carefully guarded lines of distinction in the Christian's worship. Elsewhere he shews himself perfectly conscious of the impossibility of paying absolute worship to any but God alone (*Apol.* i. 16, § 63); in the *Dialogue*, in order to justify the adoration of Christ, he knows clearly that he must shew Him to be higher than all angels (*Dialog.* 56, § 276). The whole argument with the Jew exhibits the precision of Justin's distinction between God and His angelic ministers; but, on the other hand, his language in this unique passage evidences the reverential service that could be offered, according to Christian use, to those who had been fashioned into the likeness of Christ.

The Holy Spirit is concerned with creation (*Apol.* i. 60, § 93, B), in His distinct personal fulness, as *ὁ τρίτος*, with a third station peculiar to Himself (*τρίτη χώρα*) in the Godhead.

His main office is with inspiration; He is *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ προφητικόν*; this is His cardinal name. He speaks as Himself to man, using men as His organ (*διὰ Μωϋσέως προεμήνυσε*, *Apol.* i. 60, § 93, B); here, since the words follow the statement of the place of the Holy Spirit in the Triad, they must definitely intend Him in His distinction from the Word, to be the spring of inspiration; so, too, in the formula of baptism, it is the name of *προφητικός*, which marks His distinction from the Word; and we must, therefore, apply to Him in His separate right and existence, the constantly recurring use of this name (cf. *Apol.* i. 38, § 77, C; 47, § 84, A, &c. &c.), in all which occasions He is spoken of as the direct author and speaker of prophecy, and prophecy is spoken of as peculiarly the note of God (*Apol.* i. 30, § 72, B, &c.). This Spirit is one throughout; it spoke once in Elias, and afterwards in the Baptist (*Dialog.* 49, 268). But for all this, Justin sometimes attributes to the Word this action of inspiration which gives to the Spirit His name (cf. *Apol.* i. 36, § 76, D); the prophets speak through the Word which moves them; and so again in *Apol.* i. 33, § 75, D, *θεοφοροῦνται λόγῳ θείῳ* (cf. also *Dialog.* 61, § 284, C, 62, § 285, 63, § 236, D). In both cases it is the *effective agency* by which the prophets are stirred to speak, which is attributed to the Word; and Justin attributes this on grounds which he expects the heathen emperors to acknowledge, it is language they must understand (*Apol.* i. 33). The action of God on man is so intimately bound up with the Word, by Justin, that it is rather wonderful how much of inspiration he attributes to the Spirit, than how little. It was natural to the Jew, as to the Gentile philosopher, to speak of the divine influence under which men spoke from God, as the *Λόγος*. It is impossible to suppose Justin did not discriminate between the two, when we remember the baptismal formula "in the *name* of the Holy Ghost" (*Apol.* i. 60, § 94, E). A more remarkable introduction of the Word is in *Apol.* i. 33, § 75, C, where the Spirit and Power of God that overshadowed the Virgin are identified with the Word. Justin, it seems, is attracted by the word *ἡ δύναμις*, which is for him a distinct name of the Word (*Apol.* i. 14), and he may think that this defines the meaning of the *πνεῦμα* here (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 17). The *πνεῦμα*, then, will be the divine power of Christ. In this interpretation Justin does not stand alone. (Cf. Clement, *Ep.* ch. 9; cf. also the very obscure passage in Hermes the Shepherd, 6th Simli., and Tert. *adv. Prax.* ch. 26.)

Below the Godhead, Justin holds very decisively the belief (1) in good angels, attached intimately to our Lord (cf. former quotations), messengers of God in Old and New Testament, fed in heaven on some manna (*Dialog.* 57, § 279, C), accompanying Christ in His glory on the last day; and (2) more particularly in bad angels, to whom the earth and man had been committed by God (*Apol.* ii. 5, § 44, A), but who overstepped their

limits in wicked intercourse with women, who, from them, bore sons, the devils; they reduced the human race to servitude, by deceitful magic, and by terror, and by instituting sacrifices, &c. to themselves, for which they lusted now that they had known the passion of fleshly desires: they sowed the seeds of war, adultery, crime. Chief among them is he who is called the Serpent, the tempter of Adam and Eve, the Devil, Satanas, a name ascribed to him by our Lord Himself at His temptation, signifying Apostate and Serpent (*Apol.* i. 28, § 71, B; *Dialog.* 103, § 331, B). Poets and mythologists mistook these bad angels for Gods, and sang their evil deeds, and popularised the names of them and of their brood (*Apol.* ii. 5, § 44). These devils, knowing the Scripture prophecies, attempted to baffle their effect, by inventing and multiplying false fulfilments of them; so it is that mythology speaks of Sons of God, born of women, of Bacchus, *e.g.* riding on His ass, and of His violent death, and His ascent into heaven; of Perseus virgin-born, of Hercules, "strong as a giant," of Aesculapius raising the dead. The poets, therefore, though ignorantly, were the tools of the devils, as Plato had said (*Apol.* ii. 10, § 48, D). So, again, the devils confused human instincts of law, and framed laws to suit their own wickedness. One thing they never discovered in prophecy, the sign of the Cross, though the symbol occurs everywhere, in masts, in rudders, in trophies, in the Brazen Serpent, in the uplifting of Moses' hands for victory, &c. (*Apol.* i. 55, § 90, C; *Dialog.* 36, § 313). They had caricatured Christian ordinances, *e.g.* the Eucharist in the services of Mithra (*Apol.* i. 66, § 98, C); baptism in the temple and sprinklings (*Apol.* i. 62, § 94, E). They had, since Christ came, attempted to produce the same confusion by prompting heretics (*Apol.* i. 56, § 91, A). All along they had inspired persecution of those who were moved by the Germinal Word (*Apol.* ii. 8, § 46, C), Heraclitus, Musonius, Socrates; and now, above all, they urged persecution against Christians, not being able to stop the knowledge of Christ's advent, or of the last judgment, but only able to prompt all wicked livers to hate and kill them (*Apol.* i. 57, § 91, D). The judges who persecute are devil-inspired (*Apol.* ii. 1, § 41, D). It was to free us from these devils that Christ became Man; His power is made manifest in the dominion that Christians exercise even now over devils (*Apol.* ii. 6, § 45, A); which power is an omen of their utter overthrow at the second coming of Christ, when they will be cast into eternal fire (cf. *Apol.* ii. 8, § 46, E). So the prophets foretell; and Jesus Christ Himself has taught.

The problem presented by the *human Soul* occupies the chief place in the account of Justin's conversion; the philosophers were felt to be uncertain and insecure in their conception of it, especially in the matter of its immortality, and of its consequent transmigration, and of its relation to the divine substance. Justin holds that the soul is no particle of the absolute mind, it has no life in itself: it is created, it is not life, but partaker of life, so that it could perish; but it receives, as a fact, immortality by the will of God, as is proved by a mass of practical testimony, by the word of Revelation, and by its consonance with the needs of justice; this immortality includes as its essential requisite the resurrection of the body, without which Justice could not fulfil itself; it will be given both to the just and to the unjust (cf. *Dialog.* 4, 5, 6; *Apol.* i. 21, § 67, D; 18, 19, § 65), though it is only rightly "immortality" for the just; for the others, it takes the shape of eternal fire. Justin can hardly be said to define the parts of the soul; the passage in which he seems to give it a triple constitution is very obscure; if it is intended to be exact, then the triplicity is named by him, body, reason (λόγος), and soul; but it is conceivable that only a dual division of human nature is intended (*Apol.* ii. 10, § 48, C).

Man, according to Justin, has been imprisoned in sin, since the fall of Adam, the first man, deceived of the devil, who fell greatly by deceiving Eve; hence "ye shall die" (*Dialog.* 124, § 353, D, ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὔᾳ ἐξομοιούμενοι, θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς ἐργάζονται), though originally made θεῷ ὁμοίως ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀθανάτους (cf. *Dialog.* 88, § 316, A). Man, as the angels, was made so as to be incorruptible, if he kept God's laws. This biblical view falls in with his account of the whole human race, as sinning through the deceit of evil angels, who made them think their own bad passions to be possible in gods. This evil state, thus brought on, is spoken of as a tyranny from which man had to be delivered by another (cf. *Dialog.* 116, § 344, A; *Apol.* ii. 6, § 45, A); Christ comes ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν δαιμόνων. The whole race is under the curse; for, if the Jews were, by the laws of Moses, much more were the Gentiles with their horrible idolatry (*Dialog.* 95, § 322, D). Only by Christ is the curse removed; it is He who wrestles for us, our Israel, with the devil (*Dialog.* 125, § 354, D). Only by His grace are the devils made subject. But Justin combines with this a great anxiety to keep man's free-will intact; he is continually explaining himself on this point. Man is never deserted of God; he possesses, after the fall, the germinal Λόγος, by which he discerns between good and evil, between true and false (cf. *Dialog.* 93, § 320, D; *Apol.* ii. 10). All men, unless utterly corrupted by evil angels and evil customs, distinguish right from wrong, even though they do the wrong; they all can love God, and do to their neighbour what they would have done to themselves. Man, then, though he sins since Adam, sins, each by his own act, freely (cf. *Dialog.* 88, § 316, A); for God made man ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει αὐτεξουσίους: all men could be sons of the Most High, all will separately be judged, as were Adam and Eve (*Dialog.* 124, § 354). Without this free power of choice, God could not justly reward or punish the good laws and right thoughts of philosophers are a testimony to this power (*Apol.* ii. 7, § 46, A; *Apol.* i. 43, § 80, D). Justin frequently guards against Jew or Gentile supposing that the fore-ordained purpose of God, revealed by prophecy, removes in any way human responsibilities (*Apol.* i. 43, § 80). Man cannot be under any fixed fate, since he is obviously capable of alternative courses; so agrees Moses, "Behold in thy sight I have set good and evil;" so Plato, αἰτία ἑλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, hearing it from Moses. Prophecy comes from the fore-knowledge of God, fore-seeing how men will act, and foretelling the certain and irrevocable issue of such action (*Apol.* i. 44, § 82). He can fore-see that some men and angels will be ἀμεταβλήτως πονηροί, but, yet, all may repent if they will, and by peni-

tence be forgiven, even though some, as a fact, will never do so. Justin does not seem to exclude the angels from this hope (*Dialog.* 141, § 370, B). The Jews, therefore, cannot possibly plead that it was decreed of God that they should slay Christ. Yet, even after all this, Justin can still state that our natural birth placed us, of *necessity, and without our knowledge*, in the power of evil habits and a bad education, and can call us, so far, "the sons of ignorance and necessity" (*Apol.* i. 61, § 94, C). Evidently, he has not worked out a solution of this difficulty; he is resolute to retain free choice, yet, as a fact, sin was practically a universal necessity. Here he leaves us.

The gift of Christ to man is primarily remission of sins (cf. *Dialog.* 116, § 344, &c.), affected through penitence on man's part, excited by the word of his call into the true faith in the Creator; by Christ's power, sin is stripped off; is remitted; we are made regenerate (*Apol.* i. 61, § 94, D). This regeneration accomplished, and the truth being now known and confessed, we become bound, and fit, to accomplish a good life, to keep the commandments, to attain eternal life (*Apol.* i. 65, § 97, C). We are clothed with garments prepared of Christ (*Dialog.* 116, § 344); we are to imitate God's own virtues, to exhibit ourselves worthy of His counsel by works (*Apol.* i. 10, § 58, B). The entire change of character is beautifully given in *Apol.* i. 14, § 61, 15, &c. Christ comes to call men, not as just and chaste, but as impious, incontinent, unjust; but the result of the call is entire consecration to the good God, with complete holiness, the holiness of those who cannot escape the eye of God, and who will be judged according to the worth of their works (cf. *Apol.* i. 12, § 59, B); those only will be given immortality who approach nearer to God in holiness of life (*Apol.* i. 21, § 67, E). This can be done because Christ's word is with power; so that even women and the ignorant can be made chaste, and true to God. They look to a kingdom immortal, and holy; they are, therefore, incapable of damage or hurt on earth; nothing can touch them; they think little of unjust rulers, who at the worst can only kill them (*Apol.* i. 2, § 54, A; 11, § 59, A). Not that they are not good citizens of this world; rather they have all the virtues which human laws try in vain to produce; rulers ought to be glad of such citizens, who are their best auxiliaries for peace (*Apol.* i. 12, § 59); they do not dispute human authority in the state, they pray for it, they gladly obey it, they pay tribute, as Christ Himself taught them (*Apol.* i. 17, § 64, D); they will accept its punishments on wrong-doings, only they require it to act by reason, and with a sound mind. They consider that God made the human race with a purpose; therefore they may not abandon it, *e.g.* by all committing suicide; they have their duties towards it (*Apol.* ii. 4, § 43, C). It is for the sake of continuing this humanity for which God has plans, and for this alone, that they marry (*Apol.* i. 29, § 71, D); there are Christians yet unborn.

The most prevailing guard of this pure living is the belief in the resurrection of the body; for this hope consecrates the entire man to the holiness of the eternal kingdom; and still more, it renders real the sense of future punishment; we shall *feel* torture, hereafter, in our bodies; without this, future pain would be unreal and meaningless, for there would be no sensation (*Apol.* i. 18, § 65). God will raise and endue with incorruptibility the dead bodies, now dissolved and scattered like seeds over the earth (*Apol.* i. 19).

This human race will endure until the number of those who are willing to become Christians is complete. It is because God acts by the free choice of man, that He does not destroy evil by force, but offers men the chance of escape, and gives them time to use the chance (*Dialog.* 102, 329, A).

The punishment that awaits the sinners, when the end comes, will be by fire, and for ever. On this point Justin is very pronounced (cf. *Apol.* i. 8, § 57, B): "an eternal punishment" (*αἰώνιον κόλασιν*), he says, "and not a mere period of a thousand years," *ἀπαύστως κολάζεσθαι* (*Dialog.* 45, 264, B); the kingdom is *αἰώνιος καὶ ἄλυτος*, the *κόλασις πυρός* is *αἰώνιος* too (*Dialog.* 117, § 345). He uses the language freely, and frankly, unhampered, apparently, by his theory of the soul, which makes its immortality dependent on the Will of God, Who wills it in the shape of Holiness (cf. Iren. bk. iii. 36; cf. *Apol.* i. 21, § 67). He justifies the existence of reward and punishment by the forcible argument, that, without them, you are compelled either to believe God indifferent to good and evil, or else good and evil to have no real actuality; both which beliefs are impious. The judgment is the witness of God's regard to the reality of the distinction (cf. *Apol.* ii. 9, § 47, E; cf. *Apol.* i. 28, § 71, C).

The church is that society of Christians in which the power of the regeneration is faithfully manifested, and the pure knowledge revealed in Christ loyally held; so Justin is anxious to explain that not all so-called Christians are real Christians, any more than all so-called philosophies mean the same thing (*Apol.* i. 7, § 56, D). There are many, professing to confess Christ, who hold impious and immoral doctrine, with whom the "disciples of the true and pure doctrine" do not communicate; they are marked out to be heretical by assuming the names of their particular founders, *e.g.* Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides (*Dialog.* 35, § 253, D). He compares them to the numerous Jewish sects (*Dialog.* 80, § 307, A). He speaks of them as prompted by the devils to bring discredit and confusion on the true faith. He instances as points of their falling away, "eating meat offered to idols" (*Dialog.* 35, § 253, A); disbelief in the God of the Old Testament (cf. *Apol.* 58, § 92, A); disbelief in the divinity of Christ (*Dialog.* 48, § 267, D); disbelief in the personal subsistence of Christ (*Dialog.* 128, 358, A; cf. *Dialog.* 130, § 359, A, on the sophistical rendering of Gen. iii. 22); disbelief in the future resurrection when the soul will recover its body and so enter heaven (*Dialog.* 80, 307, A). Such heresies Justin calls blasphemous, and impious, and atheistical, and devilish. He knows quite clearly how true believers stand towards them; there is a definite line. There are other varieties of opinion more or less tolerated; *e.g.* the disbelief in a literal millennium (*Dialog.* 80, 306, C); the sufferance of those Christians who think it right to retain the habits of the law.

The true Christians hold "the pure teaching of Jesus Christ:" they possess a pure and pious doctrine" based on Scripture, and the words of Christ, not on human doctrine (*Dialog.* 48, § 269, D); they prove them true by holiness (cf. *Apol.* i. 26, § 70, B); the heretics may be capable of any

wickedness for all Justin knows. He himself is quite clear and decided on which side he himself is in all this; he has himself written a work against all the heresies (*Apol.* i. 26, § 70, C).

The heresies confirm true believers in the faith, since Christ foretold them (cf. *Dialog.* 82, § 308, B; 35, § 253, C), even though many are led away.

The true believers are admitted to the body by the rite of baptism, on their acceptance of Christian verity, and their promise to live accordingly (*Apol.* i. 61, § 93, E). This baptism is the true circumcision of the Spirit (*Dialog.* 43, § 261, D); it works with the cross to expiate our sins (*Dialog.* 86, § 314, A); it is appointed by Christ Himself for the remission of sins; it is our regeneration, by which we are born again out of a state of sin into Light and Holiness; so called "Illumination," φωτισμός (*Apol.* i. 61, 74). It presupposes penitence and a confession of faith (*Apol.* i. 61, 65).

Baptism admits to the brotherhood, the assembly, where common prayers are made (*Apol.* i. 65, § 97, C); where the kiss of peace is given; and the Eucharist offered by the leader of the brethren, ὁ προεστώς; who takes the bread, and water and wine brought him, and sends up praise and glory to the Father, in the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit; at the end of his thanksgiving the people give their good consent by together saying, "Amen;" after this thanksgiving, εὐχαριστία, the deacons administer the elements, with which thanks have been offered (τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου), to each one present, and carry some away to the absent. This food is itself called the Eucharist; no one may eat of it who does not believe the truth taught, and has not been washed by baptism; for it is not ordinary bread or wine, κοινὸν ἄρτον, but "in the very manner that Jesus Christ became incarnate by the word of God, had, for our salvation, both flesh and blood, so have we been taught that the food, which has been made a thanksgiving by the word of prayer which He gave us, by which food our own flesh and blood are, through a process of transformation, nourished, is both the flesh and the blood of that same incarnate Jesus;" he goes on to quote from the books of the apostles, the account of the institution of the Last Supper; and compares it with the initiatory offerings in the mysteries of Mithra (*Apol.* i. 65–66, § 97). In this passage the Incarnation is spoken of, as elsewhere, as the work of the Word Himself; though He is Himself the Incarnate One (cf. *Apol.* i. 32, 74, B, ὁ λόγος ὃς σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν). The principle of the Eucharist is found in the principle of the Incarnation (though the analogy is hardly to be pressed into details); it is the flesh and blood of Christ, taken for our salvation, that are identified with the food; which food is itself so intimately allied with our flesh and blood that it still nourishes our actual bodies κατὰ μεταβολήν, though it is the flesh and blood of Jesus, after the word of prayer, δι' εὐχῆς λόγου (by some rendered, "Prayer of His word," cf. Otto's notes, p. 181, of 3rd edit.), which He Himself instituted, *i.e.* the words ordained by Christ, given by Justin as "Do this in remembrance of Me: this is My body: this is My blood" (some have supposed it to mean the Lord's Prayer). In the *Dialogue*, 117, § 345, A, Justin speaks again of the "dry and liquid food" in which memorial is made by Christians, according to a received institution, of the suffering of the Son of God, τὸ πάθος ὃ πέπονθε. This memorial is there identified with those prayers and thanksgivings, offered by holy people, which alone are the sacrifices which are perfect and well-pleasing to God, in contrast with the Jewish sacrifices, and in fulfilment of Malachi i. 10. These sacrifices (θυσίαι) occur at the Eucharist of the bread and of the cup; the spiritual sacrifice of praise is then and there alone accomplished, by God's injunction. Isaiah xxxiii. 13, again, is fulfilled in the bread which our Christ ordered us (παρέδωκεν) to offer (ποιεῖν) for a memorial of His having taken to Himself a body, and so become passible (παθητός) (*Dialog.* 70, § 296, E). The words must be left as they stand; it is impossible to discuss them in this article.

Justin goes on to mention, beside the Eucharist which followed the baptism, that the Christians met every Sunday (ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα), the day on which God began creation, and raised Christ (*Apol.* i. 67, § 97); that all came in who could, from country and town, to one place; that there the memorials of the apostles, or the books of the prophets were read publicly; then, the leader preached and admonished; after which all rose together and prayed; that then the rite is administered as before described. At such times, offertories were made, of voluntary gifts, laid in the hands of the leader, who distributed them to the sick, widows, &c. "Ever," says Justin, "do we remind ourselves of this rite" which followed our baptism; and "ever we live together; we who are rich give to the poor; and for everything that we have we bless the Creator of all through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit" (*Apol.* i. 67); sending up to Him solemn prayers (πομπάς) and hymns, not deeming Him to be in need of blood, and libations, and sweet smells (*Apol.* i. 13, § 60, C). Sunday, then, was observed as a day of peculiar mark (cf. *Dialog.* 24, 241, B); this is in contrast with σαββατίζειν, and "regarding the stars," which mean, distinctly, keeping the Jewish feasts; this the main body of Christians repudiated, so that it was by most treated as a criminal heresy to keep the sabbath, and they refused to hold communion with those Christians who still held to these Jewish customs. This severity Justin condemns; but his whole argument with Trypho accepts thoroughly the abolition of the Fourth Commandment. The sabbath symbolises Moses, and Christians hope not in Moses but in Christ; the Christian does not think himself pious for keeping one day idle, but for keeping a continual sabbath. The sabbath was given for the hardness of the Jews' hearts (cf. *Dialog.* 10, § 227, B, &c.; 19, § 237, C, 21, § 238).

The Law.—We may here touch on Justin's conception of the Law. He is in this very strong and decided. Definite as he is against Marcion, in his belief in the revelation of the true God made in the Old Testament, he yet takes an extreme view of the partial, and local, and temporal character of the Law. He bases himself, mainly, on his well-known principle of the complete universality of God: God is everlasting, throughout all time, over all people; He is the Judge of all the earth; His justice must be alike everywhere. Hence He cannot shut up His relations to man within the limits of a Law addressed to a single people, and for a limited period of time (*Dialog.* 23, § 240, E, 93, 320, C).

Facts prove this: for God was well-pleased with Abel, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedec, though they were uncircumcised and kept no sabbaths (cf. *Dialog.* 19, § 236, C). Again, if virtue lay in the mere act of circumcision, women would be in a worse case than men (*Dialog.* 23, § 241, C). It would be against God's nature to value such rites, and limitations, and new sacrifices, for their own sake, as if the good lay in them. Did the law, then, not come from Him? Yes; but God in it accommodated Himself to the Jews; it was for you Jews alone that it was necessary; because you forgot Him, He had to decree your sabbaths; because you fell away to idols, He had to demand of you sacrifices (*Dialog.* 19, § 236, E). He ordered you a temple, lest you should worship images. All was done to distinguish the Jewish race from the heathen; and this, not on account of the race's virtue, so much as for its proneness to evil.

To justify this, Justin appeals to the "everlasting voice of prophecy;" he quotes the many words of the prophets in which sabbaths and sacrifices are declared unpleasing and unavailing. "I am not inventing all this," he says, but "this is what David sang, Isaiah preached, Zechariah proclaimed, Moses wrote" (*Dialog.* 29). Where the prophets insist on the laws, it was because of the people's sin (*Dialog.* 27, § 244, B). But Justin has, still, to account for the law being, in a relative sense, worthy of God; and this He does by distinguishing two elements in it, one eternal, the other temporal; the two stand to each other chiefly as sign and reality; so Justin discovers in the temporal provisions of the law allegories of eternal truths. This is what was meant when Moses gave minute rules about meats, and herbs, and drinks; it was to symbolise the moral laws (cf. *Dialog.* 20, § 237, C), but the Jewish people took it literally. They supposed, *e.g.* some herbs to be evil, some good; while, in truth, God meant all to be good, if it was profitable to men. The circumcision under Joshua was allegorical (cf. *Dialog.* iii. § 332). So, again, meat was a symbol of Christ; so, too, the Passover Lamb, and the scape-goats (*Dialog.* 40, 41, § 259, A). But if the law was allegorical, symbolic, it necessarily ceased when the reality came. So it ended with Christ; who has enabled us to sever the eternal from the temporal elements: He is the test and canon of what was real in the Law (*Dialog.* 67, § 292, C).

If Christ took away sin, He took away the reason for the law; He gave us the circumcision of the heart, which made the carnal circumcision needless (cf. βαπτίσθητε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἰδού, τὸ σῶμα καθαρόν ἐστι: *Dialog.* 14, 231, D). It will be observed that Justin does not consider that such a principle as this negatives the necessity of an outward baptism, or of an outward Sunday; for both these he holds. Prophecy confirms this; it speaks of a new covenant to be made in a Christ; and this for Jew as well as for Gentile, for both are to be saved in the same Christ (*Dialog.* 64, § 287, B). Why, then, did Christ keep the Law? Out of the economy of God; He accepted the Law as He accepted the Cross, and the becoming-man: it was in order to carry out the Father's will; but He was not justified by keeping the Law; otherwise He could not be the Saviour of all men (*Dialog.* 67, § 292, A), nor have introduced a new covenant. The admission of the eternal significance of Christ necessarily carries us back behind the Law, to the conditions under which all men had always lived (*Dialog.* 23, § 241, B).

The failure of the Jews to believe in the Christ is no argument for their being right; for it is foretold all along that the Gentiles are the children of prophecy, the true Israel, the perfect proselytes; it is of them that all the good promises are spoken. The whole of the end of the Dialogue is devoted to shewing this.

We realise in Justin the complete Gentilism of the Christianity of 140 A.D. He regards the Law rather as an evidence of peculiar evil, than of peculiar good, in the Jews; so he even says in scorn that circumcision only serves to mark them out for condemnation, as the accursed who are forbidden to enter Jerusalem; it enables the Romans to exclude them from the Holy Land. He attempts to make the law pedagogic to a certain degree; but only in view of especial sins; and, though the interpretation by allegory serves to redeem the Law to some extent, we see how imperfect a mode of interpretation it was, as long as no conception of gradual growth in God's scheme and in man's powers was ready to hand, to give the requisite elasticity. The question remains for Justin, why did God use allegory? and he can only answer, "For your sins." St. Paul's great language had to sleep in men's ears, until the reality of development was more fully opened. The allegorical mode is intensely interesting, as a herald, a beginning, of this; its principle is full of real significance; but it is still too abstract to deal with details effectively; in these it remains arbitrary, and far-fetched, and wilful.

But if Justin is hard upon the Law, he is very different towards Prophecy. On Prophecy, on Scripture, he relies absolutely; he asks to be believed, only so far as he can prove his truth by Scripture. It is the word of God, given by God through the Word, or chiefly through the Spirit. This is reiterated continually.

The whole Old Testament is as a great drama, with various actors, but of which there is a single author, the Spirit of God (*Apol.* i. 36, § 76, D). It is a unity; so that Justin does not believe that any one part can contradict any other; rather he would feel bound to confess his own ignorance, where such seemed the case, not daring to conceive a contradiction or error possible (*Dialog.* 65, § 289, C). His definition is this: "Certain men existed among the Jews, God's prophets, through whom the prophetic spirit foretold things before they occurred" (*Apol.* i. 31, § 72, B). Moses he calls the first; after Moses he speaks of an "eternal prophecy going forth" (*Apol.* i. 31; *Dialog.* 30, § 247, A). They foretold Christ, His coming, His birth from a virgin, His coming to man's estate, His curing disease, and raising the dead, His being hated and despised, and fixed to a cross, His death, resurrection, and ascension, His being, and being called, the Son of God, His sending out apostles, His success among the Gentiles (*Apol.* i. 31, § 73, A). Justin claims that this interpretation of Scripture is his chief and only proficiency (*Dialog.* 58, § 280, B); it requires the aid of grace; the Jews have never been able to understand them aright; their eyes are blinded. He charges them with having cor-

rupted the Septuagint in order to avoid Christian interpretations (cf. *Dialog.* 71, § 297, B). In some of the cases he mentions we find all our authorities to be on the side of the Jewish text (cf. *Dialog.* 73, § 289, C, on the famous "a ligno"). It seems probable that Justin used a text current in the church, and modified, more or less insensibly, by Christian interpretations. In the text of the Septuagint he has unbounded trust; he believes it to represent the original, composed by Jewish translators sent by Herod at the request of Ptolemy, king of Egypt (*Apol.* i. 31, § 71, D).

Justin offers a very storehouse of Christian interpretations of Scripture, such as it is impossible to classify briefly; the strongest lines lie (1) in the exhibition of the divine plurality, through which Justin can, while retaining the absolute purity and separateness of God the Father such as the Jewish monotheism made imperative, yet justify and correlate together all the manifold manifestations of Himself by God under local and temporal qualifications, all of which receive their true and complete elucidation in the Incarnation. A unity of principle gathers the whole multiplied variety of revelation into a single unbroken process crowned in the taking of flesh; He whose nature it is to be the expression and exhibition of the Father's will, was at the tent door with Abraham, in the dream with Jacob, in the midst of the burning bush with Moses, at the camp side with Joshua, above the cherubim with Isaiah, and now, finally, is made man of Mary (cf. *Dialog.* 75, § 301, A). The Jew's faith involved an antithesis within its monotheism which was gradually becoming apparent to him, and of which Justin held the triumphant solution in his hands; he applies it fearlessly throughout the whole compass of the Old Testament, holding as he does, "that God the Father, the unutterable Lord, never can come into any separate place, nor walks, nor rises, nor sleeps, but abides ever in His own place, hearing and seeing all things by unutterable power; never moving; how could He speak to any one, appear here and there? &c. No, neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, nor any other man ever saw the unutterable Father. He whom they saw and heard was He who by God's will is Himself God, His Son, His angel" (*Dialog.* 127, § 357, B).

(2) Justin is strong in being able to gather into one the many-sided characteristics of the Messianic prophecy—the many human, mingled with the many divine, names attributed to the Christ: He is man—yet to be adored; He is suffering, yet triumphant; He saves His people, He is rejected by His people. The Jew had to apply this prophecy to one man—and this to another; he had a patchwork fulfilment; he took this and that of Hezekiah, or of Solomon, this of Israel, that of the Christ; and yet all the language used was continually overstepping the limits of applicability to Solomon or Hezekiah, at the same time that it was too human to apply to God; the result must be to give each text a separate interpretation, without regard to continuous consistency. But Justin, in the paradox of the Cross, has a key to the endless paradox of prophecy. All the shifting double-sided revelations of Godhead and manhood, of triumph and suffering, meet in a crucified king. He can give a unity of solution to a Christ who is called "Angel of great Counsel" and "Man" by Ezekiel, "As a Son of man" by Daniel, "Servant" or "Child" by Isaiah, "Christ" and "God" and "Adorable" by David, "Christ" and "the Stone" by many, "Wisdom" by Solomon, "Joseph, Judah, and the Star" by Moses, the "Morning Star" by Zechariah, "Suffering," and "Jacob," and "Israel" by Isaiah, and "Rod," and "Flower," and "Corner-stone" "cut without hands," and "Son of God," who is "despised and rejected," yet also is proclaimed "King of Kings, King of Hosts, King of Glory," and is "Set on the right hand of God," "Born of a virgin," yet "Existent before all the world," "the power of God, the glory of God," "the Word," the "Lord," "the Captain of the Hosts," "King," "Priest," yet also "Man," "the stone," "the child," "the sufferer" (*Dialog.* 126, § 355, B; 61, § 284, A; 34, § 251, D). Of course it is in giving force to this last characteristic of the Christ, *i.e.* ὁ παθητός, at the same time that he gave reality to the highest title, ὁ θεὸς προσκυνητός, that Justin shews his power over the Jew, who can only hover aimlessly between the two, unable to deal with or accept either the one or the other, the lowest or the highest. It may be remarked that Justin declares that no one ever understood the prophecy of the sufferings, until Christ opened it to His apostles.

(3) Justin is powerful in his deduction from prophecy of the failure, and unbelief, and ruin of the Jewish race—as the favoured people; and in the change of the manifestation of God from them to the Gentiles. Here he had much at hand which was only a stumbling-block to the strict Jewish reliance on blood and on privilege.

(4) He is successful in exhibiting the *newness* of Christ's covenant, the *New* Law, the *New* Heart; under this conception the continual discontent of God with the old sacrifices and sabbaths gains intensity of meaning; the calls to wash and be clean, and put away sins, are vivified: the prophetic types of a new and wider dispensation are brought into daylight. Cf. the whole latter part of the Dialogue.

Where Justin is weakest, is, naturally, in knowledge. He is ignorant of the original tongue; he is very arbitrary in his interpretation of details; he uses Christ as the accepted key to the whole complicated history, in a way that to a believer is often full of devotional suggestiveness, but to an unbeliever has no argumentative force. Instances may be found in such chapters as 77, 78, of the *Dialogue*, or ch. 81, &c., &c. He often takes the wrong sense of a passage. He interprets the passages condemnatory of the Jewish Sacrifices, &c., in a way that wins them a new meaning from Christ, but is certainly not their intended meaning. He can only meet Trypho's sharp criticism on this point, by appealing to his own presumption that God's approval of the Law can only have been an accommodation to the people's sins (*Dialog.* 27, § 244, B).

Prophecy is to Justin the main form of Christian evidences; and this for Gentile as much as for Jew. It is to prophecy he turns to prove that the Christian story of the Incarnation is not a poetic tale, without foundation; Greek

mythology offers no testimony to its own reality (*Apol.* i. 54, § 89, A). To this he turns to prove that Christ's miracles were no magic or conjuring, they were foretold (*Apol.* i. 30, 31, § 72, A). On the ground of this, he claims that the remaining prophecies still unfulfilled should be believed, *e.g.* of future punishment, &c. (*Apol.* i. 52, § 87, A). It is the proof of prophecy which compels you to believe the Scriptures, without the perils and insecurity of an impossible logical demonstration of their truth (*Dialog.* 7, § 225, A). This is the certainty which Justin had never found elsewhere, to attain which he is converted. To foretell and then to bring to pass, he pleads, is the work of God alone. It will be noticed that Justin is shy of arguing from miracles; there had been too much of false wonder-working for him to appeal to them. As to the old Prophets, he speaks of their miracles as worthy to win them credit, since they were coincident with a lofty desire to reveal God, and with prophecy of Christ (*Dialog.* 7, § 225, A). Christ's miracles are to be believed on the ground of prophecy (*Apol.* i. 30). Miracles are, to him, proofs, when they have been testified to, but they cannot stand alone, as evidence.

The other evidence to which Justin appeals, is the (1) purity of Christian precepts (*Apol.* i. 14, § 61); (2) their constancy under torture (*Apol.* ii. 12, § 50, A; *Dialog.* 110, § 337, B); (3) the consecrated lives of uncorrupt virginity, the conversion of penitents to holiness (*Apol.* i. 15, 62 B, C; cf. *Apol.* i. 29, § 71, E); (4) the exorcising of demons (*Apol.* ii. 6, § 45, B); (5) the existence of prophetical gifts in the church (cf. *Dialog.* 82, § 308, B), as well as of gifts of spiritual power (*Dialog.* 35, § 254, B), of miracle, of healing (*Dialog.* 39, § 258, A).

Two points may be shortly referred to. What knowledge Justin displays (1) of Jewish, and (2) of Gentile learning.

He refers frequently to Jewish modes of interpreting texts, he seems used to dealing with them (cf. *Dialog.* 50, 269, D); but it is possible that he knows them rather in their polemic against Christians than in their own inner teaching. He charges them with escaping from texts against them by throwing doubts on the Septuagint, while all the Messianic texts that can be accommodated to human affairs, they attach to whom they choose, but not to Christ (*Dialog.* 63, § 294, B). Thus we hear of their attributing the fulfilment of the triumphs spoken of in the Psalms to Solomon, in Isaiah to Hezekiah (*Dialog.* 64, § 287, A; *Dialog.* 77, § 302, B). Justin does not seem to know of any Jewish theorising on the problem of the Λόγος. The Jews expect a purely human Christ (*Dialog.* 49, 268, A), to be heralded by Elias in person, and anointed by him; till which time the Christ is to be in obscurity; he will not even know himself (*Dialog.* 110, § 336, C). The texts that speak of Christ as passible, yet as God and adorable, they are compelled, Justin says, to attribute to Christ, but they refuse to allow this Jesus to be the Christ, though they have to confess that the Christ will suffer and will be worshipped. The divinity of Christ is, according to this, forced upon the Jews' belief by Christian logic, but they do not know what to make of it, and are in straits. Their natural creed is that He will be born of human parents, and will be raised from obscurity to glory and a kingdom; they cannot endure His being despised, and above all, under the curse of the law, crucified (*Dialog.* 32, § 249, B). It is the disgrace of the crucifixion, that is the chief point. Trypho easily allows the *suffering* of the Christ, though it is hard to say whether he held this before Justin's proofs or not (cf. *Dialog.* 36, § 254; 89, 317, A, C); but dishonour and malediction, these seem impossible and absurd. We may notice the passage in which Justin says that no one understood about the suffering, until Christ opened the Scriptures to His disciples (*Dialog.* 76, § 303, A). The double advent of Christ is a novel point to them. Their Christ is to be glorified for His perfect righteousness by the law (67, § 291, C). They looked forward to the millennium in Jerusalem (*Dialog.* 80, § 306, C). Trypho at one point disputes the fact of evil angels, and of their fall (79, § 305, B). As to the conversion of the Gentiles, the Jewish Doctors avoid declaring themselves, on the plea that the character of the Christ cannot be known until He has been made known (*Dialog.* 110, § 336, C). The world-wide offering of Malachi, the Jews interpreted of their own dispersed members (*Dialog.* 117, 344, C), the arrival of the Gentiles to the light, of the Geora or Proselytes (*Dialog.* 122, 350, C). They tried to avoid the plural number in Gen. i. 26, by explaining it of the angels to whom the making of man's body was committed. Justin talks of numerous Jewish heretical sects, Sadducees, Genistae, Meristae, Galilaei, Pharisees, Baptists (*Dialog.* 80, 307, C). He bitterly attacks their petty modes of argumentation, in which they cling to the tiniest difficulty in the face of a mass of evidence; like flies, they stick to the one sore spot (*Dialog.* 115, § 343, C), and he alludes constantly to the relentless and unceasing ferocity of the Jewish persecutors against the Christians.

(2) As to Gentile philosophy, Justin's general knowledge was evidently large; but the question remains as to how far he held to any system accurately or scientifically; and here it must be allowed that he sits pretty loose to them all. He places Plato highest of all, and was delighted in his doctrine of Eternal Ideas, but no definite Platonic formulae are used; the Ideas do not appear; the doctrine of the Word has general relations to Platonism, but that is all; it is itself utterly unlike any teaching in Plato; it belongs to the process of thought which has its roots in the Old Testament, and works through Philo up into Christianity. The anticipations of his own position which he finds in Plato are very general and incidental, such as the belief that the right exercise of reason was concerned with the knowledge of God; or the account of our moral probation in free will, as in the myth in the Republic, or the account of the final judgment. In detail, he gives us nothing of Plato's except the account of the "X" as the law of creation, in the Timaeus, which Justin supposes him to have taken from the account of the brazen serpent; and the statement of the triad character of things, which is taken from an epistle attributed till very lately to Plato. He also declares Plato's account of creation from formless matter, to have been taken from Genesis; but he only means this in the most general way

for he seems to fancy that Plato's formula is consistent with Moses' statement that this formless matter had itself been made by God (cf. *Apol.* i. 59, § 92, D; God made the earth, and the earth was without form). It is perfectly obvious that Justin's relation to Platonism is quite external; he treats him altogether from outside; he holds the Christian formulae, and whenever he detects a likeness to them in Plato, he delights in bringing it out, without regard to context, or system; these likenesses are entirely arbitrary and on the surface, and can never be pressed. Justin's canon of truth is absolutely in Scripture; from that stand-point, his kindly love for Plato pleases itself in exhibiting in him fragmentary resemblance to the truth; but if these fragments of truth ran their roots down into a mass of error, so much the worse for Plato; Justin has no idea of following them down. How true this is, is clear from Justin's second method of accounting for the truth scattered about Gentile philosophy. His first and highest theory is that this is the product of the germinal Word; his second is that it is taken confusedly from Scripture, which is earlier than all philosophies. This theory, which leads him to perfectly superficial and literal derivations of points in Plato from the books of Moses, exhibits the absolute supremacy of Scripture, and also the thoroughly external manner in which Justin regarded Platonism.

There is something to be said for his connexion with Stoicism; he approved their morals, he found in them a right account, to some extent, of the ultimate end of Nature, but he objects strongly to their physical doctrines, their belief in fate, their physico-Pantheistic conception of God, by which they must either identify God with evil and change, or else deny the reality of evil (*Apol.* ii. 7, 8); he considers their physics inconsistent with their ethics. Even their account of the ultimate conflagration is sullied by their formula of fate. Still, next to Plato, he sanctions them; he regards them as fore-runners of Christ, instinct with the germinal Word; he seems to follow their doctrine home more accurately than he does others. It is of them, probably, among others, that he is complaining at the beginning of the *Dialog.* § 213, A, that they speak of a Divine Providence over great things, but fear to bring it down to particular subjects and events.

Musonius, and Heraclitus, he honourably distinguishes; of the Epicureans he speaks scornfully, as of those who, with the followers of Arsotades, and Philaenis, are utterly beneath the level of Christian doctrine (*Apol.* ii. 15, § 52, B).

One problem, lately of peculiar prominence, remains to be considered, *i.e.* the relation of Justin to our Four Gospels. The amount and frequency of his references to our Lord's life and words, in the generation immediately preceding the day in which the present Gospels emerge, secure and alone, into the full daylight of history, make him of salient importance in determining their character; and the state of the present controversy, which has detected the subtle transition, through which the Gospel story passed, from the conditions of a living, oral tradition to those of formal written exemplars, increases the importance of Justin, inasmuch as he begins the definite references to *written* records, of a fixed character, capable of being used for devotional purposes. Are these records identical in substance and in form with our Gospels?

(1) The substantial characteristics of our Lord's life, down even to minute details, are, obviously, the same for Justin as for us. We can compose, from his quotations, a full summary of the whole Gospel life, from the angel's message to the Virgin down to the Ascension, entering into many particulars, illustrating prophecies, supplying the very words of our Lord, in many cases relating all the circumstances of the acts referred to; and, as a whole, it is perfectly clear that the peculiar and marked lines which run round and limit and determine in detail our Gospel, did so, too, to his. The same body of facts is selected; the same character, the same limits preserved, the same characteristics brought forward; the same motives, the same interests are concerned; the same prophetic aspects dwelt upon. This is noticeable, when we remember how very special and remarkable a choice must have been originally exercised upon our Lord's life, to select and retain the peculiar fragments, no more and no less, which are collected and sorted by our Synoptists.

(2) Justin makes some additions or changes in detail to this main story; they are few enough to be mentioned, that their character may be seen. He had a genealogy which, whether ours or not, he attributed to Mary, not to Joseph; Cyrenius he calls the first procurator of Judaea; our Lord's birthplace is a cave; the Magi come from Arabia; *all* the children in Bethlehem are killed; our Lord is not "comely of aspect;" He made ploughs and yokes, emblems of righteousness; the Baptist *sat* by Jordan; a fire shone in Jordan at our Lord's baptism, and the words from heaven complete the text of the second Psalm; the Jews ascribed our Lord's miracles to magic; John ceased his mission at our Lord's public appearance. The Lord said, "There shall be schisms and heresies;" and "In whatsoever I find you, in that will I judge you." The drops, at the Agony are not said to be of blood; His captors surround Him, "like horned bulls" of Psalm xxii.; the sneers of the crowd at the cross are expanded, "He who raised the dead, let Him save Himself."

Of these, several are, probably, confusions or amplifications of Justin's own; some represent additions found in various texts of our present Gospels, and were, probably, floating, popular, traditional interpretations of various passages. The only remaining points definitely distinct from our Gospels are, the home of the Magi, the cave of the Nativity, the posture of the Baptist, the two sayings of our Lord. Does Justin, then, seem to take these from tradition, or from any uncanonical Gospel? The uncanonical works known to us, that are akin to him in their account of the birth and the baptism, do not tally with the rest of his account of these events; it is much more probable, therefore, that they and Justin embody a common tradition about the cave and the fire in Jordan, than that he used them; or even if these details came from them, they are still, certainly, not his main authorities, they are not his Gospel. The two strange

sayings do not occur in any preserved narrative. Both of them seem to be variant forms of thoughts recorded in our canon, but the form, especially of the latter, is distinctly original. We must hypothesise then the Gospel that he used, if it is not ours; for we have no relic of it in our hands, and here the remark seems convincing (cf. Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 101) that this Gospel, if it existed, belongs not to an earlier but to a *later* stage of the story than our canonical works, *i.e.* the varieties do not exhibit new, unused authorities, different traditions, but belong to the stage at which the other traditions are either amplified by enlarging the details, or are fused for the purposes of harmony. Instances of the first are the cave, the fire in Jordan, the making of ploughs; they are quite insignificant; instances of the latter are the mingling of the messages of the angels to Joseph and Mary, probably the attribution of the genealogy to Mary, and much of what is given from the Sermon on the Mount. The testimony appears to be decisive that if Justin used another Gospel, and not ours, then it has the character of being a modified form of that narrative, which, in its earlier form, is imbedded in our synoptic Gospels.

But if the substance is the same as our narrative, modified by slight accretions from a subservient and subordinate tradition, or by harmonistic fusion, is there any reason to suppose that our Gospels were the authorities for this substance? To determine this, we must be able to find evidence of likeness off the main line of the material common to the various records, otherwise we should only shew that Justin and they drew from a common stock, but not that he used these particular books.

That they were *books* that he used, he tells us frequently; it is all "written;" the books are called by a name peculiar to Justin, *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων*; they are records of our Lord's sayings and doings, written either by Apostles, or their followers (*Apol.* i. 66, § 98, B; *Dialog.* 103, § 333, D). These books constitute *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, *Dialog.* 10, 227, E; a quotation is referred to this *εὐαγγέλιον* (*Dialog.* 100, § 326, C); the *ἀπομνημονεύματα* are themselves called *εὐαγγέλια*, he tells us, if the text is right (*Apol.* i. 66). All this points obviously to the existence of various records, "written either by Apostles or by their followers," constituting altogether a single story, *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*. So far our Gospels exactly correspond. More than this, it is almost incredible that he should not know St. Matthew, at least; besides the general mass of reference, which exhibits remarkable resemblance to this Gospel, he has marked notices that distinguish St. Matthew from the other forms of the evangelical tradition: the visit of the Magi, the descent into Egypt, Joseph's suspicions of Mary, texts, elsewhere unparalleled, form the Sermon on the Mount, the application of the prophecy Isaiah xlii. 1–4, to the colt with the ass; above all, the comment of the disciples upon the identification of the Baptist with Elias (*Dialog.* 49, § 269, A; Matt. xviii. 11–13), the expressions *ἔνοχος εἰς* (Matt. v. 22); *ἀγγαρεύσει* (v. 41), &c., &c. The resemblance to St. Luke, in places where it is possible to distinguish the peculiar work of this writer from that of the general tradition, are in one or two cases almost impossible to resist; such as the quotation of the text, Luke xviii. 27 (*Apol.* i. 20, § 66), and in the use of the unique expression *ἰσάγγελοι*, Luke xx. 35–36; also in the most remarkable expressions at the annunciation, *ἐπισκιάζειν δύναμις ὑψίστου*, &c., which are directly Lucan. Compare, also, the last word on the cross. The only statement entirely peculiar to St. Mark is that of the naming of the sons of Zebedee.

We have, then, this fact, that not only is the whole body of quotation accounted for as a whole, with a few rare exceptions, from our Gospels, but in some cases where St. Matthew and St. Luke affect by their individuality the common original tradition, there Justin reproduces them. Is there anything to set against the positiveness of this argument?

The inexactness of quotation is the one opposing element. Justin is inexact, it is true, in his Old Testament quotations, but he is more than three times as inaccurate in his New Testament quotations. It is intensely difficult to estimate the bearings of this inaccuracy, to know how much to discount for free combination which Justin uses extensively, how much for lack of memory, how much for mere paraphrase; and then to determine, after such discounting, how much evidence remains to shew Justin's use of any other Gospel besides our own, by which their language is qualified. Especially is this hard when we have also to extract the possibility of variant readings of our present texts; and it is interesting to notice that Justin's language has analogies to the texts that lie round the old Latin version (cf. Sanday, *Gospels in Second Century*, p. 133). Again, it may be the echoes of living tradition which are heard stirring in Justin's quotations rather than the voice of any positive written text besides those we know. Under such complicated circumstances, the variations of Justin's can afford but uncertain data for any hypothesis, unless, indeed, they exhibit a steady alliance with any known Gospel other than our own; but the affiliations in their case are fluctuating and wavering, now tending to this uncanonical work, now to that, but giving no sure clue. It remains an intelligible, and perhaps a probable hypothesis, that Justin used some other form of the Gospel than any now in the canon: if so, it was either a text used by the side of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and not differing from them in any degree more than they differ from each other; and if so, it would multiply the evidence for the authenticity of the narrative embodied in our canon; or else it was a text compounding and combining with some freedom the other two; and if so, it supposes these canonical Gospels to be already the formal authorities; for already it is a matter of interest to harmonise and combine their accounts. The supposition that Justin used a perfectly distinct form of the Gospel story from any that we now possess is always encumbered by the invincible difficulty that, even though it was of sufficient importance and acceptance to be used in the public offices of the metropolitan church as late as the boyhood of St. Irenaeus, it has nevertheless totally disappeared.

As to St. John, the main argument against its use is that from silence. Justin is full of doctrine on the subject of the Word, on the pre-existence

and Divine authority of Christ, yet no words from the Johannine discourses appear in his work. This argument has necessarily great weight. On the other hand, any single distinct reference to St. John must outweigh all the force of such a negative. Is there, then, any such reference?

In *Dialogue* 88 Justin attributes to the Baptist himself the words of the prophet, φωνὴ βοῶντος. This attribution is one of those remarkable distinctions peculiar to St. John's Gospel. We know of no other ground for it.

Twice (in *Apol.* i. 22, § 68, B, and *Dialog.* 69, § 296, A) he speaks of our Lord healing people infirm ἐκ γενετῆς: the only recorded instance of this is the blind man in St. John, ἐκ γενετῆς.

In *Apol.* i. 61, Justin, it can hardly be doubted, is paraphrasing St. John iii. 3–5. He is referring to a definite statement of our Lord; and the statement—a most marked and peculiar one—occurs in St. John, and in no other known place. Justin continues to refer to it in a way that makes it hardly possible not to suppose him acquainted with the continuation in St. John. In its context in the *Apology* the reference to the physical impossibility of a literal new birth is singularly awkward (cf. Otto, note *in loc.*). It may be also noticed that Justin claims that he is believing Christ's own teaching when he believes in His Divine pre-existence; which would be more intelligible of St. John than of the other Gospels (*Dialog.* 48, § 267, D). There is, again, a notice of our Lord in *Dialog.* 106, § 333, which receives its proper interpretation only in St. John xiii. and xvii.: Christ, says Justin, knew that the Father gave everything to Him, and Himself demanded this. Such are the possible direct references, rare, indeed, but in one case, at least, remarkably noticeable. Indirectly, Justin holds a doctrine of the Word, clear, pronounced, decisive, such as finds no home or base for itself but in that authoritative record of Christ which is laid up for us in the fourth Gospel. This doctrine Justin does not originate, he shews little capacity for originality in subtle speculation: it is the accepted, familiar, Christian faith put forth for the whole body, as their common belief, without hesitation, apology, anxiety, scruple, or uncertainty. It presents the exact features of the Johannine teaching: the universalism of the Philonic Λόγος is identified with, and made concrete by, the living, vivid individualism of the Incarnate Messiah. The synthesis is done, is complete, without confusion or doubt. Justin is as definite, as full of sanctioned certainty on the reality of this doctrine of the Incarnate Word, as he is on the facts and discourses represented by our Synoptists. There is no line to be drawn between the two. The Life of our Lord is already for him the Life as it is in fusion with the dogma of the Word—the Life as it is under the manipulation that is displayed in the fourth Gospel. Have we got any cause of sufficient force to have achieved so decided a result, but the Gospel of St. John? This is the question that rises over against the problem presented by Justin's prolonged silence: without this Gospel we have hardly any hypothesis by which to explain his determinate hold on the doctrine of the Flesh-taking Word. (Cf. Thoma, in *Zeitsch. für Wissenschaft. Theolog.* 4th part, for year 1875, Leipsic: an elaborate discussion, with conclusion, "Justin *cites* only the Synopt., but he thinks and argues with the Fourth Gospel, evidencing its existence, but not its apostolicity;" but cf. on last point, Westcott, *Canon of New Test.* p. 150.)

In connexion with this there must be mentioned a passage in *Dialog.* 123, § 353, B, in which, if not the Gospel, then the first Epistle of St. John can hardly be supposed absent from the writer's mind. The peculiar conjunction of καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν is essentially Johannine (1 John iii. 1, 2): as is the connexion of "sonship" with keeping τὰς ἐντολάς. Justin, again, knows the writings of the Valentinians, and this (according to the evidence of Hippolytus and Irenaeus) must have involved a knowledge of the Fourth Gospel. Altogether, the problem presented by his not quoting St. John is far easier to solve than the problem of his not knowing it.

As to the rest of the canon, Justin mentions the Apocalypse by name, attributing it to St. John (*Dialog.* 81, § 308, A). He can hardly but be thinking of the Epistle to the Romans in *Dialog.* 23, § 241, B. He has references to the First Epistle to the Corinthians (*Dialog.* 14, § 231, D; *Apol.* 1, 60, § 93; *Dialog.* 111, § 333, C), and to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (*Dialog.* 32, § 110). He constantly repeats the πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, which relates him to the Epistle to the Colossians; he has references which seem to recall the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Dialog.* 13, § 229, D; *Apol.* i. 12, § 60, ἀπόστολος . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστός); his words appear in several places to point to the Acts (cf. *Apol.* 50, § 86, D; *Apol.* 40, § 79, A). Everywhere he exhibits traces of St. Paul; and his controversy with Marcion must have involved a complete acquaintance with the theology and language of the great apostle.

Throughout Justin claims to possess, and to shew forth, with a certainty attested by sacrifice and death, a solid body of certified doctrine, which *apostolic* authority sealed and secured; Christ, as He had been foretold by prophets and announced to the world by apostles, is the assured ground of his faith (cf. *Dialog.* 119, § 343, A; *Apol.* i. 39, i. 42). The apostles are the twelve bells on the border of the high priest's garment, with the sound of whose ringing the whole world has been filled (*Dialog.* 42, § 268, C); the apostles are the evangelical preachers in whose person Isaiah cried, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" the apostles are "the brethren in the midst of whom" Christ gives praise unto God (*Dialog.* 106, § 333, C).

[H. S. H.]

JUSTINUS (3), a Gnostic writer, author of several books, only known to us by the abstract which Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.* v. 23, p. 148) has given of one of them, called the book of Baruch. The following is the account which that book gives of the origin and history of the universe. It has sprung from three underived principles, two male, one female. The first of these is the Good Being, and has no other name; he is perfect in knowledge, and is remote from all contact with the created world, of which, however, he is afterwards described as the ultimate cause. It is the knowledge of this Good Being which alone deserves the name, and it is from the possession of it that these heretics claimed the title of Gnostics. The second principle is called Elohim, the Father of the creation, deficient in knowledge, but not represented as

subject to evil passion. The third, or female principle, who is identified with the earth, is called Eden and Israel, destitute of knowledge, and subject to anger, depicted as of double form, a woman above the middle, a snake below. Of her, Elohim becomes enamoured, and from their intercourse spring twenty-four angels—twelve paternal, who co-operate with their father and do his will, and twelve maternal, who do the will of the mother. The principal part is played by the third of each of these companies; Baruch, the third of the paternal angels, being the chief minister of good, and Naas, or the serpent, the third of the maternal, being the chief author of evil. The paradise of the book of Genesis allegorically refers to these angels, who are intended by the trees, Baruch being the tree of life, and Naas the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. These angels people the world, forming beasts out of the lower or snaky part of Eden, and man out of her upper parts, that is to say, of the finest earth; and on man Eden bestows the animal soul, and Elohim the spirit, thus making man the seal of their love and union. The four rivers that went out of Paradise are interpreted as four companies, into which the maternal angels are divided, which in turns dominate the world, bringing on it each its special evil, famine, war, &c. The history of the cause why Eden works evil on man is described as follows:—When Elohim had framed the world he ascended to the loftiest part of heaven, thence to see if anything were lacking. He was accompanied by his angels, but not by Eden, his nature tending upwards, hers downwards. When Elohim reached the boundary of heaven he saw a light beyond what he himself had made, and cried, "Open me the gates, that I may go in and confess to the Lord; for hitherto I thought myself to be Lord." And there came an answer, "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous enter through it." And the gate was opened, and he went in without his angels, and saw the things which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man." Then the Good One said to him, "Sit thou on my right hand." Elohim asked leave to return to destroy the world he had made, and liberate his spirit, which was bound up with it, but was told that having come to the Good One there he must abide, and could no longer do evil; and that Eden must keep the creation while she would. She adorns herself in the hope to attract Elohim back, but, being disappointed, she causes the first of her angels, Babel (who also is Aphrodite), to make adulteries and dissolutions of marriage among men, that they may suffer what she suffered through the desertion of Elohim. And she gives great power to her third angel, Naas, to afflict the spirit of Elohim which is in men. On the other hand, Elohim sends his angel, Baruch, to aid that spirit. Baruch's permission to man to eat of the other trees of Paradise but not of the tree of knowledge is interpreted to mean a permission to obey the other maternal angels, who only inspire passions in themselves innocent; but not Naas, the teacher of transgression of the law, who is represented as committing adultery with Eve and paederasty with Adam. The evils caused the human race directly by Eden, and indirectly by Elohim, whose desertion was the cause of her hostility, are counteracted by the good derived from Elohim, who both himself shewed the way of ascending to the Good One, and who also by the mouth of Baruch exhorted men to turn to him. Baruch was thus sent to Moses, and by him to the children of Israel. But as there was in Moses (as in all others, male and female) a soul derived from Eden, as well as a spirit derived from Elohim, "the soul set against the spirit, and the spirit against the soul," Naas, by means of this soul, caused Moses to obscure the commands of Baruch, and substituted his own. In like manner Naas led away the prophets from obeying the commands of Elohim given by Baruch. Again, Elohim sends Hercules, a prophet of the uncircumcision, whose twelve labours are so many victories over the power of the twelve maternal angels. But he, too, is led away, the agent of his seduction being Omphale, the same as Babel or Aphrodite. At length Baruch is sent to Jesus, whom he finds, a boy of twelve years old, feeding sheep. And Jesus alone resists all the seductions of Naas, who, in anger at his failure, causes him to be crucified. Jesus then leaves his body on the tree, saying to Eden, "Woman, thou fully hast thy son," that is to say, the animal soul derived from her and the earthly body, while he commends to the father Elohim the spirit which came from him, and himself ascends to the Good One.

Other texts of scripture besides those already cited are forced to bear witness to this theory, and testimony is similarly extorted from the heathen mythologies, the stories of Hercules, of Leda, of Ganymede, of Danae, being all expounded as in their true meaning referring to this history of Eden and Elohim, Baruch and Naas. The doctrines here expounded were propagated under an oath that those who received them would neither divulge nor forsake them. As Elohim, of whom it is written, "The Lord sware and will not repent," on admission to the Good One swore that he would preserve the mysteries entrusted to him and did not repent of his oath, so the disciple of this system must swear never to make known its mysteries, and never to relapse from the Good One to the creature; and his reward shall be to ascend to Him, and to behold the things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man.

We have described this system at greater length because Lipsius regards this work of Justinus, as, though probably written later than the middle of the 2nd century, representing in its fundamental ideas one of the oldest, perhaps the very oldest, form of Gnosticism, and as exhibiting the passage of Jewish Christianity into Gnosis. As we cannot share this view, it becomes necessary to examine the relations of Justinus to other heretical systems of the 2nd century. And, first, with regard to the system of the Clementine Homilies with which that of Justinus has some superficial affinities, we shall not dispute the possibility that Justinus may have been acquainted with Elkesaite writings, and may have thence derived the idea of his oath of secrecy; but his point of view is absolutely different from that of the Clementines. According to the Homilies Adam was the first incarnation of the true prophet, and those pas-

sages of the Pentateuch which impute sin to him are rejected as unauthorised interpolations; but nowhere is Adam subjected to such revolting degradation as in the system of Justinus. According to the Clementines Moses stands on a level altogether different from that of the later prophets; of the Old Testament writings his are almost exclusively quoted; anything in them which the homilist is unwilling to receive he imputes not to error of Moses, but to the corruptions of those who falsified his writings. Justinus puts the later prophets quite on the level of Moses, quotes their writings as freely as his, and treats all alike as led astray by Naas to corrupt the revelation of Baruch. And so far from agreeing with Lipsius that Justinus, like the homilist, identified Christianity with Judaism, we think it might as well be said that he identified Christianity with heathenism. Justinus is willing to conciliate both Jews and heathen by recognising, in the systems of each, elements coming from Divine inspiration; but he accuses as well Moses and the Jewish prophets, as Hercules, the heathen prophet, of having permitted themselves to be led astray from the right way, while Jesus alone held his course straight, and rightly delivered the Divine message. In the system of Justinus, as well as in the other systems described in the fifth book of Hippolytus, heathen myths receive great attention; and we cannot even venture to say that Justinus was a Jew. He was familiar with the books of the Old Testament, but so were generally Christians of his time, and he uses Hebrew names, but, perhaps, only such as had already passed into popular use. That the word Naas, for instance, was Hebrew for a serpent was known to Justin Martyr, who does not appear to have been acquainted with Hebrew. The high place given to the name Baruch accords with Irenaeus II. xxiv. p. 150. On comparing the language of Justinus with that of other Gnostic systems, we find points of resemblance which cannot well be explained, except as resulting from a literary derivation of one from the other, and which, in our judgment, clearly mark Justinus as the latest. Hippolytus classes Justinus with the Naassenes, with whom it might at first sight be thought that his resemblance was only apparent, for in his system the serpent has no place of honour, but is the cause of all evil to men; while also the form of a serpent is given to that grosser matter out of which the inferior parts of the creation are formed. Yet on comparing the system of Justinus with that of the Ophite sect described by Irenaeus (i. 30), the points of contact are found to be too numerous to be all accidental. In the system of these Ophites the commencement is made with two male and one female principle; the Creator is represented as ignorant that He had any superior; brilliancy of light is the distinguishing attribute of the highest principle (see also Pistis Sophia, *passim*). He who has bestowed on man his highest part is represented as himself suffering loss by the gift; Eve is accused of adultery; Christ is represented as leaving on His ascension His earthly body behind Him; and Justinus (p. 157), like the Naassenes of Hippolytus (v. 26, p. 103), looks on phallic images as set up for the worship of the supreme good principle. If there be a literary connexion between the systems of Justinus and of the Ophites of Irenaeus, it cannot be doubted on which side the obligation lies. Without laying stress on the improbability that if Justinus is entitled to such an important place in the history of Gnosticism as Lipsius ascribes to him, we should be indebted for the knowledge of his name to a work itself till recent times unknown —we find on comparison with the system of Saturninus, which Irenaeus represents as one of the oldest of the Gnostic systems, many features common to the Irenaean Ophites, which disappear in the system of Justinus; for instance, the number of seven creative angels is by Justinus enlarged to twenty-four. We pass over other indications of later date, but on the whole, instead of looking on the system of Justinus as throwing light on the process by which Gnosticism grew, we feel bound to refer that system to the latest stage of Gnosticism when a philosophy in which any unproved assumption was regarded as sufficiently justified by any remote analogy, had reached its exhaustion, and when its teachers were forced to seek for novelty by wilder and more audacious combinations. And we are not disposed to quarrel with the verdict of Hippolytus that he had met with many heretics, but never a worse one than Justinus.[a]

[G. S.]

JUSTINUS (4), June 1, martyr with Chario, A.D. 167. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 16.) [C. H.]

JUSTINUS (5), Sept. 17, presbyter and martyr at Rome, his period being reckoned by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. v. 470) as cir. A.D. 259. He is briefly mentioned by Usuard and in the *Vet. Rom. Mart.* Ado is circumstantial. [G. T. S.]

JUSTINUS (6), June 27, son of Symphorosa, martyr. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JUSTINUS (7), bishop of Mevania (Bevagna), said to have been consecrated by pope Sylvester A.D. 315. (Ughelli, x. 138; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 389, 392.) [R. S. G.]

JUSTINUS (8), reputed first bishop and patron saint of Teate (Chieti, A.D. 320). (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 825; Cappelletti, xxi. 96.) [R. S. G.]

JUSTINUS (9), bishop of Salona (Spalato), placed by Farlati (followed by Gams) after Paschasius, A.D. 194; but the order of these bishops rests on no other foundation than the *Catalog.*

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[a] We have not built any argument on the affinities between the systems of Justinus and of Marcion as represented by Esnig (Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1834, p. 76), because there is, of course, room for controversy how the coincidences are to be accounted for. But these coincidences are very striking: Justinus, like Marcion, gives to his highest principle the title of the Good One. And both systems are represented as teaching that, besides this good principle, there are two inferior, a male and a female, who are related to each other as husband and wife, the former being the Creator, the latter matter; that man was their joint work: that the Creator made his abode in heaven, leaving his consort on earth; that dissensions between these two were the cause of error and suffering to the human race.

Roman. (*Illyric. Sacr.* i. 590, *et seq.*, and Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 419.) [J. de S.]

JUSTINUS (10), a Manichaean addressed in A.D. 372 by Marius Victorinus in a treatise entitled, *Liber ad Justinum Manichaeum.* The treatise will be found in *Patrol. Lat.* viii. 999. [G. T. S.]

JUSTINUS (11) SICULUS, the author of a letter extant in Greek and Latin under the Latin title *Epistola Justini episcopi in Sicilia ad Petrum Fullonem*, cir. A.D. 483, protesting, with some bishops under Peter's patriarchal jurisdiction, against his heretical addition to the *Trisagion.* Rocco Pirro (*Sic. Sac.* i. 16) argues that his see must have been Palermo; but Pagi (ann. 485, xv.) believes that "Sicilia" is an error for "Cilicia." The letter will be found in Mansi (vii. 1115), and in John Zonaras (*In Canones Apost.* 1618, p. 538). It is discussed by Cave (i. 457) and Ceillier (i. 433). H. Valesius (*Dissert. in Petr. Full.* in *Hist. Eccles. Script.* p. 595, ed. Cantab. 1720) calls in question the genuineness of all these epistles, but on no sufficient grounds. Dodwell (*Dissert. in Irenaeum*, pp. 263, 264) attributes to this Justin the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos* and the *Confessio de Consubstantiali Trinitate* found among the works of Justin Martyr. [G. T. S.]

JUSTINUS (12) I., emperor. On the death of the emperor Anastasius he was on July 9, A.D. 518, proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command and the people (*Chron. Pasch.* 331 in *Patr. Gr.* xcii. 858), whose choice was approved by the senate (Marcellinus, *Chron.*). After his elevation he assumed the additional names of Flavius Anicius, or he may have been adopted into the famous Anician house on becoming patrician. He was a man of no education, and the affairs of the state were managed chiefly by his prudent minister Proclus the quaestor, and afterwards by his nephew and successor Justinian. The most memorable event of his reign—namely, the end of the schism between the Eastern and Western churches—the long negotiations that preceded it, and its consequences, are fully narrated under HORMISDAS (3). For his relations with Persia see CHOSROES I. Vol. I. 479, 480.

In A.D. 523 Justin issued a constitution against the Manichaeans and other heretics (*Codex* i. tit. v. 12). The former were punished with exile or death; other heretics, Pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, were declared incapable of holding a magistracy or entering military service. The allied Goths were exempted from these provisions. In consequence of the persecution of his Arian co-religionists, Theodoric sent pope John I. in A.D. 525 to Constantinople to remonstrate with the emperor. A full account of his mission and reception is given under EPIPHANIUS (17).

In April A.D. 527 Justin caused Justinian, who had long before taken the chief part in the government, to be proclaimed emperor and crowned, and on August 1 he died of an ulcer in the foot, the effect of an old arrow wound, in his 75th year. His wife, like her husband, was of humble origin. Her original name was Lupicina, but on her coronation the people saluted her as Euphemia, to which the names of Aelia Marcia were added. She died in her husband's lifetime. [F. D.]

JUSTINUS (13) II., emperor, the nephew and successor of Justinian, was the son of his sister Vigilantia. His father's name was Dulcissimus (Corippus, *de Laud. Justini*, praef. 21, Victor Tun. *Chron.*). He was appointed Curopalates or Master of the Palace, by his uncle (Corip. i. 138). The night Justinian died, a deputation of the senate, headed by the patrician Callinicus, hurried to his house, and notwithstanding his real or affected reluctance persuaded him to accept the crown, and in the early morning he was saluted emperor by the populace in the hippodrome. The same day (Nov. 14, A.D. 565) he was crowned by the patriarch John (Theophanes, *Chron.* in *Patr. Gr.* cviii. 525), and received the homage of the senate and people in the hippodrome.

Justin, unlike his uncle, was perfectly orthodox, but at the same time did not enforce orthodoxy by persecution. On his accession he declared himself an adherent of the decrees of Chalcedon, and restored to their sees the bishops who had been banished by his predecessor (Venantius Fortunatus, *ad Justinum*, 25–26, 39–44 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxxviii. 432). The edict is given in probably a corrupt form by Evagrius (*H. E.* v. 1, in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi. 2789), and also by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xvii. 33). Soon afterwards another edict was published, which is given at length by Evagrius (*H. E.* v. 4), in which, after setting forth the orthodox belief as to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, he exhorted all to return to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which should remain firm and unchanged for ever; and that no one should for the future dispute about persons or syllables, probably referring to the person of Theodore and the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, and also to the question as to the Incorruptibility of the body of Christ. This edict met with general approval, as all parties interpreted it in favour of their own views, but none of the various schismatic sects returned to communion, in consequence of the emperor's declaration that no change was to be made in the church.

Justin also early in his reign sent Photinus, the stepson of Belisarius, with full powers to reconcile the churches of Egypt and Alexandria, but his mission seems to have been fruitless.

Soon after his accession an embassy arrived from St. Rhadegund asking for a piece of the true cross for her newly founded monastery at Poitiers. He complied with her request, adding many other relics and copies of the gospels ornamented with gold and jewels (*Vita S. Radegundis*, ii. 18, in *Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 673). It was on the occasion of the arrival of this piece of the true cross at Poitiers that the famous hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, was composed by Fortunatus.

For the secular events of his reign see JUSTINUS II., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.*

In May, A.D. 568, a rescript was issued to Spes-in-Deum, the archbishop of the Byzacene province in Africa, confirming the privileges of his church and synod, by which he was the sole judge of charges brought against any of the bishops or clergy within his jurisdiction, and in the following November (Clinton, *Fasti*, 825), a law (*Nov.* cxlix.) was promulgated addressed to

the bishops and leading men of each province directing them to choose the governors (praesides) themselves, and to submit the names to the emperor, who would then invest them with their offices.

At the end of 570 A.D. or the beginning of the next year, Anastasius bishop of Antioch was deposed and Gregorius substituted in his place. [ANASTASIUS SINAITA (1), GREGORIUS (31).]

On May 18, 572, a stringent law was passed against the Samaritans (*Nov.* cxliv.). They were declared incapable of inheriting either under a will or an intestacy, and in like manner were deprived of exercising testamentary powers except in favour of Christians. Otherwise the goods of the deceased were forfeited to the treasury. For the sake of agriculture farmers were exempted from these provisions. Samaritans were also declared incapable of holding any civil or military employments. Baptized Samaritans who observed the Sabbath or other of the rites of their creed were punished with perpetual exile. A Samaritan was declared incapable of having a Christian slave; if he bought one the slave *ipso facto* became entitled to his freedom; while a Samaritan slave became free on embracing Christianity. Justin at length was seized with madness, and died on October 5, 578, after a reign of nearly thirteen years. [F. D.]

JUSTINUS (14), brother-in-law of Gregory of Tours, and the subject of one of the miraculous cures ascribed by that historian to St. Martin. (Greg. Tur. *Mirac. S. Martini*, ii. 2.) [S. A. B.]

JUSTINUS (15), first bishop of Tarbe. His feast is fixed in the old martyrologies on May 1. But his title to be counted as bishop is somewhat doubtful; for Gregory of Tours (*Gloria Confess.* ch. xlix.) mentions Justin a presbyter, apparently the same, who is buried at Sers about six leagues from Tarbe (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1225). [R. T. S.]

JUSTINUS (16) (JUSTUS), bishop of Capua, A.D. 554, apparently found in some authorities by Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 867), where Ughelli (vi. 307) and Granata (*Storia Sac. di Capua*, i. 107) have Rufinus. Both are omitted by Cappelletti xx. 22, 123). [C. H.]

JUSTINUS (17), praetor of Sicily in the time of Gregory the Great. (Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 173; *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. ep. 2, in Migne, lxxvii.; *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 33; lib. iii. indict. xi. 38; Migne, lxxvii. 571, 635.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTINUS (18), bishop of Calaris (Cagliari) who accepted the decrees of the Lateran council in 649 (Mansi, x. 1170), where the Greek list has Justinianus. (Matthaeus, *Sard. Sac.* 83; Cappelletti, xiii. 55, 71.) [C. H.]

JUSTINUS (19), bishop of Vicohabentia (Voghenza), signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680 to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 315; Ughelli, ii. 526.) Cappelletti (iv. 25, 224) places him fourteenth in the series. [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTINUS (20), bishop of Tyana the metropolis of the second Cappadocia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 641), and at the synod called Trullana or Quinisexta, where in the subscriptions his name is written Justinianus. (Mansi, xi. 989; Le Q. *Or. Christ.* i. 400.) [L. D.]

JUSTINUS (21), bishop of Pisa, c. 748, mentioned in the will of Liutpert archdeacon of Pisa. (Troya, *Codice Diplom.* iv. p. 321.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTINUS (22), Aug. 1, a boy martyr at Paris. (*Mart. Us.*) [G. T. S.]

JUSTINUS (23), 8th bishop of Aux or Auch, between Minervius I. and Nicetius in the fifth century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 974.) [S. A. B.]

JUSTOLFUS, bishop of Ascoli (Asculum in Picenum), c. 781 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vii. 681). In a diploma printed by Ughelli (i. 440) his name is written Tustolfus. [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (1), third bishop of Jerusalem, between Simeon and Zacchaeus, a bishop of the circumcision (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 35, and *Chronicle* under A.D. 106). Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. 20) calls him Judas. [C. H.]

JUSTUS (2) II., bishop of Jerusalem in the 2nd century; placed by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 5) eleventh in the succession of Jewish bishops. [J. de S.]

JUSTUS (3), fifth bishop of Alexandria. According to Eusebius, he succeeded Primus in the third year of Hadrian, A.D. 120, and had an episcopate of eleven years (*H. E.* iv. 4, *Chron. sub. ann.*). The Coptic Calendar commemorates him on July 6; the *Acta SS.* on June 6. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 389.) [G. S.]

JUSTUS (4), fifth bishop of Vienne, is said by Ado to have been contemporary with Photinus or Pothinus, the martyr of Lyons. But Hauréau, the editor of the last volumes of *Gallia Christiana*, doubts the fact of Justus having been bishop at all. Baronius (ann. 166, 1) gives two letters to him from Pius I., which are undoubtedly of the false decretals. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 8; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 99; Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* vi. 82.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (5), second bishop of Trois Châteaux, A.D. 312 (or, according to other accounts, in 267), suffered martyrdom in the irruption of the Alemanni under Chrocus, described by Greg. Tur. *Hist.* i. 30. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 705; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 619.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (6) I., third bishop of Avignon, according to the list of Polycarpe de la Rivière (*Gall. Chr.* i. 851), cir. A.D. 130. The Sammarthani (*ibid.* 795) reckon him second, and his period some time before 310. [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (7) II. appears in Dom Polycarpe de la Rivière's list of the bishops of Avignon (*Gall. Christ.* i. 858) as eighteenth bishop of that see. According to the same author, his episcopate lasted from A.D. 372 to 390. He may be the bishop Justus who was present at the first

council of Valence (A.D. 374), and whose see is not appended (Mansi, iii. 494). His name does not appear in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 797) or in the *Series* of Gams (p. 503). [S. A. B.]

JUSTUS (8), bishop of Besançon, is said to have been exiled in the time of the emperor Julian, A.D. 362, but afterwards restored. He died about A.D. 366. (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 6.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (9), fifth bishop of Calaris (Cagliari), in a list of names of uncertain date earlier than the 4th century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 48, 70; Martini, *Storia Eccles. di Sardegna*, iii. 316; Matthaeus, *Sard. Sac.* 69.) [R. S. G.]

JUSTUS (10), bishop of Calaris (Cagliari), succeeding Lucifer, who died c. A.D. 370 (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 835). He is not mentioned by Cappelletti, nor by the local writers, as Cossu, Matthaeus, and Martini. [R. S. G.]

JUSTUS (11), thirteenth bishop of Lyons. He took part in the synod of Valence, A.D. 374, and in the council of Aquileia, 381, as representing Gallia Comata. His life is compendiously given by Ado (Sept. 2, Pat. Lat. cxxiii. 344). Lyons celebrates four festivals in honour of his ordination, death, translation from Egypt, and the dedication of his church. Two letters of St. Ambrose (class i. Nos. vii. and viii.) are addressed to a Justus, who was probably our saint. (Ambrosii *Opp.* i. 777 sq.; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 15; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 373; Mansi, *Concil.*; Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* iv. 629; Le Blant, *Inscrip. Chrét.* t. i. p. 62, num. xxvii. gives the epitaph on his tomb.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (12), Donatist bishop of Nisiba in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 645), present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. *Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 201.) [H. W. P.]

JUSTUS (13), Donatist bishop of Forma in Numidia, near Idicra, absent through illness from the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 209.) [FELIX (90).] [H. W. P.]

JUSTUS (14), bishop of Orange mentioned in the Life of St. Eutropius his successor (§ 4 in Boll. *Acta SS.* 27 Mai. vi. 701). See *Gall. Chr.* i. 766. [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (15), bishop of Acufida in Mauritania Sitifensis, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notit.* 60; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 67.) [R. S. G.]

JUSTUS (16), bishop of Acheruntia (Acerenza), present at the first synod under pope Symmachus, in March 499. (Hefele, § 220; Mansi, viii. 234; Ughelli, vii. 13; Cappelletti, xx. 420, 450.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (17), bishop of Fermo, present at the 5th synod under pope Symmachus in 503. (Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209; Mansi, viii. 299; Ughelli, ii. 682; Cappelletti, iii. 588, 652.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (18), bishop of Segni (Signia), present at the third, fourth, and sixth synods of pope Symmachus in Oct. 501, Nov. 502, and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209. (Mansi, viii. 252, 269, 315; Ughelli, i. 1235; Cappelletti, vi. 617, 638.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (19), bishop of Urgel from before A.D. 527 until after 546. He was one of four brothers, all of whom became bishops (see arts. JUSTINIANUS, NEBRIDIUS, ELPIDIUS), and is briefly noticed by Isidore in the *De Vir. Ill.* (cap. 33) as the author of a "libellus expositionis in cantica canticorum," which is still extant, prefaced by a letter to Sergius, metropolitan (papa) of Tarraconensis (not *pope* Sergius as Helfferich supposes, *Westgoth. Arianismus*, p. 42). Justus subscribes the acts of the second council of Toledo, held in 527 under Montanus (Aguirre-Catalani, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* iii. 153), and his signature is also found among those of the synod of Gerona in 546. He is commemorated on May 28 in the Roman martyrology. (*AA. SS. Bolland.* May, vi. 773, ed. of the Commentary on the Canticles in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (1) 440.) [M. A. W.]

JUSTUS (20), 3rd bishop of Volterra, c. 553 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 215). Ughelli (i. 1427) who places him second, between Romulus and Elpidius, before 502, is corrected by Cappelletti. Justus and Clement as patrons of Volterra occur in the *Acta Sanctorum* (5 Jun. i. 437) with a comment by Papebroch. [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (21) (in one old catalogue surnamed ALMUS), ST., fifth bishop of Mâcon, succeeding Caeledonius and followed by St. Eusebius, is thought by Le Cointe to have been in occupation of the see about A.D. 574. (Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccl. Franc.* ii. 147, an. 574, viii.; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 1041.) [S. A. B.]

JUSTUS (22), fourth archbishop of Canterbury and first bishop of Rochester. Justus was not one of the first band of missionaries who accompanied Augustine to Britain, but was sent by St. Gregory in 601, together with Mellitus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, who brought with them all things necessary for divine worship and service—sacred vessels, vestments, relics, and books (Bede, *H. E.* i. 29).

On the foundation of the church of St. Andrew at Rochester, the dedication of which was probably determined by Augustine in consequence of his own connexion with that of St. Andrew at Rome, Justus was consecrated as first bishop of the new see: on the occasion of the foundation Ethelbert bestowed on the church a territory called Priestfield, and all the land from the Medway to the east gate southwards, besides other lands outside the walls to the north (*Ang. Sac.* i. 333). The charter by which this or a similar gift was conveyed is printed by Kemble, *C. D.* No. 1, with the date April 28, 604. From the name of the land conveyed by this first donation it has been inferred that the church of Rochester was from its foundation intended for secular priests, and not for monks; and Justus is not called a monk by Bede, although, like Laurentius, he is claimed as such by the later Canterbury writers. His consecration took place

apparently in or about 604, shortly before the death of Augustine (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 3). As bishop of Rochester Justus joined with Laurentius and Mellitus in the letters to the Irish and British bishops, which Bede declares to have been so futile (*H. E.* ii. 4). St. Boniface and pope Zachary (*Bon. Epp.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 114, 185) ascribe to him a share in the legislative activity of Augustine and Laurentius, and Bede describes his government of his see at Rochester during Ethelbert's life as careful and laborious (*H. E.* ii. 7). On the death of Ethelbert Justus joined Mellitus in his flight into Gaul, whence they returned after a year's exile; Justus resumed the government of his church, Mellitus was unable to return to London, and shortly after became archbishop of Canterbury (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 5, 6).

On the death of Mellitus, which occurred on April 24, 624, Justus immediately succeeded. He opened communications with pope Boniface V., who sent him a pall, thus empowering him to consecrate bishops, and a long letter in which he mentions the part which Justus had taken in the conversion of Eadbald (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 8). Besides this letter, which is undoubtedly genuine, another epistle of Boniface V. is preserved, in which the pope establishes the primatial see at Canterbury, and alleges that such was the intention of St. Gregory (Will. Malmesb. *Gesta Pontif.* lib. i. § 31, ed. Hamilton, p. 47; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 73). This letter, with others of the same series, labours under the suspicion of having been fabricated to suit the purposes of the convent of Canterbury; and, although this cannot be proved, they cannot be received implicitly. The former letter is given by Bede, and quoted by the English bishops writing to Leo III. in 805 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 559, 560). The assumption by Boniface, that without the pall the archbishops were incompetent to consecrate suffragans, may lead to the inference that as Laurentius and Mellitus are not recorded by Bede as having received the pall, therefore they abstained from consecrating, a fact which could not fail to limit the extension of the missionary church. The first act of Justus, after receiving the emblem of metropolitan authority, was to consecrate Romanus as his successor at Rochester (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 8). Some time after this he sent Romanus to Rome, but the unfortunate bishop was drowned in the Italian sea (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20), and Paulinus did not live to appoint a successor. Honorius, the pope to whom Romanus was sent, became pope in November, 625.

Before the death of Boniface V. Justus had been called upon to take an important part in the conversion of Northumbria, where king Edwin, having married Ethelberga, the daughter of Ethelbert, allowed his newly married wife to bring a Christian bishop in her train. Paulinus, who was chosen as founder of the Northumbrian church, was consecrated by Justus on July 21, 625 (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 9). Justus lived to see the successful portion of Paulinus's career, which reached its climax in the spring of 627. It is probable that he also was engaged in the negotiations by which the successive kings of the East Angles were drawn towards Christianity. His archiepiscopate however was short, for he was an old man when he reached the dignity. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he died in 627; the Canterbury chronologists assign him a period of three years (*Ang. Sac.* i. 287), varied however with statements that give thirteen (*ib.* 86). Bede furnishes no sufficient data, but in computing the dates of the East-Anglian bishops (*H. E.* ii. 15; iii. 20) seems to throw back the appointment of Honorius, the successor of Justus, to some date between 627 and 631. The precise year has been much debated (see Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* i. 92; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 73); but the date 627 may be provisionally accepted. [HONORIUS.] The day of Justus's death was Nov. 10 (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 109). He was buried with his predecessors in the north porch of St. Augustine's (*ib.* i. 3). Elmham (p. 170) gives a poetical epitaph.

Tradition and legend have not busied themselves much with the life of Justus. Gotselinus, whose biography is still in MS. (Har. *Cat. Mat.* i. 222), could add no facts to those mentioned by Bede; Capgrave (*ib.* 223) only abridged Gotselinus. The poetical life of Justus (*ib.*) in the Lambeth MS. 159, is also still unprinted; it contains only twenty-two lines.

Elmham, following his usual plan of describing the lives of the archbishops by inferential statements, enlarges on the friendship of Justus for abbat Rufinianus at St. Augustine's. The statement of this writer that Justus took part in the foundation of St. Peter's at Westminster (pp. 271–272), seems to be a misreading of the story told by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontiff.* lib. ii. § 73).

The name of Justus appears in several charters of very questionable authenticity, besides the more respectable one in which Ethelbert endows the church of Rochester (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 1). Such are the documents connected with the foundation of St. Augustine's (Kemble, *C. D.* Nos. 4, 5, 6; Elmham, pp. 114, 119, 144; *Mon. Angl.* i. 127).

Besides the ancient authorities already cited, the history of Justus is worked out by Harpsfield, p. 61; by Alford in the *Annales*; by Wharton in the *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 92; and by Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. pp. 99–109.

Of the character of this archbishop, so far as it is illustrated by his acts, little more can be said than that, having, in common with Laurentius and Mellitus, no share of the martyr's spirit, he had probably more of the character of a missionary than either of his predecessors. This would appear from the fact of his return to Rochester after his flight, as well as from his dealings with Northumbria; and probably, if the date of his death were more certainly fixed, it would be found that the extension of the missionary work of the Kentish church under Honorius was partly attributable to the impulse given under Justus. [S.]

JUSTUS (23), twenty-first bishop of Clermont, early in the 7th century. See *Gall. Chr.* ii. 244. [S. A. B.]

JUSTUS (24), tenth bishop of Sarsina, c. 613. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 487, 518.) Ughelli (ii. 654) omits him. [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (25), metropolitan of Toledo from early in 633 till the beginning of March 636. He subscribed the acts of the important fourth

council of Toledo, fourth among the six metropolitans present, Toledo being not yet possessed of an inherent right of precedence. (Ildef. *de Vir. Illustr.* cap. 8; *Esp. Sagr.* v. 262, 478; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Iglesia Española*, ii. 315.) [M. A. W.]

JUSTUS (26), bishop of Taormina (Taurominium), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

JUSTUS (27), bishop of Acci from 637 till after 647. He was present at the sixth council of Toledo (A.D. 638), where his signature occurs forty-fifth among forty-eight, and he is also mentioned in an important inscription discovered at Acci (Guadix) in 1808, and printed by Hübner, no. 175, in *Inscr. Hispaniae Christianae*. The inscription dates from the "tertio idus Maias" in the fifteenth year of Justus's pontificate, the tenth year of Kindasvinth, and the fourth of Rekesvinth (associated with his father-in-law 649), and has been wrongly interpreted by Hübner. It may be placed with certainty on the 13th May, 652 (not 655), on which day Kindasvinth had completed nine years and five days of rule (see art. KINDASVINTH) and Rekesvinth about three years and four months. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 30; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 413.) [M. A. W.]

JUSTUS (28), bishop of Salamanca from cir. 660 till after 666. His signature appears seventh among those of eleven suffragans at the council of Merida under Rekesvinth (A.D. 666). (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 276; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii.) [ELEUTHERIUS.] [M. A. W.]

JUSTUS (29), given by the Sammarthani as 2nd bishop of Strasburg. But Dom Calmet, in his history of the monastery in the vale of St. Gregory, contends that Justus should be transferred to the 7th century as being recorded to have been elected from among the monks of that monastery, which did not exist till A.D. 630. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 778.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (30), tenth bishop of Agde. He was present at the council held at Narbonne in A.D. 791. [DANIEL (19).] (Mansi, xiii. 822, 824; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 669, 15.) [S. A. B.]

JUSTUS (31), Aug. 26, reputed martyr with Orontius and Fortunatus under Nero at Lycium in the province of Hydruntium. (*Acta SS.* Aug. v. 764.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (32), Jewish writer, a contemporary and rival of Josephus, who accuses him of misrepresentation and mendacity (Joseph. *Vit.* § 9, 65, 74). Photius (*cod.* 33) describes his works, which no longer exist, as a chronology of the kings of Judah and a history from Moses to Agrippa. He died in the third year of Trajan, where his history ends. Photius observes that he made no mention of Christ or Christian events. Jerome includes him in his *De Viris Illustribus* (cap. 14), where one reading calls him Justinus. He is noticed by Cave (i. 37) and by Stephanus of Byzantium (*De Urb.* s.v. Τιβεριάς). [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (33), a cleric of Rome in the time of Domitian, who buried in his garden on the Via Nomentana the body of Nicomedes (Sept. 15), martyred at the same time as Nereus and Achilles. (*Mart.* Adon.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Sept. v. 6; Mariano Armellini, *Il Cemeterio di S. Agnese*, p. 6.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (34), confessor at Cambo, near Bourges, a disciple of St. Ursinus in the 3rd century (Boll. *Acta SS.* 14 Jul. iii. 618–9). Du Saussay calls him martyr, associating him with St. Ursinus, but there are several others named Justus commemorated on this day. (Bollandists, *ib.* iii. 618, 622, 623; Usuardus, *Mart. Auct.* ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 259, 260.) [J. G.]

JUSTUS (35), Oct. 18, a boy martyr at Beauvais in the Diocletian persecution. (*Mart. Rom.*; *Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 338.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (36), Aug. 6, martyr in the Diocletian persecution, with his brother Pastor, in Spain. There is a hymn of Paulinus of Nola written on the death of his son Celsus, in which he says he had buried another child, an infant of eight days old, at Complutum, by the graves of the martyrs, and Paulinus is known to have left Spain for Nola in the spring of A.D. 394. They are commemorated on Aug. 6. (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* iv. 41, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lx. 364; Paulinus of Nola, Carmen 32, 599, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxi., and La Bigne, i. 233; Ildephonsus, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 199; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* iv. 598; Boll. *AA. SS.* Aug. ii. 143; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 330; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 168; *Mart.* Ad., Us.; Fleury, l. viii. s. 47; Till. v. 59.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (37), June 11, African martyr at Milevis in the persecution of Diocletian. (De Rossi, *Bullett.* 1875, pp. 162–174; 1876, p. 59; 1877, p. 97.) [G. T. S.]

JUSTUS (38), archdeacon of Clermont in the latter part of the 4th century. He was commemorated on Oct. 21. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 72; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* i. 40.) [R. T. S.]

JUSTUS (39), priest and disciple of St. Hilary of Poitiers. According to Du Saussay (*Martyrologium Gallicanum*, Nov. 25, quoted in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 785), Justus came to St. Hilary at Poitiers, and was accepted by him as his disciple and coadjutor. After Hilary's death (A.D. 367), at which he was present, he wrote a description of the things he had seen. The document was long treasured in the archives of the church of Poitiers, and quoted from by Hildebert, the most learned bishop of his age, at the council of Tours. Bollandus (*ibid.*) and others think that in his Life of St. Hilary Venantius Fortunatus may have only paraphrased or edited, and continued the supposed life by St. Justus. Dom. Rivet, however, arguing from the faults both of commission and omission which abound in the work, rejects the idea of its being by a disciple of St. Hilary (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, i. B. 219–220), though the recent editors considerably qualify this opinion (*ibid.* note, p. 463). St. Justus's day of commemoration is Nov. 25. [S. A. B.]

JUSTUS (40), bishop of Faventia at the Roman council of pope Hilary in 465 (Mansi,

vii. 965). He was the third or fifth bishop of the see. (Ughelli, ii. 492; Cappelletti, ii. 243.) [C. H.]

JUSTUS, of Capua. [JUSTINUS (16).]

JUSTUS (41), a monk of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, under Gregory the Great. The story of his concealment of three pieces of gold and of the punishment inflicted by Gregory has been told in vol. ii. p. 779. where he is by mistake called Julius. (Greg. Mag. *Dialog.* iv. 55 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii.; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xi. 432.) [I. G. S.]

JUSTUS (42), adopted son of Constantine Silvanus the founder of the PAULICIANS. In the persecution of the sect under Constantine Pogonatus in 684, Justus was the first of the faithless disciples who obeyed the order of Simeon the imperial commissioner, and stoned to death the Paulician leader. A few years later Justus became informer against the converted Simeon. His information led to the persecution under Justinian II., when Simeon and many others were burnt at the stake in 690. (Pet. Sic. *Hist. Manich.* i. 25–27; Phot. *c. Manich.* i. 17–18; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* v. 343.) [M. B. C.]

JUSTUS (43), ST. William of Worcester says (*Itin.* 426), "Sanctus Justus martir jacet in parochia sancti Yoest, distat a Pensans versus occidentem." From the situation of the parish he was probably a devotee from Ireland (Whitaker's *Cornwall*, i. 339; the parish feast is on the Sunday nearest to Nov. 1; St. Justus of Canterbury is celebrated Nov. 10). This parish is distinguished as St. Just in Penwith, from another St. Just, which is in Roseland, on the eastern side of Falmouth harbour. Compare W. C. Borlase, *The Age of the Saints*, 1878, p. 4. [C. W. B.]

JUSTUS, Irish saint [JUSTAN]; British saint [IUST].

JUSTUS (44), martyr, commemorated with Aristo, Crescentianus, and others, July 2. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

JUSTUS (45), July 14, a soldier and martyr at Rome in the pagan period. (*Mart. Rom.*; Bas. *Men.*; *AA. SS.* Boll. Jul. iii. 651.) [G. T. S.]

JUTHINAELUS (JUTHINALEUS, JUNEMENUS), eleventh bishop of Dol in Brittany (Pope Nicolas, *Epist.* xci., Patr. Lat. cxix. 970). The letter forms some guide to Juthinaelus's date, since Adrian sat from 772 to 795. Some have believed Juthinaelus to be identical with the ninth bishop of this see, Jumaelus. (*Gall. Chr.* xiv. 1042.) [S. A. B.]

JUVENALIS (1), May 3, bishop and confessor, recorded by Usuard without locality or period. The *Roman Martyrology* assigns him to Narnia. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 3 Mai. i. 337) give a *Vita* "from various MSS." with a commentary by Papebroch, and from that source it appears that Juvenal was an African presbyter and physician, who came to Rome, where he was received by a matron of the imperial family named Philadelphia, through whose influence he was chosen bishop of Narnia, and received consecration from the pope. It is added that he died in peace after an episcopate of seven years, and on August 7, was buried on the Flaminian Way, fifty-five miles from Rome, his *natale* being observed on May 3. Papebroch addresses Jacobillus as fixing on Damasus as the pope, and A.D. 369 as the year of consecration, and therefore 376 as the date of Juvenal's death. Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* i. 1008) adopts this account including the dates, and adds that Juvenal had come from Carthage. A Juvenal II. has been assumed in order to account for other statements. Thus, under May 7 in Usuard, Ado, and *Vet. Rom. Mart.* there occurs a Juvenal designated simply "martyr;" and again Gregory the Great in his *Forty Homilies on the Gospels* (Hom. xxxvii. in *Pat. Lat.* xxvi. 1280) relates that Cassius bishop of Narnia was in the habit of celebrating the Eucharist near the tomb of the martyr Juvenal. Ughelli therefore inserts a Juvenal II., whom he assigns to the period A.D. 558–565, as the martyr of May 7, and Gregory's homily, but he places him in succession to Cassius. Cappelletti (iv. 543, 548, 570) points out the incongruity of making Cassius officiate near the tomb of his successor, and argues that the Juvenal intended by Gregory was the earlier one. Perhaps in Gregory's time tradition had made the first Juvenal a martyr, as later traditions (cited by Papebroch) appear to have done. It should be added that Gregory in another of his writings (*Dial.* iv. 12) refers to the martyr Juvenal as having appeared to Probus bishop of Reate. [C. H.]

JUVENALIS (2) succeeded Praylius as bishop of Jerusalem somewhere about 420 A.D. The exact year cannot be determined. The episcopate of Praylius, which commenced in 417 A.D., was but short, and we can hardly give it at most more than three years. The statement of Cyril of Scythopolis, in his Life of St. Euthymius (c. 96), that Juvenal died "in the forty-fourth year of his episcopate," 458 A.D., is certainly incorrect, as it would make his episcopate begin in 414 A.D., three years before that of his predecessor. Juvenal occupies a prominent position during the Nestorian and Eutychian troubles towards the middle of the 5th century. But the part played by him at the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, as well as at the disgraceful λῃστρικὴ σύνοδος of 449, was more conspicuous than creditable, and there are few of the actors in these turbulent and saddening scenes who leave a more unpleasing impression. The ruling object of Juvenal's episcopate, to which everything else was secondary, and which guided all his conduct, was the elevation of the see of Jerusalem from the subordinate position it held in accordance with the seventh of the canons of the council of Nicaea, as suffragan to the metropolitan see of Caesarea, to a primary place in the episcopate. Not content with aspiring to metropolitan rank, Juvenal coveted patriarchal dignity, and, in defiance of all canonical authority, he claimed jurisdiction over the great see of Antioch, from which he sought to remove Arabia and the two Phoenicias to his own province. At the council of Ephesus, in 431, he asserted for "the apostolic see of Jerusalem the same rank and authority with the apostolic

see of Rome" (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 642). These falsehoods he did not scruple to support with forged documents ("insolenter ausus per commentitia scripta firmare," Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 119 [92]), and other disgraceful artifices. Scarcely had Juvenal been consecrated bishop of Jerusalem when he proceeded to assert his claims to the metropolitan rank by his acts. In the letter of remonstrance against the proceedings of the council of Ephesus, sent to Theodosius by the Oriental party, they complain that Juvenal, whose "ambitious designs and juggling tricks" they are only too well acquainted with, had ordained in provinces over which he had no jurisdiction (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 728). This audacious attempt to set at nought the Nicene decrees, and to falsify both history and tradition was regarded with the utmost indignation by the leaders of the Christian church. Cyril of Alexandria shuddered at the impious design ("merito perhorrescens," Leo, *u. s.*), and wrote to Leo, then archdeacon of Rome, informing him of what Juvenal was undertaking, and begging that his unlawful attempts might have no sanction from the apostolic see ("ut nulla illicitis conatibus praeberetur assensio," *u. s.*). Juvenal, however, was far too useful an ally in his campaign against Nestorius for Cyril lightly to discard. When the council met at Ephesus, Juvenal was allowed, without the slightest remonstrance, to take precedence of his metropolitan of Caesarea, and to occupy the position of vice-president of the council, coming next after Cyril himself (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 445), and was regarded in all respects as the second prelate in the assembly. The arrogant assertion of his supremacy over the bishop of Antioch, and his claim to take rank next after Rome as an apostolical see, provoked no open remonstrance, and his pretensions were at least tacitly allowed. At the next council, the disgraceful "*Latrocinium*," Juvenal occupied the third place, after Dioscorus and the papal legate, having been specially named by Theodosius, together with Thalassius of Caesarea (who appears to have taken no umbrage at his suffragan being preferred before him), as next in authority to Dioscorus (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 109), and he took a leading part in the violent proceedings of that assembly. When the council of Chalcedon met, one of the matters which came before it for settlement was the dispute as to priority between Juvenal and Maximus bishop of Antioch. The contention was long and severe. It ended in a compromise agreed on in the Seventh Action, μετὰ πολλὴν φιλονεικίαν. Juvenal surrendered his claim to the two Phoenicias and to Arabia, on condition of his being allowed metropolitical jurisdiction over the three Palestines (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 613). The claim to patriarchal authority over the bishop of Antioch put forward at Ephesus was discreetly dropped. The difficulty presented by the Nicene canon does not appear to have presented itself to the council, nor was any one found to urge the undoubted claims of the see of Caesarea. The terms arranged between Maximus and Juvenal were regarded as satisfactory, and received the consent of the assembled bishops (*ibid.* 618). Maximus, however, was not long in repenting of his too ready acquiescence in Juvenal's demands, and wrote a letter of complaint to pope Leo, who replied by the letter which has been already quoted, dated June 11, 453 A.D., in which he upheld the binding authority of the Nicene canons, and after commenting in the strongest terms on the greediness and ambition of Juvenal—who allowed no opportunity of forwarding his ends to be lost—declared that as far as he was concerned he would do all he could to maintain the ancient dignity of the see of Antioch (Leo Magn. *Ep. ad Maximum*, 119 [92]). No further action, however, seems to have been taken either by Leo or by Maximus. Juvenal was left master of the situation, and the church of Jerusalem has from that epoch peaceably enjoyed the patriarchal dignity obtained for it by such base means.

We must now return to the part taken by Juvenal in the council of Ephesus and the succeeding councils of the church. Celestine of Rome, having held a synod which had pronounced the dogmas published by Nestorius heretical, wrote to the leading bishops of the Christian world, including Juvenal, informing them that he had excommunicated Nestorius and all who thought with him. This letter is dated Aug. 10, 430 A.D. At the same time Celestine wrote to the same effect to Cyril (Baluz. *Concil. Nov. Coll.* c. 15, p. 438). On the receipt of the pope's letters Cyril at once wrote to Juvenal, John of Antioch, and others, calling upon them to join him in defence of the common faith. He begged Juvenal to make common cause with him, and send a commonitory letter to Nestorius, warning him of the consequences of his obstinacy, and also to write to the emperor, to the officers of the court, and the people of Constantinople, to dispose them to consent to the deposition of Nestorius if he should refuse to yield (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 386, Baluz. p. 443, c. 19). On the opening of the council at Ephesus, June 22, 431, Juvenal, as has been mentioned, occupied the second place after Cyril, and took a prominent part in the condemnation of Nestorius. At a later period Juvenal was one of the eight legates deputed by the council, together with the same number from the Orientals in compliance with the orders of Theodosius, and aided in the consecration of Maximian in Nestorius's room, Oct. 25, 431 (Labbe, iii. 780; Baluz. 571 sq.). As an act of retaliation, John of Antioch and the Orientals on their way back from Ephesus held a synod at Tarsus, which condemned and excommunicated Cyril, and the deputies of the council, Juvenal at their head (Baluz. 939).

When, in 449, the council stigmatized as the "Latrocinium" met at Ephesus, we find Juvenal again playing an officiously prominent part. For this the letter of Theodosius to Dioscorus assigning the presidency of the council to him, τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα, and naming Juvenal and Thalassius of Caesarea as second in authority, afforded a sufficient warrant (Labbe, iv. 109). On the opening of the council on Aug. 8, Juvenal occupied the third place after Dioscorus, and Julius of Puteoli, the papal legate. In the shameful acts directed against the venerable Flavian, by which Dioscorus followed up his triumph, Juvenal was the first to sign the instrument of his deposition for having added to and taken from the Nicene faith (*ibid.* 306), and helped to force the unhappy bishops,

by threats of deposition as heretics, to sign a blank paper on which the sentence was to be recorded (*ibid.* 129). The natural consequence of this open patronage of heresy of the deepest dye was that the name of Juvenal, together with those of his violent and tyrannical leader Dioscorus and the other bishops of the "latrocinium," was removed from the diptychs of Rome and other orthodox churches (Leo Magn. *Ep. ad Anatolium*, 80 [60]). This sentence was confirmed in a second letter, June 19 of the same year (*ibid.* 85 [112]). This decided action on the part of the leading prelate of Christendom alarmed Juvenal, and questions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy being completely secondary with him to his own interest, we are not surprised to find him facing completely round at Chalcedon in 451, and denouncing the doctrines he had supported two years before at Ephesus. The place he occupied in the council indicated that he had been compelled to abate somewhat of his overweening pretensions. Anatolius of Constantinople and Maximus of Antioch both took precedence of him, as did the Roman legates and Dioscorus (Labbe, iv. 79 *et passim*). The proceedings had not advanced far when Juvenal, seeing clearly what course events were taking, rose up with the bishops of Palestine in his train, and crossed over from the right, where he had been sitting with the Alexandrine prelates, to the Orientals on the left amid shouts of "Welcome, orthodox one! It is God who has brought thee over here" (*ibid.* 178). This desertion of his old friends barely saved him. Evidence being read as to the violence with which Flavian's condemnation had been enforced, and the brutality with which he had been treated, the imperial commissioners at once proposed Juvenal's deposition, together with Dioscorus, Eusebius, and the others who had taken a leading part in these disgraceful transactions (*ibid.* 323). Juvenal evidently felt that consistency must now be sacrificed to the maintenance of his position, and having given his vote and signature to the deposition of Dioscorus (*ibid.* 458) and signed the tome of Leo (*ibid.* 798), the objections of the commissioners were overruled, and by the desire of the bishops who were disposed to deal indulgently with their erring brethren, Juvenal and his four companions were allowed to resume their seats, amid a shout of welcome, "This is the Lord's doing." "Many years to the orthodox. This is the peace of the churches" (*ibid.* 509). He subsequently took part in drawing up the declaration of faith (*ibid.* 559–562), and signed the letter sent to Leo (Baluz. 1370). We have a Latin translation of a synodical letter written in his own name and that of the bishops of Palestine, A.D. 453, to the Archimandrites, presbyters, and monks of the province confirming the decrees of Chalcedon (Labbe, iv. 889).

Juvenal's enjoyment of his newly acquired dignity was speedily disturbed. The decrees of Chalcedon were not at all acceptable to a large number of the archimandrites and monks of Palestine, who generally held Eutychian views, and they, in 452, addressed letters to Marcian and to Pulcheria, remonstrating against the conduct of their bishop and the proceedings of the council generally. Both the emperor and empress administered severe rebukes to the remonstrants in their replies (Labbe, iv. 874, 879). The imperial displeasure, however, failed to repress the turbulence of the malcontents, and, under the leadership of Theodosius, a fanatical Monophysite monk, patronised by the empress dowager Eudocia, who had made Jerusalem her home, they threw the whole province into confusion. Juvenal's life was threatened. The walls and gates were guarded to prevent his escape. But he contrived to conceal himself from his enemies, and, together with Domnus, managed to make his way to the desert, whence he fled to Constantinople, and laid his complaints against Theodosius and his partisans before the emperor (Labbe, iv. 858; Cyrill. Scythop. *Euthym. Vit.* 82; Evagr. *H. E.* ii. 5; Theophan. p. 92). Marcian took decided measures for the restoration of order. After holding possession for two years, Theodosius was expelled from Jerusalem, 453 A.D., and Juvenal was restored; "non jam resultante populo sed desiderante" are Leo's perhaps too sanguine words in his letter of thanks to Marcian for his intervention. Jan. 9, 454 (*Ep.* 126 [157]). Eudocia, also, at the desire of Euthymius and by the persuasions of Simeon Stylites, returned to Jerusalem, and renewed communion with Juvenal, her example proving influential to bring back the large majority both of monks and laity to the cathedral church (*Euthym. Vit.* 86). One of the first acts of Juvenal on his restoration was to hold a council which issued a synodical letter to the two Palestines, declaring the perfect orthodoxy of the decrees of Chalcedon, and denying that anything had there been altered in, or added to, the Nicene faith (Labbe, iv. 889). Peace, however, was not speedily restored. However, mutual illwill and suspicion continued to embitter the relations of Juvenal to his province, and Evagrius complains of the evils which had followed his return (Evagr. *H. E.* ii. 5). On his restoration to his see, Juvenal wrote to apprise Leo of the happy turn his fortunes had taken. Leo, in reply, Sept. 4, 454 A.D., offered him his congratulations, but told him plainly that he had brought his troubles on his own head by his condemnation of Flavian and admission of the errors of Eutyches, and that having favoured heretics he cannot now blame them. He expressed his satisfaction that he had repented and come to a better mind, and advises him to study his tome to confirm him in the faith (Leo Magn. *Ep.* 139 [171]). A letter similar in tone had been written by Leo, two years before, at the commencement of the troubles, to Julian bishop of Cos, Nov. 25, 452 A.D., in which he expresses his sympathy with Juvenal, but says that he has only himself to thank for his troubles, through having embraced the impieties of Dioscorus and Eusebius, and led many to follow his example, who had drunk deeper of the poison than himself, and from disciples become enemies, "facti sunt ejus adversarii cujus antea fuerunt discipuli" (*Ep.* 109 [138]). Once again, in 457 A.D., Leo addressed Juvenal among the other metropolitans of the East, with reference to the troubles at Alexandria, which had culminated in the murder of Proterius, urging him to resist the requisition to summon another council and to defend the faith as declared at Chalcedon, and communicate his letter to his suffragan bishops (*Ep.* 150 [119]). His name is also found among the bishops to whom the emperor Leo wrote,

desiring them to give their opinions as to the pretensions of Aelurus (Labbe, iv. 890).

The statement of Basil of Seleucia that Juvenal first "began to celebrate the glorious and adorable salvation-bringing nativity of the Lord" (*Patrol. Graec.* lxxxv. 469) must be interpreted to mean that he separated the celebration of the Nativity and the Epiphany, which, up to that time, had been kept on the same day, January 6. We may gather from a letter professing to be addressed by the bishop of Jerusalem to the bishop of Rome, which, though found to be a late forgery by the gross confusion of names and dates (cf. *Dict. Ch. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 359, CHRISTMAS), affords interesting evidence as to the original combination of those festivals, that this change was initiated by Juvenal in accordance with the Western practice. Basil of Seleucia, being a contemporary of Juvenal, and associated with him in his public acts, may be regarded as trustworthy evidence for the fact. According to Basil, Juvenal was the builder of a basilica in honour of St. Stephen on the site of his martyrdom, for which the empress Eudocia furnished the funds.

The death of Juvenal may be most probably placed in 458 A.D. But there is no certainty as to either the commencement or the termination of his episcopate (cf. Tillemont, *Note sur Juvenal*, xv. 867). He was succeeded by Anastasius. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xv.; Ceillier, xiii. 247; Cave, *Script. Eccl.* i. 419; Oudin, i. 1270.) [E. V.]

JUVENALIS (3), bishop of Albano, signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, sent in 680, to the council of Constantinople (Mansi, xi. 302; Ughelli, i. 250; Cappelletti, i. 658, 678; Hefele, § 314). Cappelletti makes him seventh bishop of the see. [A. H. D. A.]

JUVENCUS, C. VETTIUS AQUILINUS, a Christian poet of the 4th century. Of his life little is known; he was by birth a Spaniard, descended from a noble family; perhaps, as his name would suggest, connected with Q. Vettius Aquilinus, consul 125 A.D.; C. Vettius Aquilinus, consul 162 A.D.; Vettius Aquilinus, consul 286 A.D. (cf. Migne, *Prolegg.* ad in.). He was a presbyter in the Christian church, and composed his poem on the Gospels during the reign of peace established by Constantine (*Hist. Ev.* iv. 808 sqq.; S. Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* c. 84; Ep. lxx. *Chronica* ad 332 A.D.).

These statements exhaust our certain knowledge about the poet's life. His works shew an acquaintance with the chief Latin poets, and it is perhaps this learning which earned for him the title of "*Scholasticus*," which is applied to him by Alcuin. Perhaps it may mean more definitely a teacher of rhetoric, and he is called "rhetor" by Trithemius. Tamayus de Salazar in the *Martyrol. Hisp.*, and Peter de Natalibus say that he was honoured as a confessor in the Spanish church on Sept. 12, but there is no earlier authority for the statement, and his name is not found in any Spanish breviary (v. *Acta Sanctorum* ad Sept. 12).

Works.—(i.) *Historia Evangelica.* This is the only extant work that is attributed to him on the authority of St. Jerome. It is an hexameter poem on our Lord's life, based upon the Gospels. The special interest of it lies in the fact that it is the first Christian epic, the first effort to tell the Gospel story in a metrical form. From the preface and the epilogue we may perhaps gather that it was the author's aim, not only to gain immortality for himself, but also to attract heathen readers by the form in which the story was told. The chief merit of the poem lies in its literal adherence to the text. Commencing with the events of St. Luke i. ii. (i. 1–258), the author passes to the account of St. Matthew (i. 18), and follows that to the end, omitting only a few short passages (xiii. 44–53, xx. 22–34, xxi. 10–13, xxiii. 15–26, 29–36, xxiv. 28), rarely supplementing his account from the other Synoptists (v. i. 355, ii. 43), but inserting large extracts from St. John, viz. i. 43–iv. (lib. ii. 99–348), v. 19–47 (ii. 639 sqq.), xi. (iv. 306–404). While the translation is very literal, it is saved from baldness by a clear fluent style, which shews a knowledge of Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, &c., and gains variety and ornament by frequent periphrases, by alliteration, by the frequent use of compound words, many of which seem to be of original formation, and by the revival of many archaic words. At times the author adds explanatory comment; cf. i. 408, 517; ii. 350, 579; iii. 241, 265, 475; iv. 571. The prosody is fluent and fairly correct, frequently lengthening short syllables in arsi or before double letters. Good specimens of the style will be found in the Preface: i. 626 sqq. (the Lord's Prayer); ii. 25 (the Stilling of the Storm), ii. 550 sqq.

The text used is a pre-vulgate version, following the African revision, cf. xx. 28, xxi. 31, and perhaps iii. 16.

The book seems to have been widely known from the first. It is quoted with approval by St. Jerome (ad Mt. ii. 11), by pope Gelasius, Venantius Fortunatus (*de Vita S. Martini*, 1), Isidore, Jonas Scotus, Bede, Alcuin, &c. (v. Migne, *Prolegg.* col. 42 sqq.), and it has been edited no less than thirty times. The best separate editions are those of Reusch, Frankfort, 1710; and Areval, Rome, 1792 (reprinted in Migne). Cf. also Gebser, *de C. Vett. Aq. Vita et Scriptis* (lib. i. with introduction and notes), Jena, 1827. It will be found in Gallandi, iv., Migne, xix., Ceillier, iii., and the other collections. Cf. *Kritische Beiträge zur Historia Evangelica des Juvencus* von Dr. J. Huemer in *Wiener Studien*, Wien, 1880, pp. 81–112.

(ii.) St. Jerome (*ubi supra*) attributes to him "nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia," but these are not extant. Trithemius mentions that he had seen two books "de Sacramentis." He also refers to some elegiac poem which he had himself read, though he does not give its name, and adds that Juvencus composed many works both in prose and poetry, which he had not seen.

(iii.) *Historia Vet. Testamenti.* This is only extant in parts, and its authorship is doubtful. For some time only 350 lines of the *Liber in Genesim* were known, and were attributed to Cyprian or Tertullian. The whole of Genesis was afterwards found attributed to Juvencus in a codex (? of 7th century) at Corvey, and published by Martene in 1724. More recently Pitra has published 3266 additional lines from MSS. at Cambridge and Laon, containing the whole of Exodus and Joshua, and fragments of the rest of the Pentateuch. The songs of Moses (Exod. xv.; Deut. xxxii.) and the hymn in Numb. xxi. are in

Phalaecian hendecasyllabics. There are further traces in quotations by grammarians of a translation of the whole of the historical books (*Rheinisches Museum*, xxi. 123 sqq., 266 sqq.). In favour of attributing this poem to Juvencus may be urged the general similarity of style shewn in the usage of particular words, the fondness for compound epithets, the imitation of Virgil (cf. *Genesis*, 121, 1139, *Exod.* 248), the addition of explanatory comment to the narrative (cf. *Exod.* 468), and the use of a prevulgate version (cf. *Genesis*, 75, 1380). On the other hand, the style is less varied, exaggerates the love of archaic words, and takes greater licences in prosody; the treatment of the Evangelical canticles in the *Hist. Evang.* is not analogous to the lyrical translation of the Songs of Moses, and it is strange that St. Jerome, to whom the work would have been of great interest, should not have known it or not mentioned it, and that Bede, who does quote it, should never attribute it to Juvencus (cf. Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* p. 115, note).

The *Liber in Genesim* may be found in Martene, *Collect. Vet. Script.* 1724, and Gallandi and Migne (*ubi supra*); the rest in Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesm.* i. p. 171 sqq.

(iv.) Some later writers attribute hymns to Juvencus, but there is no trace of any except the canticles in the *Historia Evangelica* and *Hist. Vet. Test.* Migne also attributes to him a poem published without an author by Fabricius, and entitled "De Laudibus Domini." Beginning with the description of a miracle which had lately happened, it passes on to a praise of God's work in the Creation and in the Life and Resurrection of Jesus. It resembles Juvencus somewhat in style, and professes to have been written in the time of Constantine, but there is no external evidence to connect it with him. Migne also prints a short poem, "Triumphus Christi Heroicus," a fanciful description of Christ's Descent into Hell, and of the trophies won by the Cross. It is much more pagan in form than anything in Juvencus, and Migne himself regards it as of a later date, intended as a supplement to the *Historia Evangelica*. [W. L.]

JUVENTINUS (1) (JUVENTIUS, *Mart. Rom.*), Jan. 25. Martyr at Antioch, with Maximus, under Julian. St. Chrysostom celebrated them in his homily, *In Juventinum et Maximinum Martyres* (in *Pat. Gr.* l. 571). The Basilian menology mentions him under Oct. 9. (Theodor. *H. E.* iii. 15; Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Jan. ii. 619; Fleury, *H. E.* i. xv. s. 22; Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

JUVENTINUS (2), bishop of Marona or Marovana, in Mauritania Sitifensis, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 60; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 214.) [R. S. G.]

JUVENTIUS (Ughelli, i. 1077; Cappell. xii. 398, 515; Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Feb. ii. 152, *Mart. Rom.* Feb. 8, Sept. 12), reputed second bishop of Pavia, cir. 100–139. [INVENTIUS.]

JUVENTIUS (VIVENTIUS), prefect of the city, at Rome, when Damasus was elected pope in A.D. 366; he was also prefect in the earlier months of 367, and was succeeded by Praetextatus (Amm. Marcell. *Res Gest. Rom.* xxvii. 3, 11–13; Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. 467; Fleury, *Hist. du Christ.* xvi. 8; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés*, iv. 608; Baronius, *Annal.* A.D. 366). In Cod. Theod. iii. he is called VIVENTIUS. In Corsini (*Series Praefect.* p. 237) he is named Jubentius Pannonius. [J. G.]

JUVIANUS, bishop. [JOVIANUS (5).]

JUVINIUS (JUVENIUS), bishop of Vence, mentioned in a manuscript life of St. Veranus the fourth bishop, referred to by the Sammarthani, who place him cir. 410, the second bishop (*Gall. Chr.* iii. 212.) [C. H.]

K

[Names commencing with K will sometimes be found under the initial C.]

KAK, bishop of Vanant in Armenia (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.* ii. 367), present at the synod of Ardashad in 450. (Elisha Vartabed, *Hist. of Vartan*, p. 13, ed. Neumann.) [G. T. S.]

KAKHU, bishop of Duruperan (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.* ii. 361), present at the synod of Ardashad in 450. (Elisha Vartabed, *Hist. of Vartan*, p. 13, ed. Neumann.) [G. T. S.]

KALLINICUS (CALLINICUS, GALLINICUS), exarch of Ravenna c. 598–c. 602. (He is called exarch by Gregory the Great, "patricius" by Paulus Diaconus.) Gregory the Great had various communications with him. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. 9, 81, 95, 98; Migne, lxxvii. 948, 1013, 1020, 1023; Paulus Diaconus, iv. 12, 20.) [A. H. D. A.]

KAMJESU (*i.e.* JESUS HAS RISEN), maphrian of the Syrian Jacobites, 578–609. (Le Quien, ii. 1534.) [C. H.]

KAMMARCH, Welsh saint. [CAMMARCH.]

KANANC, given by Leland in a list of Brychan's children [BRYCHAN]. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 160; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July 6, i. 146 n. 148.) [J. G.]

KANILLUS, hermit of the Benedictine order, companion and disciple of St. Buo the Bard, and venerated in Argyle (Argathelia) and other parts of Scotland; he flourished A.D. 792. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 418.) [J. G.]

KANTEN, CANNEN (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 36), son of Gwydldew, Welsh saint of the 6th century, probably founder, as he is patron, of Llanganten, Brecknockshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 114, 268, 326; Williams, *Emin. Welsh* 62.) [J. G.]

KARIUNDUS (CARIUNDUS, CARMUDUS, CORVINDUS) appears in the lists as the eleventh bishop of Nantes, on the authority of old records of the see. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 797.) [S. A. B.]

KARKH, an Armenian martyr in the reign of Isdigerd II., king of Persia and Armenia.

(Elisha Vartabed, *Hist. of Vartan*, p. 6, ed. Neumann.) [G. T. S.]

KARLOMANNUS (CARLOMAN), mayor of the palace and afterwards monk. He was the eldest son of Charles Martel and elder brother of Pippin (afterwards king of the Franks) and Grifo. In 741 he succeeded his father in the government of Austrasia, Alamannia, and Thuringia, Pippin receiving Neustria, Burgundy, Provence. The interregnum then existing terminated in 742 by the accession of Childeric III., the last of the Merovingian line. This year Karloman and Pippin crossed the Loire and reduced to submission Hunald duke of Aquitaine, who had rebelled against their authority. In this expedition the two brothers "divided the kingdom of the Franks between them at a place named Vetus Pictavis." In 742, 743, 744, 745, they conducted separately or jointly similar operations either in Alamannia, Bavaria, Aquitaine, or Saxony. In 745 many of the conquered natives of Saxony received baptism. In 746 Karloman intimated to his brother his intention to resign and devote himself to the monastic life at Rome. That year therefore there were no military undertakings, both brothers occupying themselves in preparing for Karloman's Italian journey. The *Annals of Fulda* (Bouquet, ii. 675) state that in this year Karloman and Boniface archbishop of Mainz united in founding the two episcopal sees of Würzburg and Eichstadt, to which were appointed respectively Burchard and Willibald as bishops. There are extant two charters of Karloman, dated 746 and 747, granting lands to the monastery of Stavelo, in the diocese of Liège (*Pat. Lat.* lxxxviii. 1307, 1310). In 747 Karloman accompanied by his son Drogo (Fredegar in Bouquet ii. 459) and attended by a large retinue of his nobles, formally quitted his dominions, and arrived at Rome with countless presents. Here he was tonsured, received the clerical habit from pope Zacharias, and built a monastery for himself. Becoming weary of the incessant admiration which his abdication attracted, he departed incognito with a companion to the Benedictine monastery of Mount Cassinus, then ruled by abbat Optatus. The *Annals of Metz* give a minute account of his introduction there and of the humiliations to which he submitted while his rank was unknown. He gave out that he was come to do penance for crimes of bloodshed and homicide. He next proceeded to erect a monastery on Mount Soracte, dedicating it to the memory of pope Sylvester, but eventually he returned to Mount Cassinus. In 753 (*Chron. Fontanell.* in Bouquet, ii. 663) his sons received the tonsure. In the same year (*Chronicles* in Bouq. ii. 663 A, 700 C) or else in 754 (*Annal. Mettens.* in Bouq. v. 336) he was commissioned by his abbat, acting through fear of the Lombard king Aistulph, who dominated in those parts, to the court of his brother Pippin, to thwart the scheme of pope Stephen for bringing the Franks into Italy. Pippin, however, crossed the Alps and Karloman remained at Vienne with queen Berthrada, awaiting his brother's return. Here after a long illness he died, in 754 according to the *Annals of Metz*, though other annalists say 755. The date is believed to be Dec. 4, 754, by Mabillon (*Annal. Bened.* lib. xxiii. c. 13, t. ii. p. 173). The history of Karloman is gathered from Eginhard and numerous annals printed in Bouquet, especially those of Metz (ii. 685, v. 336). The earliest appearance of his name is in a charter of his father in 722 (Bouq. iii. 699). [C. H.]

KARRANUS, bishop. [CARAN.]

KARVAN, given by *Myv. Arch.* ii. 37, as patron of Llangarvan, Glamorganshire, but probably in error for Cattwg [CADOC] of Llancarvan. [J. G.]

KATHAN (CATHAN, CATHEN), son of Cawrdaf, and founder of Llangathen, Camarthenshire; the Hundred of Catheiniog has probably its name from him. His feast is May 17. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 31; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 71, 103, 280, 330; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 69.) [J. G.]

KATRIN (CATRIN), patron of "Eglwys Sant y Catrin" (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 36), probably the Welsh form of St. Catharine, virgin martyr, of Alexandria. [CATHARINE.] [J. G.]

KEBIUS (Cuby, see above s. v. CYBI), ST., a cousin of St. David (see the pedigree, i. 660). His Life (Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 37; it is printed in W. J. Rees's *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*) says that he was born in Cornwall, between the Tamar and the Linar. After refusing the crown of Cornwall, he settled in the land of king Ethelic of Edelygion, *i.e.* Eddlogan in Gwent, where he left his small handbell "parvum digiti sui cimbalum varium;" afterwards he visited Ireland, and on his return to Anglesey found Maelgwn ruling in North Wales, who died about 550. The Life mentions his returning from Ireland in a boat which had not the usual covering of hide. He was present at St. David's council of Brefi, about 569. The day of his death was "sexto Idus Novembris," 8th November (9th November is ordinarily given as his day). The Life mentions his "consobrinus" Kengar in Ireland as being very old; his disciple was St. Caffo. Besides his churches in Wales, Cuby in Cornwall was dedicated to him, and so that of Duloe. In the latter there is St. Keby's well. Duloe feast was on the 9th November. In the parish of Kea, also named after Kebi, the feast-day was on the first Sunday after Michaelmas (Norden, 57; Whitaker's *Cornwall*, ii. 38, 52, 57; J. Adams, in *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, ii. 314–23). In some churches 25th April was kept as his day, perhaps the date of the translation of his relics. His Life is printed in W. J. Rees's *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, 1853, p. 183–7. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 9, 36, 159, and W. C. Borlase, *The Age of the Saints*, 1878, pp. 39, 45, 50, 92. [C. W. B.]

KEDDAN, bishop. [CATAN.]

KELLACH (1). [CELLACH.]

(2) Ceallach, son of Saran, abbat of Othanmor, now Fahan near Lough Swilly, bar. Inishowen, co. Donegal, died A.D. 658. (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 657; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 657, calling him son of Ronan; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 38.)

(3) Kellach, eldest son of Eoghan or Owen Beul, king of Connaught, was early devoted to

religion under St. Ciaran (Sept. 9) of Clonmacnoise, but on his father's death in the battle of Sligo A.D. 543, *Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 537), he was induced to leave the monastery, against St. Ciaran's will, and become king. But soon wearying of the cares and intrigues of royalty, he returned to Clonmacnoise, and was reconciled to St. Ciaran, who afterwards promoted him to the priesthood and to the episcopate. From his see at Killaloe he was driven by Guaire Aidne, who had become king of Connaught, and who could not forget that Kellach was heir to, and had himself resigned, the throne of Connaught. Kellach retired to Oilen Edghair in Loch Conn, co. Mayo, where he lived as a hermit, but Guaire Aidne's jealousy urged him to procure Kellach's death by the aid of his four pupils, called also foster-brothers, who murdered him in a wood on the mainland between Loch Conn and Loch Cuilinn, and were rewarded by a gift of the territory of Tirawley, where the deed was done. The murder was avenged by Muireadhach, more commonly called Cuchoingeilt, second son of Eoghan, who pursued and hanged the four murderers at a place overlooking the Moy, called Tulach-na-faircsiona (the hill of prospects), and afterwards Ard-na-riaghadh (the hill of executions. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 99–100, 3rd ed.). The date of his death is not given, and he is not usually classed among the bishops of Killaloe. (*Geneal., &c., of the Hy.-Fiachrach*, by O'Donovan, 33–5, with Add. Notes i. and q. pp. 415, 471–2; Keating, *Gen. Hist. Ir.* 351–2, giving St. Ciaran a specially vengeful spirit; Bolland. *Acta SS.* Maii i. t. i. (104) 106. [J. G.]

KELLBIL (Cellbil, Cellbileus), abbat of Cluain-Bronaigh (now Clonbroney near Granard, co. Longford, but placed by Lanigan in Louth), died A.D. 765. (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 764; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 760, i. 364 n.[r], 365; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. N.* iii. 192–3.) [J. G.]

KELLENUS (Bolland. *Acta SS.* Mart. 26, t. iii. (626), 623). [Mochealloo.] [J. G.]

KENAN. Kenan Calod Lock is mentioned by Albert le Grande, in his *Life of St. Iaova*, as appointed to administer the affairs of the church of Plon-Kernau, in Armorica. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 442, c. 14, 443 n[11]) tries to shew that he may have been Kenan or Cianan of Duleek, his parents, Ladanus or Ludunus, and Tagus or Tegus, according to Le Grande, being the Irish Sedanus or Sedna, and Ethnea. But it is doubtful (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c., ii. pt. i. 87, calling him also Ké; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 493 n.[104]). At Feb. 25, Colgan (*Acta SS.* 413) gives a memoir of St. Kenanus, abbas, who is commemorated on this day in the Irish annals as "Cianan, abbat," and whom Colgan identifies with the Kenan who succeeded Iaova at Plonkernau, and with Cianan of Duleek (Nov. 24). The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. 25, iii. 484–5) place him among their pretermitted saints, and doubtingly follow Colgan. [J. G.]

KENANACH, probably a form of Kenneth and Cainnech. On the island of Irich Kenneth, off the west of Mull, in the Hebrides, there are the ruins of an old and small chapel, where, till the end of last century, there was preserved an old bell, probably St. Kenanach's bell. St. Cainnech (Oct. 11), of Achadh-bo, the friend of St. Columba, gave its name to the island. (Wilson, *Prehist. Ann. Scotch.* 663; Reeves, *S. Adam.* 417, 432.) [J. G.]

KENEBURGA (Kenberg, Kyneburga), the first abbess of St. Peter's, Gloucester, according to the *Gloucester Chronicle* (ed. Hart, pp. lxxii. 4, 6). She is said to have been a sister of Osric and Oswald, the ealdormen or under-kings of the Hwiccii, to have been blessed by Bosel bishop of Worcester, and to have governed the monastery for twenty-nine years, which, reckoned from the reputed date of foundation, 681, would fix her death in 710. She is also called the wife of Aldred (?) king of Northumbria (*Mon. Angl.* i. 531). She is said to have been buried beside her brother before the altar of St. Petronilla in her own church. [Osric.] [S.]

KENEDLON (Cenedlon), Welsh saint of the 5th century, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 32; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 150–157; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 72.) [J. G.]

KENET, ST., once the patron saint of Lesnewth in Cornwall, a church now dedicated to St. Michael. William of Worcester, 116, says, "translatio Sancti Keneth heremitae die 3° post nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistae; jacet apud ecclesiam villae Sancti Keneth in Gowerland," but it is uncertain whether this refers to the same saint. The first time a church in Wales is dedicated to St. Michael is A.D. 717 (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 203); previously they were only dedicated to their founders. See Kynedus. [C. W. B.]

KENETHRYTHA (Cwoenthritha, Cynethritha), a daughter of Kenulf king of Mercia, and abbess of Winchelcomb. It is difficult to disentangle her history from the mass of legend and forgery that surrounds it; and it may be an error to attribute to one person the acts attributed to the persons bearing these names. According to the legendary history of St. Kenelm, that prince, who was son of Kenulf, was left under the guardianship of his sister, Quenthritha, who slew him in the hope of obtaining the throne. Kenelm was seven years old when Kenulf died, and his reign of a few months falls immediately after the death of Kenulf, and therefore within the years 821 and 822 (Flor. *Wig.* 819; *M. H. B.* 547). It would seem probable that Cynethritha was daughter of Kenulf by his first wife, Cynegitha, who is mentioned in a charter of 799 (Kemble, *C. D.* 177), and Kenelm of his second wife, Elfthritha, who occurs in 811 (*ib.* 196). Florence of Worcester, however, makes them, with another sister, Burgenhilda, all children of Elfthritha (*M. H. B.* 640). Whatever truth may underlie the legend of Kenelm, it is certain that his death left the inheritance of Kenulf in the hands of Cynethritha, and that Winchelcomb abbey, which he had founded or restored, was the monastic centre of the inheritance. As heir of Kenulf, Cynethritha engaged in litigation with archbishop Wulfred, who had had a great quarrel with Kenulf himself, and the reconciliation of the contest was a matter discussed in two councils, one at Clovesho about 824, and another at the same place in

825 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 594, 597). On the latter occasion "Cwoenthrytha abbatissa" accepted a compromise by which the church of Canterbury was freed from all future claims on the part of Kenulf's heirs, and the ancient writings at Winchelcomb, on which the dispute had arisen, were altered accordingly. That Cynethritha was abbess of Winchelcomb appears from a later document of the reign of Alfred (K. *C. D.* 823), in which she is represented as granting lands for life to the father of the ealdorman Ethelwulf, and as succeeded by another abbess named Aelflaed. These lands were then in litigation between Worcester and Winchelcomb. Besides the authentic documents in which her name occurs, she is found in a charter preserved at Glastonbury, and recorded by William of Malmesbury, spurious, but not fabricated by him, for he confesses that he cannot explain it. There she confirms a privilege granted by Kenulf to Kenelm, accompanied by a long privilege granted by pope Leo III., and apparently in 799 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1017; Will. Malmesb. *Antt. Glaston.* ap. Gale, p. 315). Nothing can be inferred from this, except that Kenelm and Cynethritha were connected in some other story besides that of Kenelm's martyrdom; but possibly they are the remnant of some part of the Winchelcomb history, and point to the fact that Kenelm's rights were obnoxious to Cynethritha. In the foundation charter of Winchelcomb, dated in 811, there is no mention of either of them, but reference is made to a privilege granted by pope Leo III.; and Kenulf inserts a clause forbidding the alienation of the lands of his inheritance for more than one life (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 573), a point which is of importance in the later history (K. *C. D.* 323), and which was extended to monastic estates generally by a canon of the council of Clovesho in 816 (*ib.* p. 582). Possibly the charter was fabricated after the passing of the canon, but the latter is certainly genuine. The legend of Kenelm would of course be incomplete without the punishment of Cynethritha. When the body of Kenelm was brought to Winchelcomb, she was looking out of an upper chamber, engaged in the remarkable employment of chanting the 108th psalm backwards; her eyes fell out of the sockets on the book (W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. iv. § 156).

Whether the abbess Cynethritha, with whom archbishop Ethelheard in 798 exchanged lands at Cookham, in Mercia, for an estate in Kent, was the daughter of Kenulf or the widow of Offa, there is nothing to shew (K. *C. D.* 1019; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 512). Nor is it at all clear that the coins ascribed to the wife of Offa may not have been struck by the daughter of Kenulf after the death of Kenelm (Hawkins, *English Silver Coinage*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 38, 39). [S.]

KENT, KINGS OF. The ancient kingdom of Kent may be roughly described as co-extensive with the modern county, or ecclesiastically with the two dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. The inhabitants, according to Bede, were of the race of the Jutes, who, on taking possession of the country, assumed the name of Cantwara, or dwellers in Kent, Cantium, the district known by that name since the days of Julius Caesar. This limitation can be only approximately correct, the adjustment of the boundaries with Surrey and Sussex being no doubt a gradual work. The power of the Kentish king extended, at its maximum, over great part of Surrey, Middlesex, and even Essex, whilst Sussex, throughout the early history, seems to have been a debateable land between the kings of Kent and the West Saxons. It is probable, however, that since the final arrangement of the south-eastern dioceses, which occurred at a time when Kent was comparatively weak under Wihtred, and Wessex in the zenith of its power under Ine, the limits of the Kentish kingdom have not been much disturbed. It is more difficult to account for the divisions of Kent itself. It is peculiar in the early history as a kingdom divided from the first between two dioceses, and it has, moreover, besides the civil division into hundreds, an arrangement in "lathes," each containing a cluster of hundreds. The diocesan division does not coincide with the division into lathes, or hundreds; nor does the ecclesiastical division into deaneries correspond with either. But the uncertainty of the date at which these divisions were made prevents us from drawing any definite deduction from the variation. The importance of these questions lies in the fact that throughout a great part of Kentish history the kingdom is divided between several kings, who either are represented as kinsmen reigning conjointly, or may be regarded as the heads of different dynastic or tribal systems, which might be expected to coincide with the local divisions. Thus, if it could be shewn that there ever was a division between the East Cantwara and the West Cantwara, we might account for the division of the dioceses. This, however, cannot be shewn, for we have no evidence of a divided rule in Kent before the reign of Ethelbert, under whom the two dioceses were organized. The diocese of Rochester comprised that portion of Kent which bordered on the Thames, from the Surrey boundary to the mouth of the Medway, and a small border on the right bank; it ran inland to the boundary of Sussex, and formed a compact square, containing the four deaneries of Dartford, Mallinges, Shoreham, and Rochester. It was thus the western or smaller half of Kent, and may at the time of the division have been administered as a separate civil division, without having either the character of a kingdom, or any distinct tribal difference from the eastern half. The later history unfortunately having been written at a time when the whole of England was overshadowed by Mercian or West-Saxon supremacy, and when royalty in Kent itself was almost a secondary institution in comparison with the power of the archbishop, throws no light upon the earlier division, although the fact of the diocesan subdivision no doubt made it easier for the kingdom to fall into two parts. But we have no authority for ruling that the later subdivisions or conjoint royalty had any connexion whatever with the ecclesiastical divisions. The matter is very obscure, and the succession of the later kings is quite as difficult to ascertain. Many of these kings have an importance in ecclesiastical history, which entitles them to a separate article in this dictionary, and it is sufficient here to give the succession with approximate dates and cross references.

The royal house of Kent sprang from Hengest, the fourth in descent from Woden, and the leader of the Teutonic invasion. The date assigned to Hengest, who ranks as the first king of Kent, is A.D. 455 (Flor. Wig. *Geneal.*). His death is fixed to the year 488. After him his son Aesc reigned twenty-four years (488–512); from him the direct line of the Kentish kings were called Aescings, or Oiscings. A hero named Octa, who is made the successor of Oesc, and is sometimes called the son of Hengest, followed; and Eormenric, the next king, was the father of Ethelbert. The pedigree, which is given probably in its oldest form in Bede (ii. 5), is simply a descent from father to son: "Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cujus pater Octa, cujus pater Oiric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominari, cujus pater Hengist." The whole is legendary, and any dates which may be assigned to these names are purely conjectural, on whatever apparent authority they rest. Ethelbert succeeded, and reigned from 568 to 616 [ETHELBERT]; Eadbald, 616–640 [EADBALD]; Earcomberht, 640–664 [EARCOMBERHT]; Ecgberht, 664–673 [ECGBERHT]; Hlothaere, 673–685, and Eadric 673–686 [HLOTHAERE, EADRIC].

Between Hlothaere and Eadric the kingdom was either by arrangement, or in hostility, or at different times in different ways, divided; and after the death of Eadric the division seems to have continued under Swebheard or Webheard and Wihtred until about 690, when Wihtred became sole king. [SWEBHEARD, WIHTRED.] He reigned 690–725. From the date of his death the succession becomes obscure, and continues so until the kingdom was absorbed by Wessex. Wihtred left three sons—Eadbert, Ethelbert, and Alric—of whom the two former, and possibly the last, reigned conjointly, and in survivorship, until about 762. [See EADBERT, ETHELBERT, ALRIC.] But before that year a king [EARDULF] had appeared on the scene, possibly as king of West Kent [EARDULF], and in quick succession or alternation we have the names of Egbert, Ethelbert, Eadbert, Sigiraed, Eahlmund, and others. [See EGBERHT, ETHELBERHT, EADBERHT, SIGIRAED.] Ealhmund was king in the year 784 or 786, by which time Kent had begun a final struggle with Offa. [EALHMUND.] Eadbert Praen, who claimed the kingdom shortly before Offa's death, is the next distinct figure [EADBERHT PRAEN], 796–798. After his subjection by Kenulf of Mercia occurs Cuthred, 798–807 (?) [CUTHRED], and after Cuthred (whether immediately or after a period of direct subjection to Mercia is not clear) Baldred, who was conquered by Egbert of Wessex, in or about A.D. 825. The Kentish coins which are extant are assigned mostly to these later and very obscure kings, Ethelbert II., Ecgberht, Eadberht Praen, Cuthred, and Baldred. (See Hawkins, *Eng. Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 30–35.) [S.]

KENTIGERN (CONTHIGERNUS, CONTHIGIRNUS, CYNDEYRN, KENTEGERNUS, KENTIGERNUS, KENTIYERN, KIENTIERN, KYENTYERN, QUENTIGERN, MONGAH, MUNGHU, MUNGO, bishop of Glasgow and confessor, commemorated on Jan. 13. St. Kentigern shares, with St. Ninian and St. Columba, the highest place in the honours due by Scotland to the early evangelisers of her children, and has also obtained with them a well-defined place in the history of his age. While St. Palladius's Scotic work is doubtful, and St. Serf's chronology is difficult and disputed, both the time and the sphere of missionary enterprise belonging to St. Kentigern are sufficiently recognised. He only falls short of St. Columba in the good fortune which has given the latter an Adamnan, almost a contemporary, to be his biographer. There is no *Life of St. Kentigern* extant earlier than the 12th century, but a concurrent tradition and the history of the period strongly confirm the main points in the biography.

Strictly speaking, there is only one *Life of St. Kentigern* known, that by Joceline of Furness, written probably about 1180, for bishop Joceline of Glasgow (A.D. 1174–1199), from two earlier memoirs, but there is a fragment which is older, and was probably one of the two which were used by him. From these all the others are derived (1.) *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta auctore ignoto* (MS. Cott. Titus A. xix. ff. 76–80 b), said in the prologue to have been written at the instance of Herbert bishop of Glasgow (A.D. 1147–64), and now found in "a very careless and ignorant transcript in a hand of the beginning of the 15th century" (*Reg. Ep. Glas.* lx.). It was first printed in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bann. Club, Edinb. 1843), append. ii. pp. lxxvii. lxxxvi.; again, with translation and notes, by Bp. Forbes of Brechin, in *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, 123–33, 243–52. It contains eight chapters, closing with the birth of St. Kentigern. The text is very corrupt, and the story exhibits some of the worst features of the mediaeval legend. It is evidently the basis of the lections in the *Officium S. Thenewe* in the *Brev. Aberd.* ff. 24–36. (2.) *Vita Kentegerni, auctore Jocelino monacho Furnesensi* (MS. Cott. Vitell. c. viii. ff. 148–195; MS. Marsh, Libr. Dubl. v. 3, 4, 16). It was printed, but very inaccurately, by Pinkerton (*Vit. Ant. Sanct. Scot.* 195–297), and given, with translation and notes, by Bp. Forbes of Brechin, in his *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern* (Ser. *Historians of Scotland*, Edinb. 1874, pp. 29–119, 159–242). Capgrave (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* 207 sq.) has given John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Kentigern*, which is merely a slight shortening of Joceline's. This has been given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. 13, t. i. 815 sq.). Joceline's Life has also supplied the lections in the *MS. Breviary* of the latter half of the 13th century, belonging to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and quoted by Bp. Forbes (*Lives*, &c. pp. xciv.–c.), and also those in *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. 27–30). Hector Boethius (lix. c. 14), though not strictly following Fordun (*Scotichron.* iii. c. 9–29, ed. Skene) has formed a version or series of additions, which the Scotch annalists (Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 79 sq.; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 406 sq.) have followed, and Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Britt.* xi. 5, 20–24; xii. 2–5) has largely translated Capgrave's Life. For the bibliography, see Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 207–9; pt. ii. 804; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c., 1, 144, 156, 157, app. E.; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 31, 179, 444; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 362–3, and *Lives St. Nin. and St. Kent.* lxiii. sq. For mediaeval hymns to his honour and later poetical allusions, see Bp.

Forbes, *Lives*, &c., pp. c. sq.; *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* i. lx. cix.

St. Kentigern, perhaps better and more popularly known as St. Mungo, was a Strathclyde Briton. Kentigern is the Welsh Cyndeyrn, latinised Conthigernus, from *cyn*, chief, *teyrn*, lord, "Capitalis dominus," and mungo is *mwyn*, gentle, *cu*, dear (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 182–3, 459; Bp. Forbes, *Kal.* &c. 364–5, and *Lives*, &c., 326–7, with the derivations given by Joceline in the text). His parentage is doubtful. Joceline's Life (c. iv.) cites only the mother's name, Taneu, as given her by St. Servanus, while the fragmentary Life (c. i.) calls the grandfather Leudonus, and mother Thaney, the father being "Ewen filius Erwegende," or more properly called in the bardic tales "Ewen filius regis Ulien" (or Urien). Thus, according to the Scotch authorities, he was son of Eugenius, king of Cumbria (or Scotia), who forced Thameta (Thaneu, Thaney, Tenew, Thenew), daughter of Loth, king of the Pictish Laudonia. According to the Welsh, *Bonedd y Saint*, Cyndeyrn was son of Owain ab Urien Rheged, and Dwynwen (*Deny*) the daughter of Llewddyn Lueddag of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh), in the North, was his mother (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 261; Bp. Forbes, *Lives*, &c. lxxxii. and *Kal.* &c. 364; Ritson. *Metr. Rom.* iii. 225–29). The infant was born at Culross in Perthshire, where it is said to have been brought up and educated by St. Servanus, but Skene (*Celt. Scot.* ii. 31) disputes the connexion with St. Servanus as an anachronism. [SERVANUS.] From Servanus he received the names of Kentigern, and Munghu, or Mungo, the latter as a mark of special affection; and under his tuition he advanced greatly, being docile and intelligent, with a retentive memory, and a sweet musical voice. At this part his Life abounds in miracles. From his master at Culross he secretly departed, and holding westward, crossing the Forth, probably about Alloa, he arrived at Carnock, near Stirling, and thence was led by the oxen, which carried the corpse of Fregus, to Cathures, now Glasgow, where St. Ninian had already consecrated a cemetery. There he fixed his abode among the Strathclyde Britons, whose territory extended from the Derwent to the Clyde, and the upper waters of the Forth, and taking up the work unfinished by St. Ninian, not only preached the faith, but called back from apostasy and heresy, and illustrated the virtues of the Gospel by his own most humble and laborious example. Altogether the picture presented of the time and field of his labour is a deplorable one. He was consecrated by a single bishop, called for the purpose from Ireland (c. 11). This was entirely according to the early Celtic custom; and even according to the stricter rule requiring three bishops to assist in episcopal consecrations, it was valid, though irregular; and the story (c. 27) about St. Kentigern's visits to Rome, his consulting pope Gregory about his position, and his receiving from him the confirmation, and supplementing of his imperfect consecration is the invention of a later age. He was raised to the episcopate in his twenty-fifth year (c. 12), but there is nothing to mark the date, except that it was before his departure to Wales. Ussher places it in A.D. 540, which is accepted by Stubbs (*Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 157). At Glasgow he formed a monastic school, and a beautiful account is given (cc. 12–18) of the man, his austere life and humble piety; his coarse garments, and periodical retirements from the world, his wise converse with all classes, and his exceeding reverence in celebrating the sacred mysteries. He had a wide province, which he traversed mostly on foot, and his message was to the lapsed from the faith and to the morally degraded, as well as to the ignorant pagans. But the disorders in the kingdom, and probably the increasing power of the pagan faction, induced the bishop to leave his see, and find refuge in Wales a few years after his consecration (A.D. 543, Ussher). As he proceeded he spent some time in Cumberland, where his work is marked by churches still dedicated to him (c. 23); thence he advanced as far as Meneria, where he visited St. David, and then appears to have returned northwards, settling for a time on the banks of the Clwyd, and building his church at the confluence of the Elwy and Clwyd, at a place called from that circumstance Llanelwy, and now St. Asaph's, in Flintshire (cc. 23–25), about A.D. 545 (Stubbs). Joceline says (c. 23) that he was allowed to choose a place for his monastery by king Cathwallain (Caswallawn), but it is more probable that he received the site from Maelgwyn Gwynedd, son of Caswallawn Law Hir, king of North Wales at this time, and apparently dividing his dominions ecclesiastically between Bangor and Llanelwy. The monastery which St. Kentigern erected at Llanelwy was soon filled with persons of all classes devoted to religion. Old and young, rich and poor, prince and peasant, flocked to the abode of peace and holiness, and we are presented with a very graphic picture of how monasteries were raised in ancient days before stone was used for such erections, and how the *laus perennis* was carried out in large communities, such as this must have been with its 965 brethren in their "threefold division of religious observance" (cc. 24–25).

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the person of the sovereign, and hence, as a direct consequence, in the religious feeling of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Rhydderch Hael, son of Tudwal Tudglud, had come to the throne; and at the battle of Ardderyd (now Arthuret, on the Esk, near Carlisle), had defeated the heathen party under Gwendolen, at Ceidio, whereby his kingdom was made to extend from the Clyde to the Mersey, and thus to the confines of St. Kentigern's Welsh see. This battle was fought in A.D. 573, and its first-fruits was the recall of St. Kentigern to his Cumbrian diocese by Rhydderch, who, himself of Irish extraction, had received the Christian faith during his exile in Ireland. This date is of vast importance in the biography of St. Kentigern, as it gives one fixed point in his chronology. Rhydderch's call he at once obeyed; and consecrating his disciple, St. Asaph, to fill his place in North Wales, he returned to Strathclyde, but went no farther than Holdelm (now Hoddam, Dumfriesshire), where for some years (probably eight) he had his episcopal seat. His leaving Llanelwy was a cause of great lamentation, and a great number of the monks accompanied him. At Hoddam the scene is laid of the joyous welcome given to the saint by king Rhydderch, who is represented (cc. 31–33) as going out with his people to meet

him, and as conceding to him all power over himself and his posterity. But it was at Glasgow, on the banks of the Mellindenor and the Clyde, that the still more famous meeting took place between the two most famous saints of the period in Scotland (c. 39), St. Columba and St. Kentigern. Nothing seems more natural than that the two aged confessors should have direct communion in their work. The districts they evangelised were contiguous: both were zealous in the same cause: they had mutual friends; and at most, the intervening distance was but trifling. Their meeting was typical of the two currents of Christian faith and practice which were running alongside, and overflowing the land—namely, the Irish and the Welsh, which were to come in contact again at the great rampart of the Grampian range, and give their character to the Scotic and the Pictish churches. Yet we need not follow Boethius (lib. ix. c. 14) in making St. Kentigern a convert by St. Columba's preaching before king Brude, and his being his companion for some time at Dunkeld, where they preached to the Atholi, Calidoni, Horesti, and neighbouring nations; but on the other hand, the dedications to the north of Glasgow, and on Deeside in Aberdeenshire, would make it probable that St. Kentigern had extended his labours into the regions of the Southern Picts, and up, at least, to the dividing line between them and the Northern, not to mention the improbable statement of Joceline (c. 34) that he sent missionaries to the Orkneys, Norway, and Iceland. But at last his labours came to an end in the beginning of the 7th century. He attained an advanced age, though probably a century short of the 185 years imputed to him. The date of his death is variously given, from A.D. 601 to 614; the Welsh authorities generally adhering to A.D. 612, as given in *Annales Cambriae*, but the true date is probably A.D. 603. (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 197 n.; Bp. Forbes, *Lives*, &c. 369–70.) He died on Sunday, Jan. 13, and was buried where the cathedral of Glasgow now stands.

The favourite name in dedications is St. Mungo. There are no dedications to him in Wales, but in Cumberland there are at Aspatria, Bromfield, Caldbeck, Crosfeld (in Kirkland), Crosthwaite, Grinsdale, Lethington, Mungrisedale (in Greystock), and Sowerby. In the south of Scotland, and probably connected with his stay at Hoddam, there are dedications at St. Mungo or Abermilk, and Kirkmaho in Dumfriesshire, at Lanark and Borthwick, or Lochwerweth, in Lanarkshire, at the town of Peebles, at Penicuik and Currie in Mid-Lothian, at Polwarth in Berwickshire, and at Hassendean in Selkirkshire; in the country of the South Picts, at Aloa in Clackmannanshire, and at Auchterarder in Perthshire; among the Northern Picts, at Kynore, now part of Huntley, Aberdeenshire, at Glengairn, now united to Tullich and Glenmuick in the same county, at Inverness, where his hill is, and at St. Mungo's Isle in Loch Leven, facing the entrance to Glencoe. His chief dedication and episcopal seat, which, as in like cases, was near but not quite at the ancient civil capital, Alclwyd or Dumbarton, is the cathedral church of Glasgow; and there appears to have been a Little St. Mungo's kirk outside the city walls. (Bp. Forbes, *Lives*, &c. lxxxiii.–xci. and *Kal.* &c. 372; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 192, sq.; C. Innes *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. 1, sq.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot* viii. 118.) [J. G.]

KENTIGERNA (CAENTIGERN, CAINTIGERN, CANTIGERN, CENTIGERNA, COENTIGERNA, KENTIGERNE, QUENTIGERNA, QUINTIGERNA), widow, commemorated in the Scotch kalendars on January 7th. She was daughter of Ceallach Cualann, regulus of Leinster; her brother was ST. CONGAN of Turriff, and her sister, Muirenn, who died in 748 after marriage with Irgalach, son of Conang, lord of Cianachta, in Meath, who came under the ban of St. Adamnan for violence and murder (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, liii. iv.). St. Kentigerna was married to Feradach or Feriacus, prince of Monchestree, by whom she had a numerous family, of which the best known was ST. FILLAN or FOELAN of Strathfillan, in Perthshire. On becoming a widow, she left Ireland with her brother, St. Congan, and with St. Fillan, her son. After spending some time at Strathfillan, she withdrew to Inch-Cailliach (called by Camerarius, Inchelroiche), on Loch Lomond, where, after a period of devout meditation as a recluse, she died A.D. 734 (*Ann. Ult.* 733; Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 356). Bp. Keith, *Hist. Cat. Scot. Bps.* 375), following Adam King (*Kal.* in die), is evidently as much astray in placing her death in 560, as is Dempster (*Men. Scot.* in die) in locating her commemoration at Glasgow. The church at Inch-Cailliach appears to be her only dedication. Her legend, apparently from some Irish source, is given in *Breviarium Aberdonense* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. xxiv.–v.), also by Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 75), who is followed for the most part in the memoir given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 21 sq.). Bp. Forbes (*Kal. Scott. Saints*, 373) and O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 94–5) present notices (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 384 and n.; Bp. Forbes, *Ib.* iii. 127, 141, 189, 233, lxi.) for her place in the kalendars and in the *Litany of Dunkeld* (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. 32; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 84). [J. G.]

KENTWINUS, king of Wessex. [CENTWINE.]

KENULF, king of Mercia, succeeded Ecgferth in December 796. He was the son of Cuthberht, and a descendant in the fifth degree from Cenwealh, the brother of Penda (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 638). His first years were employed in the pacification of Kent, which had risen against the Mercian rule, even before the death of Offa, under Eadbert Praen. Eadbert was conquered, taken prisoner, and blinded by Kenulf in 798; and Kent was then bestowed by him on Cuthred, who held it until his death, nine years after 807. [EADBERT (4) PRAEN.] Kenulf's next achievement was the restoration of peace to the church by the abolition of the archbishopric of Lichfield and the restoration of estates alienated from the see of Canterbury, the particular steps of which are detailed under ETHELHEARD, and which was finally accomplished in the council of Cloveshо in 803. In the year 801 Kenulf engaged in war with Eardulf, king of Northumberland; he had received some of Eardulf's enemies, and probably had given an asylum to archbishop Eanbald of York, who was consulted in that year by archbishop Ethelheard, and had, as we learn from

Alcuin, been driven from his see by Eardulf, in consequence of a quarrel arising from the king's adultery. (See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 534–536; Jaffé. *Mon. Alcuin*, p. 620.) Before a battle could take place, peace and alliance were concluded between the two kings. (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 672.)

The political history of the following years, and of the remainder of Kenulf's life, so far as it is illustrated by historians, is brief and scanty. The West Saxon kingdom under Egbert was gradually rising to supremacy, and although there was no conflict between Egbert and Kenulf, the power of Mercia was waning. In 805 Kenulf lost the support of archbishop Ethelheard, and his relations with Wulfred were not so friendly. In 807 (805 Chr. S.) Cuthred died, and Kenulf himself governed Kent from that time either directly or possibly by king Baldred (H. Hunt. *M. H. B.* 734). In 818 he ravaged South Wales (Ann. Camb. *M. H. B.* 834; Brut. *M. H. B.* 844).

Fortunately the domestic and ecclesiastical history of Kenulf during these years gains much light from charters. In 805, in a great ecclesiastical synod at Acleah, in which it is probable that archbishop Wulfred was chosen and consecrated, Kenulf bestowed on the new prelate an estate at Bockholt (Kemble, *C. D.* 190). In 808 at Tamworth, he granted to his thegn Eadulf a plough land and a half at Cooling in Kent (K. *C. D.* 194). In 811 he took part in the dedication of the family monastery, which he had founded at Winchelcomb, and emancipated Eadbert Praen as a part of the offerings of the day (K. *C. D.* 197, spurious; but see Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 294; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 572–574). The same year, in a great council at London, he sold or gave to Wulfred a considerable estate at Rockingham (Rockinge) in Kent, and in the neighbourhood of Canterbury (K. *C. D.* 196), and land at Rochester on bishop Beornmod (*ib.* 198). In 812 he confirmed a purchase made by Wulfred and an exchange of lands with the archbishop (K. *C. D.* 199). In 814 he sold to Wulfred land at "Westanwidde," also in Kent (K. *C. D.* 201), and gave him an estate of ten ploughlands at Byxlea (*ib.* 204). At Tamworth this year at Christmas he made an exchange with Deneberht of Worcester (*ib.* 203), and made grants to Wulfred and Deneberht besides (*ib.* 205, 206, 207).

In 816 Kenulf with his witan was present at the council of Clovesho under Wulfred, the acts of which are extant (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 579–585), and in which he made other gifts to Worcester. The following year, 817, Wulfred and Kenulf were still friendly, meeting twice in Mercian witenagemots. They quarrelled immediately after. The immediate cause of the quarrel seems to have been the seizure by Kenulf of two Kentish monasteries, Minster in Thanet, and Reculver. In consequence of this proceeding Wulfred is said to have put Kenulf's dominions under interdict, which lasted for six years, 817 to 822. About the year 820, the quarrel was discussed in a council at London, in which Kenulf declared that for neither pope nor emperor would he allow Wulfred to return to his possessions unless he restored another disputed estate, and paid a fine of 120*l.* Kenulf offered, if his terms were accepted, to hold Wulfred harmless with the pope, whose authority, it would appear, had been some way invoked. The dispute continued during the rest of Kenulf's life, and was continued by his daughter Cynethritha, a final adjustment being arrived at in 825. [WULFRED.]

Kenulf died, according to the Chronicle, in 819; but this must be corrected to 822 or late in 821; his son Kenelm is said to have been murdered after a reign of a few months, July 17, and Ceolwulf, the next king, to have been consecrated by Wulfred Sept. 822 (K. *C. D.* 216; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 590).

It is probable that Kenulf was twice married, first to Kynegitha, whose name, however, appears only in a spurious charter of 799 [KENEDRITHA], and secondly to Elfthritha, who attests several of Kenulf's charters from 808 onwards (K. *C. D.* 194, 196).

His children were, according to the genealogies of Florence, three, all by Elfthritha—Kenelm, the son who succeeded him, and was slain by his sister, Kynethritha, the abbess of Winchelcomb, and Burgenhilda, of whom no more is heard (*M. H. B.* 630, 638). It is probable that Kynethritha was only half-sister to Kenelm.

Kenulf is the last great and independent king of Mercia; under him Cuthred first, and afterwards Baldred, ruled in Kent, and the title of king of the East Saxons was borne by Sigered (K. *C. D.* 196, 197). [S.]

KENULPHUS, first abbat of Crowland (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 66). His successor Patrick was said to be living in 793. (*Monast. Angl.* ii. 89, 91, 107.) [C. H.]

KERI, ST., son of Brychan of Brecknock, probably the patron saint of Egloskerry in Cornwall, but the parish church is now dedicated to other saints. There is a parish of Kerry in Wales. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 383.) [C. W. B.]

KERO, a monk of St. Gall, who lived in the reign of Pippin, the father of Charlemagne, and during the abbacy of Othmar. He was the author of an interlinear translation of the rule of St. Benedict, to which his monastery was subject, into the lingua Theotisca, the primitive German of the time and country. It was first published in 1726, at Ulm, in Schilter's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum* (tom. i. pars ii. p. 13 seq.), from a MS. of the monastery of St. Gall, with a preface and notes by J. G. Scherzius, professor of law at Strasburg. Before this, however, Goldastus had inserted in his *Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores* (tom. ii. 71–95), a glossary of barbaric—*i.e.* Allamanic, or German—terms formed from the writings of Kero. Besides the translation of the rule, Kero wrote in the same language a *confessio fidei*, and a short *expositio in orationem Dominicam*, also preserved in the library at St. Gall (Goldastus, *ib.* ii. 10). See Ceillier, *Hist. Gén. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xii. 110, and the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 134. [S. A. B.]

KERTEN, KERTNNUS. [MACCARTHEN.]

KESSOG (KESSOGUS, MAKKESSAGE, MAKESSAGUS, MAKKESSOGUS), bishop and confessor in Scotland, commemorated March 10. *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. 66–67) gives his

legend in six lections which largely partake of the miraculous; the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* March 10, t. ii. 35 sq.) give his acts in a Commentarius Proevius of two sections, followed by the legend from the Breviary. Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 113) has a notice of Makkessogus Episc., and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 419) treats of "S. Kessogus seu Bessogus," an Irish Scot, who flourished in Cathenesia (Caithness) in A.D. 700, and again (*ib.* ii. 454*) of St. Makkessagus, a bishop in Lennox, chosen, he thinks, from the Culdees, and flourishing at the same time as the last: evidently they are the same person. Bp. Forbes (*Kal. Scott. Saints*, 373–4) has an elaborate memoir, which O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, iii. 285–6) has for the most part followed. What is known is clearly within a narrow range, and no ancient life is extant, but Dr. Todd (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 74 n.) identifies Kessogus of the *Brev. Aberd.* Mar. 10, with Moshenog of Beitheach (Mar. 11) in the Irish kalendars. [MOSHENOG.]

St. Kessog or Makkessog was born in Cashel in Munster, where his father was king, descended from the royal race of Ireland. He was early distinguished for virtue and miracles, and the legend opens with an account of his raising a child, who was drowned, to life. He appears to have come to Scotland and fixed his abode on Inch-ta-vanach, one of the islands of Loch Lomond, from which he evangelized the neighbourhood. According to one tradition, he suffered martyrdom at a place called Bandry, where a cairn and a large stone with his effigy were erected to his memory. This may be Carn-ma-Cheasaig, in the parish of Luss, on the west side of Loch Lomond (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. 30; *Old Stat. Acc. Scot.* xvii. 264; *New Stat. Acc. Scot.* Dumbarton, 161). According to another tradition he suffered abroad, and his body was embalmed and brought to Scotland, preserved in sweet herbs, which afterwards germinated and gave its name Luss (Gaelic) to the parish (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 374). The church of Luss was dedicated to him, and for his honour received important privileges; so also were the churches of Auchterarder and Callander in Perthshire, there being at the latter a conical hill or mount, apparently artificial, called Tom-na-Chessaig: there are Kessog fair at Cumbrae and Kessock ferry at Inverness (Bp. Forbes, *ib.*). Camerarius makes him a bishop in Boyne (Bodie) Banffshire), and Dempster (*Men. Scot.* in die) in the Lennox (Leuinia): the latter adds the curious information that he is specially venerated by soldiers, and is himself represented in military habit with arrows and a bended bow (ipse militari habitu cum sagittis arcu tenso depingitur). His bell must have been very highly valued, as so late as 1675 the sacra campana St. Kessogii was included among the feudal investitures of the earldom of Perth (*Retours*, Perth. 708, 880; Wilson, *Prehist. Ann. Scot.* 660; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* t. 18–22). Dempster (*Hist.* &c. ii. 454) says his Makkessagus wrote *Manipulum Precum*, lib. 1; *Cateches. ad Neophytos*, lib. i. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 502.) [J. G.]

KEURBREIT, Welsh saint, perhaps of the 5th century, but unidentified. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 122; Jones, *Brecknockshire*, i. 343.) [J. G.]

KEVIL, patron of a church in Ballybrennan parish, bar. Forth, co. Wexford, but its bell and materials profaned. (*Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* iv. 67.) [J. G.]

KEVIN. [COEMGEN.]

KEVOCA (KENNOCHA, KENNOTHA, KENOCA), virgin in Scotland, commemorated March 13. Her legend is given in the six lections of the *Aberdeen Breviary* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. 68–9), from which it is taken by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. 13, t. ii. (338), 333), and in substance by Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* liii. c. 4, p. 115; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. ii. pt. i. 183; Duffus Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 619.) In the Scotch kalendars she is usually called Kevoca, and by the Scotch annalists Kennocha. Adam King (*Kal.* in die) says, "St. Kennoche, virg. (lived), in Scotland under king Malcolme II. 1007," and this date is usually accepted; while at the same date and day Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 412) connects his St. Kennotha with Brechin.

But though St. Kevoca, Kennocha, or Kennotha be thus located in Scotland, and given a local history, there can be little reasonable doubt but she is really an Irish saint and of the other sex, namely, Caemhog, Mochoemoc, Mo-Chaemhog, or Pulcherius. [CAEMHOG.] Mochoemoc died A.D. 655 (*Four Mast.*), and has his own distinct legend. [MOCHOEMOCUS.] There is no reason, from the meagre legend or otherwise, to imagine that the Scots knew whence they were borrowing. [CAEMHOG.] [J. G.]

KEW, ST. (see v. CIWG). The name of the parish of St. Kew in Cornwall represents the colloquial English form of St. Ciwg or Cwick, the patron of Llangwick on the Taff in Glamorganshire. The form of St. Kew in the Exeter Domesday is Lancichuc, according to one view, but this is a doubtful identification. There is also a village of Kewstoke on the Somersetshire shore opposite the mouth of the Taff. Another view derives Kew from Kywa (see v. CIWA), and in the *Exeter Martyrology* is the following note, "Festum S. Kywe virginis, 8 Feb." The feast day at St. Kew, however, is on the nearest Sunday to 25th July. There is a holy well in the parish. [C. W. B.]

KEYNA, see CENEU (1), and Kerslake's *Damnonia outside Cornwall*, 428. [C. W. B.]

KEYNWEN, ST., a daughter of Brychan of Brecknock, whose feast day is the 8th October (see above v. CEINWEN). There is a parish of Kenwyn in Cornwall, in which Truro is situated. See W. C. Borlase, *The Age of the Saints*, 1878, p. 87. [C. W. B.]

KHOROHPOUD (CHOROBUTUS), a Persian historian mentioned by Moses of Choren (lib. ii. capp. 69, 70 in Langlois, *Historiens*, vol. ii. p. 116). He was secretary of Sapor king of Persia, and fell into the hands of the emperor Julian at Ctesiphon. When Julian died Khorohpoud accompanied Jovian back to Greece, where having embraced the Christian religion, he was called Eleazar. He learned the Greek language and composed in it a history of the war between Sapor and Julian. He also translated into

Greek a volume of the history of early times written by one of his fellow captives Barsumas, called by the Persians Rasdsohoun. [G. T. S.]

KHUSRAU (CHOSROES), deacon martyred under Sapor II., king of Persia. (Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 432.) [G. T. S.]

KIE-HO, Nestorian bishop of Sighanfu, 745. (Le Quien, ii. 1270.) [C. H.]

KIERAN, ST. (see v. CIARAN). The Cornish form of the name is Piran, which see; but the Irish form remains at St. Kerian, in Exeter, and St. Keverne, in Cornwall, which is Lan-achebran in Domesday. One of the fair days of the parish of St. Keverne is the 5th of March, which is St. Kieran's day, and the same day is kept at Perran Uthno in Cornwall. The change of the old letter K into the later Cymric P is noticeable, as in Cen Pen, but in the earlier Cymric K still existed. See W. C. Borlase, *The Age of the Saints*, 1878, pp. 40, 47. [C. W. B.]

KILIAN (1), martyr in Franconia. [CILIAN.]

(2) Irish saint. [CILLEN.]

(3) Feb. 10, patron of Killcullsheen, co. Kilkenny. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 455.)

(4) Kilian or Quilian, said to have been a disciple of St. Columbanus, and assistant to St. Vulganius in preaching to the Morini in the 7th century. He was buried at Montreuil in Picardy, where his relics were venerated. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 443.)

(5) Chillen or Kilian, an Irish bishop who stopped at Meaux on his way home from Rome, and was directed by the bishop of St. Faro to preach the gospel in Artois some time after A.D. 628. (Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 6.)

(6) bishop of Dol. [CHELIANUS.] [J. G.]

KINAETH (CINAEDH), son of Cumasgach, abbat of Dearmhach (now Durrow, co. Meath), died A.D. 793. (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 792; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 788, i. 395; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 202.) [J. G.]

KINDASVINTH (CHINDASVINTHUS), king of Gothic Spain from May 8 (?) 642 to Sept. 30, 653.

Kindasvinth's Usurpation. Struggle with the Nobility and Clergy. The Seventh Council of Toledo.—In 642 Kindasvinth, an old man of seventy-nine, "unus ex primatibus," succeeded in overthrowing the government of the young Tulga, KINDILA'S son, and in establishing himself upon the throne ("per tyrannidem," Fredegar, cap. 82, apud Bouquet, ii. p. 444; Isid. Pac. p. 480). Tulga was tonsured and forced into a monastery, and Kindasvinth, at the head of a strong party of senators and others, immediately threw all his energies, as Leovigild had done before him, into a struggle with that rebellious and lawless Gothic nobility which throughout made a strong Gothic monarchy impossible, except during occasional intervals when some king of greater ability than his fellows succeeded temporarily in keeping the turbulent order in check. "When he had secured the whole of Spain," says the contemporary witness Fredegar, "knowing the evil habit which the Goths had of deposing their kings (for which purpose he had himself often in old days shared in their plots), he ordered that all those among them whom he knew to have been concerned in the plots against former kings who had been driven from the throne (? LEOVA II. and SUINTHILA), should be executed, and others he condemned to exile, giving their wives, daughters, and property to his *fideles*. He is said in repressing this vice to have slain two hundred of the *primates*, and five hundred of the *mediocres*. And until Chindasvinth knew that this evil habit of the Goths was rooted out, he did not cease to slay with the sword those whom he suspected. So that the Goths dared not plot against him, as they were accustomed to do against their kings" (Bouquet, *l. c.* p. 444). By this wholesome and necessary severity, Kindasvinth secured a period of rest and development for the harassed Gothic state, and prepared the way for the great legislative ideas which mark his reign. It was not, however, by the secular nobility only that the very existence of the Gothic monarchy was at this juncture imperilled. The acts of the Toledan council of 646 (18th Oct. "in Toletanum urbem") were directed rather against ecclesiastical than lay rebels, and through them Kindasvinth struck at those intriguing and ambitious churchmen who had been the real rulers of the kingdom under the weak kings SISENAND and Chintila [KINDILA], and who from the expressions in the acts had evidently given great trouble during the first years of the new reign. The first canon, *de refugis atque perfidis clericis sive laicis*, is of great interest and importance, difficult as it now is to apprehend all its political bearings. The canon threatens with deprivation, excommunication, and life-long penance, all those ecclesiastics who either become themselves *tyranni* and *refugae*, or aid and abet others in rebellion or flight to foreign countries. No priest is to give such an one communion, even at the bidding of the king, for kings are not to be obeyed in matters which involve perjury, "lest, *quod absit*, a king should arise hostile to the Catholic faith, and a priest through fear or favour should be induced to desert the light of the true faith for darkness," a sentence which seems to betray the presence of Arianism as a distant but still possible danger in the state. (Conf. on this canon and on its relation to earlier legislation in Kindasvinth's reign, Helfferich, *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts*, 89, 136. It is really an extension to the clergy of an edict published in the second year of his reign, *De his qui contra principem, vel gentem aut patriam refugiunt*, *Lex Visig.* ii. 1, 6; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 194, vi. 458.)

The remaining five canons of the council are on strictly ecclesiastical matters. Canons two, three, and five are concerned (*a*) with cases of sudden illness during the celebration of mass, (*b*) with the burial of bishops, (*c*) with the discipline of *reclusi* or hermits. Canon four discusses the complaints of the Gallician presbyters against the rapacity and exactions of certain of their bishops. The council having examined the matter decrees that in future no bishop shall exact more than two solidi annually from each church, according to a decree of the synod of Braga (c. Brac. ii. 2, A.D. 572), a tax from which monastic churches are to be excepted. And no bishop shall visit his diocese with a train of more than fifty persons (? five, "nec unquam

quinquagenarium numerum evectionis excedat;" the passage is difficult and disputed, conf. Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 355; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. [2] 125, n. 4), or remain more than one day in each parish. The sixth canon, *de convicinis episcopis in urbe regia commorandis*, is interesting, as bearing on the question of the growth of the ascendency of the Toledan see. The bishops nearest to Toledo are to reside each for one month in every year in the capital, according to the summons of the metropolitan, a regulation which may be regarded as the first step on the road to the primacy of 681. By it Toledo was marked out from other metropolitan sees; her hold over her suffragans was made one of peculiar closeness and intensity, and that line of policy was inaugurated which was to culminate in the career of JULIAN, and the primacy canon of the twelfth council (see art. JULIAN).

Thirty bishops and eleven vicars signed the acts of c. Tol. vii. Orontius of Merida, to whom were dedicated the *Allegoriae quaedam* of Isidore, took the first place as the junior metropolitan. Toledo has not yet, be it observed, an inherent right of precedence.

Kindasvinth's last Years.—In 649 Kindasvinth associated his son Rekesvinth with him in the government, and, withdrawing himself more and more from the active business of the state, gave himself to good works, and possibly to the completion of his legislative work (see below). To these latter years of his reign are to be applied the expressions of later chroniclers concerning the peacefulness of Spain under him, which scarcely fit the troubled times before the council of 646, as described by Fredegar. Pleasant details still remain to us of his friendship with certain literary bishops, with Eugenius II. of Toledo, to whom he entrusted the completion and perfection of the poems of Dracontius (*SS. PP. Tolet. Opp.* Lorenzana, ii.; Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de la Literatura Españ.* i.), with BRAULIO of Saragossa (*Ep. Braulio. ad Chind. Esp. Sagr.* xxx. pp. 363, 367, 373; *Chind. Reg. ad Braul.* p. 365, *l.c.*) and with Braulio's successor, TAYO, whom the king sent to Rome with a commission to bring back thence certain books of Gregory the Great's MORALIA, not then to be found in Spain (*l. c.* p. 382; *Isid. Pac. Esp. Sagr.* viii. (see articles LEANDER and TAYO). On Sept. 30, 653, Kindasvinth died at the age of ninety, and his weaker son REKESVINTH was left to carry out alone the great plans of his father (Fredegar, l. c.; *Chron. Reg. Visig.*; Arevalo, *Isid. Op.* vii. 188). The libellous penitential epitaph put into his mouth after his death by his quondam friend Eugenius II. (Lorenzana, *l. c.*; conf. Dahn, v. 198), is a fair indication of the hostility felt towards him in his lifetime by the more ambitious and worldly of the Spanish clergy; yet strange to say in later centuries the king who had done his best to break down the undue influence of the church over the monarchy was venerated as a saint, and legend pointed him out in Philip II.'s time as the founder of the monastery of San Roman on the Douro, and the companion of the apocryphal saints, Roman and Otho (Morales, *Hist. de España*, vi. 158).

Kindasvinth's Legislation.—Kindasvinth's immense services to Visigothic law can hardly be better summed up than in the words of the German historian Dahn: "He with his son Rekesvinth, first of all, by abolition of the Roman law as the breviary of Alaric had codified it for the Romanised population, and by the extension of the Visigothic law to the Romans, established a uniform law of the land for all subjects of the Gothic state. He then carried through a fundamental reform of judicial procedure, and of the law-courts themselves; he compelled the reluctant bishops and priests to present themselves to the secular judge; and breaking through the former close limitations of the county court (*Grafschaftgericht*) he provided for the certain execution of judgments, apart from any extraordinary exercise of the royal prerogative. No fresh laws against the Jews, whom he protected against the effects of older legislation, disgrace his reign, and he is even to be credited with certain humane laws in favour of that most down-trodden and miserable class of the Gothic state, the serfs (Dahn, v. 196; see references to the *Forum Judicum* given in the notes; Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, v. 155).

Kindasvinth, however, is not to be regarded as the author of a special redaction of the Visigothic code. The codification of his laws and of those of older kings was left for the reign of Rekesvinth, by whom a new version of the *Forum Judicum*, embodying all his father's work, with additions of his own, was issued (possibly in 654, Helfferich, *Westgoth. Recht.* p. 181) to the final and formal exclusion of the *Lex Romana*. But Kindasvinth had prepared the way, and provided the material, his was the initiative idea, and his unflinching and energetic rule alone made the execution of it possible to his son. (Helfferich, *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts*, pp. 80–140; conf. also Von Savigny, *Geschichte des Röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, ii. 67, and Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Germanisch-Romanische Civil-process im Mittelalter*, i. 215)

Original Authorities.—Fredegar, *l. c.*; Acts of c. Tol. vii. Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Españ.* ii. 350; Aguirre-Catalani, vii. 420; *Fuero Juzgo*, Madrid Academy edition, 1815; *Chron. Reg. Visig.* and *Chron. et Series Reg. Goth.* apud Arevali, *l. c.*; Isid. Pacensis, *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 280; letters of Braulio, Eugenius, and Tayo, 11 cc.; *Vita Sti. Baboleni*, Bouquet, iii. 569. Coins (eighteen types of Kindasvinth only, five of Kindasvinth and Rekesvinth together) in *Description Générale des Monnaies des Rois Visigoths d'Espagne*, par Alois Heiss, Paris, 1872, p. 118. Two inscriptions, apud Hubner, *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* nos. 24, 175. (The date of the latter inscription is undoubtedly 652 and not 655 as now given.)

(The supposed donation to San Fructuoso's monastery of Compludo, Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr Hisp.* ii. 677, is admittedly spurious; conf. Dahn, v. 198, n. 2. To the general references already given may be added, Lafuente, *Hist. de España*, ii. 418; Ferreras, d'Hermilly, ii. 317.) [M. A. W.]

KINDILA (CHINDILA), king of Gothic Spain from A.D. 636 to 640.

Sources.—Our sources of information for this short reign are very scanty. A mere mention in Fredegar's contemporary chronicle (Bouquet, *Recueil*, &c. ii. 444), two sentences in the *Chronologia et Series Regum Gothorum* (Isid. *Opera*, ed.

Arevali, vii.), a short notice in the 8th-century chronicle of Isidorus Pacensis (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 279), the acts of the fifth and sixth councils of Toledo, and about a dozen coins (*Description Générale des Monnaies des Rois Visigoths d'Espagne*, par Alois Heiss, Paris, 1872, p. 113) are all our material.

By what steps Kindila's election to the Gothic crown was brought about is unknown to us; but the haste, the small numbers, and the anxiously political canons of the fifth council of Toledo, held two months after his accession, seem to shew that his elevation was due to the influence of one party only in the party-ridden Gothic state, and that the early days of his reign were passed in insecurity and amid civil disturbances. His election, to judge from the tone of the chroniclers, was, if not instigated, at least approved and taken advantage of by the church, and he may certainly be ranked among the kings subservient to the hierarchy rather than among the more independent sovereigns, such as SUINTHILA or KINDASVINTH. His accession may be placed about the end of March or beginning of April, 636 (Dahn, v. 190), almost contemporary with the death of the great Isidore of Seville, and towards the end of June the fifth council of Toledo, consisting of twenty-four bishops only, as against the sixty-six bishops of the fourth council in 633, met in the church of St. Leocadia. By far the majority of the twenty-four were bishops of Carthaginensis, headed by their metropolitan Eugenius of Toledo. To these were added a few bishops from Tarraconensis, one from Lusitania, and possibly one from Gallicia or Narbonensis (to which belongs the unknown "sedes Vianensis"?), while there is no signature from the important church province of Baetica. Helfferich suggests that advantage was taken of the presence of a few bishops from other provinces, notably of the famous BRAULIO of Saragossa, in the capital to give the appearance of a national council to what was really a provincial synod of Carthaginensis (*Westgoth. Recht.* p. 80). The fifth council, however, was recognised as "universalis," that is national, by the sixth council (638), and its place among the councils of Toledo has never been seriously disputed (see references to older objections in Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 169). Of its eight canons, one only, the first (*de institutione novarum litaniarum*), is for appearances' sake concerned with ecclesiastical matters. The seven following are levelled against the pressing political dangers of the time. The whole acts of this strange council betray the deep inner sores of the Gothic monarchy, its disunion, lawlessness, and the weakness of the central government. The fourth canon especially may very possibly have been levelled against Kindila's successor, Kindasvinth, whom we know from Fredegar's account (cap. 82) to have been a practised rebel and intriguer before his accession to the throne, and who must have been engaged during Kindila's reign in building up for himself that strong party which ultimately carried him to power in 642.

Eighteen months later the sixth council of Toledo met "in praetorio Toledano (*i. e.* in the capital city, the seat of government) in ecclesiâ Sanctae Leocadiae." By this time Kindila's rule was more firmly established, and fifty-two bishops obeyed the summons to the synod, of which five were the metropolitans of Narbonne, Braga, Toledo, Seville, and Tarragona. Before the proper business of the synod commenced the cause of two rival bishops of Astigi—MARCIANUS and HABENTIUS—was heard in the presence of forty of the assembled bishops, and judgment was given in favour of MARCIANUS. The synod itself promulgated eighteen canons, the nineteenth being merely an *actio gratiarum*. Simony, alienation of church property, violation of penitential or monastic vows, cases in which dispensation from such is to be allowed, the conditions binding on the freedmen attached to the church estates, the legal status of an accuser, emigration to an enemy's country, the respect due to the palatini, or higher nobility, the irrevocable character of ecclesiastical donations—such are the subjects treated by the council. Most of the decrees are repetitions or alterations of earlier canons. In can. 17 eligibility for the office of king is still more closely defined than it had been in the fifth council, which had considered rather the electors than the candidates. Now, however, the bishops of the sixth council lay down plainly, "rege vere defuncto nullus tyrannica praesumptione regnum assumat, nullus sub religionis habitu detonsus aut turpiter decalvatus, aut servilem originem trahens vel extranae gentis homo, *nisi genere Gothus* et moribus dignus provehatur ad apicem regni." (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen* vi., *Verfassungsgeschichte der Westgothen*, p. 538.)

From the ecclesiastical point of view, far the most important canon of the council is the third—*de custodia fidei Judaeorum*—which is probably the foundation of Kindila's reputation for orthodoxy with later Spain. "At last," says the canon, "the inflexible perfidy of the Jews has been somewhat amended" (*i. e.* by the Jew-laws of SISEBUT and his successors). The most excellent and Christian prince, Kindila, is however determined to root out the remains of the Jewish prevarications and superstitions, "nor shall any one be suffered to live in his kingdom who is not a Catholic." The bishops then, with the consent of the *optimates* and *viri illustres* (no signatures of such appear in the MSS.; conf. however, Isid. Pac.), decree that no king shall ascend the throne in future without taking an oath, "inter reliqua conditionum sacramenta" (these sacramenta of the Gothic kings have not, alas! come down to us), not to tolerate Judaism, and not to suffer himself to be moved to favour it by any carelessness or covetousness—"neglectu aut cupiditate." (See Graetz, on the means by which the Jews had till now managed in some degree to elude their persecutors, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 74, 155, 158.) The canon concludes with a confirmation of the Jew-laws of the fourth council of Toledo (cans. 57–66 inclusive, Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 304). By this canon, and the proceedings taken under it (see the *placitum Judaeorum* subscribed by the Jews under Rekesvinth, in which reference is made to a former *placitum* under Ghintila, *Lex Visig.* xii. 2, 16), the Jews were hard pressed, and many were again forced into exile, as they had been under Sisebut. The situation at its worst, however, lasted only till the accession of Kindasvinth, under whose ten years' rule clergy and nobles were alike kept in control, and part of whose policy it was to protect the Jews who had

been the common victims with the monarchy of an ambitious and intolerant hierarchy.

(The whole history of the Jew-laws of the Visigoths has been most ably summed up by Dr. Graetz in a separate Dissertation, *Die Westgothische Gesetzgebung in Betreff der Juden im Seminar-Programm*, 1858.)

Kindila's services to the church were possibly rewarded by the succession in the kingdom of his son Tulga, "petitione patris," in 640 (Fredegar, cap. 82). But the rule of a weak youth was soon swept away by the stormy attack of KINDASVINTH, whose reign represents a reaction from the principles which had prevailed under Sisenand and Kindila. (Dahn, v. 192; Tejada y Ramiro, 318–347; Ferreras, ed. D'Hermilly, ii. 308–315.) [M. A. W.]

KINEARDUS, called by Dempster a Scot, monk and abbat in Gaul with Alcuin; said to have written *Vita Caroli Magni*, l. i.; *Epistolae*, l. i.; *De Translatione et Miraculis SS. Marcellini et Petri Martyrum*, l. i.; *Monita Gabrielis Archangeli, XII. capitulis comprehensa*, l. i. He flourished, A.D. 801. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 414–5; Tanner, *Bibl.* 457.) [J. G.]

KINEDDA, Welsh saint, son of Dinot and nephew of St. Oudoceus. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, Append. Suppl. Notes, p. 6.) [J. G.]

KINEDUS. [KYNEDUS.]

KINOTHUS, king of the Picts, with whom Ethelred king of Northumbria took refuge in 780. (Wend. Fl. H. ann. 780, ed. Coxe.) [C. H.]

KIONITAE. [STYLITAE.]

KIUD (KYUT, CHYUT, Κιτός in the Greek catalogue, CITO in the Latin version of it), catholicos of Armenia, from A.D. 465 to 475 according to the calculation of Langlois. The chief authority for him is Lazarus of Barb (§§ 54, 55, 56) translated by Langlois in his collection of Armenian historians (vol. ii. pp. 320–324). He is briefly noticed in the *Historia Armena* (Galanus, cap. 8) and in the Greek catalogue of Armenian patriarchs (Combefis, *Bibl. Graec. Lat. Patr.* t. ii. p. 289). See also Le Quien (*Or. Christ.* i. 1379), Langlois (*Disc. Prélim.* p. xiii. in vol. ii. of the *Historiens*), and Saint-Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 437). Kiud was a native of a town, the name of which is variously rendered Jotmuds (*Hist. Arm.*), Otmesou-Kiogh (*Laz.*), Atmesu (*Catal.*), in the canton of Vanant, in the province of Ararat. Lazarus describes him (§ 54) as of the province of Daïk and the village of Arahez, very erudite in Armenian learning, and still more in Greek. He is called a disciple of St. Isaac (*Hist. Arm.*), and was one of the school of Mesrob trained in Greek learning. His pontificate occurred under the Persian domination, while Perozes was king of Persia and was vigorously continuing the policy of his father Isdigerd, of supplanting Christianity in Armenia by the magian religion. Kiud's period was a little after the church of his country had received a crushing blow by the deaths of prince Vartan, the catholicos Joseph, and the priest Leontius. He is stated to have removed the seat of the patriarchate to Thevin (*Hist. Arm.*), which Le Quien identifies with Erivan; it had been hitherto fixed at Varshabad. Langlois (p. 320 note) says this removal had been made a little earlier by Mélidé of Manazguerd. Kiud's high character and uncompromising firmness were a powerful support to the suffering Armenian church. For his efforts to recover the princes who had suffered themselves to be perverted, he was summoned before the Persian government and subjected to a menacing examination, the details of which are narrated by Lazarus and reveal a character of dignified mien and unflinching fortitude. He confessed that the Christian religion had had possession of his heart from infancy; he did not deny that he had relations with Greeks, for from Greece came all the learning of his country; Greeks had been the companions of his studies, and the very drapery worn by the Armenians was Greek. Perozes did not venture to take the life of Kiud, but contented himself with forbidding him the exercise of his office. While Kiud remained at the capital he was the object of general veneration to the Christians of those parts, among whom he ordained some bishops and several presbyters, while the very pagans solicited his prayers in their maladies. He at length returned honourably to Armenia, where he spent the rest of a long life in peace, and at his death was buried with his father in his native place. [L. D. & G. T. S.]

KIRIANIS, a bishop in Cyprus, one of those to whom the Paschal letter of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, in condemnation of Origenism, was addressed in the year 400. See Jerome's translation of the letter (*Ep.* 92, ed. Vall.). [W. H. F.]

KIRIANUS, bishop, commemorated March 5 in Dempster, *Men. Scot.* [CIARAN (4).] [J. G.]

KIRITINUS (QUERETINUS, KIRSTINUS, KYRINUS) occupies an important place in Scotch hagiography, as probably forming the connecting link in identifying St. Bonifacius of Rosemarky with the Irish Curitan of Ros-Meinn. In the Scotch kalendars and *Brev. Aberd.* we have uniformly Bonifacius bishop of Ross at March 16, and in the latter his legend at length. [BONIFACIUS QUERETINUS.] But from whatever source Boethius (*Scot. Hist.* l. iv. ff. 172–3; Bellender's *Boece B.* ix. c. 18, f. 124) gives the additional name Queritinus, and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mar. 16, t. ii. (449) 444) present an historical synopsis of Bonifacius Albanus Kiritinus, bishop in Scotland. Apparently from this foundation Dean Reeves (*Culdees*, pt. iii. § 5, p. 45) and Dr. Skene (*Celt. Scot.* i. 277 sq. ii. 230 sq.) have sought to identify this Scotch Bonifacius with the Curitan bishop of Ros-Meinn in *Mart. Doneg.* March 16, who in *Mart. Tallaght.* and in Marian O'Gorman is called Curitan epscoip ocus abb Ruis mic Bairend: by assuming the place to be really named Ros, mBairchinn, Curitan is bishop and abbat of Rosmarkyn, or Rosemarky. [CURITAN (1).] On this identification Dr. Skene proceeds to interpret the legend of St. Bonifacius as of a special mission from the south of Ireland. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. 140.) [J. G.]

KLEDWYN (CLEDWYN, CLYDWYN), son of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and at first a soldier. He is said to have conquered South Wales, but this may only be that he established his power over the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Scottish Picts, who were left in Carmarthen and Pembroke. Perhaps he succeeded his father in the government of part of Brecknock, and may afterwards have devoted himself to religion. His feast is Nov. 1, and his dedication Llanglydwen, Carmarthenshire. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 32; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 140, 141; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 76.) [J. G.]

KOLMAN, KOLMON (GOLMAN), Irish saint in Wales in the 5th century, patron of Llangolman, subject to Maenclochog, and of Capel Colman, subject to Llanfihangel Penbedw, both in Pembrokeshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 190.) [J. G.]

KTENOLATRAE (κτηνολάτραι, a name given by the Julianists to their opponents. (Nicetas Chon. *Thes. Orth. Fid.* lib. ix. cap. 10 in *Pat. Gr.* cxl. 48 B.) [T. W. D.]

KTISTOLATRAE. [APHTHARTODOCETAE.]

KYFLEFYR (CYFLEFYR), called in the *Achan Saint*, son of Brychan; and in the *Cognatio*, son of Dingerd, and grandson of Brychan: said to have been martyred at Merthyr Cyflefyr, but everything is uncertain. (See Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 141, for references, and a discussion on his place, &c.; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 35.) [J. G.]

KYMORTH (CYMORTH), Welsh saint in Emlyn, perhaps also called Corth, and wife of Brynach Wyddel. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 35; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 150, 157; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 50, 89.) [J. G.]

KYNEDUS, ST. (KENEDUS), said to have been born in Brittany, and to have come to Wales in the time of St. David. (Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, 205; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 160; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 84; and see KENET.) [C. W. B.]

KYNIGYTHA (KINIGITHE), queen of Kent, mentioned in a doubtful charter of Wihtred king of Kent, dated July 17, 694 (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 37). In another of Wihtred's charters, July, 696, and some later ones (*C. D.* 41, 42, 43, 47) the queen is Aedilburga (cf. Lappenberg, *Hist. Engl.* i. 285, ed. Thorpe). Kynigytha does not occur in the genealogies of Florence (*M. H. B.* 627). [C. H.]

KYNWAS, son of Caw, not given by Rees (*Welsh Saints*), but is in Jones's list. (*Welsh Bards*, ii. 22; Lady Ch. Guest, *Mabinogion*, ii. 260.) [J. G.]

L

LABAN, ninth archbishop of Elusa, present at the fourth council of Paris, in A.D. 573, and represented at the second of Mâcon, in 585. In this latter year he died. (Mansi, ix. 867, 958; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 22; *Gall. Ch.* i. 970.) [S. A. B.]

LABDACUS, a Persian with whom Terbinthus disputed concerning dualism. (Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 3.) [G. T. S.]

LABES. [HYSTEREMA.]

LABU, one of the chief citizens of Edessa who embraced Christianity after the example of Sharbil in the reign of Trajan. (Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Docum.* p. 45.) [C. H.]

LABUBNA, a royal scribe or historiographer of Edessa in the reign of Abgar, at whose command he entered in the records the work entitled *The Doctrine of Addaeus the Apostle*, at the conclusion of which the fact is stated, and he is called the son of Senac the son of Ebedshaddai (translation in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 23 and note p. 166). He is mentioned by Moses of Choren (lib. ii. cap. 36) as having made a collection of all the transactions of the time of Abgar and Sanadroug depositing them in the archives of Edessa. In the translation of Langlois (*Historiens de l'Arménie*, t. ii. p. 99) the name in this place is given as Léroubna the son of the scribe Apechatar, but Langlois in his note prefers Cureton's rendering of the names. In Le Vaillant's version it is Ghéroupna son of the writer Apchatar; in Cappelletti's, Lerubnase son of the chancellor Afsadare. In an Armenian historical work translated by M. Brosset (in *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1869, no. 5, p. 25) he appears as Ghéroubna and heads chronologically a list of Armenian authors. [G. T. S.]

LABYOLUS (LABIOLUS, LAYBOLUS, LAYBLINUS, UBYOLUS, UBELINUS), twelfth bishop of Strasbourg, between Magnebertus, and Gondoaldus, perhaps towards the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 780.) [S. A. B.]

LACERIANUS, bishop. [LASERIAN.]

LACHINUS, Irish saint. [MOLAGGA.]

LACHNINUS (LACHNAN), Irish saint, contemporary with St. Declan, and having his cell near Lismore, co. Waterford (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 335, Ind. Chron. A.D. 364; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, ii. c. 79, p. 292; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 601 (rectè 511), c. 3, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 370). [DECLAN (2).] Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 1, § 12) would identify him with St. Lactin or Lacteanus, contemporary of St. Senan in the 6th century. [J. G.]

LACHTAIN, LACHTAN, LACHTNAN (LACHTEAN, LACHTEN, LACHTIN, LACTOCUS,

LAICHTEIN, LAICHTEN, MOLACTOCUS), abbat, perhaps bishop, of Achadh-úr, commemorated March 19. There is no ancient *Life of St. Lachtain* extant. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 655 sq. March 19) has compiled an account; the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 19 Mar. iii. (31) 32–4) give a fragment of a Life and closely follow Colgan; but much of it rests upon supposition.

Lachtain, usually classed among the saints of Leinster, was a native of Muskerry, co. Cork, and descended from Conaire, son of Moghlamha monarch of Ireland. He was educated under St. Comgall at Bangor, and has his name associated with many Irish saints, as Mochaemog of Liathmore, Carthach of Rahen and Lismore, Molua of Clonfert, Senan of Iniscathey, and Finnbhar of Inis-doimble. From Bangor he proceeded to Achadh-úr (ager viridis seu mollis, *Vit. S. Moch.* c. 11), now Freshford in Ossory, co. Kilkenny, and founded his monastery. The fine old church at Freshford now occupies the site of St. Lachtain's foundation, but itself belongs to the close of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. He also built a church at Bealach Feabhrat (*Mart. Doneg.*) or Bealach-abhra, now probably Ballagharay or Ballaghawry, a townland in the parish of Kilbolane, bar. Orrery, co. Cork (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 244–5 n. [r]), and is said to have had another at Lis-Lachtin in the north of Kerry, but Lanigan thinks the Lachtain of Lis-Lachtin and the friend of St. Senan was a different person from the present saint; so also was the successor of St. Molua, though Colgan tries to have them regarded as the same. Whether he was a bishop or not is uncertain, but he is often called such in the Hagiologies. Cumin of Connor (Kelly, *Cat. Ir. SS.* 169; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 180 n., 181) represents Lachtain as a strenuous champion of the men of Munster, but that may be the Lachtain in Kerry, though by some said to be the saint of Achadh-úr. The *Four Masters* give the obit of "St. Lachtnain, son of Torben, abbat of Achadh-Ur," at A.D. 622, but the generally more accurate *Ann. Tig.* at A.D. 627, corrected by Dr. Skene (*Chron. Picts and Scots*, 69) to A.D. 625. He has only one feast, March 19, and Colgan mentions a holy well at Liosnasciath in the diocese of Cashel, which was much frequented for healing. A famous relic, of probably 12th century workmanship, is the shrine of St. Lachtain's arm and hand, which is similar in character to the "Hand of St. Patrick," and belongs to about the same date, A.D. 1121, which has (1878) been for many years in the possession of the family of A. Fountaine, Esq., of Narford Hall, near Swaffham, Norfolk. It is probably the "Arm of St. Lachteen," which is mentioned by Smith (*Hist. Cork*, i. 84) as preserved at Donoghmore, co. Cork, and used for swearing. (*Ulst. Journ. Arch.* ii. 215; for this and others of the same character and date, *ibid.* ii. 207 sq.; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* v. 461 sq.; *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xxiv. 450, Antiq.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xii. 144 n., 155 sq.) [J. G.]

LACHTAN (1) (LACTAN, LACTEAN), pupil and successor of St. Molua in the abbacy at Clonfert-mulloe, Queen's County (*Vit. S. Dag.* c. 7). At Clonfert he was the instructor of St. Laidcenn his successor there (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 57 a, 58 n. [3], 585, c. 7, 656, c. 5). He is identified with Lachtain of Achadh-úr, but probably without sufficient reason, though he must have lived about the same time. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 7, iii. c. 17, § 5, n. [66]; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 93.) [J. G.]

LACHTAN (2) (LACTANUS, LACTANTIUS), disciple of St. Fursey the abbat of Lagny, and companion in his missionary labours in Gaul. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 96, c. 6, 291, c. 12, 299 n. [12]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 462; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 262, 285.) [J. G.]

LACHTAN (3) (LACTEANUS), friend and neighbour of St. Senan of Iniscathey, and mentioned in the *Vita S. Senani* (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 525, c. 14). He lived at Lislachtin in the north of Kerry in the 6th century, and probably was different from Lachtain of Achadh-úr (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 180 n., 181, June 26). If he was the Lachnin, Lactninus, or Lactin among St. Declan's disciples he lived later, though Colgan (*Ib.* Ind. Chron.) would place him at A.D. 370. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 1, § 12, iii. p. 27; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 251 b.) [J. G.]

LACTANTIUS (1), LUCIUS CAELIUS (or CAECILIUS) FIRMIANUS, a well-known Christian apologist of the beginning of the 4th century: "Rhetor erat ille, non theologus: neque inter ecclesiae doctores locum unquam obtinuit," as bishop Bull says of him more than once (*Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 14, 4; and iii. 10, 20). From his name, Firmianus, it has been inferred by some that he was born at Fermo (Firmum, or Firmium) in Italy, but nothing that we know of him bears out this inference. Besides, in St. Augustine, "bellum Firmianum" and "Donatistae Firmiani" were phrases founded, not on Italian topography, but African history, like Sempronianus and Aemilianus on Roman. And there were no less than five Firmuses in Africa known to St. Augustine himself. Again, one of the bosom friends of Lactantius, and to whom his treatises, *De Irâ Dei* and *De Morte Pers.*, are inscribed, was Donatus, another name celebrated in African history, if he was no more than a namesake, which we shall discuss presently. Again, Lactantius himself, in enumerating the Christian apologists that had preceded him, seems only conscious of three—Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian—but this is explained at once by supposing that he limits himself to his countrymen, viz. African apologists. We shall consider what St. Jerome says of his relations to Arnobius further on. Again, there is his style, which resembles, though it is superior, on account of his superior learning, to theirs. Lastly, St. Jerome mentions an *Itinerary* written by him, in hexameter verse, of his route from Africa to Nicomedia, as though he were then leaving home for the first time. We have thus in the African church what has been handed down to us from no other country, a regular catena, beginning with Minucius Felix and Tertullian, of learned advocates or rhetoricians, men of the world, who embraced Christianity from conviction—"nos qui sumus ex gentibus," as Lactantius says of himself (*Epit.* c. 48), and of his Divine Teacher, "Quo docente, liberati ab errore, quo implicati tenebamur, formatique ad veri Dei cultum, justitiam disceremus" (*De Irâ Dei*, c. 2)—and wrote vigorously

in its defence, to culminate with St. Augustine: each employing Latin with all the freedom of a vernacular, and in the case of Lactantius with so much purity as to have procured for him to be called the Christian Cicero; while Italy, so far as Christian apologists are concerned, never once opened her mouth; and till St. Ambrose, who was a layman and a magistrate when chosen bishop, exhibited no greater turn for theology. Divines and men of letters, as well as emperors, had to be sought out in the provinces. In all his empire Constantine could find no better preceptor for his eldest son Crispus, then destined to succeed him at Rome, than this African Latin. This brought him to Gaul about A.D. 313, which is the first date that we can fix in his career on any tangible grounds. He had previously been invited to set up a school of rhetoric at Nicomedia, the old capital of the kings of Bithynia, and deriving its name from the first of them, when Diocletian selected it as his capital, and aspired to render it as superior in literary distinction and civic embellishments, as it was in natural beauty, to Rome. There, doubtless, he was converted on witnessing the superhuman constancy displayed by the Christians of that city, and of his "best beloved" Donatus in particular, on whose sufferings he dwells with so much tenderness (*De Morte Persecut.* c. 16, 35, and 52), in the tenth and savagest persecution under Diocletian. Donatus, he tells us himself, had lain in prison no less than six years when the edict of Galerius, published A.D. 311, procured his release. Now, could it have been this very Donatus, who was afterwards put forward in opposition to Caecilian for the see of Carthage by his sturdy countrymen, misled into believing that Caecilian had been ordained by "traditores," whereas Donatus had been a martyr in will? Authorities, ancient and modern, are both at issue with themselves, and with each other, as to when Donatus, who was called "Magnus," first appeared on the scene, some dating his election to the see of Carthage as many years before, as others after, the Nicene council. St. Augustine tells us himself frankly that he had been of the former opinion, which, however, in abandoning he merely represents the latter as the *more probable* of the two (Albasp. in *S. Opt. Observ.* iii.). Taking Clinton for our guide on the following points, we may perhaps elicit more light from them than he succeeded in eliciting for himself. A.D. 317, Crispus was, according to him, appointed Caesar, being then a young man. He must have finished, therefore, studying under Lactantius by then. Yet he could not well have commenced earlier than the joint edict of his father and Licinius in favour of the Christians, as Lactantius would seem from his own expressions to have been at Nicomedia when it was issued (*De Morte Persecut.* c. 48). His friend Donatus, the "Confessor," had been let out of prison three years before by that of Galerius, as we have seen. And if he was an African, as his name would suggest, and his intimacy with Lactantius also confirm, he would naturally return home with speed on his release, where he would be welcomed with open arms, and distinguished as "Magnus" from all other Donatuses for his glorious confessorship, and thus be just the man to set up, and himself to join, in opposition to Caecilian, whose consecrators were reported to have failed in that respect. Just two years after, the council of Rome was held in the autumn of A.D. 313, at which the case between Caecilian and *a* Donatus was heard, three bishops from Gaul assisting, at the express petition of the party supporting the latter. What led to such a petition from them? Whatever other reasons may have been given, if this Donatus was really the beloved friend of Lactantius, it would have been only natural, Lactantius having just gone to Gaul as tutor to the heir of Constantine, sent thither, it may be, from Nicomedia by Licinius himself. True, St. Jerome says in his *Chronicon*, A.D. 331: "Donatus agnoscitur, a quo per Africam Donatiani;" and again, A.D. 358: "Donatus, a quo Donatianos in Africâ dici memoravimus, Carthagine pellitur;" but nobody doubts the Donatists having got their name before A.D. 331. And what we want to know now is who the Donatus was who competed for the see of Carthage with Caecilian at Rome, in the council described by St. Optatus (*de Schism. Don.* i. 22–26), and commonly dated A.D. 313, for it is monstrous to suppose that any Donatus who was already bishop of another see, could have done this unchallenged. A new comer, on the other hand, like Lactantius, might easily fail in securing the good offices of the bishops of Gaul for a friend of his, a foreigner himself, and "in extreme old age" then, as we learn from St. Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* c. 80). Even as a writer, Lactantius would seem to have confined himself in his leisure moments to revising, epitomising, or making additions to his already published works, subsequently to his arrival in Gaul, where, in the opinion of the learned, he died perhaps the year before his pupil was slain; that is, in the year of the Nicene council, A.D. 325. To judge from his writings that have come down to us, his character must have been cast in a somewhat austere mould; it may be, soured by failures, as he had, undoubtedly, no mean estimate of his own powers (*de Opif. Dei*, c.1; *Inst.* v. 1-4): a man of few and warm, rather than of many friends; thoughtful as well as learned, conscientious and pure. Eusebius (*Chron.* A.D. 319) speaks of him as having never been otherwise than poor—so poor, as frequently to have been in want of the necessaries of life. St. Jerome, whether commenting on this or not, says it was his ill-success in getting pupils at Nicomedia, from its being a Greek city, that induced him to write. Perhaps his writings, therefore, were not a greater source of profit to him than his pupils. Of these St. Jerome has furnished a list, but whether in the order in which they were published or not he omits to say. The first named by him is his *Symposium*, which he calls a youthful performance; the second is his *Itinerary*, before mentioned; the third, a work entitled *The Grammarian*. Then comes the well-known treatise *De Irâ Dei*, still amongst his extant works, and which St. Jerome calls *pulcherrimum;* next, his *Institutions*, in seven books, extant also, the work on which his fame principally rests; next, his own epitome of the same work, *In Libro uno acephalo;* that is, "a compendium of the last three books only," as Cave explains it: but the first half was claimed by Pfaff to have been recovered A.D. 1712 from a Turin MS., and its genuineness, though disputed, is still maintained. He speaks in it at

starting of his larger work—"quos *jampridem* ad illustrandam veritatem religionemque conscripsimus"—just as we might expect. The seventh work enumerated by St. Jerome was in two books, addressed to Asclepiades, who had addressed one to him, from which he quotes a remarkable passage on the providence of God himself (*Inst.* vii. 4), but both are now lost. The eighth, which had disappeared also, was claimed by Baluze, as another recovery from MSS. earlier indeed than that of Pfaff, and published by him A.D. 1679 at the commencement of his second book of *Miscellanies*, but with the title *Liber ad Donatum Confessorem de Mortibus Persecutorum*, instead of *De Persecutione Liber unus*, which is that of St. Jerome. Judged by its contents, the first is the more accurate title; nor can the identity between the "Donate carissime" of its first chapter and the "Donate carissime" of chapter twenty-two of the treatise *De Irâ Dei*, serve but to prove that both were addressed to the same person. Yet the genuineness even of this work is sometimes called in question, but it has been admitted practically by all his editors, from Baluze to Fritzsche. His four books of letters to Probus, two more to Severus, and two more to his pupil Demetrian, which St. Jerome regards as eight consecutive books in another place (in Gal. ii. 4), might have settled many more points in his history, were they now extant, than the twelfth and last work assigned to him by St. Jerome, *de Opificio Dei, vel Formatione Hominis*, inscribed to the same pupil, Demetrian, as his letters. Yet from the first chapter of this tract alone we may infer how warmly he could become attached to his pupils, and how soundly he could advise them; while from its last chapter we should be justified in concluding that, though it was written after his conversion, he was only then meditating his *Institutions*. We have thus a chronological catena to his extant works supplied by himself, of which this is the first link. His *Institutions* probably followed at no great interval, as he hints himself (*Inst.* v. 2), having all the materials for them at his fingers' end, and being impressed with their need. In the eighteenth chapter of the second book of his *Institutions* he announces his intention of writing *on the Anger of God* in a special work. This, again, consisting of only twenty-three chapters, need not have taken him long. There was a lapse of some time between the publication of his *Institutions* and their *Epitome*, as has been already pointed out. The tract *De Morte Persecutorum* ends with the joint edict of Licinius and Constantine, published at Nicomedia by the former, A.D. 313, at which the author lays down his pen in celebrating the triumph of God, with thankful joy, and prayers day and night for its continuance. He could not have written thus after the differences between Licinius and Constantine had commenced, and the former joined the ranks of the persecutors; he may therefore be well thought to have published it as he was in the act of shifting his own quarters from Nicomedia to Gaul. The precise date of his tract, *De Opificio Dei*, remains to be considered. Its first chapter at a glance shews it to have been written after his conversion; and the same chapter, more attentively studied, makes it probable that he had only just turned. "Quam minime sim quietus, et in summis necessitatibus," with which it opens, are just the words that might be supposed to have been wrung from a recent convert in a heathen capital, where Christians were having to choose daily between death and the faith he had embraced, and his old pupils were falling off one by one on learning what he had become. Demetrian, it is evident, had been among the first to follow his master, yet it is in a very cautious and subdued tone that his master ventures to remind him that, even amidst public duties, "fieri non potest quin subinde in coelum respiciat mens sibi conscia recti . . ." It is in keeping also with this that he characterises Christian writers as "the philosophers of our sect," and elsewhere refrains from any more definite reference to the sect of which he speaks. Accordingly, supposing Lactantius to have been converted, about midway in the persecution under Diocletian at Nicomedia, to have been forsaken by his pupils on that account, and then betaken himself to writing, *penuriâ discipulorum*, as St. Jerome says, though not for the reason assigned by him, there would have been abundance of time for him to have composed all his extant works during the remainder of his abode there, with the exception of his *Epitome*. His *Epitome*, then, and the confessedly later insertions in his *Institutions*, such as his appeals to Constantine (i. 1, ii. 1, vii. 26), his mention of the Arians, and of the Catholic church, his promise of a separate work on heresies (iv. 30), which it would seem he never fulfilled, would all naturally fall within the period of his removal to Gaul, and tutorship to the heir apparent, to whom he could have scarce failed to have dedicated any fresh work, had any such ever proceeded from his pen. Of his lost works, we may conclude, from the references made by others to his correspondence with Probus, that it turned upon metres, and from the reference made by St. Jerome to his correspondence with Demetrian, that it included theology. Of these, the first, like the work called *The Grammarian*, may well have been written before his conversion, and the second have grown out of the dedication to his pupil of the work *De Opificio Dei*. The 'Phoenix,' and other poems that have been assigned to him, not being recognised by St. Jerome, are not generally considered his, though he is credited by St. Jerome with having composed in verse, and by others with having written on metres. There is just one more point connected with his personal history which had best be discussed here. Was he the pupil or hearer of Arnobius in his younger days that St. Jerome makes him in one place (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 80), or contemporary with Arnobius, as we might infer from another (*Chron.* A.D. 326)? To judge from their respective works there is nothing literally to connect them with each other, though the mere fact of each having written a work in seven books against the adversaries of their common faith, without noticing the other, might suggest their having been rivals, if personally acquainted. But, with the end of his third book, Lactantius parts company from his supposed model, and goes off upon other lines of his own, as we shall see. Further, at the commencement of his fifth book, in specifying *ex iis qui mihi noti sunt* (c. 1), those who had written against the assailants of Christianity, and exposed their errors, previously to himself, he comes to a standstill after naming Minucius

Felix, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian, all Africans, when it would have been inexcusable in him to have passed over the work of Arnobius, had it then been published, and doubly inexcusable had Arnobius, besides being an African, been his old preceptor too. Discarding this last hypothesis, therefore, we prefer following St. Jerome in his continuation of Eusebius, and making Lactantius and Arnobius independent of each other: Lactantius possibly the older of the two. Eusebius, it is to be observed, finds a place for Lactantius in his *Chronicon*, but none for his supposed master. Both the supposed master, again, and his pupil make Christianity 300 years old, but the first when he penned his principal work (i. 13), the second when he epitomised his principal work (c. 43) that had been published long since. If the work of Arnobius appeared when Lactantius was settled in Gaul, and in extreme old age, neither need have known anything of the other's work, as each work would alone suggest. The work of Arnobius is entirely limited to a refutation of the polytheism of the day, and the popular objections to Christianity, that is, it is elenchtic throughout; the work of Lactantius, like the *City of God* by St. Augustine, where, by the way, Lactantius himself is honourably and approvingly cited (xviii. 23), divides itself into two parts, the first of which exposes the false religions, antagonistic to the true; the second expounds the true. It has been too often analysed to require that to be done for it now: by Cave briefly (*Hist. Lit.* i. 162), by Le Nourry thoroughly (ap. Migne, Patrol. vi. 825), by Dupin, who may be read in English, with his accustomed vivacity (*Eccl. H.* vol. i. 185–7, Eng. Tr. by W. W.), and by Rev. J. H. B. Mountain forty years ago (*Summary of the Writings of Lactantius*, i. 129), who dedicates his portable volume to the late bishop Kaye. Or it may be read at full length translated, with notes, in the Ante-Nicene Library by Messrs. Clark. Of his other works it may be said that the tract *De Opificio Dei* may challenge comparison with Cicero's *De Naturâ Deorum* in point of style, and is far superior to it in depth and originality. The tract *De Irâ Dei*, directed against the Epicureans and Stoics, has for its object to prove that God is as capable of anger as of compassion and mercy. The tract *De Morte Persecutorum* is a collection of historical facts, tending to shew that all the emperors who persecuted the Christians died miserably, and may, for its moral, be compared with Spelman's *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* of our own times.

Objections have been taken to the style of this last work, and to the matter here and there of the others. It may be granted that Lactantius falls off in style when he relates how those who suffered for the faith were avenged: but this is explained by the simple fact that it is as a dialectician and philosopher that he shines most, and least whenever he touches history. Perhaps, too, this tract was a hurried performance, never afterwards revised. As for his theology, the same indulgence should be shewn him that all breakers of new ground may claim. Tertullian, again, was the model that he looked up to most: and no writer had as yet eclipsed Origen. We cannot read his account of the origin of all things (*Inst.* ii. 9) without being reminded of the speeches of Raphael and Abdiel in *Paradise Lost* (v. 577 and 808). We cannot read his latest exposition of the Incarnation (*Epit.* c. 43), without discovering in it some well-known phrases of the Athanasian creed. "Lest by chance there should be any doubt in your mind," he says, "why we call Him Jesus Christ, who was born of God before the world, and who was born of man 300 years ago, I will briefly explain to you the reason. The same person is the son of God and of man, for He was twice born: first of God in the Spirit before the origin of the world; and afterwards in the flesh of man, in the reign of Augustus." St. Jerome charges Rufinus with a downright lie, for making Lactantius responsible for the opinions of Tertullian about the soul (*c. Ruf.* ii. 8 and 11, also iii. 30). Elsewhere, characterising him as a "flood of Tullian eloquence" himself, he adds "utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit" (Ep. lviii. 10 *ad Paulinum*). Yet the only positive error that he attributes to him "occurs most" in a work now lost, and refers to a single subject, viz. that of the Holy Ghost, and he refuses peremptorily to be debarred reading his *Institutions* on this account, as though he judged his language to be more at fault than his faith (Ep. lxxxiv. 7, *ad Pam. et Ocean.*, and in Gal. ii. 4, 6. Comp. Ep. lxii. 2, *ad Tranquill.*, and *Praef. in Ep. ad Eph.*). St. Augustine names him but once, and then with respect, as has been already said. Dupin sums up very justly for him, after having expatiated on his many merits, as follows: "He is accused of doubting whether the Holy Ghost was the third Person, and to have sometimes confounded him with the Son, and sometimes with the Father; but it may be alleged in his defence, that he meant nothing else, but that the name of the Spirit in Scripture is common to the Father and the Son. But whatever the matter is, we find no footsteps of this error in any of his works, what are now remaining; though in some places he takes occasion to speak of the Holy Ghost. He seems to be of opinion that the Word was generated in time; but it is an easy matter to give a Catholic sense to that expression, as we have seen it done to others: and we may be with justice allowed to do so, since he plainly establishes the Divinity of the Word in that very place. His opinion concerning angels—that, being sent to guard and protect men, they were afterward seduced by the temptation of the devil, and that falling in love with women, they begot terrestrial demons upon them, as it is properly peculiar to him, so it is an erroneous imagination without any grounds to support it. What he says about the end of the world, the reign of 1000 years, the fire of judgment which will prove men that have been sinners, is common to him with divers other authors, as also what he delivers about the state of the soul after death, being kept in a common prison, in expectation of the day of judgment, pretending that God created them all before the creation of the world. I take no notice of several errors of less consequence, and some harsh expressions, which may be interpreted in a favourable sense." Le Nourry says some critics judged so harshly of him "ut vix unquam alius scriptor tam saepe in tam paucis libris errasse videatur." This opinion, however, he was far from sharing himself, "at saltem Gelasius primus," he adds, "inquiet aliquis, in concilio

Romano opera Lactantii cum aliis, quae catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia non recipit, his rejecit verbis: *opuscula Lactantii apocrypha*. At plures olim dubitaverunt utrum ea verba genuina germanaque sint. . . . Non minus compertum habemus hoc Gelasii papae decreto plura veterum ecclesiae Patrum, uti Tertulliani, Eusebii Pamphili, et aliorum scripta, tamquam apocrypha amandari, quae nihilominus sana et orthodoxa esse omnes ultro fatentur" (Diss. c. iii. art. 4); the real fact being that this council is itself apocryphal. (DICT. OF CHRIST. ANT., art. Roman Councils.) Dufresnoy says lastly: "Quamvis religionem sincere et candide coluerit Lactantius, non diffiteor tamen, eum quibusdam obstrictum fuisse erroribus" (*Praef. ad Lact.* § 10). He adds: 1. A synthesis of his doctrine; 2. A critique on his errors from a Paris MS.; 3. A list of propositions found in his writings to be read with caution (ap. Migne, Patrol. vi. 82–94).

As to MSS. and printed editions of his works, they have this in common, that they both mark a revival of literature, and attest the estimation in which he was held at each epoch. The MSS., which are very numerous, range mostly between the 13th and the 15th centuries, while the earliest all belong to the 9th; printed editions between the 15th and the 17th. "Dufresnoy," says Dr. Mountain (Introd. p. 1, note), "enumerates no less than eighty-six editions of his entire works, besides the separate editions of his different treatises, from A.D. 1461 to 1739." He has also tabulated all the known MSS. of them, which fill about eight of his ample pages. His own edition, which appeared in A.D. 1748, having been commenced by Le Brun, is in 2 vols. quarto, and contains a collection of notes by learned editors besides his own. The Bipontine edition, which appeared in 2 vols. octavo, A.D. 1786, commences with a "notitia literaria," but has no notes. The 6th vol. of the Latin Patrologia by Migne contains everything worth culling from previous editions. The translation in the Ante-Nicene Library by Messrs. Clark has been already noticed. A convenient, and probably the latest recension of the text will be found in vols. x.-xi. of the *Bibl. Pat. Eccl. Lat.* by Gersdorf, octavo, Leipsic, 1842. Montfaucon (*Decr. Ital.* p. 409) was of opinion that the library of St. Saviour at Bologna contained a MS. of the works of Lactantius as old as the 6th or 7th century, and exhibits facsimiles of its letters both Greek and Latin. Dufresnoy, on the other hand, judging from those specimens, assigns it, but without having seen it, to the 9th. Montfaucon adds: "Vellem sane Lactantium ad hujusmodi codicem emendatum: ejus quippe nullus, ut aestimo, hactenus fuit usus." As this was not done by Dufresnoy, it has probably still to be done; so that, if we may trust Montfaucon, the best edition of Lactantius, after all that has been written on him, is perhaps a thing of the future. For further particulars respecting him and his works, see besides Cave, Du Pin, and other authorities already cited, Le Nourry (*Apparat. ad Bibl. Max. Vet. Pat.* tom. ii. diss. 3), Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat.* lib. xi.), Oudin (*de Script. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 307), Lardner (*Cred.* part ii. b. i. c. 65), Schramm (*Anal. Op. SS. Pat.* vol. vii. p. 250), Fessler (*Inst. Patrol.* vol. i. p. 328), *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* vol. xxviii. p. 611.

[E. S. Ff.]

LACTANTIUS (2), a priest, who visited the holy places of Gaul, and was the bearer of a letter from St. Nicetius of Trèves to the emperor Justinian. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 380; Ceillier, *Hist. générale des Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 204.)

[S. A. B.]

LADEMUND, a pre-historic abbat of Glastonbury, standing fourth in the list given by William of Malmesbury (*Antt. Glaston.* ed. Gale, iii. p. 328). His name was known to the historian only by the fact that it was painted up near the altar (*ib.* p. 308). [S.]

LADOCA, ST., the patron saint of the church of Ladock, near Truro in Cornwall. He was probably Irish. W. C. Borlase however (*The Age of the Saints*, 1878, p. 8) suggests that the name may be Docus, a form of Cadocus. [C. W. B.]

LAEBHAN (LAOBHAN, LEBAN, LIBAN, LOEBHAN), smith to St. Patrick (*Four Mast.* A.D. 448), and probably the founder of Domnach-Loebhain or Kill-Loebhan, which is said by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 188, n. [129]) to have been in the diocese of Clonfert, and is now evidently (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 137 n. [e]) Killian, in the barony of Killian, co. Galway. In Evinus's *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (c. 98, ap. Colgan, *ibid.* 167, c. 98) Maccectus (Macecht) and Fortchernus are his "duo fabri ferrarii," and the former is "de Domnach-loebain." In the Kalendars there are Laebhan or Leabanus of Cill-mor at Aug. 9, and Laebhan or Leban of Ath-Eguis at June 1. (*Mart. Doneg.*; *Mart. Tall.*) [J. G.]

LAEGHAIRE (1), of Dun, perhaps Downpatrick in Ulster. He is given among the sons of Trichem and brothers of DICHU (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 114 n. [1]), but is not to be found in the usual lists. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 61, c. 2, 307, c. 2, and *Tr. Thaum.* 100 (rectè 110) n. [33].) [J. G.]

LAEGHAIRE (2) (LAGERIE, LAOGAIRE, LOGIORE, LOGUIRE, LOIGAIRE, phonetically LEARY), monarch of Ireland, was the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and succeeded Dathi, son of Fiachra Foltathanach, who was the last undoubtedly pagan king of Ireland, and is said to have been slain by a thunderbolt at the foot of the Alps in the year 428. Laeghaire married Aengus, daughter of a general, and had by her Lugaidh, who also became monarch of Ireland. He lived at Tara in the county of Meath, and the chief secular events of his reign appear to have been quarrels with the people of Leinster, his chief opponent there being Crimthan, son of Enna Censealach. But in the fifth year of his reign a new and unwarlike force invaded his kingdom. St. Patrick had spent the winter in the counties of Down and Antrim, and in the spring determined to hold his Easter festival in the neighbourhood of Laeghaire's palace. The monarch gave the Christian apostle no words or acts of welcome. Surrounded by his nobles who had assembled on affairs of state or to celebrate the pagan feast of Bealtinne, and also by his Druid priests, he saw with wonder and rage the distant light of the Christian paschal fire which was to quench the lights of heathendom, and rode over in force to Ferta-fer-Feic to expel the daring intruder upon the national religion and

laws. But mollified by the stranger's address, or frightened by his words of power, he allowed the Christian mission to be established, and may himself have been induced to regard its message with a certain amount of favour; we can hardly believe that he continued an obstinate persecutor while such progress was made in the spread of the Gospel around him and in his own family, or was ever a zealous convert or more than an external conformist. His queen may perhaps have become obedient to the faith, as his two daughters, Fedhelm the ruddy and Eithne the fair, were certainly converted and numbered among the saints [EITHNE (2)]. Several of his descendants (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 173) are beatified. (*Vitae S. Patricii*, ap. Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* pass.; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 5; Moore, *Hist. Ir.* i. c. 10; O'Hanlon, *Ir. Saints*, i. 163 sq.; Nennius, *Hist.* c. 59, ap. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pt. ii. 72; Todd, *St. Patrick*, pass.; Keating, *Gen. Hist. Ir.* B. ii. pp. 325 sq.)

It is related that under his auspices a solemn assembly was held at Tara for examining the ancient annals and laws, and that a committee of nine was appointed to carry out the work. The body of laws thus revised is called the Seanchus Mór. But insuperable difficulties traverse this legendary account, and Dr. Petrie (*Tara Hill*, pass.), discussing the whole question with his usual learning and accuracy, arrives at the conclusion that the Seanchus Mor does not belong to the period of Laeghaire and St. Patrick, yet must have been compiled soon after the establishment of Christianity in Ireland. [SEANCHUS MOR, Dr. Wm. Smith and Prof. Cheetham, DICT. CHRIST. ANT. ii.] (*Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xviii.; *Ancient Laws of Ireland, Seanchus Mor*, pass. Dubl. 1865; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 7, § 15; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 483; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 132–4 n. [1]; Keating, *Gen. Hist. Ir.* B. ii. p. 340; Wills, *Ill. Irish*, i. 59, 60; *Notes and Queries*, iv. 302, 2nd ser.)

His death, as related in the *Leabhar na hUidhre*, would prove that Laeghaire probably died a pagan. The *Four Masters* place Laeghaire's death in A.D. 458, but A.D. 463 is more likely (*Ann. Tig.* eo an., ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 111), and his reign thirty-five years. His body was carried back and buried at Tara, in the south-east side of the external rampart, with his weapons upon him, and his face turned towards the Lagenians, as if still fighting against them. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 144–5 n. [g]; Wills, *Ill. Ir.* i. 60; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 100 sq. 428 sq.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 436 sq.; Moore, *Hist. Ir.* i. 239 sq.; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2nd series, 230–1.) [J. G.]

LAELIUS, deacon of Emerita (Merida) in Spain, A.D. 254, joined in the letter of FELIX of Saragossa. (Cyp. *Ep.* 67.) [E. W. B.]

LAETA, daughter-in-law of Paula, the friend of St. Jerome. She was the daughter of Albinus, a heathen priest, but her mother was a Christian. They had one daughter, for whom, even before her birth, the mother made a vow of virginity, and who was named Paula, after her grandmother. Her husband Toxotius appears to have left the education of the child to his wife, and then invited the advice of Jerome, who writes to her a letter (ep. 107, ed. Vall. A.D. 403) prescribing the training suitable to form a virgin of Christ. [PAULA, Junior.] [W. H. F.]

LAETUS (1), brother of bishop Marcellus. (Ambr. ep. 82, § 8.) [MARCELLUS.] [C. H.]

LAETUS (2), a Christian who, having passed some time in the monastery of Hippo Regius, was induced by family troubles, his mother's entreaties, the illness of his brothers, and the general confusion of his home, to leave the monastery and resume his position in the world. He had written to the brethren of the monastery in much doubt and distress of mind, and expressed a wish to hear from Augustine, who at once wrote to exhort him to return to it. (Aug. *Ep.* 243.) [H. W. P.]

LAETUS (3), an African bishop, one of the proto-martyrs of Hunneric's persecution (Victor Vitensis, *Persec. Vandal.* ii. 18 in *Pat. Lat.* lviii.). This account, as Tillemont observes, would place the martyrdom about Feb. 484. Victor does not name Laetus's see, which was Nepte (Victor Tun. *Chron.* ann. 479 in *Pat. Lat.* lxviii. 946; Isidor. Hispal. *Hist. Vandal.* aera 506, § 79, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxiii. 1079). Victor Vitensis (*Notit.* 57), apparently by an oversight, includes Laetus Neptitanus in the general list of the bishops exiled after the conference. Victor Tunnunensis is widely divergent from Victor Vitensis in making the year of Laetus's martyrdom 479, and the day Sept. 24 (or as some seem to read, Sept. 20). The *Roman Martyrology* commemorates him on Sept. 6, on which day he is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 681), who discuss the various statements. (Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 242; Tillemont, *Mém.* xvi. 559, 567, ed. 1712; Ruinart's notes on Victor Vit.) [C. H.]

LAETUS (4), Nov. 5, a presbyter and confessor in the district of Orleans (*Mart.* Usuard.). Surius (*De Prob. SS. Hist.* Nov. 5, p. 161) gives his *Vita*, which calls him a deacon (laevita) in the monastery of Miciacus (Micy or St. Mesmin) near Orleans, A.D. 540. His popular name is St. Lié (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 111). [G. T. S.]

LAETUS (5), bishop of Faesulae (Fiesole), c. 578. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xvii. 12, 70; Ughelli, iii. 212; *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll. Jun. 1, 749–75.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAETUS (6), bishop of Lucca, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAETUS (7), forty-fifth bishop of Milan from 745 to Apr. 6, 759 (Cappelletti, xi. 134, 302). Ughelli makes his period 755–769 (*Ital. Sac.* iv. 69). [C. H.]

LAFRIANUS. [LASERIAN (2).]

LAIDGEN (1) (LADCHEND, LATHACAN), monk of Clonfert Molua (Clandonagh), Queen's County, commemorated Jan. 12. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 57) has a short and imperfect memoir with notes, and O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 178–180) has reproduced it with additions, but there is no ancient life. He was son of Baith Bannach, and became a monk under St. Lactan at Clonfertmulloe, where he appears to have remained till death, in the year 661 (*Ann. Tig.*), and never to

have been abbat, though so called by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.* 379) (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, pp. xii. 54; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 202, iv. 54; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 270 n.[s], 271; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 36 n.[103]). In the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 660, he is called the Wise. Dr. Reeves, in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, upon the Monastery of Reichenau (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 91), gives an account of Laidgen's appearance, as Laidcend, Lathacan, and Ladkenus, in connexion with the authorship or transcription of some hymns published by Mone (*Hym. Med. Aevi*, i. 367 sq.), and with an abstract of the *Moralia of St. Gregory*, both being preserved at Vienna. [J. G.]

LAIDGEN (2), abbat of Saighir (Seirkeiran, bar. Ballybritt, King's County), was slain A.D. 744 (*Ann. Tig.*). He was son of Doineannach, and in the *Annals of Ulster* is called bishop as well as abbat (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 739, i. 341; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 743; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 473, c. 4; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 245, iv. 90; Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* ii. 269, calling him Laigdene Mac Donennach, abbat, and placing him in the succession at Ossory, A.D. 739.) [J. G.]

LAIDRACHUS, archbishop. [LEIDRADUS.]

LAISRE (1). [LAISREN (2).]

LAISRE (2) (LASREAN, LASRIU), son of Colum or Colman, abbat of Druimliag, which is placed by Lanigan in that part of Kerry which adjoins Limerick. He belonged to the second half of the 6th century. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 383; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 70, c. 28, 72 n.[26]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 88, 89 n.[30].) [J. G.]

LAISREN (1) (LASRIANUS), son of Nasc, commemorated in the Irish calendars on Oct. 25, and in the *Felire of Aengus* called Laisren the Great. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 283; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 272; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 631 n.[7], and *Tr. Thaum.* 183 n.[216].) His place appears to have been on Belfast Lough, probably at Holywood (see Dr. Reeves's important note in *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* ii. 56), therefore he was probably not a brother of, and in residence with, St. Gobban, at Inispict, off the coast of Cork. [GOBBAN (1).] (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 363, n.[224]; Colgan, *ib.* 631.) The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 25 Oct. xi. 657–8) regard him as first at Rahen under St. Carthach-Mochuda, and then at Inis Puinc or Inispict under St. Domangenus, and finally as dying at Ard-mic-nasca or Holywood, in Ulster; but they say they can give no distinct affirmation among so many called Lasrianus and Molassius. As he lived in the north of Ireland, and perhaps flourished about A.D. 650, it has been suggested by Colgan (*ib.* 17 n.[11]), and accepted by Dr. Reeves (*Eccl. Ant.* 149 n.[s]), that he is the Laistranus, a presbyter [LAISTRANUS], addressed with others in the paschal letter preserved by Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. c. 19) [CRONAN (11)]; but the authority seems to be wanting for both date and identification. [J. G.]

LAISREN (2) (LAISRANUS), son of Feradhach, succeeded Baithen as third abbat of Hy, but is omitted from Ussher's list (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, wks. vi. 245), made up from the *Annals of Ulster*. His father Feradhach was cousin-german to St. Columba (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 375 n.[51]). He was pupil of St. Columba, with whom we find him at Ardnamurchan in Argyleshire (Adamn. *Vit. S. Col.* i. 12), and during whose lifetime he was abbat, or at least in charge, at Durrow (*ib.* i. c. 29), and perhaps building the round tower (*ib.* iii. c. 15; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iii. 212; Reeves, *St. Adamn.* 40, 57, 215). On the death of St. Baithen, A.D. 600, he succeeded to the abbacy at Iona (Hy), and ruled for five years, during which time we have no special events recorded (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 150 sq.).

Laisren died A.D. 605 (*Ann. Tig.*), and was succeeded by Fergna Brit. His feast is Sept. 16. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 408, c. 3, 449 b, and *Tr. Thaum.* pass.; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 601, i. 228 n.[m], 229; *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 605, and *Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 600, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. pt. i. 179, pt. ii. 10; Grub. *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. 70; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 40, 57, 58, 267, 372; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 249, 433; Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 68; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 16, 377; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 348 n.[168]; C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 287.) [J. G.]

LAISREN (3), Sept. 16, abbat of Menadrochit (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 251). He was of the race of Cathaoir Mor, monarch of Erin (*ib.*), and died A.D. 604 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 603; *Four Mast.* A.D. 600; *Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 598). Menadrochit is now Monadrehid, a townland in the parish of Offerrilan, Queen's County, where remains of Laisren's monastery are yet to be seen. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 225 n.[e]; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 376 n.[61].) [J. G.]

LAISRI. [BOGHA and COLMA.] (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 25, 433.) [J. G.]

LAISTRANUS (LASRIANUS), one of the Scotic presbyters whom pope John, in the year 640, addressed upon the paschal question in the well-known letter preserved by Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. c. 19). [CRONAN (11).] Colgan (*Acta SS.* 17 b) adopting the form Lasrianus, Reeves (*Eccl. Ant.* 149 n.) that of Laisrianus, and Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 409, 414) that of Laistran, identify him with Laisren son of Nasc. [LAISREN (1).] Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 429) calls him Laustranus and a bishop. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 196, 377, makes the not improbable suggestion that he is Laserian abbat of Leighlin.) [LASERIAN (1).] [J. G.]

LAITNEUS, abbat, follows Morcus parvus in O'Conor's version of the *Annals of Tigernach*, A.D. 763 (*Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 256), but *Four Mast.* A.D. 758, has Beclaitnae abbat of Clonard, and *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 762, calls him Becclaitne. [J. G.]

LALOECEN (LAILOKEN, LALOICEN, LLALLOGAN), "homo fatuus" in *Vit. S. Kentigerni* at the court of Rhydderch Hael king of Cumbria, and identified with Merddin Wyllt or Merlin, in the days of his insanity, after the battle of Arderydd (Arthuret). (*Myv. Arch.* i. 132–54; Bp. Forbes, *Lives St. Kent. and St. Nin.* 118, 241, 364, 371 sq. note PPP.; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 44.) [J. G.]

LAMALISSE, confessor, commemorated March 3; lived on Arran in the Firth of Clyde in the 7th century, and has given his name to Lamlash, or Holy Isle, and Lamlash Bay. (Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 3; *Scotch Mag.* 1853, p. 339.) [J. G.]

LAMBERTUS (1) (LANDEBERTUS), saint and martyr, thirtieth bishop of Maestricht (circ. 670–708). A number of lives of him survive. The first, by Godescalcus, a deacon of the church of Liège in the middle of the 8th century, who professes to have derived much of his information from one of Lambert's disciples (s. 4), is entirely trustworthy. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* think that he wrote in 729 or 730. It was first published by Canisius, then by Chapeaville, not very correctly (*Qui Gesta Leodiensium*, &c. i. 321–349); again by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. 1, 69–76, Paris, 1668–1701); and by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. v. 574–581). The second, by Stephanus, bishop of Liège about 903, is a mere reproduction of the first in more ornate language (Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 558). It is to be found in Surius, Sept. 17, tom. v. 289–301; Chapeaville, *ibid.* 351–370; Boll. *ibid.* 581–9; and in the Patrologia Latina, cxxxii. 643. Another by Nicolaus about 1120 (in Boll. *ibid.* 602–617; Chapeaville, 371–409), and a fourth, ascribed to Reinerius, but probably by Sigebertus Gemblacensis (in Chapeaville, 411–434; Boll. *ibid.* 589–602; Pat. Lat. clx. 759 seq.), as also that of Anselm and others, draw everything trustworthy they contain from the original narrative of Godescalcus, their additions to it consisting of questionable tradition. On this subject, see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 57–60; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 558.

St. Lambert was a native of Maestricht, born of wealthy parents, whose names, according to Herigerus, were count Aper and Herisplendis. To familiarize him with clerical discipline and divine learning, his father entrusted him to Theodoardus, the bishop of the city, in whose palace he lived. Upon his preceptor's murder, Lambert was chosen as his successor, with the approval of king Childeric. In 673 Childeric was killed, and St. Lambert, as one of his adherents, was driven by Ebroin from his see, which was given to one Faramundus. Attended by two boys only he retired to the monastery of Stabulaus (Stavelo), where he submitted himself to the full rigour of the monastic discipline for seven years (circ. A.D. 674–681). At the end of that period Pippin ejected Faramundus, and restored Lambert to Maestricht. Beyond somewhat vague laudations of his virtues, we know little of the remainder of his episcopate. It was probably in the year 708 that he suffered martyrdom (Mabill. *ib.* p. 78). Two misdoers, named Gallus and Rioldus, had plundered the church with such pertinacity that the bishop's friends had killed them. A near relative named Dodo, a wealthy servant of Pippin, collected an armed band to avenge the brothers, and attacked Lambert and his disciples while they were at Liège. The bishop met his death by a javelin aimed from the roof as he lay on the floor of his chamber with his arms extended in the form of the cross (Sept. 17). A few of his disciples who escaped took the body by boat to Maestricht, where it was hastily and unceremoniously buried in his father's tomb in the church of St. Peter (A.D. 708). In the course of time another account of the martyrdom arose, according to which St. Lambert met his death at the hands of Pippin's courtiers, or even the brother of Alpais, for rebuking the adultery of that prince with Alpais. The growth of the story may be traced pretty clearly. Godescalcus plainly assigns as the motive of the murder private revenge only. Stephanus has the same account (s. 31 seqq. Patr. Lat. cxxxii. 656), as also Rabanus Maurus (*Martyrologium*, xv. Kal. Oct. Patr. Lat. cx. 1169). Alcuin again (*Carmen* lxxiv., Migne, Patr. Lat. ci. 747) speaks of him as a martyr, without mentioning the cause. Bede, however, attributed it to his reproof of the royal house (*Martyrologium*, xv. Kal. Oct., Patr. Lat. xciv. 947), and is followed by Regino (*Chronicon*, an. 635, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxii. 39), with whose account Ado (*Martyrologium*, xv. Kal. Oct. Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 369) and Notkerus (*Martyrologium*, xv. Kal. Oct., Patr. Lat. cxxxi. 1152) also agree. Sigebertus Gemblacensis is the first who assigns Pippin's adultery as the cause of the reproof, and makes Dodo the brother of Alpais (*Chronicon*, 698, Patr. Lat. clx. 133). And his account is repeated with adornments by Nicolaus (caps. xiv.–xvii., Chapeaville, *ib.* pp. 397–407), Reinerus or Sigebertus (caps. xvi.–xxi. Chapeaville, pp. 424–9) and Aegidius (*ib.* pp. 119–121). In the *Epilogus* of Reinerus or Sigebertus, the silence of Godescalcus is attributed to his fear of giving offence to the reigning member of the Carlovingian house (Chapeaville, p. 434). But, as is pointed out by Mabillon, who examined into, and distrusts, the story (*ib.* p. 77, cf. Rettberg, i. 560), no such fears or scruples deterred the clergy from vilifying Charles Martel while his descendant Charles the Bald was still on the throne.

The miracles which were ascribed to his tomb soon caused the erection of a church over it, but his successor St. Hubert in the twelfth year of his episcopate (A.D. 720), warned by a vision, resolved to remove the body to Liège, where another church was built for its reception (Mabill. *ib.* pp. 78–81). In 881 the Northmen destroyed Liège and burnt the church to the ground, but apparently the tomb remained unharmed. For his subsequent cult see Mabillon, *ib.* pp. 82–4.

St. Lambert is commemorated Sept. 17, on which day he appears in many of the martyrologies, both ancient and modern (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 518 sqq.). [S. A. B.]

LAMBERTUS, of Lyons. [LANTBERTUS.]

LAMBERTUS, of Sens. [LANDEBERCHTUS.]

LAMBERTUS (2), disciple of St. Gislenus, and his fellow labourer in Hannonia. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 9 Oct. iv. 1038.) The death of St. Lambertus is placed about A.D. 700, and his feast is May 30 and Oct. 9 in different martyrologies. [J. G.]

LAMBERTUS (*Monast. Angl.* i. 12), abbat of St. Augustine's. [JAENBERT.]

LAM-LUOC (LAMLUOC), identified with Lugaidh or Moluoc of Lismore in Loch Linnhe,

Argyleshire. (Reeves, *Culdees*, pt. iii. § 8; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 133.) [LUA, of Lismore.] [J. G.]

LAMPADIUS (1), bishop of Utina, or Uthina, a town of Proconsular Africa, at the council of Arles, A.D. 314. (Plin. *H. N.* v. 4, 29; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 643; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 95.) [H. W. P.]

LAMPADIUS (2), a friend of St. Augustine, who wrote to him concerning the delusions of astrologers, or as they were then called mathematicians. (Aug. *Ep.* 246. See also *Confess.* iv. 3, vii. 6; and *Enarr. in Ps.* lxi. 23 [lxii.]) [H. W. P.]

LAMPADIUS (3), bishop of Tisidium, Tididium, or Tysedis, a town in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 135; Sall. *Jug.* 62; *Opt.* ii. 19; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 646.) [H. W. P.]

LAMPADIUS (4), an African bishop, present at the council of Milevis, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

LAMPADIUS (5), bishop of Raphanea in Syria Secunda, at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 921.) [J. de S.]

LAMPADIUS (6), bishop "urbis Albensis," present at the first synod under pope Symmachus in March 499. (Hefele, § 220; Mansi, viii. 235; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 284; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 572; xiv. 162, 173.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAMPERTUS, abbat of the monastery of St. Leo at Brescia, c. 770. (*Catalogus Rerum Langob. Brixiensis et Nonantulanus* in *Monum. Rerum Ital.* 1878, p. 503.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAMPETIUS (1). [EUCHITES, vol. ii. p. 260.]

LAMPETIUS (2), a bishop of an unnamed see, an adherent of Chrysostom. (Pallad. *Dial.* cap. 20, p. 195, ed. Bigot.) [E. V.]

LAMPETIUS (3), bishop of Cassium in Egypt, between the lake Sirbonis and the Mediterranean in the province of Augustamnica I. He was present at the third general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, where he signed the condemnation of Nestorius (Mansi, iv. 1127). He was sent by Cyril, together with HERMOGENES bishop of Rhinocorura, as a delegate to pope Coelestinus, whose successor, Sixtus III., mentions the mission in an epistle to Cyril (ep. 1), and from this it appears that they arrived in time to assist at the ordination of Sixtus (probably on July 31, 432, Tillem. xiv. 260), to whom their presence, as representing the Eastern church, was especially grateful. Lampetius was one of the correspondents of Isidore of Pelusium, many of whose letters are addressed to him. (Xysti, *Epist. ad Cyr.* in *Pat. Lat.* l. 584; Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* ii. 71, 79, 122, &c. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxviii.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 545.) [J. de S.]

LAMPETIUS (4), a deacon addressed by Isidore of Pelusium (epp. 313, 390, 391, lib. iii., ep. 5, lib. iv. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxviii.). [C. H.]

LAMPETIUS (5), a monk addressed by Isidore of Pelusium (epp. 13, 52, lib. i. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxviii.). [C. H.]

LAMPIUS, bishop of Barcelona, next to Pacianus (Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xxix. 97). Paulinus bishop of Nola was ordained priest by him at Barcelona (Paulin. ep. 3, § 4, in *Pat. Lat.* lxi. 163; Aug. *Ep.* 24, 4). His episcopate probably began A.D. 393, and he is believed to be the Lampadius (marg. Lampidius and Lampius), present at the first council of Toledo, A.D. 400. (Mansi, iii. 1002; Bruns. *Concil.* i. 203; Tillem. *Mém.* xiv. 40.) [H. W. P.]

LAMPO, presbyter of Alexandria, an active adherent of St. Cyril. He is addressed in a letter of Cyril (*Ep.* 70 d. 53, p. 198), which gives him directions to present an anti-Nestorian explanation of the creed sent by Maximus the deacon to the emperor Theodosius. He had been before sent by St. Cyril with a letter to Nestorius, and had acted as St. Cyril's confidential agent in explaining and enforcing the meaning of the letter. (Cyril. *Ep.* 3, p. 21; Nestorii *Sermo* vii. § 9 in Marius Mercator, part ii., in *Pat. Lat.* xlviii. 804; Tillemont, xiv. 333, 641, 642.) [J. W. S.]

LAMPONIANUS, a presbyter in the jurisdiction of Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria, excommunicated for chastising with blows a fellow presbyter. (Synes. ep. 67 in *Pat. Gr.* lxvi. 1426; Tillem. *Mém.* xii. 545, 546.) [C. H.]

LAMPONIUS, a presbyter of Karula at the council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (Mansi, ii. 29). Mendoza (*ibid.* 108 A) reads Lamponianus and identifies the town with Marchena in Andalusia. Bivar in his commentary on Dexter (*Pat. Lat.* xxxi. 423) reads Calduba, a town of the Turditani in Baetica mentioned by Ptolemy. [T. W. D.]

LAMPRIDIUS, a Gallic poet and rhetorician, who flourished in the latter half of the 5th century, and is known to us from the works of his friend and correspondent Sidonius Apollinaris. He was perhaps a native of Bordeaux, where he long professed rhetoric (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* ix. 13, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 630–1), and where he entertained Sidonius on his first visit there (*Epist.* viii. 11, Patr. Lat. col. 604). A close friendship existed between them, kept up by a frequent interchange of letters and verses (*Epist.* viii. 9, col. 600; cf. *Epist.* viii. 11, col. 604). He and Sidonius were two of the four poets brought together by the emperor Majorian at one of the Gallic towns, probably Arles, in 461. On this occasion, meeting at an entertainment, they engaged in a poetical contest, the theme of which was a work of Peter, Majorian's secretary (*Epist.* ix. 13, col. 630–1). Sidonius's composition alone remains (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 441–2). In the year 479 he met a violent death at the hand of his own servants. Some African astrologers, whom he had consulted as to his horoscope, had warned him that the day would be for him a critical and bloody one (*Epist.* viii. 11, col. 607). It may well be supposed that this prophecy tended to bring about its own fulfilment. None of his works survive; but his poetry apparently bore a high reputation. Among his friends he ranked next after Leo,

Euric's secretary, the "rex Castalii chori" (*Epist.* ix. 12, col. 630). Sidonius, indeed, in a criticism of his character and works, does not scruple to compare him to Horace and Pindar (*Epist.* viii. 11, col. 606–7). Some think, from an expression in the letter last cited, that he may have become an Arian after Bordeaux came into the power of the Goths (*Histoire Littéraire*, ii. 494–7; Tillem. *Mém.* xvi. 271). On a difficulty as to the time of his death see Tillemont's note 15, in *Mém.* xvi. 754. [S. A. B.]

LAMPROTATE, a young lady who presented herself to Ephraim the Syrian on his deathbed, and is mentioned at the end of his *Testament* (*Opp.* ed. Benedict, t. ii. p. 409, Syr. and Lat.). She requests permission to make a receptacle for his remains ("urnam" in this version, "exiguum loculum" in that of Voss, "cercueil" as rendered by Tillemont and Ceillier), and another for herself, which she might place at his feet, so that she might follow him into the grave beneath and into heaven above, never to be separated from him. The saint, after some expressions of humility and a useful caution for herself, granted the request, but only on condition that the material was not marble. Voss's translation of this singular scene, which differs at points from that cited above, will be found in his Latin version of Ephraim's works, p. 794. Voss makes her father great Aristides; in the other version it is great Strategus prefect of Edessa, and this is the most correct (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* i. 142). Tillemont (viii. 314) suggests that Lamprotate may be only a title of rank like that of "Clarissima" borne by the wives and daughters of Roman senators. [C. H.]

LAMPROTATUS, a deacon of Constantinople, commended by Chrysostom with his fellow deacon Eusebius for the constancy with which they had shared the sufferings of the aged presbyter Hypatius. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 180.) [E. V.]

LAMPROTYCHUS, archimandrite, counselled by Nilus on his appointment. (Nilus, ep. 108, lib. iii. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxix. 334.) [C. H.]

LAMPYRUS, July 19, martyr at Synnada with Macedonius and others. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*) [G. T. S.]

LAMWILL, bishop. [LOMTUL.]

LANBRIHTUS (Malm. *G. R.* i. § 87, ed. Hardy), archbishop of Canterbury. [JAENBERT.]

LANDBERTUS, ninth bishop of Strasbourg, perhaps about the middle of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 780.) [S. A. B.]

LANDEBERCHTUS (LANDOBERT, LAMBERT), twenty-sixth archbishop of Sens, was present at the council held in the palace of Morlaye, A.D. 677 or 678. (Mansi, xi. 171; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 10; Fisquet, *La France pontificale, Archidiocèse de Sens*, p. 15.) [S. A. B.]

LANDEBERTUS (1), twenty-first bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, in A.D. 666. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1183; *Gall. Chr.* ix. 863.) [S. A. B.]

LANDEBERTUS (2), fourteenth bishop of Angoulême, represented at the council of Narbonne, held in A.D. 788, if, as seems probable, the word "Eglinensium," following the subscription, is a contraction of Engolismensium. (Mansi, xiii. 824; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 982.) [S. A. B.]

LANDELINUS, ST., founder of the abbeys of Lobbes (Laubacus), Aulne, Valers, and Crespin, all in Hainault, in the latter half of the 7th century. An anonymous life of him was published by Surius with emendations of the style (Jun. 15, iii. 760–3), and is repeated by Mabillon in its original form in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* (ii. 873–7, Paris, 1669), and again by the Bollandists after a comparison of other MSS. (*Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 1064–5). The author only professes to derive his knowledge at second-hand, but the work is attributed by the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, who characterize it as one of the best pieces of that time, to the early years of the 7th century (iv. 70–1). The Bollandists also publish another life (*ib.* 1067–8) from MSS. of the church of St. Saviour at Utrecht. The facts related are the same, but the greater simplicity and conciseness of the narrative have suggested that it was the earlier of the two (*Hist. Litt. ibid.*). A late life by Philippe de l'Aumône abbat of Bonne Espérance, and an indifferent poem, probably the work of Herigerus, may also be mentioned (*Hist. Litt. ibid.* vii. 202–3).

Landelinus was born in the neighbourhood of Cambray, in the reign of Dagobert I. (A.D. 622–638). His parents, who were of high rank, entrusted his education to St. Autbertus, bishop of Cambray, who had received him from the font. When he had grown up, his instructor counselled him to receive the tonsure, but yielding to the solicitations of some of his relations, he resolved to enjoy the world and his youth. Secretly leaving Cambray, he changed his name, and gave himself up to a life of recklessness and crime. The sudden death of one of his companions on an expedition of plunder, and a vision of his soul being dragged to hell by devils, brought him back to his teacher in tears and repentance. St. Autbertus placed him in a monastery, where he expiated his sins with austerities and prayer, and after a time, by his own request, received the tonsure. On his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, the bishop ordained him a deacon. Another pilgrimage to the Holy See followed, after which he became a priest. And then once more with two disciples, Adelinus and Domitian, he made the same journey. On his return, with St. Auctbert's concurrence, he and his two companions went to Hainault, and selecting a spot on the Sambre, which took the name of Laubacus, from a brook flowing into that river, built themselves cells. This was the beginning of the monastery of Lobbes (circ. A.D. 654). About three miles off he built another called Alna (Alne or Aulne), and in the same neighbourhood a third called Guaslarus or Waslerus (Valers), about eight miles from Lobbes. All these he enriched, but especially Lobbes. Having started his monasteries, he retired with his two disciples to a spot on the river Hon, near Valenciennes, and set to work to clear the wood and build a cell. A miracle reconciled the indignant owner of the land, and another sup-

plied the site with a spring, from whose gurgling waves (crispantibus undis), he called the place Crispinum. Disciples soon flocked around him, so that he had to retire to a short distance, to obtain the solitary contemplation he desired. Adelinus and Domitian he sent forth to form separate centres, placing the former at Crespin, and the latter at Lobbes. This is the last act recorded of him. On his death, which is thought to have happened about 686 (Mabill. *ib.* 876–7 n.), he was buried in his own monastery.

Baldericus adds a few facts to this narrative. Over Valers he set St. Dodo, and when he left Lobbes, to seek a more secluded life at Crespin, he entrusted that foundation to St. Ursmarus. Crespin, where he was buried, was in the time of Baldericus occupied by canons, and had become separated, in the lapse of years, from the church of Cambray, to which it had formerly belonged (*Gesta Pontif. Camerac.* ii. 33, 37, 41, i. 68, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 137–140, 70). For Lobbes, Crespin, and Aulne, see also *Gall. Christ.* iii. 79, 100, 1116.

St. Landelinus's remains were twice translated, first in 770, then in 1105. His day of commemoration is June 15 (Boll *ibid.* p. 1062). [S. A. B.]

LANDERICUS (1) (LANDRICUS), 3rd bishop of Séez, perhaps towards the close of the 5th century, commemorated July 16. His name survives in the old catalogues. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. 121; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 675.) [S. A. B.]

LANDERICUS (2) (LANDRY), twenty-eighth bishop of Paris, is chiefly known from the charter of privileges which he gave to the monastery of St. Denys at Paris in A.D. 653 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 299). It is usually supposed that the "papa" Landericus to whom the monk Marculfus dedicated his two books of *Formulae* (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 695 seqq.) was this archbishop of Paris (cf. Ceillier, *ut supr.*). He is commemorated on June 10. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 292; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 24.) [S. A. B.]

LANDERICUS (3), bishop of Lisbon from c. 688 till after 693, and the last occupant of the see under the Goths. He subscribed the Acts of the fifteenth (A.D. 688) and sixteenth (693) councils of Toledo. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 186.) [POTAMIUS.] [M. A. W.]

LANDO, twenty-fourth bishop of Rheims, is said to have been brother of Erchenvald, mayor of the palace to Clovis II., and of St. Adalbald, the husband of St. Rictrude. The commencement of his episcopate is assigned to the year 645, and his death to 649. (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 9; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 296; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 20.) [S. A. B.]

LANDOALDUS, archpresbyter sent by pope Martin I. with the deacon Amantius to assist Amandus in his mission in the north-east of Gaul. Lambert, afterwards bishop of Maestricht, was his disciple. His feast was on March 19. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 34.) [C. H.]

LANDOARIUS, thirty-sixth archbishop of Bourges, circ. A.D. 763–767. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 19.) [S. A. B.]

LANDRADA, July 8, foundress and first abbess (669–690) of the monastery of Belisia (Munster-Bilsen) near the town of Bilsen on the west of Maestricht. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 619; *Gall. Chr.* iii. 996.) [C. H.]

LANDRICUS (LANDERICUS, LANDRY), **ST.**, a bishop who has been variously assigned to Mettis (Metz), to Meldis (Meaux), and conjecturally to Castellum Meltis. Baldericus, in his *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, states that Vincentius was buried at Sungeias (*i.e.* Sonegiae, Soignies, between Mons and Brussels) together with his son Landricus, "Meldensi episcopo" (ii. 46, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 142). But according to Colvenerius, while two MSS. had the word "Meldensi," in the third was added "alias Metensi" (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 489). The *Martyrologium* of St. Gudila at Brussels is also said to contain a notice of him as bishop of Metz (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1601), and the Bollandists publish a biography collated from four MSS., in which he is assigned to the same diocese (*ib.* 489–491). The objections to this opinion are that he is omitted by Paulus Diaconus from his *Gesta Episc. Metensium* (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 719), 720, and from the catalogue of the Metz bishops; there is no memory of him at Metz, and the long episcopate of Clodulfus, who died in 694, after sitting forty years, apparently leaves no interval for him. The Bollandists, however, contend that he followed Clodulfus at Metz, and account for the omission of his name in the catalogues by the fact that he retired from the see to Soignies, and did not die at Metz (*ib.* 487–9). Nor is the evidence in favour of Meaux much better, as he is equally unknown to the catalogues and calendars of that diocese (*Gall. Christ.* ib.), though he is retained in the *Series* of Gams as twenty-fourth of that see, following St. Ebrigisilus, and succeeded by Edoldus (p. 575). The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* suggest that he may have belonged to Castellum Meltis, like St. Pirminius (viii. 1601, xiii. 702).

According to the Bollandists' biography he was the eldest son of St. Madelgarius, surnamed Vincent, and St. Waldetrudis. From his boyhood he desired to enter the ranks of the clergy, a course which his father opposed, wishing him to marry and become the head of his family. But his importunity at length carried the day, and he received the tonsure. By his merit he ascended till he became bishop of Metz. Meanwhile his father, who towards the end of his life had founded the monasteries of Altusmons (Hautmont, Omont, cf. *Gall. Christ.* iii. 114, for this foundation) and Soignies, and himself become a monk, sent for Landricus to be present at his death-bed. After St. Vincent's death, which is said to have happened about 660, Landricus did not return to Metz, but remained at Soignies and ruled the two abbeys till his death on April 17, the day on which he is commemorated. He was buried at Soignies. [S. A. B.]

LANDRY, of Paris. [LANDERICUS (2).]

LANDULPHUS (1), nineteenth bishop of Soissons, cir. 620. (*Gall. Chr.* ix. 337.) [C. H.]

LANDULPHUS (2) (LAUDULFUS, LAUD, LAOU), seventh bishop of Évreux, about the

beginning of the 7th century. His day of commemoration is Aug. 13. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 99; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 567; Charrant et Sauvage, *Hist. des Évêques d'Évreux*, pp. 11, 12.) [S. A. B.]

LANDUS (1), May 5, alleged martyr at Horta (Orte) in the sixth century according to local belief as recorded by Ferrarius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 49; cf. Cappelletti, vi. 25 and Gams, *Sér. Episc.* 685.) [G. T. S.]

LANDUS (2), bishop of Cosilinum (or Marcellianum), present at the Roman synod of 743. (Mansi, xii. 367; Ughelli, x. 127; Cappelletti, xxi. 237.) [A. H. D. A.]

LANDUS (3), twenty-seventh or thirty-fourth bishop of Nola, some time between 786 and 843. (Ughelli, vi. 254; Cappelletti, xix. 586, 632.) [C. H.]

LANFERTH, bishop of Elmham. [EANFRITH.]

LANFRIDUS, bishop of Castro, present at the Lateran synod under Stephen IV. in 769. (Mansi, xii. 715; Hefele, § 343.) [A. H. D. A.]

LANGUORETH, LANGUUETH, wife of Rhydderch Hael, who ruled over the Cumbrian Britons. Through the prayers of St. Kentigern, she received a son, who was named Constantine, and succeeded his father in the kingdom, but beyond the *Vit. S. Kent.* (c. 33), both mother and son appear to be unknown (Bp. Forbes, *Lives St. Kent. and St. Nin.* 95, 219, 366). The legend connected with this queen's ring and its recovery from the Clyde through the prayers of St. Kentigern and the agency of a salmon, is one of the best known in that saint's life (c. 36), and is represented on the arms of Glasgow. [KENTIGERN.] (Bp. Forbes, *ib.* 99 sq.) [J. G.]

LANTBERTUS (LANDEBERTUS, LAMBERTUS), saint, 39th archbishop of Lyons, circ. A.D. 678–689. His life was written by Aigradus, the monk of Fontenelle, who wrote the life of St. Ansbert; but it has been lost (*Vita S. Ansberti*, s. 17; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 1053, Paris, 1669). What is known of him therefore has to be gathered from the fragment of a biography by an anonymous monk of Fontenelle (Mabill. *ibid.* iii. 2, 462), and the lives of St. Wandregisilus (*ibid.* ii. 534, 545), of St. Erembertus (*ibid.* p. 605), of St. Condedus (*ibid.* pp. 862–864), of St. Ansbert (*ibid.* pp. 1052–3), and of St. Hermelandus (*ibid.* iii. 1, 385–9). Most of the passages that bear on Lantbert's life are also collected in Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. ii. 218–220. Though he was an abbat of Fontenelle his life is not to be found in the *Chartae Fontanellenses* (cap. x. Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 282–3).

He was born of a distinguished family in the district of Terouanne, his father's name being Erlebertus. The names of two of his uncles are also known, Hrotbertus, who was chancellor (referendarius) of the palace, and Haltbertus, whom St. Lantbert afterwards ordained. He was brought up as a soldier at the court of Clotaire III. (656–670), but in the eighth year of that monarch's reign he retired, with rich gifts, to the monastery of Fontenelle, where St. Wandregisilus was abbat, and received the tonsure. The abbat on his death-bed recommended his monks to choose between St. Ansbertus and Lantbert for his successor. Their election fell upon the latter (A.D. 665). During the contention of Childeric and Theoderic for the crown, Lantbert is said to have maintained a judicious neutrality. From the latter he received a gift of a place in Provence, called Dusera, in aid of the revenues of Fontenelle, and built there a monastery, which in later times was destroyed by the Saracens. From the former too, when he had established himself on the throne, Fontenelle obtained endowments, and Lantbertus was high in his favour. After a residence at Fontenelle of thirteen years and eight months Theoderic and Pippin made him archbishop of Lyons. Of his acts in this office we know nothing, except that he consecrated his friend St. Ansbert as archbishop of Rouen. He is said to have died in 689 (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 48). He is commemorated April 14 (Mabill. *ibid.* iii. 2. 462). [S. A. B.]

LANTFRIDUS, abbat and priest in Bavaria, to whom Ambrosius Autpertus, abbat of a monastery near Beneventum in the 8th century, is said to have sent his treatise, *de Conflictu virtutum et vitiorum* (Anonym. Mellicens. *de Script. Eccles.* li. Migne, Patr. Lat. ccxiii. 975). But it is by no means certain that Ambrosius was the author of this treatise (Ceillier, *Hist. générale des Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 725). There was a Lantfrit present at a council in Bavaria, summoned by Tassilo in A.D. 772, who may well be the one above mentioned. (Baron, *Annales*, an. 772, n. xxiv.; Mansi, xii. 852.) [S. A. B.]

LANTHECHILDIS (LANTILDIS), a sister of Clovis I., who appears to have been converted to Christianity before her brother, but had become an Arian. When St. Remigius baptized Clovis and his other sister Albofledis, he converted Lanthechildis to Catholicism. After making confession of the orthodox faith, she was anointed with the chrism (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 32; Ceillier, xi. 79). Some of the later annalists however speak of her as being baptized with her brother and sister (*Gesta Reg. Franc.* xvi.; *Gesta Francorum*, per Roriconem monach., Bouquet, ii. 552, iii. 10; cf. *Vita S. Remigii*, *ibid.* iii. 377). She was afterwards sought and obtained in marriage by Theodoric, king of Italy, to whom she bore two daughters. One of these married king Sigismund the martyr. The other, after her father's death, desiring to marry a man of mean estate, and being prevented by Lanthechildis, poisoned her, and was put to death by the reigning king. (Rorico, *ibid.*, Bouquet, iii. 12.) [S. A. B.]

LANTWALDUS (RUTHWALDUS), one of the early bishops of Mainz, cir. 620, according to some lists (Potthast, *Bibl.* supp. p. 353). He is omitted from the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 433). [S. A. B.]

LAODICIUS, bishop of Clypea, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 133; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 144.) [H. W. P.]

LAOU, bishop of Évreux. [LANDULPHUS.]

LARGUS (1), martyr at Aquileia, in the reign of Numerian; commemorated on March

16 according to Usuard and *Rom. Mart.*, on March 17 according to Notker. [C. H.]

LARGUS (2), martyr at Rome, in the reign of Diocletian; commemorated on March 16. (Usuard. *Mart.*; Wandalb. *Mart.*; *Rom. Mart.*; Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 560, v. 120.) [C. H.]

LARGUS (3), a Christian, to whom Augustine wrote, expressing regret at the troubles with which he had met, but also that they had not yet convinced him of the vanity of the world, in which he exhorts him to put no trust (Aug. *Ep.* 203). He is assumed by Ceillier, with much probability, to be the same person as the proconsul of Africa in the years A.D. 415, 418, 419, in which last year Honorius wrote through him to countermand the attendance of the African bishops who had been summoned to meet in council at Spoletum concerning the matter of Eulalius [BONIFACIUS, Vol. I. 328]; and also to Aurelius and Augustine, desiring them to enjoin their episcopal colleagues to enforce the condemnation of Pelagius, and warning them of the consequences of neglect in this respect. (Aug. *Ep.* 201; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* iii. pp. 70, 81, 91, 92; Ceillier, ix. 169; Tillemont, vol. xii. pp. 393, 396, xiii. 260, 778; *Hist. des Emp.* v. 642.) [H. W. P.]

LASCIVUS (LAUSCIUS), ninth bishop of Bayeux, subscribed the third council of Paris (circ. A.D. 555). (Mansi, ix. 747; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 563 n. ii., tom. ii. 22; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 349.) [S. A. B.]

LASERANUS. [GOBBAN (1).]

LASERIAN (1) (MOLAIS, MOLASH, MULLUSHES), abbat of Daimhinis, now Devenish island in Lough Erne. His commemoration is Sept. 12 in all the hagiologies; and by this, with other marks in tradition and general history, he is to be distinguished from Laserian bishop of Old Leighlin, who flourished in the following century. No ancient life of Laserian of Devenish is published or familiarly known. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy (*Descript. Cat.* i. 156) gives an account of a life in MS., and "The Legend of St. Molaise, an Irish MS." of probably the 14th or 15th century, was acquired by the British Museum, July 3, 1850, and is classed MS. Add. 18,205 (*Notes and Queries*, 1 Ser. ii. 79, iii. 478, v. 38). Colgan appears to have had one which he was preparing for publication (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 485, vii. 374), and from which he quotes (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 209, 461): probably to the same Ware (*Ir. Writ.* B. i. c. 13) refers with a short quotation. It appears to have been late in the mediaeval period, and of no historical value.

His name has assumed a great variety of forms, its radical form being Laisre, amplified by the diminutive termination *an* and the honorific prefix *mo* ("little Laisre," or "my little Laisre"), with the hard sounds gradually softened by familiar use. His father was Nadfraech, son of Corc, his mother's name was Monua, and he was probably born in Connaught. He was educated at Clonard under St. Finnian, with the other famous saints of Ireland of the second class, and became with them one of the twelve apostles of Ireland (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 51, 63, on them and their work). When he was born, or retired to Devenish, we do not hear; but in the *Life of St. Aedan or Maedhog of Ferns*, he is represented as going northward from him to found his monastery (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 208, c. 7). At Devenish he formed a school, which retained its fame and use long after his day, and he had also many monks under him (*Vit. S. Aidi*, c. 37, ap. Colgan, *Acta SS.* 421 b). If he formed a rule, as is said in the *Vit. S. Kiarani Cluan.* (c. 26, ap. Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 605, c. 16), no part of it is known, and his visit to Rome is more than doubtful: so also is his episcopate at Clogher, though Ware has him on his list of bishops. The year of his death is uncertain, as the *Annals of Ulster* give A.D. 563 and 570: the former is the date in the other Irish annals, and probably the true one. (Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 9; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. c. 2; *Prim. Ch. Hist. Ir.* 61, 81; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, wks. vi. 228 sq. 467 sq. and Ind. Chron. A.D. 540, 563; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 248, 252, 287, 436; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 203 n. [t]; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 54–5, 59 sq.; Nicolson, *Irish Hist. Libr.* 45, 47; *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* iv. 178 sq.; Cotton, *Fast. Eccl. Hib.* iii. 72.) [J. G.]

LASERIAN (2) (DOLAISSI, LAFRIANUS, MOLAISRE, MOLAISSE), abbat and bishop of Leithghlinn (now Old Leighlin, in the barony of West Idrone, co. Carlow). His feast is April 18. His acts are much mixed up with those of Laserian of Devenish. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 18 Apr., ii. [543] 540–545) give a *Life* in three chapters, which was probably written by an Englishman about the 12th century, and was taken by the Bollandists from a MS. communicated by Henry Fitzsimon from a Salamanca MS. It is imperfect at the beginning, and altogether of little historical value (Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 229, pt. ii. 827, Append.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 403). This was probably the *Life* in preparation by Colgan for April 18 (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 373).

St. Laserian or St. Molaisse was of Ulster extraction, being son of Cairell, of the race of Fiatach Finn. His mother was Maithgemm of Monadh, daughter of that Aidan, son of Gabhran, whom St. Columba solemnly inaugurated as king of the Dalriadic Scots in Alban. He spent his earlier years in the modern Argyleshire and among the islands on its coast, receiving his education from abbat Murin, who is unknown. His memory is preserved at Lamlash Bay and St. Molio's Cave in Holy Island in the Firth of Clyde, which attest the tradition (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 407–9, and *Lives of SS. Nin. and Kent.* 265, 345). In the time of pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 590–604) he is found at Rome, where he is said to have spent fourteen years, and received the orders of both the diaconate and the priesthood. It must have been during this period that he learned that more correct method of calculating the time of the Easter festival of which he was afterwards to prove so zealous an advocate in his native church.

Returning to Ireland with, it is said, a gift of the Scriptures from Gregory, he came to St. Gobban's monastery at Leighlin, where Gobban the abbat resigned in his favour, and betook himself with a few monks to another

cell. At Leighlin (now better known as Old Leighlin), he established a monastery where 1500 monks are reported to have been under him (Ryan, *Hist. and Ant. Co. Carlow*, c. ii.). The Paschal controversy had now commenced, and Laserian headed the Roman party of the south as against the traditional national party of the north, whose leader was St. Finntan Munna (Oct. 21) of Taghmon. To compose the differences, meetings were held between the parties, but without effect. At one of these held at Campus Albus, or Whitefield near Carlow, in the year 630, St. Laserian was deputed with a few others to visit Rome, but with what special point for information or decision we are not told. There he was honourably received by pope Honorius I. (A.D. 626–638), and advanced to the episcopate as the reward of his zealous labours. The ideas of a much later date have invested him with the character of papal legate. When he came back to Ireland he was able to secure the conformity of the south as a whole to the new computation; but the north, with such places in the south as Taghmon, co. Wexford, under the personal influence of St. Finntan, was to abide for some time longer by the old tradition. [LEIGHLIN, SYNOD OF.] (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 26–8; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 15; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* iv. c. 9, vi. c. 17; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 29.) Laserian died on April 18, 639, and was buried in his own church at Leighlin. His cross and well remain. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 409 b; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 170–2; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 126–7; Moore, *Hist. Ir.* i. 13; Wills, *Ill. Irish.* i. 133; *Book of Obits C. C. Dublin*, xlvii. n. r.) [J. G.]

LASRAIN, son of Lughaidh, and one of the six sainted sons whom he had by Cainer of Cluain-da-saileach, their mother. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 213.) [J. G.]

LASREAN (1) (LASRENUS), abbat of Bangor, co. Down, died A.D. 646. (*Ann. Tig.* eod. an.; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 645, calling him Mac Laisre.) [J. G.]

LASREAN (2) (LASREUS), abbat of Armagh, died A.D. 623. (*Ann. Tig.* eod. an.; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 622, calling him Mac Laisre; *Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 616, calling him Mac Laisre, bishop of Armagh.) [J. G.]

LASREAN (3) (LASRENUS), son of Degillus and nephew of St. Columba by his sister Cumenia, Cuman, or Cuimne. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 491 n. [69]; Reeves, *St. Adamnan.* 246; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 219 n. [124].) [J. G.]

LASREAN (4) (LASREUS, LASZARUS), son of Ronan, descended from Conall Gulban and of the house of St. Columba. [COLMAN (10).] He is identified by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 481 n. [26]) with Laisrian, abbat, Dec. 26, in the kalendars. (Colgan, *ib.* 491 n. [70].) [J. G.]

LASREAN (5), son of Declan of Inis-Muireadagh, now Inishmurry, an island off the north coast of Sligo. He is commemorated as Molaise, *i.e.* Laisren, in *Mart. Doneg.* Aug. 12, and according to tradition he is the saint who attached to St. Columba the penalty of exile from Ireland (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 410, c. 5, calling him Molassius; Reeves, *St. Adamnan.* 287 n. [x]; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iii 131–2). Colgan seeks to identify him with Lasrean, son of Degillus. [J. G.]

LASRENUS MAUMOIE (LAISRANUS), a pious gardener in the north of Ireland (Scotia) in the time of St. Columba, who died in sanctity in the monastery at Iona. (Reeves, *St. Adamnan.* 47; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 342, c. 18, 376 n. [41], 426, c. 92, 490 n. [13] (giving him a feast at Dec. 26), 502 a.) [J. G.]

LASSAR (1) (LASAR), virgin, daughter of Eoghan, of Maighin, commemorated April 18 (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 107; *Mart. Tall.* ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, pp. xxi. 19). Maighin is Moyne, co. Mayo. There is an Irish Life of a "S. Lassar, Virgo," in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 485.) [J. G.]

LASSAR (2), daughter of Ronan, and patron saint of Achadh-beithe, now Aghavea, in the barony of Maghera-Stephana, co. Fermanagh, and commemorated Nov. 13. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 309.) [J. G.]

LASSAR (3) (LASAR), virgin of Cill Arcalgach, on the brink of Loch Lebenn in Meath (Loch Leane, co. Westmeath), commemorated Aug. 20. She was of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 225; *Mart. Tall.* Aug. 20, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxxii.) [J. G.]

LASSAR (4) (LASSARA), virgin, daughter of Fergus, commemorated March 29. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 786-7) gives a short memoir, chiefly extracted from the *Acts of St. Finnian of Clonard.* She was niece of St. Fortchern, bishop of Trim (Feb. 17), and daughter of Fergus, and descended from Laeghaire and Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarchs of Ireland. In her desire for the spiritual life, from which she was surnamed Algasach and Desideriosa, she steadily declined all proposals of marriage, and took the veil under St. Finnian of Clonard and his sister Regnach or Regnacia, at Kilreynagh, near Banagher; she was taught by St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, and afterwards founded her own church at Doire-mac-Aidmechain in her native district. She flourished in A.D. 540. But even Colgan doubts elsewhere the accuracy of thus identifying the daughter of Fergus with the friend and pupil of St. Finnian and St. Ciaran (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 111, c. 3, 364, c. 3, 365 n. [8], 395, c. 22, 399 n. [26], and *Tr. Th.* 543 n. [11], making her the friend of St. Brigida; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 108; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 77–80; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, 77 sq. 629; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 53). Lassar, Lassara, Lasrea, Laisre, or Lasra appears to have been an extremely common Irish name in the dedications of the kalendars and in the Acts of the Saints, so that much confusion and uncertainty are inevitable. [J. G.]

LASSARA, sister of St. Sedna of Killaney, and daughter of Neman, son of Aidus, son of Lorn (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 569 n. [4]). From her connexion with Lorn, who came from Ireland to Scotland, she may be sister of the St. Brigida, who was venerated at Abernethy in Perthshire

(O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 38 n.[48]; Colga, *Tr. Thaum.* 612 b.) [BRIGIDA (4).] [J. G.]

LASTIDIANUS, a cousin of Augustine, present with others at the discussion on *Happy Life*. (August. *De Beata Vita*, cap. 1, § 6.) [C. H.]

LATHACAN SCOTIGENA, author of a Luirech, Lorica, or Hymn for protection from evils, which is in Mone's *Hymn. Lat. Med. Aevi*, i. 367 (referred to by Todd, *Book of Hymns*, fasc. ii. 121). His Irish name was probably Laidgen or Laidhgenn. [LAIDGEN, monk of Clonfert-mulloe.] [J. G.]

LATHARNAISC, LATHARNAIS, commemorated with Itharnaisc at Achadh-ferta, Jan. 14 (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 15), but there is possibly some confusion. (*Mart. Tall.* Jan. 14, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xii.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 199.) [J. G.]

LATHEN, one of the maternal angels in the system of JUSTINUS. (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26, p. 187.) [G. S.]

LATINUS, bishop of Brescia. [FLAVIUS (1).]

LATINUS (1), Maximianist bishop of Muia, or Mugia, in Numidia, present at the council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 394. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* xxxvi. 20; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 645.) [H. W. P.]

LATINUS (2), second recorded bishop of Marcellianum or Cosilinum in Lucania, and previously a deacon of Grumentum (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* x. 128; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xxi. 237). He is mentioned in the acts of St. Laverius printed in Ughelli (vii. 494 B), and is the subject of two letters of Pelagius II. (578–590). (Gratian, *Decretum*, part. i. dist. 63, can. 14, dist. 77, can. 12, in *Pat. Lat.* clxxxviii.) [A. H. D. A.]

LATINUS (3), twenty-seventh archbishop of Tours, represented at the first council of Chalon-sur-Saône (circ. A.D. 648). According to the chronicles, his episcopate lasted thirteen years. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 28; Mansi, x. 1194; Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, pp. 39, 176, 212, 213, 297.) [S. A. B.]

LATIUS, disciple of St. Patrick, and said to have been a Roman, whom St. Patrick sent to convert the Corco-Bhascinn in the south-west of the co. Clare; he was a deacon. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 612 (rectè 530), c. 4, 539 nn. [4], [11], and *Tr. Thaum.* 208 a.) [J. G.]

LATO, bishop of Spires. [LUIDO.]

LATONIUS, bishop of Thenae, a seaport in Byzacene (Ant. *Iter.* 46, 2; Plin. v. 4, 25; Thaini, Shaw, p. 112), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 120; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 312), and at a council at Thusdrum in 417 (Mansi, iv. 379; Tillem. x. 734, xiii. 792). [H. W. P.]

LATRO, second bishop of Laon, about the middle of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 510.) [S. A. B.]

LATRONIANUS (1), corrector of Sicily. (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5.) [H. W. P.]

LATRONIANUS (2), a learned Spanish poet of the latter half of the 4th century. He was a follower of Priscillian, and with him condemned at Bordeaux, and beheaded by command of Maximus at Trèves, A.D. 385. St. Jerome mentions several works of his, written in different metres, as extant in his time, but none have survived (Prosper. *Chron.* p. 736; Sulpicius Severus, ii. 51; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 122). In the Greek translation by Sophronius, and in some MSS. of Jerome, he is called Matronianus, but the best MSS. support the other form). Petrus de Natalibus (*Catal.* lib. xi. cap. 89) calls him Latrocinianus, and a martyr (cf. Tillem. viii. 517). [W. L.]

LATUINUS, June 20, traditionary first bishop of Séez, said by Du Saussay (*Martyr. Gall.*) to have been sent into Gaul by St. Clement of Rome, but from what source he obtained the legend does not appear. Latuinus is assigned by the Sammarthani (*Gall. Chr.* xi. 675) to some period earlier than A.D. 500, and he is believed to be the saint popularly known as St. Lain. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 12.) [R. T. S.]

LAUD, bishop of Évreux. [LANDULPHUS.]

LAUDANUS, commemorated in *Mart. Tall.* (ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xviii.) at March 16, but probably a misreading of Aedanus, bishop of Lismore. (*Mart. Doneg.* eod. die.) [J. G.]

LAUDATUS, ST. (or Lleuddad), abbat of Bardsey Island (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 221). A chapel was dedicated to St. Laud in the parish of Mylor on Falmouth harbour, who was probably St. Laudatus (Lysons' *Cornwall*, 236; the day of St. Laud of Coutances was Sept. 21). Another Lleuddad of Bardsey was commemorated on Jan. 15 (Rees, 275). [C. W. B.]

LAUDFRIDUS (LAUDTFRIDUS), said to have been thirty-first bishop of Mainz, early in the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 435; Potthast, *Bibl.* supp. p. 353.) [S. A. B.]

LAUDUS (LAUTO, LAUDO, LAUNUS, popularly LO), fifth bishop of Coutances (circ. A.D. 528). In 529, or the succeeding year, he was one of a conclave of bishops at Angers (*Vita S. Melanii*, c. iv., Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 330). He subscribed the canons of the second council of Orleans in 533, and the third in 538. At the fourth, in 541, he was represented by a priest Escupilio. At the fifth, in 549, he was present (Mansi, viii. 839, ix. 20, 121, 136). At this last he subscribed himself Episcopus Constantinae vel Brioverensis, which last word is said to refer to the place which has since taken his name, St. Lô. The year of his death is not known, but it probably occurred between the last date and 569. He is commemorated Sept. 21 in the French martyrology, and Sept. 22 in the Roman, and on these days his name appears in some of the *Auctaria ad Usuardum*. (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 493–4, 496–8; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 438–448; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Sept. 21, tom. vi. 281; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 864.) [S. A. B.]

LAULFUS, bishop of Barcelona from about 689 till after 694. He appears at the sixteenth council of Toledo under Egica (693), his signa-

ture being forty-seventh among fifty-nine. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xxix. 144.) [S. SEVERUS.] [M. A. W.]

LAUNEBODES, a duke of Toulouse, according to Venantius Fortunatus, of barbaric, *i.e.* probably Gothic, birth, who built a church in honour of the martyr St. Saturninus. He was assisted in this work by his wife Berethrudis, whose generosity to the church is mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 35), and who comes in for a share of the eulogies bestowed on her husband by Fortunatus. (*Miscell.* ii. 12; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 100; Tillem. *Mém.* iii. 301.) [S. A. B.]

LAUNOBAUDUS, third in the list of the bishops of Lisieux, present at the council of Châlons, about A.D. 650. (Mansi, x. 1194; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 764.) [S. A. B.]

LAUNOMARUS (LAUDOMARUS, popularly LAUMER or LOMER), ST., founder and first abbat of the monastery of Courgeon, or Corbion (Curbio), in the diocese of Chartres in the 6th century. Two lives of him are extant: first a short one published by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* (i. 335–8, Paris, 1668), which the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire* pronounce the unquestionable work of a disciple, and written soon after the saint's death. The other, composed probably at the close of the 8th century or later, by a monk of Courgeon (§§ 17, 25), is little else than a paraphrase of the older, in which the simple narrative is expanded for purposes of edification, with the result, in at least one instance, of grave historical inaccuracy. It was first published by Surius, with improvements of his own (Jan. xix. tom. i. 438–444), then accurately by Bollandus (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 230–5), to whom it was the only one known, and again by Mabillon after the original life (*ibid.* pp. 339–345). For a criticism of both works see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 411–412.

St. Launomarus was born at a place called Neuville-Lamar, in the diocese of Chartres, of Christian parents, while the Franks were besieging Chartres, or, according to the second life, in the reign of Clotaire I. (A.D. 511–561). He was educated among the pupils of a priest named Chirmirus or Cherimirus. Here he received the tonsure, and in time was ordained to the priesthood. After some further years spent at Chartres, he secretly withdrew into the wilderness of Le Perche, where he built himself a hut for solitary contemplation. But his sanctity soon drew around him a body of disciples, and the hut became a monastery (called afterwards Bellomarus, Bollomer, *i. e.* "quasi pulcher Launomarus," according to Mabillon). Many miracles attested his sanctity and the crowd of devotees became so great that he was compelled to migrate elsewhere, to the spot on which he founded the monastery of Curbio. The year of his death is given as 590 or 594.

Launomarus is commemorated Jan. 19, on which day his name occurs in the martyrology of Usuardus (Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 670), and in many of the *auctaria* (*ibid.* 671–4; cf. Boll. *ibid.* p. 230). [S. A. B.]

LAUNUS I., thirteenth bishop of Angoulême, was chaplain of king Pippin, and owed to him his elevation to the episcopate. (*Annales Laurissenses*, Pertz, *Monumenta Germ. Hist.* i. 148; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 982.) [S. A. B.]

LAURENTIA, Oct. 8, martyr at Ancona, with another virgin, Palatias, in the persecution of Diocletian according to some ancient MSS. at Ancona. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baronius; Boll. *Acta SS.* iv. 47; Tillem. v. 135.) [C. H.]

LAURENTINUS (1) (LAURENTIUS), Roman martyr. (Cyp. *Ep.* 39; Feb. 3, *Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [CELERINUS.] [E. W. B.]

LAURENTINUS (2) (LAURENTIUS), June 3, boy-martyr in Tuscany, in the Decian persecution. (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Ceillier, xiii. 308; Tillem. iii. 332; Peter Damian. serm. xxii. in *Pat. Lat.* cxliv. 623.) [G. T. S.]

LAURENTIUS (1), bishop of Nola, recorded in the diptychs of the church. Remondini (*Della Nolana Eccles. Storia*, p. 601) argues that his period was cir. A.D. 260, and Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d' Ital.* xix. 573, 631) agrees, making him eighth bishop, succeeding Rufus. Ughelli (vi. 252) conjectures that he lived in the 6th century. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (2), a bishop, to whom Rufinus, cir. 410, addresses his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, calling him "fidelissime Papa Laurenti." It has been conjectured that the bishop's name is a copyist's error for Gaudentius, who was bishop of Brescia about that time (*Patr. Lat.* xxi. 335 and note). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (3), bishop of Senia, or Zeng, in Croatia, to whom the 41st letter of pope St. Innocent is addressed. (Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 607; Ceillier, vii. 525; Tillem. x. 630.) [S. A. B.]

LAURENTIUS (4), bishop of Icosion in Mauritania Caesariensis, delegate of his province to the synod of Carthage A.D. 419 (Mansi, iv. 437, 438). He appears to have been afterwards interdicted from his functions (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 189). Tillemont (xiii. 863, 1036, 1037) has some observations on this subject. [R. S. G.]

LAURENTIUS (5), bishop of Arretium (Arezzo) A.D. 422. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 410; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xviii. 71, 177.) [R. S. G.]

LAURENTIUS (6), bishop. (Tillem. xvi. 21.) [LEONTIUS.]

LAURENTIUS (7), Feb. 17, bishop of Sipontum after Felix I. (Ughelli, vii. 815; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 57). The story of Laurentius is discussed at length by Sarnelli (*Vescov. Sipont.* p. 37), who gives him the surname of Majorianus, stating that his father was Justus Valerius Majorianus. Cappelletti (xx. 579) dates his appointment by Zeno A.D. 488. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (8) I., 25th bishop of Milan, c. 490. He was present at the council held at Rome by Symmachus A.D. 503 (Mansi, viii. 251). He died c. A.D. 512. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 77; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xi. 111; Ennod. epig. 8 in *Pat. Lat.* lxiii. 336.) [R. S. G.]

LAURENTIUS (9), bishop of Lychnidus in Illyricum, near the border of Macedonia, addressed by pope Gelasius I. at the beginning of his pontificate (Mansi, viii. 10), in a letter congratulating the Illyrian and Macedonian bishops on their conduct in refusing to hold communion with Acacius of Constantinople, A.D. 492. Marcellinus count of Illyricum, in his *Chronicon*, A.D. 516, says that Laurentius and other Illyrian bishops were summoned to Constantinople by the emperor Anastasius and detained there in exile from their sees; that Laurentius was healed of a complaint of above six years' standing in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian; that he ultimately returned home, and died over the age of eighty years. (Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 939; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 285; Tillem. xvi. 643.) [L. D.]

LAURENTIUS (10), antipope, elected on the same day with Symmachus as successor to Anastasius II. The latter is noted for his conciliatory attitude towards Constantinople with respect to the schism between the churches which had arisen in the matter of Acacius during the pontificate of Felix III. The patrician Festus, who had been sent from Rome to the emperor Anastasius, is said to have promised the latter that on his return to Rome he would persuade the pope to subscribe the *Henoticon* of Zeno (Theod. Lect. *Collectan.* l. 2; Nicephor. l. 16, c. 35). He found on his return the pope Anastasius dead. Those at Rome who, with Festus, were in favour of concession to Constantinople were naturally anxious to procure the election of a new pope who would support their policy. Those who approved of the uncompromising attitude of the popes before Anastasius could not but be equally anxious on the other side. Accordingly, only four days after the late pope's decease—which, according to Pagi (*Critic. in Baron.*), occurred on the 22nd of November, A.D. 498—two assemblies were simultaneously held; one in the church of Constantine, which elected Laurentius of Rome in the interests of concession; the other in the church of St. Mary, which elected Symmachus a Sardinian, in the interests of unbending orthodoxy. The fierce conflicts usually attendant on double elections of popes are said to have ensued in this case. The members of the senate as well as the clergy were arrayed in two parties. The ex-consul Faustus is mentioned as the leading supporter of Symmachus; Probinus, an influential senator, with Festus, led the party of Laurentius, which was further much strengthened by the adherence of the deacon Paschasius, whose saintly reputation gave him great influence over the people. This Paschasius, who is honoured as a saint and confessor in the Roman Martyrology, is said by Gregory the Great, who commends him highly for his sanctity and his orthodox writings, to have persisted in his adherence to Laurentius to the day of his death. But Gregory goes on to tell a story which he had heard in his youth about the saint having been seen after death by Germanus bishop of Capua, standing in the fumes of a hot bath, and his having been no longer there when the bishop visited the bath a second time. The conclusion is drawn that the otherwise saintly deacon underwent punishment in the next world for opposing Symmachus, but was eventually pardoned as having sinned through ignorance (Greg. *Dialog.* l. iv. cc. 40, 41). Baronius, on the ground that he could not have gone to heaven at all had he died in opposition to the true pope, is driven to the shift of interpreting Gregory's expression "to the day of his death" as exclusive of his last moments (Baron. *Annal.* and *not. in Martyrol. Roman.* May 31). Our proper inference is that the persistent support of a man of saintly and orthodox repute like Paschasius may be taken to imply a better case for Laurentius than was afterwards conceded to him, no less with regard to the validity of his election than to the conciliatory policy that he was elected to uphold.

At length both parties agreed to refer the settlement of the disputed election to Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who now reigned at Ravenna as king of Italy. A deputation having been sent to Ravenna for this purpose, he adjudged in favour of whichever candidate could be proved to have been first ordained or to have been chosen by the greatest number. Consequently Symmachus was accepted as the lawful pope (Anastas.). Baronius, resenting the notion of a matter of this kind having been referred to and settled by an Arian king, contends that his intervention was resorted to only as a temporary expedient for the sake of peace, and that the real and authoritative settlement of the question was by a Roman synod subsequently held. But the synod he refers to (*Romana I. sub Symmacho*, A.D. 499; Labbe, tom. v. p. 441) is represented as convened by Symmachus as being the already acknowledged pope; nor is there any reference in its acts to the disputed election. The seventy-two bishops and sixty-seven presbyters of Italy, and the five Roman deacons who subscribed its decrees accepted his position; but there is no intimation of their having accorded it to him. The purpose of the synod was to provide against such scandal as had recently occurred in future elections of popes.

Among the signatures to the decrees of this council is that of "Coelius Laurentius, archipresbyter tituli sanctae Praxedis," which is supposed to be that of the antipope Laurentius himself, who is further said to have been disposed of by his appointment to the see of Nucerina. Anastasius (*in Vit. Symmachi*) says that it was Symmachus who appointed him; "intuitu misericordiae." Theodorus Lector (lib. ii.), Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 123, ed. Paris), and Nicephorus (lib. 16, c. 35), attribute his appointment, as well as the confirmation of Symmachus in the see of Rome, solely to the king Theodoric. If Laurentius at first acquiesced in the assignment of the popedom to his rival, and accepted Nucerina, his partisans at Rome did not allow him to be thus acquiescent long. He was sooner or later recalled by them to Rome, and during the three years after his original election was supported in opposition to Symmachus. Rome continued to be divided into two parties, headed by Festus and Probinus on the side of Laurentius, and by Faustus on the side of Symmachus, and the contest was accompanied by violence and bloodshed. Anastasius states that "those who communicated with Symmachus were slain with the sword; that holy women and virgins were dragged from their houses or convents, denuded and scourged; that there were daily fights

against the church in the midst of the city; that many priests were killed; that there was no security for walking in the city by day or night, and that the exconsul Faustus alone fought for the church." His account implies that the party of influential laymen on the side of Laurentius was the more powerful of the two, but that the clergy generally adhered to Symmachus. There has been discussion as to the dates of the successive stages of the contention and of its final settlement. Pagi (*Critic. in Baron.*), differing from Baronius, maintains that the synod called *Synodus Palmaris* (identified with *Romana III. sub Symmacho*), was not held till the year 503. The Bollandists, followed by Mansi, maintain against Pagi the earlier date, A.D. 501, that had been usually assigned to it, as being denoted by the consuls named in the extant acts of the council, and in the letters of Theodoric on the occasion, and as being consistent with the accounts elsewhere given as to the circumstances. According to them the course of proceedings was as follows. Festus and Probinus, with their party, failing otherwise to get rid of Symmachus, got up criminal charges against him, and sent to Theodoric at Ravenna, desiring him to send a visitor to the Roman church for taking cognizance of these charges. One was accordingly sent in the person of Peter bishop of Altinum, who arrived in Rome before the Easter of the year 501, when he celebrated the solemnities of the season. After Easter Theodoric summoned a council of Italian bishops at Rome, which seems to have separated in confusion without any definite issue, owing to Symmachus having refused to appear before it, and having, with his friends, objected on canonical grounds to the jurisdiction of the visitor. Consequently Theodoric, who appears to have acted throughout with the best intentions, ordered the reassembling of the synod on the Kalends of September in the same year. The matter was finally settled in the "synodus palmaris," the proceedings of which are supposed to be given under *Synod. Romana III. sub Symmacho*, the date of which is x. Kal. Novembris. At this Symmachus consented to appear in person, having procured the withdrawal of Peter from his position as visitor, and given his own authorization to the meeting of the synod, so as to satisfy canonical requirements. The assembled bishops then declared him free from all charges against him, and required all to embrace his communion under pain of being accounted schismatics. Laurentius is said in one account to have retired to a farm of the patrician Festus, and to have died there, "sub ingenti abstinentia." This is stated in a fragment of a catalogue of the popes printed from a remarkably ancient manuscript by Joseph Blanchinus in his edition of Anastasius. This account evidently emanated from the party of Laurentius, if not from Festus himself (cf. Pagi's note on Baronius, ann. 502 i.).

The authorities for the account given above are Anastasius (*in Vit. Symmachi*); the above mentioned *Fragmentum Catalogi Pontificalis* in Anastas. Bibl. ed. 1718–35, Rome, t. iv. *Prolegom.* p. lxix.; Theodorus Lector, Theophanes and Nicephorus (*in loc. cit.*); Acts of Councils under Symmachus; *Libellus apologeticus* of Ennodius, written in justification of Symmachus after his final triumph. [J. B—y.]

LAURENTIUS (11), a bishop designated as Bojanensis or Boensis, present at the 3rd Roman council of Symmachus, A.D. 501 (Mansi, viii. 252). Others read Bobiensis, which Ughelli (ii. 654) and Cappelletti (ii. 486, 518) refer to Bobio, and this they identify with Sassina (Sarsina) in Aemilia, west of Ariminum. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (12), bishop of Trevi, the ancient Trebia in Umbria, not to be confused with Treba in Latium. Present at the first synod under pope Symmachus, in March 499. (Mansi, viii. 234; Cappelletti, iv. 394, 395; Hefele, § 220.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (13), bishop of Bergamo, at the third and sixth synods under pope Symmachus in October 501, and October 504. (Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209; Mansi, viii. 252, 315; Ughelli, iv. 412; Cappelletti, xi. 457, 539.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (14), 13th bishop of Reggio in Emilia, c. 500. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 361.) Ughelli (ii. 243) omits him. [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (15), surnamed MELLIFLUUS, thought to have been bishop of Novara cir. A.D. 507. A certain Laurentius surnamed Mellifluus, from the sweetness with which he delivered homilies, is mentioned by Sigebert (*Scr. Eccl.* cap. 120 in *Pat. Lat.* clx. 572) as the author of a treatise *De Duobus Temporibus*, viz. one period from Adam to Christ, the other from Christ to the end of the world. The opinion that this Laurentius was the presbyter [LAURENTIUS (37)] who instructed Gaudentius the first bishop of Novara, was maintained by Lazarus Augustine Cotta, an outline of whose arguments may be seen in the *Acta Eruditorum* (suppl. t. ii. pp. 525, 526, ed. Lips. 1696). La Bigne (*Max. Bibl. Pat.* t. ix. p. 465, Lugd. 1677) suspects that Laurentius Mellifluus was bishop of Novara, and subsequently that bishop of Milan (sc. Laurentius I. the 25th bishop) who is praised by Ennodius in his first *Dictio*. La Bigne grounds his opinion on certain allusions of Ennodius in his second *Dictio*, which was sent to Honoratus bishop of Novara (e. g. *Pat. Lat.* lxiii. 269 B). Other corroborative passages have been adduced by Mabillon (*u. inf.*), as where Ennodius describes Laurentius bishop of Milan pacifying his haughty brethren by honeyed words of conciliation (blandimentorum melle, *ib.* 267 A). The historians of literature usually therefore designate Laurentius Mellifluus bishop of Novara, but he is not admitted by the historians of the see, as Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* iv. 692) and Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiv. 526). Three extant treatises are ascribed to Laurentius Mellifluus, viz. two homilies, *De Poenitentia* and *De Eleemosyna*, printed by La Bigne in his *Bibliotheca*, and a treatise *De Muliere Cananaea*, printed by Mabillon with a note on the author supporting the view of La Bigne in his *Analecta* (p. 55, ed. 1723). The homilies will be found in La Bigne (*Max. Bib. Pat.* t. ix. p. 465, Lug. 1677) and the three treatises together in Migne (*Pat. Lat.* lxvi. 87) with both La Bigne's and

Mabillon's notices of the author. Cave says (i. 493) that the *De Duobus Temporibus* is lost. But he is mistaken, for it is evidently the same as the homily *De Poenitentia*, which opens with an exposition of the "duo tempora," which terms he employs somewhat in the sense of the two dispensations for the divine pardon of sin. The sin inherited from Adam is in baptism entirely put away through the merits of Christ. Christ the second Adam simply cancelled the sin derived from the first Adam. Original sin therefore corresponds, in a manner, with the pre-Christian period. For actual transgression each person is himself alone responsible, and is to be released from it by penitence. The treatise is mainly occupied with this last thought, and so has received the title it now bears. For other notices of the author see Ceillier (xi. 95), Dupin (*Eccl. Writ.* t. i. p. 540, ed. 1722), Tillemont (*Mém.* x. 259, 260). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (16), surnamed ILLUMINATOR, bishop of Spoletum (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 1257; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 338, 382; Boll. *Acta SS.* 3 Feb. i. 362). Laurentius is said to have been one of those adherents of the Catholic faith in Syria who, when Eutychianism was dominant there in the reign of Anastasius, fled to Italy and to Rome. The year 516 is the calculated date. Hormisdas ordained him priest and sent him to preach in Umbria. Near Lake Velinus he built a monastery in which he resided twenty years, when cir. 541 he was elected by the Spoletines to succeed their bishop John II. His reputation for miraculous powers caused him to be known as ILLUMINATOR. In 552 he resigned, and was succeeded by Peter I. He then retired to a Sabine estate named Acutianum, where he built a monastery called Farfa after the stream Farfar near which it stood. Here he died Feb. 3, 576, but was commemorated in the city and diocese of Spoleto on Feb. 4. There is another account, which would identify him with the bishop of Foronovo [LAURENTIUS (17)]. Compare ISAAC bishop of Spoleto. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (17), a bishop of the Sabine church, cir. 550, having his seat probably at Foronovo (Ughelli, x. 103; Marronus, *Episc. Sabineus*, p. 14; Cappelletti, i. 557, 585). Marronus discusses his see and period. It is stated in the chronicle of Gregory, a monk of the 11th century, that he came from Syria, and after abdicating his see was the founder of the monastery of Farfa (*Constructio Farfensis* in Pertz, *Monumenta*, xi. pp. 520, 521). Petrus Damianus also relates in his epistle to pope Nicholas II. that Farfa was built by a Sabine bishop after his abdication (ep. 9, lib. i. al. *Opusc.* xix. cap. 1, in *Pat. Lat.* cxlv. 425). See the preceding article. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (18), tenth bishop of Florence, A.D. 555 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xvi. 446, 709). He is not recognised by Ughelli (iii. 20), Lami (*Eccl. Flor. Monum.* ii. 707), or Cerracchini (*Vescov. di Firenz.* p. 15). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (19), bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia). He received a letter from pope Pelagius I. 555–560 (Gratianus, *Decret.* pt. i. dist. 63, caus. 15 in *Pat. Lat.* clxxxvii. and in Mansi, ix. 736). He is reckoned sixth in the series. (Ughelli, x. 56; Cappelletti, i. 532, 545.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (20) II., archbishop of Milan, c. 573. It seems probable that he resided at Genoa, whither his predecessor Honoratus fled on the invasion of Italy by the Lombards. (See Gregory's letter to John the subdeacon, lib. iii. indict. xi. 30 in Migne, lxxvii. 627.) It appears from letters of Gregory the Great that Laurentius had drawn up a document in which he condemned the Three Chapters, which caused much disturbance in the minds of the bishops of Northern Italy. But Gregory wrote to Constantius, successor of Laurentius, that in any case he was not bound by the acts of his predecessor. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 82, lib. iii. indict. xi. 26, lib. iv. indict. xii. 2, 39; Migne, lxxvii. 535, 623, 670, 713.) See also a letter from Childebert king of the Franks to Laurentius (Troya, *Codice Diplomatico*, i. p. 33). [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (21), first bishop of Concordia in Italy, before 579, according to the authorities used by Gams (*Sér. Episc.* 788), but not recognised by Ughelli (v. 325) or Cappelletti (x. 473). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (22), bishop of Belluno, one of the ten bishops who (after a synod of bishops of Venetia and the district) signed a letter to the emperor Maurice, c. 590, justifying their refusal to condemn the Three Chapters (Hefele, § 281; Mansi, x. 466). He is also mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (iii. 26) as one of the bishops who would not communicate with Severus patriarch of Grado, because he had condemned the Three Chapters. (Ughelli, v. 146; Cappelletti, x. 110, 215.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (23), bishop of Arezzo 600 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 71, 177). Ughelli (i. 410) omits him. [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (24), bishop of Castellamare (Stabiae), c. 600. (Ughelli, vi. 656; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xix. 771, 811.) [A. H. D.A.]

LAURENTIUS (25), the second archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 604–619. He was one of the original company of missionaries who left Rome with Augustine in 595 and stayed at Aix, whilst their leader went back to St. Gregory for further encouragement in the work. After Augustine's return he accompanied him to Kent, and was employed by him, after the first successes of the enterprise and the consecration of Augustine, to carry the news to the pope. On his return from Rome he brought the letters in which St. Gregory answered the questions of Augustine, and was accompanied by abbot Mellitus and a fresh band of monks. In the letters by which St. Gregory recommends the mission to the good offices of the bishops and princes of Gaul, Laurentius is designated "presbyter," a fact which makes it probable that he was not a monk (Bede, *H. E.* i. 27; Greg. *Epp.* lib. xi. 29, 55–62, 64). This inference is disputed by Mabillon (*AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. p. 57), but apparently on insufficient grounds, although the later Canterbury writers insist on the point (*Ob. Cant. Aug. Sax.* i. 2; cf.

Elmham, p. 127). Augustine, shortly before his death, consecrated Laurentius as his successor (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 4). The date to be taken for this event will of course depend on the date accepted for Augustine's death. That probably took place on May 26, 604. In a charter of Ethelbert, dated April 28, 604 (Kemble, *C. D.* i. no. 1), the king asserts that he acts by advice of bishop Laurentius. This is a grant to the newly founded church of Rochester, and is not, in the judgment of Kemble, open to the charge of fabrication which destroys the authority of many of the Canterbury charters. On the other hand, in a dated Canterbury charter of Jan. 9, 605, Laurentius is mentioned as a witness, and is still called "presbyter." In 604, then, or 605 at the latest, he succeeded Augustine, and administered the affairs of the little church with vigour and success as long as king Ethelbert lived. In 610 he must have taken part in the mission of Mellitus to Rome; in 613, according to the Canterbury historians (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 131), he consecrated the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, the foundations of which had been laid by Augustine (Bede, *H. E.* i. 33). His zeal in the administration of this church is enlarged on by Elmham (p. 127), but the matter is either legendary or inferential. It is possible also that some of the conciliar legislation to which St. Boniface and pope Zachary allude, in connexion with the names of the early archbishops, was the work of Laurentius during this period (*Bonif. Epp.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 114, 185; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 51), but of this too nothing certain can be affirmed.

The growth of the church under Laurentius seems to have been very slow, his aim, like that of Augustine, being probably to reconcile the British Christians before attempting any great mission among the heathen kingdoms. The only extant and genuine document of his is the fragment of a letter preserved by Bede (*H. E.* ii. 4), addressed to the bishops and abbats of "Scottia." In the letter itself, as Bede tells us, was contained an earnest exhortation to peace and unity on the questions in dispute between the Celtic and Roman churches; but the fragment preserved is somewhat of a remonstrance against the unfriendly conduct of the Scottish bishops, one of whom, named Daganus, had refused to eat with the Kentish clergy, or even in the house where they were. Similar letters were likewise addressed to the British bishops. The latter had little or no success, but the overtures to the Scoto-Irish church were not altogether futile. The tradition preserved by Gotselinus affirms that Laurentius converted to the Catholic rule of Easter a certain Terenan, whom Ware identifies with MacLaisre, bishop of Armagh (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 62; Bright, *Early English Ch. Hist.* pp. 96–98). The date of this negotiation is fixed by Bede as nearly coinciding with the mission of Mellitus to Rome (*H. E.* ii. 4).

On the death of Ethelbert in 616, the whole of the newly founded church organisation was endangered. Eadbald, his son and successor, not only resisted the reception of Christianity but married his stepmother; and, at the same time the heathen sons of Sebert became kings of the East Saxons. Mellitus and Justus prepared to fly to Gaul, and visited Canterbury on their way in order to take counsel with Laurentius. The archbishop lost heart under the circumstances, and as soon as they were gone made ready to follow them. In this intention he was hindered by a vision of St. Peter, who, appearing to him as he lay on his couch in the church of the monastery, rebuked him both with words and stripes. The stripes, according to Bede, were real stripes, and, being shewn by Laurentius to king Eadbald, had the effect of securing his conversion. Mellitus and Justus were immediately recalled and the downfall of Kentish Christianity prevented (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 6). It is useless now to enquire whether in a matter so obviously legendary Laurentius had had recourse to a pious fraud (Hook, *Archbishops*, i. 88, 89). The project of flight must be fixed to the years 617 or 618, and shortly afterwards Laurentius died. He was buried by the side of Augustine in the north porch of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul (St. Augustine's; Bede, *H. E.* 3, 7) on Feb. 2, probably in the year 619. [See MELLITUS.] A Latin epitaph is given by Elmham, p. 149, and Harpsfield, p. 60.

The name of Laurentius occurs in several charters, some of which have been already noticed. Most of these are connected with the history of the monastery of St. Augustine, and are of little authority. (See Kemble, *C. D.* Nos. 4–6; *Mon. Angl.* i. 127; Elmham, ed. Hardwick, pp. 114, 119, 144.) One is a grant of Adisham to Christ Church, Canterbury, given by Eadbald after his conversion (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 983). The Rochester charter above referred to is the only one which has any claims for acceptance as genuine.

Later tradition at Canterbury and elsewhere has gathered a few legendary particulars of the life of Laurentius. Elmham states that Laurentius blessed two successive abbats of St. Augustine's, John and Rufinianus, but this seems to be a mere matter of inference. The Life by Gotselinus, described by Hardy (*Cat. Mat. Brit. Hist.* i. 217, 218), is still in MS. This Life ascribes to the archbishop a journey to Scotland, and the foundation of a church at Fordun. Nothing, however, of any authenticity can be added to the story as given by Bede. Hardy mentions (*l. c.* p. 219) two poetical Lives still in MS. Besides the biography in Capgrave, which is founded on Bede and Gotselinus, there are discussions on the history of Laurentius in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. pp. 56–58; and in the Bollandist Acts, Feb. 2, tom. i. pp. 289–294. Surius (vol. ii. p. 35) gives only extracts from Bede. See also Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 60. The list of archbishops given by Ralph de Diceto (*Ang. Sac.* i. 87; Dicet. *Opp.* i. 16; ii. 208) is of no authority. In it Laurentius is said to have received the pall from St. Gregory, but no such statement appears in Bede; Gervase (opp. ii. 331) supposes that he may have used one sent by Gregory to Augustine. The computation which assigns him a pontificate of only five years is also erroneous (*ibid.*), although, taken in conjunction with the misstatement which gives sixteen years to Augustine, it helps to correct itself.

Laurentius was never canonised, but he was held in great veneration in Kent; and out of the two hundred and fifty churches in England which are dedicated to St. Laurence the deacon, some few may be held to commemorate the

successor of Augustine, or to have been indebted for their names to the reverence inspired by the two conjointly. [S.]

LAURENTIUS (26), bishop of Pavia, c. 628. (Ughelli, i. 1081; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xii. 402.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (27), bishop of Usula in Byzacene, signed the letter addressed to Constantine, son of Heraclius, by the council of that province A.D. 641. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 361.) [R. S. G.]

LAURENTIUS (28), doubtful bishop of Lucca, reckoned by Ughelli (i. 795) 21st or 22nd before 649, but omitted by Cappelletti (xv. 556). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (29), bishop of Todi (Tudertum), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649 (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307). He is reckoned 10th or 11th bishop. (Ugh. i. 1351; Cappell. v. 218, 242.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (30), 10th bishop of Perugia, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 866; Hefele, § 307; Ugh. i. 1157; Capp. iv. 466, 500.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (31), 23rd or 24th bishop of Tortona, c. 662, between Beatus and Audacius. (Ughelli, iv. 628; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 671.) [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (32), 13th or 15th bishop of Brixen or Seben, in the Tyrol, in the seventh century, according to a catalogue of the sec. (Hund, *Metrop. Salisburg.* i. 296; Sinnacher, *Geschicht. der bischöf. Kirche Säben und Brixen*, i. 214; Resch, *Annal. Eccles. Sabionensis*, t. ii. p. 483.) [S. A. B.]

LAURENTIUS (33), eighth or ninth bishop of Parentium cir. A.D. 700. (Ugh. v. 399; Cappelletti, viii. 786, 799.) [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (34), July 19, bishop of Naples. Cuper the Bollandist dates him cir. A.D. 717 and quotes an ancient inscription saying that he sat fifteen years and six months (*Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 644). Cappelletti (xix. 398, 523) reckons him the 38th bishop, between Julian and Sergius, A.D. 701–716, differing slightly from Ughelli (vi. 58) and *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, pars i. in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 421. [A. H. D. A.]

LAURENTIUS (35), supposed bishop of Petinum (Pedena) in Istria, A.D. 804 (Cappelletti, viii. 775), not accepted by Ughelli (v. 471). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS, martyr. [LAURENTINUS.]

LAURENTIUS (36), Aug. 10, archdeacon of Rome, and martyr under Valerian, A.D. 258. Cyprian (*Ep.* 82 al. 80 *Ad Successum*) mentions the rescript of Valerian directing that bishops, presbyters, and deacons should forthwith be punished, and records the martyrdom of Xystus bishop of Rome, in accordance with it on Aug. 6. Laurentius, the first of the traditional seven deacons of Rome, suffered four days afterwards. The genuine Acts of this martyrdom were lost even in St. Augustine's time, as he tells us (*Ser.* 302, *de Sancto Laurent.*) that his narration was gained from tradition instead of reciting the Acts as his custom was (S. Ambr. *de Off.* i. 41). He suffered by burning over a slow fire, the prefect thinking thus to extort the vast treasures which, as he believed, the Christians had concealed. He was buried in the Via Tiburtina in the cemetery of Cyriaca by Hippolytus and Justinus, a presbyter, where Constantine the Great is said to have built a church in honour of the martyr, which pope Damasus rebuilt or repaired. Few martyrdoms of the first three centuries are better attested than this one. St. Laurentius is commemorated in the canon of the Roman Mass. His name occurs in the most ancient Calendars, as Catalog. Liberianus, or Bucherianus of the 4th century, in the Calendar of Ptolemeus Silvius in the 5th century, and in the others described in Art. CALENDAR in DICT. CHRIST. ANTIQ. (cf. Smedt, *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.* pp. 199–219, 514). He is commemorated by Prudentius in his *Peristeph.* (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 38; Ceillier, ii. 423; Fleury, *H. E.* vii. 38; xi. 36; xviii. 33). Cf. Fronton, *Epist. et Dissert. Ecclesiast.* p. 219, ed. 1720, where, in a note on Aug. 10, in *Rom. Kal.*, an accurate account is given of the churches built at Rome in his honour. [G. T. S.]

LAURENTIUS (37), Apr. 30, presbyter and martyr at Novara. He is related to have come from western parts to preach to the pagan inhabitants, and to have been assisted by a reader Gaudentius, who subsequently became the first bishop of Novara [GAUDENTIUS (8)], and in whose *Vita* (cap. 2, Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Jan. ii. 418) the account of Laurentius is contained. Laurentius was about to baptize a large number of children at a font which he had constructed some distance from the city, when the pagans went out and slaughtered both him and his catechumens. The period of this event is variously assigned to the reigns of Diocletian, Constantius, and Valentinian (Boll. Apr. iii. 763; Tillem. x. 259, 260). Tillemont states that Laurentius is regarded as one of the patrons of Novara, where there is a church bearing his name. [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (38), reader at Florence, son of JULIANA (7).

LAURENTIUS (39), addressed by Augustine as "dilectissime fili," while inscribing to him his *Enchiridion* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xl. 231). Augustine left it to his discretion to call the treatise by that name (*Ench.* c. 122). In connexion with the same work, and as a brother of Dulcitius, he is again mentioned by Augustine (*De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus*, § 10, *ibid.* p. 154). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (40), a solitary, addressed along with two others, Faustus and Epinicus, by St. Nilus (*epp.* 98, 99, 100, 101, lib. iii. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxix. 430). [C. H.]

LAURENTIUS (41), a martyr in Africa, whose monument, discovered at Setif in Algeria, is the subject of an investigation of M. Renier in the *Revue Archéologique* of Paris (1850, p. 369). The author interprets the date which

the inscription contains as indicating the period of martyrdom to have been the reign of Genseric king of the Vandals, and he is inclined to identify the martyr with the African Laurentius commemorated on Sept. 28, in the *Roman Martyrology*. [G. T. S.]

LAUREOLUS, 23rd bishop of Novara, between Probus and Leo, before A.D. 700. (Ughelli, iv. 695; Cappelletti, xiv. 448, 526.) [C. H.]

LAURIANUS, July 4, martyr in the territory of Bourges, according to Usuard, who states that his head was carried to Seville. To this statement Ado adds that the locality of his martyrdom was vicus Justinus, a name which appears in various other forms, the Bollandists adopting that of Vastinnum, which will be found in Spruner. Later martyrologists designate Laurianus a bishop, which is his title in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Jul. iv. 35). In Spain he is known as San Laureano, and Florez has a dissertation (*Esp. Sag.* ix. 147) in opposition to the idea that he was ever bishop of Seville. The Bollandists conjecture the sixth century as his period. [C. H.]

LAURUS (1), martyr with his twin brother Florus; commemorated on Aug. 18. In the reign of Constantine the Great their relics were found and removed to Constantinople, where they were preserved at the date of Basil's *Menology* (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 207). [C. H.]

LAURUS (2), bishop of the "sedes Pacensis" (Pax Julia, now Beja in Lusitania), appears among the signatories of the doubtful synod of Toledo, placed under Recared in 597 (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 248; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien.* ii. (2) p. 25). The name is omitted in the collections of Loaisa (p. 253), Aguirre-Catalani (iii. 305), and Mansi (x. 478). [M. A. W.]

LAURUS (3), one of seven solitaries in the Arabian desert bordering on the Saracens about the 4th century. (Rosweyd, *Vit. Pat.* lib. iii. cap. 200; Tillem. x. 447.) [C. H.]

LAURUS (4) (LERI, LERY), priest and abbat in the diocese of St. Malo in the 7th century. Mention is made of two accounts of his life, but neither is now accessible. One of them had been seen by the author of the MS. chronicle of the monastery of St. Julian at Tours (Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. v. 134), but, with the exception of short passages from it preserved by the chronicle, it has been lost. The other consists of some MS. *Acta* of the saint formerly preserved in the church which bears his name, and employed by Lobineau in his life of St. Lery (*Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ii. 85, ed. 1836). These *Acta*, from internal evidence, appear to have been written in the 9th century. Laurus was sprung "ex Britanniâ," but whether we are to understand Brittany or Great Britain is not clear. Lobineau says there is some reason to believe his birthplace was in the country of Broüerech, or Vannes, but there is another tradition that he belonged to a noble family of England. For love of God he deserted home and friends, and came to the king of Brittany, St. Judicael. By him he was presented with a cell, which had been occupied by a hermit, called Elocau, and which is said to have lain on the banks of the river Doma or Doueff, on the northern skirt of the great belt of forest which extending from near the diocese of Rennes to that of Cornouaille, divided the pagus transylvanus, or in Celtic Poutre-coet (Porhoet), from the southern portion of the province. Here, with the king's help, he built a cell or small monastery, which afterwards bore his name, and passed the remainder of his life in good works. He died full of years, and was buried amid a large concourse of people, in a stone coffin he had himself prepared. The monastery disappeared in very early times, though a church and small village still retain the name.

St. Laurus is commemorated Sept. 30, on which day his name appears in some of the *Auctaria ad Usuardum*, in one of them, the *Editio Lubeci-Coloniensis* (1490), erroneously as episcopus (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 524). His feast is also marked on that day in the old calendar of the abbey of St. Meen; but according to Mabillon (*ibid.* p. 145), at the monastery of St. Julian in Tours, it was formerly celebrated on Oct. 1, but was moved to the following day on account of the double feast of St. Remigius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 692–97; Lobineau, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ii. 85–94, ed. 1836.) [S. A. B.]

LAUSCIUS, bishop of Bayeux. [LASCIVUS.]

LAUSTRANUS. [LAISTRANUS.]

LAUSUS (1), an imperial officer, sent by the emperor Julian to Basil, A.D. 362, with the view of intimidating him. (Basil. *Epist.* 41 [208] Coteler. *Eccl. Graec. Monum.* ii. 94.) [E. V.]

LAUSUS (2), a primiscrinius reproved by Nilus (ep. 151, lib. ii. in *Pat. Gr.* lxxix. 271). [C. H.]

LAUSUS (3), imperial chamberlain at Constantinople under Theodosius II., and friend of Palladius bishop of Helenopolis, whose *Historia Lausiaca* was named in honour of him. Prefixed to the *Historia* are two epistles addressed to Lausus, who is designated a praepositus, one of them by Palladius and the other by Heraclides, who was also a Cappadocian bishop. Cedrenus (*Compend.* t. i. p. 587, Bonn) mentions a Lausus among the eunuchs who governed under Theodosius II., and this may have been our Lausus, since chamberlains were commonly eunuchs. Codinus in his treatise on the statues of Constantinople (*De Signis*, p. 37, Bonn) describes those which adorned the mansion of Lausus, whom he calls patrician and praepositus, one who had held many posts of authority (ἀρχάς, magistratus), and had attained to high honour in the reign of Arcadius. He too may have been our Lausus, placed under a wrong emperor. The statues described by Codinus are pagan. The mansion is one of the palaces of Constantinople enumerated by Ducange (*Cpolis. Christ.* lib. ii. p. 132, ed. 1682); he calls it "palatium lausiacum," cites other authors who mention it, and places it in the centre of the city, near the forum of Constantine. Ducange believes the owner of the palace to have been our Lausus. About the period of the council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) the name of Lausus is found in various writers, having characteristics re-

sembling those of the friend of Palladius, with the exception that he is not designated a praepositus. The identity is commonly acknowledged by critics, and if the title praepositus disappears, it need not have been a permanent one. Among the correspondents of Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, occurs an eminent one named Lausus, whose intercourse he had much enjoyed when visiting the "great city" where Lausus resided (Firm. ep. 9 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxvii. 1487). Muratori in his note here identifies Lausus with ours, and the "great city" with Constantinople. It was about the same period that Theodotus bishop of Ancyra addressed to a Lausus (whom Tillemont identifies with ours) a treatise in six books which he had written against Nestorius, a fact stated by Epiphanius the deacon, in the sixth action of the seventh synod, 787 (Labbe, vii. 494; Mansi, xiii. 699). The same Theodotus, in his *Exposition of the Nicene Creed*, addresses an anonymous friend, whom towards the end he styles φίλη κεφαλή (*Pat. Gr.* lxxvii. 1313, 1348 D) and Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* x. 513, ed. Harles) conjectures that the friend is Lausus. Some little time after the council of Ephesus (in 432 or 433, Tillem.) there is a Lausus mentioned in a letter of archdeacon Epiphanius, the syncellus of Cyril, to Maximian bishop of Constantinople, the successor of Nestorius (*Synod. Adv. Tragoed. Iren.* cap. 203 in Mansi, v. 989). In this letter, besides a cubicularius, there is more than one praepositus, and among them Chrysoretes, an active opponent of Cyril's doctrine, whose power therefore Cyril is anxious to destroy. Epiphanius accordingly urges Maximian to get the lord Lausus ("dominus Lausus") brought into the palace through Pulcheria and appointed praepositus in the place of the enemy of the church. If our Lausus is the person meant there is some difficulty in making him a candidate for a dignity he had been honoured with some ten years earlier. Tillemont meets it by suggesting that there is no reason why a person should not have held the chamberlainship twice. This view seems corroborated by our meeting with a Lausus praepositus very soon afterwards in connexion with Melania the younger. It was in 434 (Rosweyd) or 436 (Tillemont) that this lady visited Constantinople, and there she was hospitably received at the house of the illustrious Lausus, a good man, who had attained the dignity of praepositus. With Tillemont we may in this instance confidently admit the identity.

For Tillemont's remarks on some of the passages cited in this article see his *Mémoires*, xi. 508, 526, 527, xiv. 250, 540. See also Ceillier, vii. 486. The name of Lausus does not occur in the prosopographia of Gothofred's *Theodosian Code*. [C. H.]

LAUTO, bishop of Coutances. [LAUDUS.]

LAVANUS, ST., the patron saint of St. Levan, a parish near the Land's End. He was probably Irish. The parish feast is on the Sunday nearest to Oct. 15. But he may be the Irish saint Livinus, the apostle of Brabant, who was martyred Nov. 12, A.D. 656 (Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 255). The parish was until lately always combined with Burgan, named from Buriena, also an Irish devotee. There was a tendency to shift saints' days to the beginning of October. (See Dixon's *Hist. of Church of England*, i. 424.) [C. W. B.]

LAVERIUS, Nov. 17, martyr in the early part of Constantine's reign, according to his *Gesta* written in 1162 and printed in Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, vii. 488). [C. H.]

LAZARUS, BOOK OF, an apocryphal writing ascribed to Lazarus of Bethany, who is said to have narrated his experience of the unseen world in four books, three of which were hidden by the apostles, the remaining one being carried to Rome. The title, with this description, appears in a catalogue of 174 books found among some antiquities of Constantinople during the Venetian occupation of that city, and printed by Du Verdier at p. 57 of his *Supplementum Epitomes Bibliothecae Gesnerianae* (which is appended to his *Bibliothèque*, Lyon, 1585). It is noticed in Ittig's *Dissertatio de Patribus Apostolicis* (p. 32) in his *Bibliotheca Pat. Apost.*, and by Fabricius in his *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* t. ii. p. 982. [G. T. S.]

LAZARUS (1), reputed by the church of Marseilles to have been first bishop of Marseilles, and the brother of Mary and Martha. The feast of this saint was celebrated at Marseilles in ancient times on Dec. 17, as in the Roman martyrology. Other authorities place it on Sept. 1. (*Gall. Ch.* i. 631.) [R. T. S.]

LAZARUS (2), Apr. 12, reputed deacon and martyr at Trieste in the age of the Antonines. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 66; Tillemont, *Mém.* ii. 319, 629.) [C. H.]

LAZARUS (3), martyr in Persia under Sapor with Zanita and others, commemorated by the Latins on March 27. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 691; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 15; Tillem. *Mém.* vii. 38.) [C. H.]

LAZARUS (4), a bishop among the Grazer solitaries about Mount Sigoron (τὸ Σιγόρων καλούμενον ὄρος) near Nisibis. (Soz. vi. 38; Tillem. viii. 285.) [EUSEBIUS (121).] [C. H.]

LAZARUS (5), bishop of Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence) at the commencement of the 5th century. According to the Chronicle ascribed to Dexter (sub anno 400), he had previously been bishop of Veseo in Gallaecia. We first hear of him in Gaul as the accuser of Briccius bishop of Tours (c. 396–443), whom he falsely charged with adultery (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 1, x. 31). For this he was condemned by more than one provincial council (Zosimus, *Ad Africanos*, Sept. 21, A.D. 417 in Mansi, iv. 353; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 27), but, notwithstanding, received from Constantine the see of Aix, in succession to a bishop in whose violent death he appears to have been implicated (*Gallia Christ.* i. 298). Briccius was expelled from Tours, and went to Rome to lay his case before the pope, and after an interval of seven years he returned with authority to resume his see. Zosimus, who finally decided in his favour, was excommunicated for the part which he had taken against him. In the meanwhile, apparently, Lazarus had resigned and joined his friend Heros

of Arles in Palestine, and was soon active there in the prosecution of Pelagius [HEROS (2)].

Gregory of Tours assigns the commencement of the troubles of Briccius to A.D. 430, which is certainly much too late. If, instead of "tricesimo tertio," we may read, "decimo tertio," all difficulty would be removed. The author of the article "Acqui" in *Gallia Christiana* makes Lazarus to be still bishop A.D. 417, which is clearly an oversight. (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, ii. 147.) [T. W. D.]

LAZARUS (6), deacon of Hippo, who at Augustine's sermon *De Vita et Moribus clericorum suorum* (serm. 356 in *Pat. Lat.* xxxix. 1574) cites a passage from the Acts of the Apostles in the early church. He was afterwards one of the presbyters present at the proceedings for appointing Eraclius to succeed St. Augustine. (Aug. *Ep.* 213; Tillem. xiii. 848, 853.) [ERACLIUS.] [H. W. P.]

LAZARUS (7), bishop of Milan. He held his see for about eleven years, probably from A.D. 438 to 449, though some authorities place his accession as early as A.D. 426, and others his death in A.D. 461. (*Acta SS.* 11 Feb. ii. 521; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 72; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xi. 109; Tillem. *Mém.* xv. 626.) He is praised by Ennodius (epig. 83 in *Pat. Lat.* lxiii. 350). [R. S. G.]

LAZARUS (8), superior general of all the monks in and around Jerusalem under the charge of the patriarch Sallustius (ob. 493), as we learn from the *Life of St. Sabas.* (Surius, *Prob. SS. Hist.* Dec. 5, p. 165, § 38; Tillemont, *Mém.* xvi. 644.) [C. H.]

LAZARUS (9), Armenian historian, cir. A.D. 500, surnamed BARBEZI (Neumann) or BARBETZI (Langlois), from his having resided at Barb or Pharbe, a little village in the province of Ararat. He was also surnamed RHETOR, on account of his learning. He belonged to a noble family in Armenia, and was one of those Armenian scholars of the 5th century, who under the direction of St. Isaac and Mesrob went to complete their studies in the schools of Greece. Returning home, he filled more than one responsible post, and at length was appointed administrator of the patriarchal see. This was in the latter days of John Mantacunes, whose pontificate ended in 487. Lazarus was indebted for the appointment (with the patriarch's consent) to a friend of his early days, prince Vahan, who in 485 was raised by the court of Persia to the office of marzban or governor-general of Armenia. Vahan's reforming views were zealously seconded by Lazarus, under whose care the monastery and church of Edchmiadzin, where the patriarch resided, recovered their ancient renown, having under the troubles of the period fallen into a state of great disorder. But his success aroused the jealousy of a portion of the clergy. They asserted that his doctrine was heterodox: in vain Lazarus appealed to the patriarch, and the opposition which he encountered obliged him at length to retire. Even the marzban at first seemed to have taken part with his enemies, but he at length extended to him his protection, and it was at Vahan's request, probably in his palace, that Lazarus composed his *History of Armenia*. As Vahan ruled until A.D. 511, Lazarus is reckoned as engaged in this work at the latter end of the 5th century or early in the 6th.

His narrative commences with the division of Armenia, A.D. 387, into two provinces, the Greek or western, and the Persian or eastern; and thus continues where Faustus of Byzantium ends. He relates St. Isaac's vision of the downfall of Armenian independence. He gives many particulars of the sufferings of the Armenian church, as for instance the martyrdoms of the patriarch Joseph, the priest Leontius, and other victims of Vartan's rising in 452, the ultimate fate of whom is not described by Elisha Vartabed. He brings down his history to 485, the year in which Vahan became marzban. Lazarus is very interesting in the matter of his work, and his style is pronounced by Langlois as highly elevated, evidencing the influence of his Hellenic studies. The MSS. of his work are rare. In 1869, when Langlois wrote, there had been but one printed edition, viz. that of 1793, issued by the mechitarists of Venice. In 1869 it appeared in a French translation by Ghéserian, among the *Armenian Historians*, collected in two volumes by Langlois (vol. ii. p. 254). In no European language had it been known before, though an inedited Italian version existed in the library of St. Lazarus at Venice. The Armenian original however had been made use of as early as 1824 by St. Martin for the annotations of his edition of Le Beau's *Le Bas Empire*. Langlois prefixes to the work of Lazarus in his collection a biographical account of the author (see also the *Preliminary Discourse*, p. xxiii. in his *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* t. v.). Scattered notices of Lazarus occur in the preface of Neumann's English translation of Elisha Vartabed, 1830 (pp. xi. xii. xxiv.), and in M. Brosset's *Histoire Chronologique par Mkhithar d'Aïrivank* (in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.* 1869, no. 5, pp. 65, 66). The introductory notice to Faustus of Byzantium (Langlois, *Historiens*, i. 203) should be consulted as to Lazarus's opinion of the work of that historian. [G. T. S.]

LAZARUS (10), bishop of Azotus in Palestine, present at the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1171; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 662.) [J. de S.]

LAZARUS (11), bishop of Luni, preceding Lucius, c. 603 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 432, 483). Ughelli (i. 834) places him in 640. [A. H. D. A.]

LAZREANUS, LAZRENUS. [LASERIAN.]

LEA (1), a woman of low condition and of worthless character, one of the calumniators of Indicia. (Ambros. ep. 5, § 20 in *Pat. Lat.* xvi. 897.) [C. H.]

LEA (2), a Roman lady of the latter part of the 4th century, one of the company who gathered round St. Jerome for purposes of asceticism and of the study of Scripture in 382–5. See Jerome's letter on the occasion of her death (23, *ad Marcellum*). [W. H. F.]

LEA, confessor at Viguentia. [LEUS.]

LEANDER (1), one of seven senators martyred at Trèves under Rictiovarus in 286, according to the tradition at Trèves. (Sigeb. in *Pat. Lat.* clx. 216; Tillem. iv. 456.) [C. H.]

LEANDER (2), March 13, metropolitan bishop of Seville from (?) 575 to 600. His life covers the most interesting and important period of Visigothic Christianity, and with LEOVIGILD, HERMENIGILD, and RECARED, he plays an indispensable part in that drama of conflicting interests and opinions—half-political, half-religious—which issued in the conversion council of 589. The following notice will be arranged under three heads: I. *Life and Character;* II. *Work;* III. *Authorities.*

I. All that is historically known of the origin of the famous family to which the three brothers LEANDER, ISIDORE, and FULGENTIUS, and their only sister FLORENTINA belonged, is derived from the opening sentence in Isidore's life of Leander (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. 41; *Esp. Sagr.* v. 463), and from the concluding chapter of Leander's *Regula*, or *Libellus ad Florentinam* (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 355). The father of the three sons and Florentina was one Severianus "Carthaginensis Provinciae" (Isid. *l. c.*), presumably by his name of Roman origin. The Latin and Greek names of the family, however, are not conclusive, for it was the common practice of Goths coming from Arianism to Catholicism to exchange their Teutonic for Latin or Greek names on their admission to the church. Thus Hermenigild takes the name of Joannes (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 39). The traditions which connect Severianus with the great Theodoric (see art. ISIDORE), though quite worthless as to details, *may* preserve the memory of a possible Gothic origin of the family, and indeed the theory of Gothic descent, crossed by Catholic sympathies, would explain much that is now perplexing in the family history—the original flight before the invading Imperialists, the curious passage about the mother of the family in the *Regula*, which seem to point to a conversion from Arianism, and the strongly anti-imperial feeling, which makes the last chapter of Leander's *Regula* and portions of Isidore's *Hist. Gothorum.* On the other hand, Leander's negotiations with the Eastern empire during the Hermenigild rebellion are easily explained by the position of the Spanish Catholics, which forced them to merge differences of nationality in their conflict with Arianism. Of this necessary connexion of Spanish Catholicism with the Eastern empire up to the reign of Recared, the chronicle of Leander's contemporary, JOANNES BICLARENSIS, himself a Goth by descent, but Roman by cultivation and sympathies, is an excellent example.

At some unknown date, but when Florentina was a child, the whole family left their native place, of which the citizens had been "concessi extraneo" (*Libell. ad Florent.* cap. 21), and settled probably at Seville of which see the two brothers Leander and Isidore were afterwards bishops, and near which was Astigi (Ecija), where Fulgentius was bishop, and where also tradition places the convent of Florentina. The circumstances of this family exodus are nowhere precisely explained. The most probable conjecture is that Severianus and his family were driven out of Cartagena by the Byzantine troops, which, in and about 554, under treaty with the Gothic usurper Athanajeld (hence the *concessi*), took possession for the empire of large tracts of the western and southern coast of the Peninsula, including the great harbour of Cartagena, and most of the other maritime towns between Cadiz and Valencia. (Cartagena has tradition, accepted by Florez, ix. p. 193, in its favour; see *v. Seti. Isid.* Lucas Tud. apud Schott. *Hisp. Ill.* iv.; conf. also *Ep. Licin. Episc. Carth. ad Greg. Magn. Pap. Esp. Sagr.* v. p. 424, with passage in cap. 21 of *Libell. ad Florent.* "Ego expertus loquor," &c.) In any case the "extraneo" within the boundaries of the Peninsula at that time can only be taken to mean the Eastern empire, so that Leander's words necessarily imply that the family came originally from territory which fell into the hands of Justinian in or shortly after 554, whether from Cartagena, or some other of the maritime towns then lost to the Goths, must always remain to some extent uncertain.

The same uncertainty attaches to the name of the mother of the family (see art. FLORENTINA), and to the date of the birth of each member of it. We may suppose, however, with great plausibility, that Leander was born somewhere between 535 and 540. He would then be a youth at the time of the family exile, and from fourteen to twenty years older than Isidore, to whom he afterwards stood in the position of a father (see concluding passage of *Regula*). Before 579, the date of the outbreak of the Hermenigild rebellion (see arts. LEOVIGILD, HERMENIGILD), he had become a monk, of what rule is quite unknown to us (the Benedictines of course claim him, Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* i. 378), and had been thence raised to the metropolitan see of Seville. It is evident that the young exile must have shewn remarkable promise before he could have been thus promoted to one of the most important—perhaps at the time the most important—ecclesiastical post in Spain, at a moment when the Catholics under Leovigild had especial need of able and faithful leaders. His share in the conversion of Hermenigild ("Leandro Hispalitano episcopo—praedicante, conversus est," Greg. M. P. *Dial.* iii. 31, and Paul. Diac. Warnef. *Hist. Langob.* iii. 21) has been already discussed elsewhere (HERMENIGILD, LEOVIGILD). It is most probable that Leander's quick imagination saw the opportunity of the Catholics in Hermenigild's youth and the Catholicism of his wife Ingunthis, and it is a conjecture warranted by the evidence, that the persuasive and eloquent bishop, who afterwards led the conversion council, laid the first stone of his great work in the conversion and rising of Hermenigild. Hermenigild was baptized by Leander, and received the name of Joannes (Greg. Tur. v. 39). Then followed the split between the son and his father, Leovigild's Arian council of 581, and the outbreak of civil war between father and son in 582. Hermenigild, before meeting his father in the field, had endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the Catholic Suevi in the north and the Catholic Byzantines in the south and east. It is in connexion with this last alliance that we next hear of Leander at Constantinople, "cum—te illuc injuncta pro

causis fidei Visigothorum legatio perduxisset," says Gregory the Great, describing in after years (Pref. in Moralia, Patr. Lat. lxxv. 510) his first friendship with Leander.

The exact date of this mission is unknown (see Görres' summing up both of evidence and opinion in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, i. 1873, p. 103); but we are inclined to place it in 583, just about the beginning of the siege of Seville, when effectual support from the empire might have given victory to Hermenigild. It would account also for the vagueness and meagreness of the Gregorian account of the revolt and death of Hermenigild, if we suppose that the informant from whom he derived the story of the conversion, namely, Leander, left Spain not very long after the outbreak of the struggle between the father and son, and was himself but scantily informed as to the further course of events during his stay at Constantinople. In any case Leander and Gregory must have met at Constantinople somewhere between the years 579 and 585, the ascertained limits of Gregory's residence at the court. That Leander returned at all to Spain before the death of Leovigild is extremely improbable. The "peregrinatio exilii," of which Isidore speaks (*l. c.*), may be applied as well to a forced continuance of his foreign sojourn as to an actual expulsion from the country by Leovigild. In 584 Seville fell, and Hermenigild was captured at Cordova through the treachery of his Byzantine allies. Thenceforward Arianism was triumphant, and that persecution of the Catholics by Leovigild, which is described by Isidore (*Hist. Goth. Esp. Sagr.* vi. 491), and by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* v. 39), was carried actively forward. Such a moment was scarcely favourable to the return of one of the most active promoters of the rebellion just crushed. (Conf. Gorres, *l. c.* who comes to quite different conclusions as to dates, which seem to be at variance with the whole spirit, if not the actual letter, of the evidence; and Florez, ix. 162, who brings Leander back to Spain before 584, and supposes a banishment by Leovigild in that year.) According to Gregory the Great (*Dial.* l. c.) Leovigild, when dying, recommended his remaining son, Recared, to Leander, imploring him to do with him as he had done with Hermenigild. The story is in itself improbable (see art. LEOVIGILD); but even if true would not necessarily imply that Leander was in Spain at the time of the king's death. There can be little doubt, however, that he reached Spain very shortly afterwards. Ten months after his accession, Recared, his father's lieutenant in the struggle with Hermenigild, avowed his adhesion to Catholicism (in the council, or rather conference, of 587, Joh. Bicl. ad an. Maur. Imp. v.; Greg. Tur. ix. 15). It had, however, been evident from the beginning of his reign that events were going for the Catholics (conf. Recared's opening speech at vol. iii.); and Leander, on receiving information as to the state of affairs, appears to have hurried home. (Conf. what Lucinian says of his "haste" on the journey homewards from Constantinople, *Ep. Licin. ad Greg. Pat. Esp. Sagr.* v.).

In February, 587, the preliminary synod took place at Toledo, in which Recared and his nobles abjured Arianism, and notice of the step was sent to the provinces. No express mention is made of Leander in connexion with it, but it is certainly most likely that he played a part in proceedings which were merely preparatory to the great council of 589, in which he was the moving spirit.

The Conversion Council.—In 589 a great gathering at Toledo of the king and queen, the *proceres* and *viri illustres* of the court, and sixty-two bishops, Arian and Catholic, not only changed the whole outer face of Visigothic history, but entirely shifted, so to speak, its centre of gravity. The causes which led to it had been long at work (compare Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. on the *political* causes); but when they have been to some extent unravelled, the third council of Toledo remains one of the most astonishing and interesting events in history. A detailed sketch of the proceedings is reserved for the article on RECARED. Here we are only concerned with Leander's share in it. "Summa tamen synodalis negotii," says the contemporary bishop of Gerona, Joannes Biclarensis, "penes Sanctum Leandrum Hispal. ecclesiae episcopum et beatissimum Eutropium monasterii Servitani abbatem fuit." We are therefore justified in attributing to Leander the main outline of the proceedings, and the wording of a large proportion of the acts. Recared's speeches are in all probability to be traced to him. They are quite in accordance with Leander's known style, especially with that of the homily which concludes the council, and which was avowedly written and delivered by him. The homily itself (*Homilia Sancti Leandri in laudem ecclesiae ob conversionem gentis*) is an eloquent and imaginative piece of writing. The reader, who is already familiar with the history of Leovigild's reign, will easily distinguish in it an undercurrent of reference to the great semi-religious, semi-political struggle which marked the reign of the last Arian king. "Ergo materia gaudii nostri tribulationis praeteritae occasio fuit. Gemebamus dum exprobaremur sed gemitus illi id egerunt, ut hi qui per infidelitatem nobis erant sarcina fierent nostra per suam conversionem corona." And again: "Erigamur ergo tota mente in gaudia ut quia gentes *studio decertandi perierant*, sibimet in amicitiam Christus unam ecclesiam procuraret, in qua eas rursus reduceret concordia caritatis." That no more special mention is made of Hermenigild confirms the view advanced elsewhere on other evidence (see art. HERMENIGILD) that Hermenigild was regarded by his countrymen and contemporaries—not as a martyr for the Catholic faith, but as a political rebel put to death for a political crime.

"The peace of Christ, then," says Leander in conclusion, "has destroyed the wall of discord which the devil had built up, and the house which division was bringing to ruin is united in and established upon Christ the corner-stone. It only remains that we, being made one people in one mind, should ask God in our prayers both to establish this earthly kingdom, and to grant to us the felicity of His heavenly kingdom, that the people and country which have glorified Christ on the earth may be glorified not only on earth but in heaven also." (Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Española*, ii. 247-260; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2), 6, 41; Dahn, v. 159, vi. 434; Helfferich, *Entstehung*

und Geschichte der Westgothen Recht, 33–46; Hefele, iii. 44–49.)

First Synod of Seville.—Eighteen months after the conversion council, Leander, as metropolitan of Baetica, and in obedience to the eighteenth canon of the council of 589, summoned the bishops of Baetica to a provincial synod in the cathedral church of Seville, "in ecclesia Hispalensi Sancta Jerusalem" (conf. Florez, ix. on the use of "Sancta Jerusalem"). The acts are drawn up in the form of a letter to the absent bishop Pegasius of Astigi (Ecija). The first two canons are concerned with a case of illegal alienation of church property reported by Pegasius, while the third and last points out in severe terms, that in spite of the prohibitory canon on the subject in C. Tol. iii. certain presbyters, deacons, and clerks still allow women not related to them to live in their houses, and employ women-servants. If this is persisted in the women in question are to be sold as slaves, and the price paid for them is to be given to the poor. (Conf. the *judicium* given in the case of two rival bishops of Astigi, MARCIANUS and HUBENTIUS, in C. Tol. vi.)

Leander's Friendship and Correspondence with Gregory the Great.—Gregory and Leander, as we have already pointed out, first made friends at Constantinople between the years 575 and 585, when Gregory was acting as the Apocrisiarius of Pelagius II. at the East-Roman court. In 590 Gregory was made pope, and in May 591 he wrote a long letter to Leander (*Ep.* lib. i. 43, apud Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 497) in answer to certain letters from his old friend, which seem to have had a threefold object—(1) congratulation to the new-made pope; (2) announcement of the Visigothic conversion, and a report of the third council of Toledo; (3) enquiry as to the form of baptism to be thenceforward observed in Spain, whether by single or threefold immersion. The pope begins by lamenting the anxious and disturbed life to which the holder of the papacy is necessarily subject, and asks for the help of Leander's prayers "in his fluctibus." He then expresses his own joy in the conversion of the Visigoths, declaring that Leander's accounts of Recared have made him love a man of whom he has no personal knowledge. Let Leander look to it diligently that the work which has been so well begun may be perfected. As to the form of baptism in a country where unity of faith had never been questioned, single or threefold immersion might be observed indifferently, as representing either the Unity or the Trinity of the Godhead, but as in Spain the Arian mode of baptism had been by threefold immersion it will be well henceforward to allow one immersion only, lest the heretics be supposed to have triumphed, and confusion ensue. Finally, the pope has sent Leander certain codices, not including, however, the whole of the *Homilies* on the book of Job, which he had asked for, as the *librarii* had not been able to finish copying the work before the departure of the messenger with the parcel of books. Gregory concludes with an expression of his earnest wish to see Leander, yet in a certain sense he does see him continually, "for the image of thy countenance is impressed for ever on my innermost heart."

Gregory's second letter is dated July 595. It is merely a note accompanying the gift of the *Regula Pastoralis*, and the first and second parts of the *Moralia*. The third and fourth parts, he says, have been sent out to monasteries, and cannot be got hold of. (About 649 TAYO of Saragossa undertook a special journey to Rome to procure the missing parts.)

The Pallium.—In Aug. 599 Gregory sent three letters to Spain, addressed to Recared, Claudius Dux of Lusitania, and Leander, by the abbat Cyriacus, to whom also Gregory had intrusted the pallium for Leander. The letter to Leander is long and affectionate, and announces the gift of the pallium, which is to be worn at the celebration of mass, "solemnia Missarum;" while to Recared the pope writes "to our honoured brother and fellow-bishop Leander we have sent the pallium as a gift from the see of the blessed apostle Peter, which we owe to ancient custom (*antiquae consuetudini*), to your deserts, and to his dignity and goodness." What was the exact force of the gift of the pallium to Leander has been much disputed. Florez (ix. 167) maintains that Leander in receiving the pallium received a mark of honour and distinction, but nothing more, and that the gift did not carry with it the Apostolic Vicariate, which had however been bestowed on his predecessors in the see, ZENO and SALLUSTIUS, by the popes Simplicius and Hormisdas (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 962, 1015). Pallium and Vicariate, he argues, were not necessarily combined, and he quotes in support of his supposition the case of bishop Auxanius of Arles, successor of St. Caesarius, to whom pope Vigilius gave the pallium in completion and recognition of the vicariate previously bestowed (Vigil. *Ep.* vii. *apud* Migne, Patr. Lat. lxix. 27). Gams, however, holds that in Gregory's mind at any rate the pallium carried with it the vicariate, and that the phrase *antiquae consuetudini* is to be taken as referring to the vicariates of Zeno and Sallustius, and as implying the recognition by Gregory of an ancient claim on behalf of the see of Seville to the representation of the apostolic see in Spain. The various other bestowals of the pallium on western bishops by Gregory, especially the cases of Augustine of Canterbury (*Ep.* xi. 64, 65), and Syagrius of Autun (ix. 108), should be studied in connexion with the case of Leander. (Conf. Walter, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, p. 308, 277, and Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Église*, ii. i. cap. 25, 26.)

Very soon after the arrival of the pallium, at latest in the year 600, Leander died, shortly before the king of whom he had been the constant friend and adviser. (See Florez's arguments as to the date of his death, drawn from the length of Isidore's pontificate as given by Ildefonsus on the one hand, and, on the other, from Isidore's statement that his brother "floruit sub Recredo," *l. c.* p. 181). His name appears in Beda and in the 9th century martyrologies, and his festival is now observed by the Spanish church on the 13th of March.

ii. *Works.*—The *Libellum ad Florentinam* has been already largely quoted elsewhere. [See arts. FULGENTIUS and FLORENTINA.] It consists of an introductory letter and twenty-one chapters, which constitute the *Regula*. The style is easy and flowing, rising at times to real pathos and sweetness, as in the beautiful concluding chapter where occurs the well-known reference to Isidore. The extravagant laudation of the calibate life and

depreciation of marriage which mark it are quite in the taste of the time, and, to judge from can. 5 of C. Tol. iii., seem to have been at the moment in Spain a distinguishing mark of the Catholic as opposed to the Arian clergy. A passage in the introductory letter, unnoticed by Leander's clerical biographers, would seem to shew that he had been married at some period in his early life (cp. Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* iii. 559, *senti fratris animum tuos desiderare profectus*, &c.).

The description of the luxurious dress, the dyed eyes and whitened faces, of women of the world towards the close of the introduction is worth reading from the point of view of social history; so also is cap. 13, where it is laid down that "quae potuit honorari in mundo et dives fuit in seculo blandius fovenda est in monasterio: et quae reliquit in seculo vestem pretiosam, cultiorem in monasterio mercatur," a direction, however, which is modified by exhortation to personal charity and humility. Cap. 17 is interesting as referring to a class of semi-cloistered nuns, of which there are no later traces in Spain. It has been already noticed elsewhere [see art. FLORENTINA]. Altogether the *Regula* is a revelation of the character and cultivation of a man of genius, in whom a certain mixture of fire and tenderness, of southern impulsiveness and religious asceticism, seems to have attracted the love and admiration of his contemporaries, which we may be glad to possess. Gams's suggestion that it is a *Bearbeitung* of Hosius's lost treatise on Virginity is an ingenious conjecture, but nothing more (*l. c.* p. 44). There may of course be older work at the bottom of some of the more conventional parts of the *Regula*, but the personal tone of large portions of the book is not to be mistaken.

The *Homily* noticed above is the only other work of Leander now extant. Isidore, however, in his life of his brother (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. 41) speaks of three controversial treatises against the Arians, composed by him during his exile from Spain under Leovigild. Isidore's description of them leads to the conclusion that they were especially intended to meet the arguments and expose the pretensions of the Arian council of 581. The last-named was probably in categorical answer to the *libellus* issued after the synod by the Arian bishops, and expressly anathematized by the conversion council (Joh. Bicl. ad an. 581; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. p. 224). "In ecclesiasticis officiis," adds Isidore, "idem non parvo laboravit studio in toto enim Psalterio duplici editione orationes conscripsit: in sacrificio quoque, laudibus, atque psalmis, multa dulci sono composuit." (Conf. Lesley, *Pref. in Misale Mixtum*, § 16: "An S. Leander aut S. Isidorus aut S. Julianus auctor fuerit Missalis Mozarabicae?") Of the "epistolae multae," of which Isidore speaks to Gregory, to his brother Fulgentius, and to many bishops, not one remains. In his letter of 599, however, Gregory gives an interesting description of the effect of one of Leander's letters at Rome, which is quite in harmony with all we know of the character of the man.

iii. *Authorities.*—Besides those already quoted: Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 583, 584, 585, 589, 591, 595, 599, vol. x. ed. 1741; Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* ed. Bayer, 1788, i. 290; *De Castri Bibl. Española*, ii. 280; Aguirre, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* iii. 281–302; Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* iv. 252, ed. 1754; Mabillon, *Ann. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 287, *AA. SS.* Bolland. March ii. 275; Amador de los Rios, *Hist. Coll. de la Lit. Españ.* i. 312, 323; Montalembert, *Moines de l'Occident*, ii. [M. A. W.]

LEANDER (3), bishop of Ilici. His signature is found to the acts of the eleventh council of Toledo, A.D. 675. His signature also appears to the acts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth councils of Toledo, in A.D. 681, 683, and 684. The acts of the fifteenth council, in A.D. 688, are signed by Emmila as bishop of Ilici; so Leander must have died between A.D. 684 and A.D. 688. He signs the acts of the eleventh council as "Ecclesiae Illicitanae qui et Elotanae episcopus." Elotana is supposed by some to be another name for Ilici, but Florez maintains (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 215) that it was a different town, and that the see was originally distinct from, but afterwards united to, that of Ilici. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 215, 232; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 451, 481, 511, 526.) [F. D.]

LEARBHANBAN (LERBENBAN), airchinneach or praepositus of Cluain-boireann now Cloonburren, died A.D. 794. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 782, i. 209 n.[w], 397; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 794, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 117.) [J. G.]

LEARGHAL (LERGAELIUS), wise man, son of Neimhith, abbat of Birar (now Birr, King's County), died A.D. 774. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 378 n.[r], 379.) [J. G.]

LEARGHUS UA FIDCHAINN (LERGUS), a wise man of Cill-Maighnenn (now Kilmainham, near Dublin), died A.D. 787. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 782, i. 389; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 786, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 112.) [J. G.]

LEARY, king of Ireland. [LAEGHAIRE.]

LEBAN, Irish saint. [LAEBHAN.]

LEBORA (Λεβόρα, Δεβόρα, LAPHURA, LEBUDA, OWAIN), apocryphal daughter of Adam, twin sister of Abel, given in marriage to Cain, while Cain's twin sister Calmana was bestowed on Abel. Cain was dissatisfied, and desired to have Calmana, who was the fairest, and thence arose the quarrel between the brothers (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 109, ii. 44; Renan on *The Apocalypse of Adam* in the Paris *Journal Asiatique*, 1853, vol. ii. 457, 467). Fabricius quotes Methodius, Eutychius, and Barhaebraeus, as countenancing this fable. [ADAM, BOOKS OF, p. 38.] [G. T. S.]

LEBUINUS (1) (LOBOÏNUS, LEBOINUS), reputed forty-first bishop of Lyons, towards the close of the 7th century, but the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* believe that the name should be expunged. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 49.) [S. A. B.]

LEBUINUS (2) (LEVINUS, LIAFWIN, LIEBWIN, LIEFUVYN), apostle of the Frisians and patron of Deventer on the Yssel in Holland, commemorated Nov. 12. He flourished in the middle of the 8th century, and died about A.D. 770, but the exact date is unknown.

The chief authority for his Life and Acts is the *Vita S. Lebuini*, written by Hucbald of Saint

Amand (A.D. 918–976), and given in the original Latin by Surius (*De Prob. Sanct.* iv. pt. ii. Nov. 12, p. 277 sq.) and by Pertz (*Mon. Hist. Germ.* ii. 361 sq.); it is translated and given in full by Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* xxiv. c. 7). Surius (*ibid.* app. vii. p. 839) presents also *Ecloga et Sermo de S. Lebuino Presb.* auct. S. Radbodo ep. Traject. It is suggested by Baring-Gould (*Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 12, i. 300 sq.) that the Life and Acts of St. Liafwin or St. Lebuinus of Deventer form the real groundwork of the existence and legend of St. Livinus of Ghent [LIVINUS]. The life of St. Lebuinus is usually considered authentic and as giving a faithful picture of the period.

He was born of Saxon parents in England, and his original name was Liafwin, afterwards Latinised Lebuinus. Early trained in the monastic discipline, and burning with the zeal which had already borne St. Willebrord, St. Swithberht, the Aewalds, and St. Boniface, with many more, to the continent, Lebuinus, after his elevation to the priesthood, set out to join the same band of preachers, and had his special missionary field in Friesland and eastward in Westphalia. He was warmly received by Gregory, bishop of Utrecht and disciple of St. Boniface, and sent by Gregory to the banks of the Yssel with a companion named Marcellin or Marchelm. There he lodged with a widow named Abachilda or Abachahild, and taught with great success among the pagans in Overyssel, his first oratory being on the Wilpa or Wulpe, near to Deventer, and another added afterwards, but to the eastward of the Yssel. His most noted evangelistic triumph was on one occasion when he went to the national assembly at Marklo on the Weser. He had met with much opposition in his labours; his church had been burned and his people slain. He resolved, however, to be even bolder in the midst of his difficulties, and at last set out to meet the Saxons at their council and achieve a glorious victory by conversions or martyrdom. Arrayed in his priestly garments, with crucifix in one hand and a book of the gospels in the other, he entered the assembly and proclaimed the duty of instant submission to Christ, or, if they refused, the arrival of a king who would destroy and punish them for their obstinacy. (This was, no doubt, with a reference to the exploits of Charlemagne.) With some difficulty the tumult thus excited against him was calmed by the help of an aged chief named Buto, and he received permission to preach and teach everywhere. Trusting to the divine protection, he freely used this liberty, and the rest of his life was spent in spreading the gospel, with watching, fasting, and prayer. (Fleury, *Hist. Christ.* xliv. c. 11; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 436 b; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 257 n. [b]; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* cent. viii. b. iii. c. 1.) [J. G.]

LECCAN, bishop, commemorated April 27. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 113.) [J. G.]

LEDUARDUS, thirteenth bishop of Mâcon, said to have been consecrated A.D. 769 (*Gall. Christ.* iv. instrum. 263; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 802, n. cxv. tom. vi. 803). Le Cointe thinks he died in 801 (*ibid.* n. cxvii. p. 803; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 1043). [S. A. B.]

LEDUINA, Irish saint. [LIADHAIN.]

LEFASTUS (LEIFASTUS), twentieth bishop of Autun, about the close of the 6th century. (M bill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 834; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 346.) [S. A. B.]

LÉGER. [LEODEGARIUS.]

LEGIO FULMINATRIX. [THUNDERING LEGION.]

LEGIO THEBAEA, Sept. 22. A body of legendary martyrs under Maximian at Agaunum near Martigny. According to the story, the emperor, in 286 (Labbe), 297 (Baronius), was marching against the insurgent Bagaudae, who, under Aelianus and Amandus, two Roman officers, had burst into revolt, urged thereto by the load of taxation (comp. Du Cange, *Glossar. S. V. Bagaudae*, with Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclav. dans l'Antiquité*, iii. 287; and Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 53). Some, if not all, of the insurgents, are said to have been Christians. Maximian had summoned to his aid from the East a legion called Thebaean, because raised in the neighbourhood of Thebais in Egypt. They were all Christians. Before entering upon the war the emperor held a review of the troops, and called upon them to swear allegiance with all the usual heathen ceremonies. This the Thebaean legion unanimously refused, and, encouraged by the exhortations of their commander Mauritius, submitted to two decimations, and finally to wholesale massacre, sooner than obey the imperial command. The total number of those who suffered was 6666. The following names of Thebaean martyrs are commemorated by various writers in different places, and on very various grounds, viz. Mauritius, Exuperius, Candidus, Ursus, and two Victors in the Acts of the Thebaean Legion by St. Eucherius; Innocent, Vitalis, in Ado's *Martyrology*; Solutor, Adventor, and Octavius in the records of the church of Turin. This story, in former times, was accepted by such critics as Grotius, *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, i. 2; J. L. Fabricius in his *Dissert. concerning the Just Limits of Human Obedience*; Cave, *Prim. Christ.* p. iii. c. 4, and archbishop Ussher. Yet it is devoid of any sufficient evidence to justify its reception. It is unknown to all the writers of the two following centuries, even though living in the very neighbourhood where it is said to have happened. Lactantius belonged probably to Italy; in any case he was a North African, and was summoned across the Alps by Constantine to instruct his son Crispus. Yet, though he records the cruelties of Maximian, he never notes this one, which must have surpassed them all. Sulpicius Severus, "Vir fabulis addictissimus" (Dodwell), in Southern Gaul; Ambrose, in Northern Italy; Prudentius, in Spain, all writing within one hundred years of the event, know nothing of it, though ready enough to give credence to every tale of martyrdom. Again, it directly contradicts the statement of Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 4), who had every means of knowing the exact truth, that the military martyrs were very few in the years preceding the general persecution. The story first appears in a work—*The History of the Sufferings of St. Mauritius*—addressed to a certain Silvius or Salvius, by Eucherius bishop of Lyons in the 5th century, who received it from certain who had it from Isaac bishop of Geneva, who,

in turn, received it from Theodore bishop of Octodurum. Du Pin suggests that this treatise should be attributed to another Eucherius of Lyons, whom he would assign to the 6th century (cf. *Dissert. de S. Eucherio*, in Nat. Alexand. *H. E.* v. 119, ed. 1778). The Acts in Surius and Mombritius contain such glaring anachronisms as compel this conclusion. Fr. Chifflet published, A.D. 1662, *Paulinus Illustratus*, with a revised edition of these Acts, free from the worst mistakes, which he found in a monastery in the Jura. These revised Acts are, by some, attributed to Eucherius of the 5th century, while the interpolated Acts of Surius are ascribed to a writer of the 7th century, a conclusion which can now support itself with the authority of Mommsen in *Abhandlung. der König. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, A.D. 1857, p. 235, in a preface to a little work of Polemius Silvius, or Salvius, dedicated to Eucherius, and then first published. The whole story received a very thorough examination at the hands of J. Dubordieu, minister of the Savoy, in an *Historical Dissertation upon the Thebaean Legion*, London, A.D. 1696. He points out the various mistakes in the narrative, and remarks upon its rude style as inconsistent with their authorship by St. Eucherius, whose Latin, in his treatise *De Contemptu Mundi*, elicited the praise of such a critic as Erasmus, though, at the same time, a fact mentioned below proves that the story was in existence shortly after the date of St. Eucherius. Gieseler (*H. E.* t. i. p. 195, Clark's ed.) suggests that the legend arose from the misunderstood expression Milites Christi. The Latin Acts of those martyrs were boldly transferred by Symeon Metaphr. to a Greek martyr Mauritius, who, as tribunus militum, is said to have suffered with seventy other soldiers at Apamea in Syria by Maximian's command (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Usuard.; Till. *Mém.* iv. 421; xv. 120; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.*; Fleury, *H. E.* viii. 18; Jortin, *Remarks on H. E.* ii. 331, ed. 1752; Mosheim, *de Reb. Christ. Ant. Const.* p. 565; Ceillier, ii. 471; viii. 451).

The firm hold which this legend gained over the German nation from the earliest times is manifest from the frequent references to it in every volume of Pertz, *Monumenta Germanicae Histor.* The lance of St. Maurice became the ensign of the Burgundian kingdom (Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist. Script.* ix. 388), the emperor at his coronation was invested with the spurs of St. Maurice, according to the coronation order of A.D. 1191, in Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist. Leg.* ii. In the year 515, a monastery was erected at Agaunum in honour of the Thebaean martyrs by Sigismund king of Burgundy. In that same monastery Chlodoveus seized Sigismund some years later, A.D. 524. (Cf. Ekkihardi *Chron. Univ.* in Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scriptt.* vi. 116; and Greg. Turon. *Opp.* in Migne, Patr. Lat. t. lxxi. p. 1198; Ceillier, x. 746; Gibbon, cap. xxxviii. note 44.) [G. T. S.]

This narrative may be accepted as true in all its details, as is done by the Bollandists, by Alban Butler, and by a long list of Roman Catholic historians as well as by the eminent Anglican divines and foreign Protestants above named; or it may be regarded as a mere baseless legend, as by Dubordieu, by Voltaire, by Gibbon, and by many more. But it is possible, while rejecting the narrative as set forth in the account ascribed to Eucherius, to suppose that a course of action on the part of certain Christian soldiers, which must to a Roman commander have seemed simply mutinous, may have really occurred, may have been ruthlessly put down, and have been exaggerated into the incredible dimensions which it subsequently assumed. Such a view of the case had presented itself to the mind of the present writer before he was aware of the powerful amount of support lent to it by Mosheim in the exceedingly able dissertation above named, by Canon Robertson (*Hist. of Church*, bk. i. ch. vii.), by Lichtenberger in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses* (Paris 1880. Tome viii. p. 89), in some degree by Gelpke in Herzog's well-known Dictionary (art. *Mauritius*), and by Amedée Thierry in his *Histoire de la Gaule sous l'administration romaine* (Paris 1840–47). Fully admitting it to be a question of evidence, which will affect different minds differently, the writer is permitted to state some additional considerations which, though they militate against the acceptance of the story of a martyred legion, yet seem to render the existence of a nucleus of fact far from impossible.

1. Voltaire certainly begins at the beginning. He denies that there was any such legion as the Thebaean. But in this respect he stands almost alone. Gibbon, in common with a host of authorities, accepts the truth of the existence of a Thebaean legion, called (like many other legions) from the district in which it was originally levied: namely, in this instance, the Thebais of Egypt. We cannot, however, lay much stress on the change of the name of Agaunum into that of St. Maurice. Such a name might only indicate a belief in the possession of the relics of a martyr, as in the case—to take one instance out of many—of the city of St. Andrews in Scotland.

2. The existence of a legion wholly composed of Christians at so early a date as A.D. 285 (or even 302) is highly improbable. Nor is the reply of Mosheim on this head a satisfactory one. He observes that, if about A.D. 175 the Melitene legion, afterwards known as *The Thundering Legion*, could be wholly composed of Christians, then *à fortiori* must it have been possible for a legion to have been similarly circumstanced a century later. But this reasoning is only a case of *incertum per incertius*. Not only is there a lack of proof that the Melitene Legion was wholly Christian, but the most ingenious pleading made of late years in favour of the miraculous character of the event (that of J. H. Newman in his Essay on the Miracles of the first age of Christianity) proceeds on the basis of that body being *not wholly* Christian.

Nevertheless that, in a given regiment, there should be a larger proportion of Christians than in the Roman empire taken as a whole, is by no means an unlikely circumstance. Anglo-Indians tell us, that the troops of the Rajah of Gwalior used to contain a number of Christians quite disproportionate to the scanty percentage of the converts in Hindostan; and residents in Malta, in 1878, found a larger average of Christians in the regiments brought from India in that year than a knowledge of the general state of Christianity in India would have led them to anti-

cipate. A similar observation would hold good in the British army as regards the number of Presbyterians or of Roman Catholics in a given regiment. It depends largely on the recruiting ground. The Egyptian Thebaid might very probably supply an unusually numerous contingent of believers.

3. The slaughter of a large body of soldiers accused or suspected of mutiny, is not, in itself, by any means an impossible event. Even within this century, in the month of June 1826, the Janizaries, 4000 in number, who formed so important an element of the Turkish army, all perished in one day at the hands of their fellow soldiers.[a] Similarly, Alban Butler is fully justified in citing, as one example out of many, the alleged destruction of 7000 praetorians by order of the emperor Galba in A.D. 69, as told by Xiphilinus in his epitome of history, usually subjoined as a continuation to that of Dion Cassius (*Vita Galbae*, ed. Basileae, 1577). But these examples only carry us a little way. No student of history can doubt but that a legion might be destroyed as mutineers by the rest of an army. But we are asked to believe an event, which stands alone in the world's annals; namely, that a legion not merely perished, but that its soldiers all died as martyrs. *Sic interfecta est*, says Eucherius, *illa planè angelica Legio.*[b] For the acceptance of such an unheard-of event we have a right to demand evidence of *extra* cogency.

4. It must be owned that contemporary evidence of this cogent character is wanting. The earliest reference to it is contained in the title of a sermon preached soon after A.D. 400, that is to say, 100 years after the alleged date of the event, by Romanus, abbat of a community in the Jura district of Burgundy. Romanus died about A.D. 450. His biography was undoubtedly written soon after his death by one of his companions, and is given by the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. iii. Februar. ad diem xxviii. p. 740). Romanus believed the story as subsequently narrated by Eucherius. He names 6600 as the number of martyrs, and refers to the urn of St. Maurice. A century later, soon after A.D. 500, Alcimus Avitus of Vienne [AVITUS, ALCIMUS ECDICIUS] preached on the subject. The sermon is lost, but its title has been discovered by Sirmond. It runs thus: "Dicta in Basilicâ Sanctorum Agaunensium in innovatione monasterii ipsius, vel passione martyrum." It may possibly have been preached, as Mosheim thinks, before the publication of the narrative ascribed to Eucherius. That narrative does not claim to be of more than fourth-hand authority. His witnesses said that they learned it from St. Isaac bishop of Geneva, "who, *I believe*," adds Eucherius, "had received it from the most holy bishop Theodore of an earlier date." Assuming, with the late Sir G. C. Lewis (*Credibility of early Roman History*), that a man may be fairly considered as a virtually contemporary authority when he tells of events which happened some twenty or even thirty years before his birth, we have no such witness for the martyrdom of the Thebaean legion.

5. This argument from silence has been noticed above. Yet two points in this matter may deserve consideration. In the first place, Mosheim points out that the pressure of this reasoning may to some extent be fairly lightened. Sulpicius declares that he has left out many martyrdoms for the sake of brevity. Spain, the country of Prudentius and of Orosius, is really far from Savoy: and, indeed, Orosius does not tell us of any martyrdoms. Even Eusebius, so well informed of all that happened in the East, was not always equally well acquainted with the course of events in the West. The silence of Lactantius is perplexing. To these remarks of Mosheim it must be added, that the omission, however damaging to the story of a martyred legion, becomes far less unintelligible, if (with Canon Robertson and others) we suppose that there may have been a real slaughter of a few hundred soldiers, of whom all, or at least the majority, died unresistingly; and that this event in the course of the next century became grossly exaggerated.

The second point is this. It is difficult for the generations who have lived since the invention of printing, and much more for those who have become accustomed to cheap newspapers and telegrams, to realise the way in which important events might be passed *sub silentio* in earlier ages. It will probably be conceded that the overthrow of two considerable cities by a volcano —cities within 200 miles of Rome, where distinguished senators had villas—is an event not less remarkable than the ruthless putting down of a mutiny. Nevertheless, to prove the fact of the extinction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in August A.D. 79 by contemporary evidence is certainly by no means easy. The one sentence concerning it in Tacitus is utterly vague as to date; and standing alone, as it does, might naturally be regarded as an exaggeration. He merely says that within the period covered by his Histories (A.D. 68–96) "cities in the most fertile district of Campania were swallowed up or overwhelmed."[c] Read apart from the light let in by other evidence, or by modern excavations, these words might be naturally interpreted to mean that some cities in Campania had been swallowed up by an earthquake, or else overwhelmed either by a land-slip or by an inundation. This, which is the most obvious sense of the words,[d] would

[a] See the account in any history of the time, e.g. in Sir Archd. Alison's *History of Europe from* 1815 *to* 1852 (vol. iii. chap. xv.).

[b] *En passant*, the present writer, having carefully read all the writings of Eucherius, is unable to perceive any such great discrepancy in point of style between this narrative and the other writings of the bishop of Lyons, as Dubordieu insists upon. He may be prejudiced, but Dubordieu is also exceedingly prejudiced. With Ceillier and numbers more he adheres to the opinion stated in the article EUCHERIUS (1). Mosheim suggests that such amount of truth as underlies the narrative may have been furnished by the account of an Oriental martyr who is said to have died under somewhat similar circumstances. But the Acts of this martyrdom are quite discredited; and the mere mention of a Μαυρίκιος by Theodoret (lib. viii. *Graecarum affectionum*), in a brief list of prominent martyrs, is too slight a foundation to build upon

[c] "Haustae aut obrutae urbes faecundissimâ Campaniae orâ." Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. i. cap. 2.

[d] We are well aware that Lipsius (*not. ad loc.*) puts this interpretation on the phrase, and that a most distinguished living scholar and historian has written as

derive support from the fact mentioned by Tacitus himself (*Annal.* xv. 22), and also by Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* vi. 1), that one city in Campania, namely, Pompeii, had suffered severely from an earthquake only thirteen years earlier, i.e. in A.D. 63. It seems, however, to be supposed, even by scholars, that we have contemporary evidence for the overthrow of Pompeii and Herculaneum by the action of Vesuvius in the letters of Pliny (*Lib.* vi. 16, 20). This is a pure delusion. Knowing what we do, we may, half unconsciously perhaps, read it into the account of the eruption furnished by Pliny in his letters to Tacitus. But it is not there. Sir Charles Lyell (*Principles of Geology*, bk. ii. pt. ii. chap. ii. London, 1835. Third edit.), and Mr. Bunbury (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, art.* POMPEII) are perfectly correct in their emphatic assertions on this head. Indeed, the letters of Pliny might be fairly adduced on the opposite side. It might be argued, that even his affection for the memory of his uncle would not have allowed him to pass unnoticed the destruction of two cities, if it had really taken place. Plutarch may have an allusion to the event, and so has Martial; but the only approximation to distinctness on the part of a contemporary is to be found in the *Sylvae* of the poet Statius (*Sylv.* lib. iv. carm. iv. 78–86). The evidence of Suetonius has the same negative force as that of Pliny; he makes an incidental allusion to the eruption, and speaks of relief being given by Titus to the sufferers, but is absolutely silent respecting the destruction of the cities. On a survey of the contemporary evidence, it may be asked whether the language of Lyell can be considered too strong. "We have no hesitation in saying that had the buried cities never been discovered, the accounts transmitted to us of their tragical end would have been discredited by the majority, so vague and general are the narratives, or so long subsequent to the event."

At length an historian does appear who really gives us some detailed account of the catastrophe and reveals the names of the lost cities. But if men are to reject the possibility of a nucleus of fact because the authority is not contemporary, and because he appears to exaggerate and introduce what is legendary, then, it would seem, we are bound to reject in this matter the testimony of Dion Cassius. He was not born until 76 years after the eruption; he seems only to have begun collecting materials in A.D. 201, that is to say, 122 years after the event, and to have published his history not less than 20 years later. In his account of the matter (*Hist. Rom.* lib. lxvi. Titus, xi. § 21–23, ed. Reimarus, Hamburgi, 1752), a multitude of giant-like forms stalk upon Vesuvius, sounds of trumpets are heard, and Herculaneum and Pompeii are buried while all the people are sitting in the theatre. In A.D. 1755, at least 1533 years after the account of Dion Cassius, and 1676 years after the event, were commenced the excavations, which revealed the all but forgotten sites. But no corpses whatever were found in the theatres of either city; and there is every reason to hope that the vast majority of the inhabitants escaped. Nevertheless Dion Cassius was in his main assertion speaking the truth, although during a period of more than 15 centuries he remained liable to the charge of having tried to impose upon us a mere romance. The narrative of Eucherius respecting the Thebaean Legion does not, indeed, in all respects stand upon the same footing, and cannot be subjected to the same tests. But the silence of Eusebius and Lactantius in one case may be paralleled with that of Pliny and Suetonius in the other. Is it not possible, from such analogy as does exist between the two cases, to suppose that the exaggerations of the bishop of Lyons may likewise be based upon some real foundation of fact? [J. G. C.]

follows: "'Haustae aut obrutae urbes:' in the one case swallowed up in streams of lava; in the other overwhelmed by showers of ashes" (Merivale, Hist. of Romans under the Empire, chap. lx. note). But this is surely intended rather as a gloss than a translation. Tacitus may have meant this, but it is not the obvious meaning of his words. Pliny uses *haurio* in connection with earthquakes in the sense of "swallowed up." *hauriri urbes terrae hiatibus* (xxxvi. 15, 24), but where is it ever found to imply streams of lava? In reference to the earlier catastrophe the language of Tacitus is as follows:—"Ex motû terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompeii magnâ ex parte proruit." Seneca had heard that it had been actually engulfed by this earthquake, "Pompeios . . . *desedisse* terrae motû audivimus."

LEGITIMUS, a bishop who acted as messenger from Leo the Great in A.D. 443. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 4, § 2 in *Pat. Lat.* liv. 615.) [C. G.]

LEGONTIUS (LEGUNCIUS), twelfth bishop of Metz, A.D. 446. The Sammarthani (*Gall. Chr.* xiii. 685) prefer this statement to that of the Chronicle of the bishops of Metz, which is adopted by Bolland (*Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 66) that he sat 34 years, died in 325, and was commemorated on Feb. 18. By some he is identified with Leontius of Trèves. [R. T. S.]

LEGONUS (LEGONTIUS), third bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, cir. A.D. 360. (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* i. 39; *Gall. Ch.* ii. 227; Tillem. viii. 424.) [R. T. S.]

LEIDRADUS (1), doubtful bishop of Urgel, A.D. 799–806. Villanueva (*Viage Literario*, t. x. pp. 40, 225) is disposed, but with hesitation, to admit him as distinct from Leidradus bishop of Lyons. [C. H.]

LEIDRADUS (2) (LAIDRADUS, LAIDRACHUS, LIOBRADUS), forty-sixth archbishop of Lyons (A.D. 798–814), was a native of Bavaria ("Noricus hunc genuit," Theodolfus, *Paraenesis ad Judices*, Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 285), a deacon of Aribo bishop of Freising (Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frising,* i. 80–1), and appears at one time to have been in the service of Arno, afterwards bishop of Salzburg (Alcuin, *Epist.* 2, Patr. Lat. c. 141). Whether he was ever librarian to Charles the Great, as has been asserted, is uncertain, but that he was well known to and highly esteemed by him before his appointment to Lyons in 798 is evident (Leidradus, *Epist. ad Car.* Patr. Lat. xcix. 871). Alcuin addresses and speaks of him as "electum pontificem" in two of his letters (*Epist.* 89, 90, Migne, Patr. Lat. c. 286, 287). A letter of Felix bishop of Urgel, written in 799, designates him as episcopus. Immediately after his election, Charles named him, with Theodulfus, bishop of Orleans, missus dominicus for the province of Narbonne. Theodulfus has left a description of their mission

in verse (Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 285). Charles soon conferred on him a new mark of his confidence. With Nebridius, bishop of Narbonne, and St. Benedict, abbat of Aniane, he was commissioned to investigate the charges of heresy brought against Felix, bishop of Urgel in Spain. Arrived at his see, they summoned a council of the higher clergy of the province, at which Felix promised to accompany the legates to Charles's court, and if without violence convinced of error by the testimonies of the fathers, to recant his opinions (*Confessio Fidei Felicis*, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 883). At Aix accordingly a public disputation was held, in which Alcuin, the principal champion of the orthodox party, was victorious, and the vanquished Felix, after confessing the true faith, was with his disciples readmitted to the Catholic communion (Alcuin, *adv. Elipandum*, lib. i. 16). It seems, however, that he was deposed from his bishopric (*Confessio Fidei Felicis*, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 882; Agobardus, *adv. Felicem*, i., Patr. Lat. civ. 33), and sent into exile at Lyons (Ado, *Chronicon*, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 128). Leidradus, with Nebridius and Benedict, returned to Urgel to preach the true faith in the district which had been corrupted by heretical teaching (Alcuin, *Epist.* 117, Patr. Lat. 350–51). Twenty thousand are said to have been converted (Alcuin, *Epist.* 108, Patr. Lat. c. 329).

At the close of this mission he devoted himself to his own diocese, where Charles, on his appointment, had warned him to avoid and repair the evils which his predecessors' neglect had entailed (Leidradus, *Epist. ad Carolum*, Migne, Patr. Lat. xcix. 871–73). In 811 he was one of the witnesses who subscribed Charles's will (Einhardus, *Vita K. Magni*, cap. x. xxiii., Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 463). Three years later Louis the Pious, who had just ascended the throne, commissioned him to enquire into and settle a dispute which had arisen at Mâcon (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 54). The same year he resigned his diocese, and passed the remainder of his life in retirement at the monastery of St. Medàrdus at Soissons (Ado, *Chronicon*, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 134). The year of his death is unknown.

Contemporary writers speak warmly in his praise. Alcuin, who was his intimate friend (*Epist.* 2, 89, 103, 108, Patr. Lat. c. 141, 286, 317, 329), and with whom he had stayed a year at St. Martin's while recovering from an illness (*ibid.*), commends his integrity, benevolence, and wisdom (*Ep.* 89, Patr. Lat. 286), while Ado mentions his serviceableness to the state (*Chronicon*, *ibid.* col. 129). For an account of his life see the *Gallia Christiana*, iv. 52–5, and the *Hist. Litt. de la Franc.* iv. 433–6.

Of his works very little survives. They are all collected in Migne's Patr. Lat. xcix. 853–86. For an account of their contents see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 436–38. [S. A. B.]

LENDIVORD, bishop of Menevia, now St. David's, A.D. 810 (Godwin, *De Praesul. Angl.* 601; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155), but the lists are imperfect; and by Girald. Cambr. (*Itin. Kamb.* ii. c. i. wks. vi. 105) this bishop is called LEUDIWIT. [J. G.]

LENIN (LEININ, LENINE), father of St. Colman of Cloyne [COLMAN (6)], and of Brighit and the other "daughters of Leinin" who are commemorated on March 6 in *Mart. Doneg.* [BRIGIDA (3)]. He was son of Garrchon, descended from Mogh Nuadhat, king of Munster. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 213; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 104, c. 2 and *Tr. Thaum.* 612, c. 1; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 196.) [J. G.]

LENOGISILUS (LONEGISILUS), **ST.**, a priest in the diocese of Le Mans in the 7th century. The Bollandists publish a biography of him extracted from the archives of the collegiate church of St. Peter at Le Mans (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1120–2). It is of a legendary character, and probably worthless historically.

Mention of this saint, under the name of Lonegisilus, is also made in the life of St. Hadoindus (c. ii. s. 7, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1141), where it is related that, drawn by the fame of the latter, he came to ask for the gift of the cell, then called Buxidus in the pagus Sagonensis, which was willingly granted.

Lenogisilus is commemorated Jan. 13 (Boll. *ib.* Jan. i. 1119). [S. A. B.]

LENTHECORIUS, thirteenth bishop of Luni, cir. 700, according to Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* i. 834), but by others he is called Leodegarius. [LEODEGARIUS.] [C. H.]

LENTULUS, reputed author of an apocryphal letter to the Roman senate about Christ. It gives mediaeval ideas as to Christ's personal appearance. (Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* t. i. p. 301.) [G. T. S.]

LEO (1) I., emperor (surnamed the Great, the Thracian, and the Butcher), was born about A.D. 400 in the country of the Bessi, in Thrace. He was proclaimed emperor Feb. 7, 457, and crowned by Anatolius patriarch of Constantinople, being the first Christian sovereign who received his crown from the hands of a priest. Immediately upon the news of Marcian's death, religious troubles broke out in Alexandria, where the Monophysite party murdered the patriarch Proterius (Proteius), substituting for him Timothy Aelurus. Such a barbarous action caused a great sensation throughout Christendom. The orthodox bishops of Egypt fled to the emperor to lay their complaints before him. Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople, reported their sad case to the pope Leo, who energetically seconded their efforts for redress. The emperor, distracted by the demands of the pope and patriarch on the one hand, and of Aspar and the heretical party on the other, addressed a circular letter to Anatolius, and all other metropolitans throughout the world, commanding them to assemble their provincial councils, and advise him—(1) whether the decrees of the council of Chalcedon should be held binding; (2) as to the ordination of Timothy Aelurus. He also consulted the three most celebrated ascetics of the time, Symeon Stylites, James the Syrian, and Baradatus. We possess in the *Codex Encyclius*, embodying the answers of all the bishops and hermits consulted on this occasion, a most valuable monument of ecclesiastical antiquity. It was apparently composed, according to imperial orders, by some unknown Greek, translated into Latin, at the order of the senator Cassiodorus, by Epiphanius Scholasticus, and first published in modern times by Laurentius Surius. It will be found in all collections of the councils, but in

full only in Labbe and Coss. *Concil.* i. 4, pp. 890–980 (cf. Cave, *Scriptt. Lit. Hist.* i. 495; Till. *Mém.* xv. art. 167). The bishops, in August 458, replied, unanimously upholding the decrees of Chalcedon and rejecting the ordination of Timothy, who, however, maintained his position at Alexandria till the year 460, through the influence of Aspar and his faction. In that year he was exiled to Gangra in Paphlagonia, probably owing to the more energetic measures of Gennadius, the new patriarch of Constantinople. From thence he was removed into the Chersonesus Taurica, where he remained till his restoration in 476. [TIMOTHEUS.] Another Timothy, variously surnamed Basiliscus and Salofaciolus, was thereupon consecrated patriarch, and ruled the church during the rest of Leo's reign. The history of this struggle will be best studied in the epistles of St. Leo, from cxlv.–clxvi. in Migne, P. L. t. liv. The 65th Epistle, written Aug. 20, 458, is a very able dogmatic treatise, entering at large upon the whole question of Christ's twofold nature. In it he insists, against the Eutychians, that Christ has as real human flesh as we have, adopting a line of argument which afterwards became of critical importance in the iconoclastic controversy. (Cf. Nicephori *Antirrhett.* in Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.* t. i.)

In Antioch, again, similar troubles broke out in the latter part of this emperor's reign. The Eutychian party was there specially strong. Its convictions were of course intensified by the near presence of the celebrated Nestorian school of Edessa, which was just then at the height of its fame (Renan, *Hist. des Lang. Sémitiq.*). The emperor having, A.D. 471, appointed his son-in-law, Zeno the Isaurian, governor of Antioch, he brought in his train from Constantinople Peter the Fuller, formerly a monk of Chalcedon, but expelled from his monastery for his Eutychian views. Under Zeno's protection, Peter usurped the see of Antioch, and though the patriarch Martyrius was restored by imperial authority, and Peter banished to an African oasis, yet Martyrius found his opponents so strong that he resigned his see, to which Julian was elected. [PETER THE FULLER; MARTYRIUS.]

In 468 Leo became embroiled with the Arian Vandals of North Africa, who were bitterly hostile to the Greek emperor on account of his orthodoxy. He sent an expedition against them under the command of Basiliscus, his brother-in-law. Aspar and Ardaburius secretly arranged with Basiliscus for its failure, as they feared any diminution of the great Arian power. The emperor, having discovered the conspiracy, put Aspar and Ardaburius to death, as some say, with great treachery when engaged in a banquet at the imperial table, after they had been lured from their asylum in the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. He banished Basiliscus A.D. 469. The Gothic guards, in revenge, raised a civil war in Constantinople, and under one Ostrys, a friend of Aspar, even attacked the palace, but were defeated. Leo in consequence issued a severe edict against the Arians, and forbade them holding meetings or possessing churches.

In another quarter, again, religious controversy burst forth. Gennadius of Constantinople died in 471, and was succeeded in the patriarchal throne by Acacius, who was such a favourite with Leo that he admitted him a member of the senate, where no ecclesiastic had hitherto sat. Acacius obtained from Leo an edict confirming the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon, whereby Constantinople was raised to the same ecclesiastical level as Rome. The edict of Leo, indeed, seems to place it even higher, as the emperor styles it "the mother of his piety, of all Christians, and of the orthodox faith," and will have Acacius, and other bishops, his successors, to take precedence of other bishops, without restriction or limitation, in consideration of its being the royal city. The pope Simplicius resisted the claim, and a bitter controversy ensued, which lasted many years, and was most fruitful in divisions. (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* lib. iii. cap. i.)

Leo had a great reverence for the pillar saints of his time, Symeon and Daniel. To this latter, who lived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he had recourse when in grief for want of a son. The saint promised him one the following year. The prediction was fulfilled, though the child did not live long. The emperor presented the saint with a new column as a thank-offering, and followed up this gift with the further present of a double pillar connected by a platform, A.D. 465.

Leo was very active in church legislation. He made laws in 466 confirming the right of asylum to churches; in 468 forbidding any persons save Christians to act as advocates. In 469 he issued an edict against Simoniacal contracts, and another of an almost puritan strictness upon the observance of Sunday. He not only forbade judicial proceedings on that day, but also even the playing of any lyre or harp or any other musical instrument (*Chron. Pasch.* A.D. 467, where the words of the edict are given). In the same year he passed stern laws against paganism, and issued a fresh edict in favour of hospitals. In 471 a law was published, apparently elicited by the troubles at Antioch, commanding monks not to leave their monasteries. In Joan. Malalas (*Chronogr.* lib. xiv.) will be found a curious instance of the way in which the edicts against heathenism were carried out. He there tells us how Isocasius, a philosopher and magistrate of Antioch, was forced by torture to accept baptism at Constantinople. The emperor seems to have exercised a personal superintendence over this conversion.

Leo was twice married—(1) to Leontia, who had two daughters, Leontia and Ariadne; (2) to Verina, who had a son Leo, who died before his father in infancy. Leo died, Feb. 3, 474, of dysentery, aged seventy-three. He was succeeded by his grandson Leo II.

Authorities besides those already quoted. (Evagrius, *H. E.* lib. ii.; Procopii, de Bell. Vandal.; Theoph. *Chronograph.*) [G. T. S.]

LEO (2) II., son of Zeno and Ariadne, daughter of Leo I., was made consul when three years old by his grandfather in January 474. On Feb. 3 he succeeded him as emperor. Zeno had himself also proclaimed emperor, as if by his son's command, in the same month. In the following November the death of the boy left his father the sole occupant of the throne. The same authorities may be consulted as for Leo I. [G. T. S.]

LEO (3) III. (the Isaurian), emperor A.D. 716–741. Leo was a soldier of fortune, and sprung from a Monophysite stock. He was born at Germanicia, a city of Armenia Minor. Germanicia having been taken by the Saracens in one of their numerous invasions of Armenia towards the close of the 7th century, his father retired from Armenia to Thrace, probably in company with the Roman army, which Justinian II. had sent in 686 to meet the Saracens (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 387; Saint-Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, t. i. p. 338). He settled at Mesembria in Thrace, where he seems to have accumulated considerable wealth, as he was able to furnish Justinian II. with five hundred sheep for his troops when advancing with the Bulgarians upon Constantinople to regain possession of his throne, A.D. 704. This timely act made his son's fortune. Leo was appointed Spatharius, or a member of the royal body-guard, and given a high command on the Lazian frontier, whence, by his prudence and courage, he was raised by Anastasius II. to the command of the Anatolic Theme, one of the most important military commands in the empire, owing to the repeated Mahometan invasions. In 716 he relieved Armorium, thereby gaining the gratitude of its inhabitants to such an extent that the town stood faithful to the Isaurian dynasty in its darkest hours, and proved a haven of refuge to Leo's son when Constantinople was in revolt. He then concluded a truce with the Saracens, and was saluted emperor by the army and the inhabitants of Armorium. With the history of his civil administration for the next ten years we have nothing to do, save to mention that he occupied himself in rolling back the tide of foreign invasion, in establishing a firm government throughout the empire, a circumstance which, after the anarchy of the previous twenty years, as Mr. Finlay has well remarked, contributed in no small degree to make the commercial classes, fanatical image worshippers though they may have been, contented with the rule of a vigorous heretic. Here, however, we may explain one circumstance, which is at first sight puzzling to the student of the iconoclastic controversies. All through the struggles of the 8th century the army supported so firmly and consistently the side of iconoclasm, that even the empress Irene, fearless as she was, dared not convoke the council of image worshippers till she had removed the guards from Constantinople.

To one acquainted only with the method of recruiting under the Roman republic, or in free modern states, the total alienation of the army from the people, nay, rather their complete opposition to popular feelings and prejudices on this point, must seem unaccountable. The mere fact that the first iconoclastic emperor was a soldier of fortune and the army's own choice will not account for it. Armies before had often made emperors, and unmade them again when they displeased the soldiery. The real explanation of it must be sought in the policy of the Byzantine court established by Constantine. Space would fail us to explain it thoroughly. Those desirous of more information should study carefully the account of his municipal system in vol. i. c. ii. of Finlay's *History of Greece*. Suffice it here to say that Constantine established the caste system throughout the empire. "The military class was separated from the landed proprietors by an insuperable barrier. No landed proprietor could become a soldier, and no soldier could become a member of a curia or municipality. When the free population of the empire was so much diminished that it became difficult to find recruits, the son of a soldier was bound to follow the profession of arms, but the Roman armies were generally recruited from among the barbarians who lived beyond the bounds of the empire." (See the two titles, *De Veteranis*, and *De Filiis Veteranorum*, in the seventh book of the Theodosian Code.) This passage contains the explanation of the attachment of the army during the 8th century to iconoclasm. It was just then almost entirely recruited from the Armenians, Mardaïtes of Lebanon, Isaurians, Manicheans, Paulicians, and other heretics of Asia Minor, all of whom were more or less hostile to the dominant church and its practices (Finlay, i. 387, ii. 27, 28, 29). An army once thus formed, the caste system stereotyped it.

Having thus pointed out some broad general principles which rule the whole inquiry, we may proceed to the particular steps which Leo took to carry out his purpose. A year or so before his first edict against images he compelled the Jews and Montanists to be baptized as Phocas and Heraclius had done a century earlier. [GEORGIUS (73).] The Jews accepted the sacrament, and mocked it. Some of the Montanists, who were probably Manicheans, burnt themselves with their churches sooner than submit. The emperor may have had the objections of these sects to the prevailing image worship forced more prominently on his attention by the conferences with their leaders, which decency, not to say common sense, would require on such an occasion. In the following year (726) appeared therefore the first edict on the subject, when the emperor at once met an opponent in the patriarch Germanus, who had been compliant enough upon an abstract point like Monothelitism, but was immoveable upon the practical question. [GERMANUS (26).] The emperor, however, found other bishops equally ready to support him, prominent among whom were Constantine, bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia [CONSTANTINUS (7)], Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, and Theodosius, archbishop of Ephesus, son of a former emperor, Tiberius II. Almost every writer who has treated this subject has a different theory upon the chronology of the first five years of this controversy, viz. 726–30. Hefele in his *History of the Councils*, t. iv. (cf. his dissertation, *Ueber das Erste Lustrum des Bilderstreits* in the *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1857, Heft iv.) has critically considered them all, and, taking his stand upon certain undoubted historical facts, puts forward, in our opinion, the most satisfactory solution. Hitherto it has been generally believed that the first edict of Leo in 726 merely ordered the images in churches to be raised higher, in order that the people might not kiss them, or do them religious reverence. Hefele, however, from the words of pope Gregory II. in his first letter (Mansi, t. xii. p. 960) to the emperor on this subject, has conclusively proved that the original edict of Leo authorised the destruction of images. As a matter of fact, it only took effect in those cases where the images

were exposed in public places, but, owing to the opposition of the patriarch Germanus, was inoperative in churches, save where, as in the case of bishops like those mentioned above, their convictions or their interest led them to engage in the work of iconoclasm. His line of proof for a view so opposite to that almost universally held by all previous writers, with the exception of Baronius, Fleury, and Mosheim, is the following. Theophanes, under the year 718 of his era, that is A.D. 726, mentions the indignation of the people at the emperor's new doctrines, and their mutiny, as some officials led by the Spatharius Jovinus proceeded to demolish the miraculous image of our Lord, over the Brazen Gate of Constantinople in the district of Chalcoprateia according to Hefele (*Hist. des Concil.* t. iv. p. 263, ed. Paris), over the bronze portal of the imperial palace according to Neander (*H. E.* v. 293). The women upset the ladder, mounted on which the leader with a hatchet was smashing the image, and killed the officers [MARIA PATRICIA], for which the emperor executed some, exiled others, and dissolved the university, which had flourished from the time of Constantine the Great.[a] To this event the pope in his first letter expressly alludes, telling the emperor that the first news he had of his hostility to the sacred images was from "certain persons of distinction, French, Romans, Vandals, Goths, and Moors," pilgrims or merchants, who had witnessed this act, and spread the news of it all through the West. Hefele confirms this view by a story which Theophanes tells concerning the siege of Nicaea, which was besieged by the Saracens in the summer of 727 (cf. Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript.* iv. 8664). A soldier, perceiving an image of the Blessed Virgin exposed in public, smashed it with a stone and ground it to powder under his feet. He then saw a lady standing beside him saying, "Thou seest how scandalously thou hast treated me, that deed shall surely return upon thy head." Next day, rushing to the battlements upon a sudden alarm of the enemy, he was killed by a stone. Theophanes regards this as an immediate and miraculous judgment upon the iconoclast for his sacrilege. Hefele more naturally views it as a confirmation of his theory that the emperor's first edict authorised the destruction of images, as a common soldier would scarcely venture on such a daring act in a city devoted to image worship, unless he had public authority at his back. At the same time he points out that, as Theophanes equally records, since Nicaea was delivered by the intercession of the Fathers of the first council whose images were preserved there, the ecclesiastical authorities of the place must have disobeyed the emperor's mandate. In fact, his conclusion in general is this, that the first edict of 726 authorised the destruction of images, but was not put into vigorous execution till the deposition of the patriarch Germanus. This theory gains additional support from some facts which Hefele has not noticed. The earlier letters of Germanus, A.D. 726–28, for instance, which remain in the acts of the second Nicene council, to Constantine, John of Synnada, and Thomas of Claudiopolis, all refer to the destruction of images as an accomplished fact. Joannes Damasc. again wrote his second oration in defence of images about the month of February, 730. This date is deduced from the circumstance that he mentions the deposition of Germanus, Jan. 730, but not the accession of Anastasius, which took place a few weeks later. He had written another oration previously. The second was published because of the difficulty experienced by the faithful in getting copies of the first. That first *Apology*, whether written from Damascus or from the solitudes of the desert, must have taken a considerable time to get into circulation, and to cause, as it did, a great sensation even at the imperial court. This will throw its composition back at least to the year 728. Now in this first *Apology* all the arguments are addressed to persons totally opposed to the use of images, and presuppose an edict requiring their destruction, not their elevation merely to a loftier position on the walls of churches.

During the first five years of the controversy the emperor came in contact with three men who represent three distinct classes—with Germanus representing the Greek church within the empire, with pope Gregory II. representing the West, and with John of Damascus representing the Eastern church without the empire. The theory of Hefele with respect to the nature of the first edict is the only one which harmonises the documents which remain to us concerning all three. [GERMANUS (26).]

Germanus was nearly ninety years of age when the edict of 726 was issued. Constantine of Nacolia seems about that time to have been in the capital consulting with or advising the sovereign. The patriarch summoned him to his presence, expostulated with him, and sent him back to his see with a letter to his metropolitan, John of Synnada, wherein he defends the use of images of Christ on the ground that they shewed forth His real Incarnation as opposed to the docetic doctrine taught by heretics on that

[a] As the attack on this image was followed by most important consequences, and was the declaration of war on Leo's part, it may be well to explain that it was the most highly valued of all the images by the populace of Constantinople. It was known by the name of Χριστὸς ὁ ἀντιφωνήτης = ἔγγυος, the surety. This name was derived from the following legend. Theodore, a wealthy merchant, had lost all his property at sea. To obtain fresh capital he betook himself to a rich Jew named Abraham, who demanded adequate security for the sum he proposed to lend. Being devoid of any he offered an image of Christ before which he was accustomed to pray, which the Jew accepted. After losing two more vessels he prospered, became rich, and paid back what he had borrowed. This, with various other marvels, made such an impression on the Jew that he was baptized and became a priest. Theodore became a monk, as he resolved to do after his first loss at sea. These incidents, which are said to have happened under the emperor Heraclius, are related in a panegyric on this image which Combefis has published in his *Hist. Monthelet.* or *Auct. Bibl. Patr.* Paris, t. ii. A.D. 1648. In place of the image Leo substituted the cross, to the use of which neither he nor the Monophysites in general were opposed. To this cross the following inscription was appended: "The emperor could not suffer a dumb and lifeless figure of earthly materials smeared over with paint to stand as a representation of Christ. He has therefore erected here the sign of the cross, a glory to the gate of believing princes" (Neander, *H. E.* v. 294, vi. 266; cf. Combefis, *Hist. Monothel.* p. 611; Codinus, *de Aedific. C. P.* ed. Bonn. p. 77; Du Cange, *Constant. Christian.* ii. 113–117).

subject. Another letter to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, is most important, as the first formal controversial document of this period, and as proving that the controversy had already become a very hot one. It must have been written soon after the issue of the first edict, and before the emperor had shewn his determination to enforce compliance with his will upon all parties, lay and clerical alike. The patriarch exhorts the bishop of Claudiopolis to avoid all novelties, and above all when they would be an occasion of scandal to the faithful, and in opposition to long established ecclesiastical custom. He proceeds then to refute the objection (1) of Jews to images as contravening God's law, by retorting that they broke the same law by offering in all parts of the world those sacrifices which ought only to be presented at Jerusalem; (2) of Saracens, by retorting the cultus paid by themselves to the Khaaba, a square black stone at Mecca. He explains that reverence to images was merely intended to stir the people up to an imitation of their lives who were thus represented. Quoting St. Basil to the effect that a painting is an abridged history, he refers to the fact that so many councils had been held and none had forbidden images, and to the miracles said to have been performed by them, specially noting an image of the Blessed Virgin at Sosopolis in Pisidia, from whose painted palm a liquid perfume used to distil (cf. Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. Graec.* s. v. *μύρρα*). He refers to the reputed statue of Christ erected at Paneas, but warns his correspondent that her example is not in one respect to be followed. Statues must not be erected after the custom of the heathen, only paintings and mosaics.

Germanus seems to have carried on this quiet but resolute opposition during the year 727 when the attention of the emperor was naturally taken up with the revolt of the Greeks, which resulted in an attack upon Constantinople, April 18, 727, and after their defeat with a formidable invasion of the Saracens, who laid siege to Nicaea, June 21 of the same year (Boeckh, *l. c.*). After the restoration of order Leo turned his attention again to the images. Perceiving the necessity for gaining over the patriarch to his views, he summoned him to a conference in the early part of the year, which began on March 25, 729, where by argument and threats he strove to change his resolution, but failed. Several months seem then to have elapsed, during which the emperor was laying his plans. In this interval the patriarch wrote to the pope acquainting him with Leo's demands and his own refusal. We do not possess the letter of Germanus, but the answer of Gregory, in which he encourages him to a brave resistance, has been preserved in the acts of the seventh council. (Mansi, t. xiii. p. 91 sqq.; Hard. iv. 231.)

On January 7 the emperor summoned a silentium or grand council of the empire in his palace, where he again called upon the patriarch to join in an edict against images. He replied in a long oration, wherein he defended his own views. Perceiving he availed nothing, he concluded by saying, "If I am a Jonah fling me into the sea, but without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed;" then, resigning his office, he retired to his own estate, where he died in a short time, aged more than ninety years.

Into his place the emperor chose the patriarchal secretary Anastasius, who was consecrated Jan. 22. He immediately countersigned the emperor's edict, and thus lent it the force of ecclesiastical sanction. It seems to have been at once enforced with considerable success and without much opposition, though some executions and mutilations took place; the images were universally removed, and the painted walls were all whitewashed. Leo, however, had to reckon besides with two other antagonists, who were far more formidable because beyond his reach—with the pope and with John of Damascus. During the first ten years of his reign Leo maintained a good understanding with Gregory II., though there seems even then to have been considerable dissatisfaction at Rome, as also in Greece, with his fiscal arrangements (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 37, 38). Of this discontent the pope skilfully availed himself in his controversy with the emperor. Stepping forward as the champion of popular rights as well as prejudices, he commenced the struggle immediately upon hearing of the attack upon the image of Christ over the great brazen gate already referred to. His first letter on the subject from the pope to the emperor has been minutely examined by Hefele in his essay on Iconoclasm (*Hist. of Councils*, t. iv. ed. Paris). He shews that it was written some time in 727, and that out of it we can even collect the very words of the first edict against images. The chronology of this period was previously in a very confused state, but owing to the efforts of Hefele it has been reduced to an orderly sequence. Immediately after the receipt of the imperial edict of 726 the pope summoned a synod to consider it (Mansi, t. xii. p. 267). There the pope shewed that it was lawful to venerate images, citing the example of the cherubim, and of the workmanship of Bezaleel and Aholiab, an argument which we find more fully developed in the first letter of the pope to Leo, which resulted from the deliberations of this synod. This correspondence was for centuries lost, but in the 16th century was found in the library of the cardinal of Lorraine by the learned Jesuit Fronto, who translated ten letters from Greek into Latin. They were printed for the first time by Baronius (*Annal.* 726, 31). In the first letter the pope endeavours to parry the force of the second commandment, on which Leo in his edict had dwelt, by explaining that it was only of temporary force because of the existing idolatry, and further because that no man had then seen God. Since the Incarnation, however, the matter is different. Man has now seen God taking human nature, and therefore may make an image of His human form. He then explains the distinction between relative adoration and real worship (*ταύτας προσεκύνησαν οὐ λατρευτικῶς, ἀλλὰ σχετικῶς*), which, as we have already seen, Augustine reprobated three centuries before. He then takes high ground with the emperor, plainly threatening him with a revolt in the West if he persisted. He mentions one incidental circumstance which explains how these letters, thus lost for centuries, were finally found in a Western library. As an evidence of the unpopular nature of his present

course the pope tells Leo, "God is my witness that I have sent all thy letters to the kings of the West. They have also received and prized thy portraits before they heard of thy unfortunate attack upon images." Leo wished for the assembly of a general council, but Gregory tells him that as they could not find a God-fearing emperor to assist thereat according to custom, such an assembly could not be convoked. He announces that his portraits had been destroyed throughout the West and that Ravenna had been taken by the Lombards as the result of his iconoclasm. Finally, quoting the emperor's words, he proceeds: "But thou wishest to frighten me, and sayest: 'I will send men to Rome to destroy the image of St. Peter, and to lead pope Gregory prisoner, as Constantine led Martin.' Know that the bishops of Rome are as a wall between the East and West. If thou wilt pursue me, the bishop of Rome will simply retire twenty-four stadia from Rome into Campania. Then come and pursue the winds." Such language must have sounded strange upon the imperial ear, and proves that already the Roman see, strong in the support of the West, had made long strides towards its future greatness. To this letter the emperor replied in an epistle sent by the hand of a certain Rufinus, in which the emperor claimed to be priest as well as emperor in virtue of his imperial office. To this the pope replied: "Thou writest that thou art emperor and priest at once. Yes; thy predecessors were such in reality. Constantine the Great, Theodore the Great, Valentinian the Great, and Constantine (Pogonatus). They governed as religious emperors; they have held synods with the bishops. They have, in a word, proved by their works that they were emperors and priests; but thou, on the contrary, hast despoiled the churches." He then draws a distinction between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction and functions, summing up thus: "Doctrines are not the business of the emperor, but of the bishops," answering thus the emperor's query, how it is that the six councils say nothing about images; "Neither is anything said by them about bread and water, eating and not eating, these things being always connected with human life. The use of images was then general. The bishops themselves brought images to the councils, for no pious man ever undertook a journey without one." We have bestowed much space upon these letters, because they were epoch-making documents, which served to change the current of European politics. The careful study of them, as given in Baronius, Mansi, or Hardouin, will be most instructive. The theological arguments are probably drawn, as we have already remarked, from the work of Leontius of Cyprus, as the pope displays in these authoritative documents, when he ventures on independent reasoning, the most wonderful ignorance of Scripture and ecclesiastical history alike. He adopts, for instance, the story about our Lord sending His portrait to Abgarus of Edessa, and calls it expressly ἀχειροποίητον; while the following is a specimen of his proficiency in Holy Scripture. "I beseech thee," writes the pope to Leo, "lay aside thy wicked thoughts and save thy soul from the curses which the whole world are flinging at thee. The very children mock thee. Go into a school and say, I am an enemy of images, they will fling their tablets at thee. Thou writest, just as after eight hundred years the Jewish king removed the serpent of brass out of the temple, so have I after eight hundred years removed images out of the church. King Uzziah was in truth thy brother, for he, like thee, did violence to the priest (2 Chron. xxvi. 16). *David* deposited the serpent of brass in the *temple* with the ark of the covenant. It was there an image consecrated by God to cure those who had been bitten by serpents" (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Chron. v. 10). The emperor, unconvinced by such reasoning and undaunted by the threat of excommunication, made several attempts to kill or arrest the pope, which were all unsuccessful, owing to the enthusiasm of the Romans, and the aid even of the Lombards. The chronography of the period is however so confused that every historian gives us a different narrative (see Milman, *Lat. Christ.* l. iv. c. ix. in t. ii. pp. 417–24, ed. 1867, for the best connected narrative of this troubled time; cf. *The Franks and their Metropolitans*, two papers in *Jour. Sacr. Lit.* ed. Burgess, viii. 271; ix. 298). Certain facts however serve as landmarks. Gregory II. died on February 11, 731, after repudiating all communion with Anastasius the intruding patriarch of Constantinople. Gregory III. was elected pope by acclamation at the funeral of Gregory II., and was consecrated on March 18, as soon as the consent of the exarch at Ravenna, as representing the emperor, could be obtained.[b] Up to this then the bishops of Rome had not openly broken with the imperial authority. The final breach was the work of that authority itself. Iconoclasm had now become a fanaticism with the emperor; or rather perhaps, a rude soldier, intoxicated with the possession of despotic power and inheriting the traditions of the Byzantine empire, considered himself bound to vindicate the dictates of authority against an insolent priest. The new pope sent messenger after messenger to the imperial court. They were all arrested, and cast into prison on the way. The pope, incensed at such conduct, convoked a synod, which met on Nov. 1, 731, and hurled an excommunication at the iconoclasts, without expressly naming the emperor, but evidently including him. To this he replied by sending a fleet against Rome under Manes, the general of the Kibyrraiot theme, which suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic, and defeat under the walls of Ravenna. Henceforth the Eastern empire almost acquiesced in the loss

[b] In the diary of the popes of the 8th century—the *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*—will be found the form of an application for such consent, addressed to the emperor, wherein it is said: "Lacrimabiliter cuncti famuli supplicamus ut dominorum pietas servorum suorum obsecrationes dignanter exaudiat, et concessa pietatis suae jussione, petentium desideria, ad effectum de ordinatione ipsius praecipiat pervenire" (*Lib. Diurn.* cap. 2, tit. 3, in *Pat. Lat.* cv. 32). The application for the exarch's consent (tit. 4) runs—"Iterum atque iterum impensius, praecelse et a Deo servate domine, supplicamus, ut celerius, Deo operante vestrisque praecordiis inspirante, apostolicam sedem de perfecta ejusdem nostri patris atque pastoris ordinatione adornare praecipiatis." There is also a form of application to the archbishop of Ravenna (tit. 5), to the judices of Ravenna (tit. 6), and to the apocrisiarius of Ravenna (tit. 7), to secure their friendly offices with the exarch, and prevent delay.

of Italy, but avenged itself by confiscating the large estates of the Roman see in Sicily and Calabria and by separating Sicily, Illyria, Greece, and Macedonia from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. A nominal connexion however continued to exist between Rome and Constantinople till the coronation of Charlemagne by pope Leo III. on Christmas day, A.D. 800, finally severed the link and, making the bishop of Rome independent of the East, consummated the work begun by the iconoclastic movement [GREGORY II. AND III.]. (Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, c. iv.; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, c. i. p. 15, ed. 1868.) The emperor had also to contend with another adversary nearer home and yet beyond the reach of his power. John of Damascus, at the outbreak of the controversy, held high office at the caliph's court under the Saracens, whence he at once addressed his first oration in defence of images, which caused apparently such a great sensation throughout the empire that the emperor strove to prohibit its circulation. So great difficulty did the orthodox experience in obtaining copies, that, as we have already noted, upon the resignation of Germanus in January 730 he hastily compiled a second oration containing exactly the same arguments and quotations, which seems to have been in time followed by a third, though the authenticity of this last is doubted by some. A brief analysis of the first will sufficiently set forth the character of all. He teaches that the use of images necessarily resulted from the Incarnation, and is a testimony against a mere docetic view of Christ's humanity, which seems from the words of the second oration to have been rapidly developing itself. He then notices that the iconoclasts had adopted the Manichaean view of matter, abusing it as a vile thing, and of course there is then but a step to docetism. He distinguishes between five distinct kinds of adoration, and points out that the second commandment was abrogated by the Incarnation. In fact, he views iconoclasm as a return to the bondage of Judaism from the freedom of the Gospel, and asks if they observe the law on this point, why not upon circumcision and the Sabbath. (Upon this subject he enlarges still more in *Oratio II.*; cf. his work *De Fide Orthod.* iv. 15.) He retorts their inconsistency upon his opponents, as a century later did Theodor. Studit. in his *Antirrhet.* against the epigrams of the Iconoclasts. They adored the Cross, the place of Calvary, the stone of the Sepulchre, the Holy Table and holy vessels; why not, then, the sacred images which serve like the stones taken out of the bed of Jordan to remind the faithful of God's past mercies, a point which he presses still more strongly in the second oration; asking pertinently enough, if I may adore the image of a cross to which He was affixed, why not the image of Him affixed to it? A compromise seems to have been suggested by some one, which Damascenus indignantly rejects. It was proposed that the images of Christ and His mother alone should be reverenced and all others abolished. "No," replied he, "if we paint an image of Christ why not of His saints, who form His body?" He makes a weak attempt to reply to the historical argument drawn from the iconoclastic act of Epiphanius, but of course fails, as the facts are too strong for him. His solution of the difficulty about Epiphanius is threefold. (1) Perhaps the story is a forgery, or perhaps (2) he tore the curtain because of some local abuses; at any rate, (3) one man's opinion is not to be set against the universal tradition of the Church, quoting the saying of Gregory the Great, "one swallow does not make spring." He then endeavours to retort the historical argument by shewing that some of the Fathers, as Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, the Pseudo-Dionysius approved of the use of pictures as means of teaching the ignorant. He answers the emperor's argument that no council had sanctioned images by retorting that none had condemned them, and silence in such a case was sanction. Each oration closes with almost the same citation of authorities, not omitting the memorable one of the hermit who was assailed by the daemon of uncleanness, and which was such a favourite with the council of Nice that it is repeated twice in *Acts* iv. and v. (cf. Dr. Whitby's treatise on *Image Worship* in Gibson's *Preservative* for an examination of this story, t. vii. p. 285; London, 1848). The daemon offered to leave the holy man at rest if he ceased to worship an image of the Virgin. The hard-pressed hermit made the rash vow, but in his distress of mind communicated his secret to a famous abbat, Theodore, his spiritual adviser. "Better," said the abbat, "that you should visit every brothel in the town than abstain from the worship of the holy image."

The result of the struggle between Leo and John was not beneficial to the cause of Christianity. It tended rather to the advantage of Mahomedanism, as it taught the adherents of image worship, led by the fanaticism of the monks, to view the Eastern empire as their more immediate enemy, contrasting therewith the toleration, contemptuous though it may have been, which they enjoyed under the rule of the caliphs. [JOAN. DAMASCENUS.] (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 371, 387.)

From the year 733 till Leo's death in 741 we know nothing further of this contest. The emperor seems to have had plenty of civil business to engage him without trespassing on theology. The ever-increasing danger of the exarchate of Ravenna, the intrigues of the French monarchs, the incursions of Saracens and Bulgarians, culminating in a terrible earthquake, Oct. 26, 740, which destroyed a great part of Constantinople—all these gave him sufficient employment.*

The reign of Leo determined the character of the whole iconoclastic epoch. The literary controversy was threshed out for the time being, as no new arguments were advanced on either side till the iconoclasts recognised more clearly the logical principles always latent in their system, and embodied them in formal anathemas at the council of 754. Then, in turn, we find new ground taken and new arguments brought forward on the side of their opponents in the discussions of the Nicene council, and in the writings

* This last event caused the imposition of a tax, amounting to one-tenth of the census, called the dikeratlon, because generally paid in silver coins called keratia, which was applied to the restoration of the ruined fortifications. In this earthquake the statue of the empress Eudoxia, erected A.D. 406, was overthrown (Boeckh *Corp. Inscript.* iv. 8614).

of Nicephorus and Theodorus of Studita after the time of that council. The Protestant inquirer in viewing his reign naturally sympathises with the emperor, the Roman Catholic with his opponents. Thus it has been in history, with Spanheim and Basnage on the one side, with Maimbourg and Fleury on the other; and yet an impartial student like Neander, looking, not at the mere surface, but at the deeper principles which underlie human affairs, can find somewhat to balance in the one against the other. Leo seems certainly to have been animated with a genuine desire to restore the primitive simplicity of Christian worship. But he sought his object in a perverse way, which destroyed the rights of the individual conscience, and made the will of the magistrate the supreme law in spiritual matters. He sought to impose a spiritual movement by force upon mankind, and he failed, as all such attempts must fail. Spiritual movements must proceed from within, not from without, from forces and convictions residing within the human bosom, not from the mere dictates of external authority. The iconoclastic movement again, in one sense, saved the Eastern church by awakening in it a sense of spiritual independence which had been almost smothered under the weight of imperial favour and imperial despotism combined. Hitherto the Greek church had been the obedient slave of the empire, ready to change or modify its creed at the command of its imperial masters. A Germanus even was ready to adopt Monothelism or Dithelism, according to royal whim. Had the Eastern church been conquered by the Saracens while in that Erastian state, Christianity might have been utterly extinguished in the East, as the church would have been prepared to adopt the creed of its rulers. But this controversy infused a new spirit into church teachers and leaders. "Without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed," cried alike the monk of Damascus and the patriarch Germanus, taking up the still bolder cry of the pope Gregory II., "Church doctrines are not the business of emperors, but of bishops. Just as they ought not to mingle in affairs of state, so ought not the others to interfere in ecclesiastical matters."

These were unwonted sounds for a Byzantine emperor to hear, and they seem to have urged him and his successor forward on the path of vindicating the royal prerogative as against the spiritual power. [G. T. S.]

LEO (4) IV. (the Khazar), born Jan. 25, 750, crowned June 6, 751, ascended the throne Sept. 14, A.D. 775, died Sept. 8, 780. He was the son of Constantine Copronymus and Irene, daughter of the emperor of the Khazars. His father proposed at first to marry him to Gisela, daughter of Pippin king of the Franks, hoping to recover the exarchate of Ravenna by this alliance, but meeting with a refusal through the influence of the papal party he united him to a beautiful Athenian named Irene, who was devoted, though secretly, to image worship. (Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, ed. Saint-Martin, t. xii. p. 269.) Under her influence at the beginning of his reign he shewed some favour to the monks, whom his father steadily and fiercely persecuted. He even chose some metropolitans out of the ranks of the abbats. In the fourth or fifth year of his reign he discovered a plot for the restoration of image worship, in which the empress seems to have been implicated. He imprisoned the chief conspirators, among whom were Jacobus Protospatharius, Papias, Strategius, Theophanes, Leo, and Thomas, chamberlains, but he put none of them to death [IRENE II.]. He displayed the same mild disposition when his half-brother Nicephorus, after swearing allegiance to Leo's son Constantine (Theophanes, 380; Zonaras, ii. 114), formed a conspiracy to render himself master of the government. Leo, feeling himself sinking into the grave, referred the question of his brother's guilt to a Silentium, which condemned all the conspirators to death. He pardoned his brother, and merely scourged and exiled his partisans. In the last year of his reign he seems to have taken more decided steps against image worship. He quarrelled with Irene when he discovered images beneath her pillow (Cedrenus, 469). His death is ascribed by Theophanes to this iconoclastic zeal. Having removed a crown out of the great church of Constantinople, and placed it on his own head, carbuncles immediately burst forth, and he died of the consequent fever. According to Mosheim and others he was poisoned by Irene, with whom he had not lived from the previous Lent, the period of their quarrel about the images. In 777 he persuaded Telerus king of the Bulgarians, who had taken refuge with him, to embrace Christianity. He made him patrician, and gave him in marriage Irene, a cousin of the empress. He continued his father's policy, not only about images, but also by encouraging the settlement of Oriental heretics in Thrace. In 778 he formed there settlements of Syrian Jacobites. (Fleury, *H. E.* xlii. 42, xliv. 16; Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 50, 55; Theophan. *Chronograph.*) [ICONOCLASTS.] [G. T. S.]

LEO (5) I., the Great, saint, bishop of Rome, A.D. 440–461. We know but little of St. Leo before his elevation to the papacy. He himself and Prosper of Aquitaine call Rome his "patria" (Prosper, *Chron.* Patrol. Lat. li. 599; Leo Mag. *Ep.* xxxi. 4, p. 85, Migne); and the tradition which makes him a Tuscan—of Volaterrae, as the inhabitants of that town add—does not seem worthy of credit. His father is said to have been called Quintian (Anastasius, *de Vitis Roman. Pont.*). Of the date of his birth we know nothing exactly, but it must have been about the last decade of the 4th century. He is said (Vig. Taps. *contra Eutych.* lib. iv.) to have been baptized by Celestine; but if so, this must have been while Celestine was still a simple priest. As to his education, there is no trace in his writings that it comprised any study of pagan authors, and he was throughout life ignorant of Greek (*Epp.* cxxx. 3, p. 1258; cxiii. 4, p. 1194); but his elaborate style, characterised as it is by the literary merits and faults of his age, indicates considerable training in composition. In the year 418 we hear, in the letters of St. Augustine (*Epp.* cxci. cxciv. 1), of a certain acolyte Leo, who was the bearer of a letter from Sixtus, afterwards pope, to Aurelius of Carthage, and apparently also of pope Zosimus's letter in condemnation of Pelagianism, addressed to Aurelius, St. Augustine, and the other African bishops. The mention of Sixtus

with whom Leo was afterwards connected, and the date of the occurrence, would lead us to identify this acolyte with Leo the Great. If so, it is interesting to think that he should have come in contact early in life with the greatest of Latin theologians. Under the pontificate of Coelestine (422–432) he was a deacon, or (according to Gennadius, *de Vir. Illustr.* 61) archdeacon of Rome. In this capacity he held a most important place in the church. This we may illustrate by two incidents. In 430 the treatise of Cassian, *de Incarnatione*, against the Nestorians, which had been written at Leo's exhortation, was dedicated to him by its author with every expression of respect: "Vicisti sententiam meam laudabili studio et imperiosissimo affectu, mi Leo venerande .... Romanae ecclesiae et divini ministerii decus. Pareo obsecrationi tuae, pareo jussioni." (Cassian, *de Incarn. Praef.* Migne, Patrol. Lat. i. p. 11.[a]) In the following year, during the progress of the council of Ephesus, St. Cyril of Alexandria addressed a letter to Leo against the ambitious design of Juvenal of Jerusalem to obtain for his see the dignity of a patriarchate, begging that no sanction to such a design might be given from Rome. Leo himself, in later life, mentions this letter (*Epp.* cxix. 4, p. 1216), and it is a sign of the important position which he held as archdeacon. We find in a similar case, under the pontificate of Leo, Theodoret of Cyrus addressing himself not only to the pope but also to his archdeacon (Leo Mag. *Ep.* lii.; Theod. *Ep.* 118). On the strength of the close union between Celestine and Leo, Quesnel grounds a belief that the latter was the author of the collection of passages on grace, entitled "Praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates de gratiâ Dei," which is attached to pope Celestine's letter against the semi-Pelagians, written in 431 or 432 (Coelestini, *Ep.* xxi. Migne). This collection of passages he thinks that Leo made especially in the hope of converting his friend Cassian, who is reckoned one of the chief of the semi-Pelagians; but the opinion rests only on conjecture. In the same cause he believes him to have written the anonymous books *De Vocatione Gentium*, and, at some date before his pontificate, the letter *ad Demetriadem* (*Dissert.* ii. iii. and iv. in Migne's edition of Leo's works; cf. DEMETRIAS, PROSPER). It is, however, improbable that St. Leo was the author of these works; there is almost no external evidence to support the suggestion, and the evidence of style, though there is sometimes undoubtedly a strong resemblance between the epigrammatic sentences of the *De Vocatione* and the style of St. Leo, is yet not convincing. This work, by whom ever written, while it makes no mention of St. Augustine, seems to represent a modified Augustinianism. (See Ceillier, x. 240; Migne, Patrol. Lat. li. 647; Perthel's *Leo I., Leben und Lehren*, pp. 127–135.) Under the pontificate of Sixtus (432–440) the Acta of a Roman council, dated A.D. 433, attribute to St. Leo a prominent share in clearing the character of the pope, who was accused of the violation of a virgin, but the Acta are recognised as untrustworthy. (Labbe, *Concilia*, iii. 1265; Patrol. Lat. lv. p. 192.) In 439 the *Chronicle* of Prosper shews us Leo on the alert against the Pelagians, urging the pope to offer a vigilant resistance to the movements of Julian of Eclanum, who was seeking to obtain readmission to the church without any real recantation of his errors (Prosper, *Chron.* Patrol. li. 598).

Very soon after this Leo was sent on an important civil embassy to Gaul. The Western empire at this date was in a condition of extreme weakness; while it was nominally governed by a woman, Placidia, the widow of the late emperor Constantius, and her youthful and feeble son Valentinian III., the real power lay almost wholly in the hands of the general Aetius, who was at this moment engaged in a quarrel in Gaul with another general Albinus. With the barbarian hosts threatening on all sides the tottering empire, such a quarrel must have fatal results; and it is a sign of the important civil position held by Leo the deacon that he was chosen to approach the rivals, and endeavour to bring about a reconciliation (Prosper, *Chron.* Patrol. li. p. 599). Meanwhile, during his prolonged absence, the Roman people had an opportunity of shewing the esteem in which they held him. About the middle of August pope Sixtus died. Leo was in his absence promptly elected to fill the vacant see, and an embassy was sent to recall him to Rome. "More than forty days," says Prosper, "the Roman church was without a bishop, awaiting with wonderful peace and patience the arrival of the deacon Leo." On his return he was consecrated on Sept. 29, 440. The first of Leo's works preserved to us is his brief sermon on this occasion, *De Natali Ipsius*, in which, without any rhetorical profession of unwillingness to accept the office, he praises God and returns thanks to the people, asking their prayers for the success of his ministry. (For date of consecration see Ballerini's note, Patrol. lv. 193; Tillemont, xv. note 2 on St. Leo.)

It was a difficult and trying moment in which Leo was called to the most important position in Christendom. The Eastern empire was in its normal state of "premature decay," the Western empire was tottering to its fall. On all sides the hosts of the barbarians were pressing upon it. Africa had already fallen a prey to Genseric and the Vandals. The devastation of the once flourishing African church was well-nigh complete. Sicily had suffered severely, and Rome in a few years would again be at the mercy of pitiless invaders. And, like the empire, the church was in evil case. Without, she was encompassed round by the Arian powers of the barbarians. Within, the Manichaeans, the Priscillianists, the Pelagians and the semi-Pelagians, were disturbing her peace. In the East Nestorianism was still rife, and Eutyches, who was to give birth to the new dogmatic error with which Leo's name is specially connected, was already an old man. Add to all this the wretched condition of learning, especially in the West, and the extraordinary paucity of men capable of governing or leading, whether in church or state, and you have a crisis when the task which was laid on the shoulders of Leo I. on the day of his con-

[a] On the fabulous tales of Leo and Cassian, given in Guesnay's life of the latter, see Quesnel, *Dissert.* i. in Leo Mag. Op. tom. ii. p. 187, Migne; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xv. note i. on St. Leo.

secration will be seen to be one which would try the best energies of the strongest and the most capable. There was wanted a man who could make the see of St. Peter take the place of the tottering imperial power: there was wanted a man capable above all things of disciplining and consolidating Western Christendom, so that it might present a firm front to the heretical barbarians, and remain in unshaken consistency through all that stormy period which links the ancient with the modern world. The church must be strong, while all else of that old empire was weak. The church, preserving her identity, must give the framework for the society which was to be. In order then that she might fulfil her function, large sacrifices must be made to the surpassing necessity for unity, solidity, and strength. And Leo was the man for the post: lofty and severe in life and aims, rigid and stern in insisting on the rules of ecclesiastical discipline; gifted with an indomitable energy, courage, and perseverance, and a capacity for keeping his eye on many widely distant spheres of activity at once; inspired with an unhesitating acceptance and an admirable grasp of the dogmatic faith of the church, which he was prepared to press everywhere at all costs; finally, possessed with, and unceasingly acting upon, an overmastering sense of the indefeasible authority of the church of Rome as the divinely ordained centre of all church work and life, Leo stands out as the Christian representative of the imperial dignity and severity of old Rome, and is the true founder of the mediaeval papacy in all its magnificence of conception and uncompromising strength. His is a simple character, if regarded with sympathy, not hard to understand and to appreciate; representing strongly that one side of the developing life of the church which is especially identified with Rome—authority and unity; and a special interest attaches to the history of Leo from the fact that he stands so much alone, as almost the one considerable man in Christendom. "The dignity of the imperial name may be said to have died with Theodosius the Great." Among churchmen Augustine was just dead, Cyril very soon to die. The best known names are those of Theodoret, Prosper, Cassian, and Hilary of Arles. There was not even an imposing representative of heresy; "on the throne of Rome, alone of all the great sees, did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity, its piety."[b] In such an age, and in such a position, a strong man like Leo could not but exercise an abiding influence. We proceed to consider his life and work:—i. in his relation to secular history; ii. in his conflict with the various heresies then troubling the West; iii. in his great struggle with Eutychianism; iv. as the "First Pope" asserting the authority of the Roman see; v. as maintaining ordinary ecclesiastical discipline; vi. as a theologian, preacher, and moralist.

I. Leo was born at a time when the interest of secular history in the West consists mainly in watching the tide of vigorous barbarism sweeping over the decaying life of the old empire. That in strengthening the framework of the church system, Leo was playing an important part in the reconstruction of civil society, has been said above. This undoubtedly is the chief importance of his work viewed from the side of secular history. Besides this general work we find him standing out on more than one important occasion, which legend can hardly make more strikingly suggestive, as the representative of the imperial city over against the barbarian invader. In the year 452 Attila, having spread desolation over the plains of Lombardy, was encamped upon the Mincius (close probably to where it pours its waters into the lake Benacus), ready to advance towards Rome. The coward Valentinian had fled before him; Aetius, if not treacherous, at least was almost helpless. In this extremity, the emperor, the senate, and the people, intrusted the hopes of the city to a peaceful embassy. Leo, accompanied by the consular Avienus and the praefect Trigetius, undertook to meet the barbarian. They found him with an army enervated partly no doubt by the unaccustomed luxuries of Italian fare, partly, it would seem, by dearth of food, and his own mind wrought upon by a superstitious dread of the fate of Alaric, who "had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city." At the same time, if we may trust Idatius, some auxiliaries sent by the Eastern emperor Marcian had reached Italy, and Marcian's army was subduing, or said to be subduing, the Hunnish settlements beyond the Danube. With these motives for withdrawing acting upon him, it is highly probable that he was additionally impressed by the eloquence and sacerdotal dignity of the Roman pontiff. At any rate, the embassy was well received and was successful; for Attila, yielding to their persuasions, consented to withdraw beyond the Danube, though with threats that he would make Italy suffer more than she had suffered yet, if the princess Honoria, who had offered herself in marriage to the king of the Huns, was not handed over to him, with her rich dowry. (For the influence of the fate of Alaric upon Attila's mind, we have the testimony of Priscus, quoted by Jornandes, who mentions the threats with which Attila withdrew. Idatius, the contemporary Spanish chronicler and bishop, does not mention Leo's name at all in the matter, but attributes Attila's withdrawal to natural causes and to "disease and hunger, the strokes of heaven." Prosper, however, who was then probably in Italy, is a better authority: see Jornandes, cap. xlii.; Prosper and Idatius, *Chron.* Patrol. li. pp. 603, 883; Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vi. 172; *Mémoires Ecclés.* xv. 750, &c.)

The terms on which Attila was induced to withdraw were discreditable enough to the Roman empire; but that the confidence and courage of St. Leo in undertaking the duty of meeting the fearful Hun made a great impression on the Eastern as well as the Western world may be seen from the somewhat curious allusion to it made by the Eastern bishops in the appeal to pope Symmachus about the year 510 (Patrol. Lat. lxii. p. 63). "If your predecessor, the archbishop Leo, now among the saints, thought it not unworthy of him to go himself to meet the barbarian Attila, that he might free from captivity of the body not Christians only, but Jews and Pagans, surely your holiness will be touched by the captivity of soul under which we are suffering." No doubt later ages have exaggerated the importance of Leo's action in the matter, as may be seen in Baronius's account and that of later Roman

[b] Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, vol. i. p. 228.

Catholic writers (*Ann.* 452, § 56, sq.). Later tradition has also introduced into the scene the well-known legend which represents Attila as confessing himself overawed by a miraculous presence, the apparition of St. Peter, and, according to another account, of St. Paul also, threatening him with instant death if he refused to yield. (Baronius boldly maintains the legend, which can plead no respectable evidence. See Tillem. xv. 751, &c.) Again, in 455, when Genseric and the Vandals were at the gates of Rome, the defenceless city, "without a ruler and without a standing force," found its sole hope in the dauntless courage of Leo. Unarmed, at the head of his clergy, he advanced outside the walls to meet the invader, and succeeded at least in making him consent to some restraints on the cruelty and licence of devastation. What exactly the barbarian promised, and how much of his promise he kept, is not quite certain, but at least "the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and, in some degree, beneficial to his country." (Gibbon; cf. Prosper, *Chron.* Patrol. li. 606, "ita lenivit . . . ut ab igne et caede et suppliciis abstineretur." Tillem. xv. 779, and note 65.) To neither of these two encounters between Leo and the barbarians do we find allusion in his extant writings. In a letter (*Ep.* cix.) dated November 25, 452, to Julian of Cos, which must have been written soon after his return from the meeting with Attila, we find no allusion to it. In the year 453 this Julian wrote condoling with Leo on the evils with which Italy had been visited, but Leo in his reply (*Ep.* cxiii.) makes no allusion at all to the part he personally had borne in averting these evils; and after expressing briefly a hope that "the woes which the Lord has willed or permitted us to suffer, may avail to the correction of those who have been kept safely through them," he passes at once to the Oriental troubles. Clearly, if Leo was the "Saviour of his country," he was not inclined to boast of it. During the period of the Vandal troubles we have no remaining letters of Leo. It is probable that in that time of desolation and dismay he wrote but little.[c] There is a sermon extant which refers probably to the Vandal invasions, but it deals only with the religious duty of gratitude for deliverance (*Sermon* lxxxiv. with admonitio, Migne). It remains to speak, under this head, of Leo's relation to the imperial power. We have no reference in his works to the rescript of Valentinian (452) restraining the civil jurisdiction of bishops, a rescript which excites the deep wrath of Baronius and for which he sees the divine punishment in the devastation of the Huns and its author's miserable death (Baron. *Ann.* 452, § 52). A much milder view of the document, which seems to have no very great importance, is taken by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs.* vi. 245). At any rate Leo in general had little to complain of in the submissiveness of the Western emperor. Nothing can exceed the ecclesiastical authority which is recognised as belonging to the pope in the constitution of Valentinian, which accompanied Leo's letter into Gaul in the year 448, on occasion of the conflict between Leo and Hilary of Arles (Leo Mag. *Ep.* xi.). This constitution, which has the name of the Eastern as well as the Western emperor at its head, speaks of the "merits" of St. Peter, the dignity of Rome, and the authority of a council as conspiring to confirm the primacy of the Roman bishops. It declares that it is necessary for the peace of all, that all the churches ("universitas") should recognise him as their ruler, and that his decree on the subject of the Gallic church would be authoritative even without imperial sanction; yet by way of giving this sanction, it asserts that "no bishops, whether of Gaul or of other provinces, are to be allowed, contrary to ancient customs, to attempt anything ("ne quid tentare") without the authority of the venerable man, the pope of the eternal city; but that the one law for them and for all is "quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit apostolicae sedis auctoritas;" and if any bishop summoned to Rome neglect to come, the provincial magistrate (moderator) is to compel him. Nothing could be stronger than this language; the document, however, must be considered entirely Western, the result no doubt of pressure put by Leo on the feeble mind of Valentinian. (See Tillemont, xv. 441, who calls it "une loy . . . trop favorable à la puissance du siége (de S. Léon) mais peu honorable à sa piété.") That Valentinian and his family were much under Leo's influence is proved also by the letters, which in the early part of 450 he induced him, his mother Placidia, and his wife Eudoxia, to write to Theodosius II. the Eastern emperor, in the interest of Leo's petition for a council in Italy, all which letters reiterate the views of Leo and assert the loftiest position for the see of Rome (Leo Mag. *Epp.* liv.–lviii.). Theodosius, however, was not so amenable to Leo's wishes. In the matter of the councils, the pope, as we shall see, had to submit to the emperor. It was the emperor who summoned the council of Ephesus in 449 (*Ep.* xxix. 840; xxx. 851), Leo the while speaking always respectfully of him[d] (xxxi. 856, 840), but being inclined to complain at least of the short notice which had been given of it (p. 857). The emperor decided the occasion, the place, the time, and the pope apologizes for not attending in person (xxxi. 857). Again after the disastrous termination of the Ephesine synod, Leo cannot obtain from the emperor his request for a gathering in Italy. The summoning of councils still depended on the "commandment and will of princes;" and Leo gives a constant practical recognition to the interference of the Eastern empire in ecclesiastical appointments and affairs generally (*Ep.* lxxxiv. cap. 3, &c.; cf. also *Ep.* cliii. 1, remembering that Aspar was an Arian, Tillem. *Empereurs*, vi. 366). In general Leo conceives of the right relation of the empire and the church as a very intimate one. "Human affairs cannot," he says, "be safe unless the royal and sacerdotal authority combine to defend the faith" (*Ep.* lx. 983). He tells the emperor Leo on his accession that his empire is given him "not only to rule the world, but to defend the church" (*Ep.* clvi. 1323). When he praises an emperor he ascribes to him a "sacerdotal" mind (*e.g.* *Ep.* clv. 1319). The civil power is constantly called upon, at any

[c] There are Collects in the Sacramentary for the month of October, §§ iv., v., praying for the protection of the "Roman name," &c., which may have been composed by Leo at the period of those dangers.

[d] We do not think, considering the tone of the official language of the day, that Leo could be accused of exaggerated flattery of the Eastern Court.

rate in the East, where Leo could not always depend on the ecclesiastical authorities, to do the work of the church (*Ep.* cxii. 1189, cxv. 1203, cxxxvi.), and he justifies the execution of Priscillian in the previous century on the ground "that though the lenity of the church, contented with a sacerdotal sentence, is averse from taking a bloody revenge, yet at times it finds assistance in the severe commands of Christian princes, because the fear of punishment for the body sometimes drives men to seek healing for the soul" (*Ep.* xv. 696). But we must turn from considering Leo as a character in secular history and in his relations to the emperors, and turn to the consideration of him in his more important character as an ecclesiastical ruler.

II. And first in his relation to the various heresies still rife in the West. We have seen reason to believe that Leo in his youth was brought into connexion with the opposition to Pelagianism, and even with St. Augustine, its mightiest foe. We have heard of him urging pope Sixtus to take diligent measures against Julian, and the earliest years of his pontificate seem to have directed his attention to the subject. Septimus, bishop of Altina, in the province of Aquileia, writes (*Ep.* i. Migne) to inform Leo that Pelagian ecclesiastics are being admitted to communion in that province without recantation of their errors, are being reinstated into their ecclesiastical degrees, and allowed, contrary to the canons, to wander from church to church. Leo on learning this writes to Septimus in gratitude (*Ep.* ii.), and at the same time to the metropolitan to complain, desiring him to summon a provincial synod, and extract from suspected persons a condemnation of Pelagian errors so full and unambiguous as to render impossible any craftily veiled retention of the error (i. 591). In these letters he speaks of the heresy as one which was already dead ("extincta dudum scandala," *Ep.* i. 592, &c.), but it seems by an accidental allusion in the work *de Promissionibus*, attributed to Prosper, that Leo was also engaged in conflict with this heresy, and especially with Julian, about the time of his struggle with Manichaeism; of this, however, we hear nothing elsewhere (see Patrol. li. 845; *de Prom.* iv. 6, p. 162; Tillemont, xv. 431). Of his struggle with the Manichaeans we know more. It appears that recent troubles, and especially the capture of Carthage by Genseric in 439, drove many of these heretics to Rome. They were to be seen there moving about with pale faces, in mean apparel, fasting, and making distinctions of meats. All the while they seem to have made profession of Catholicism, and to have done their best to escape attention (Leo Mag. *Serm.* xvi. 4, xxxv.; *Ep.* xv. 16, p. 708). The vigilance of Leo, however, was too much for them. Of this sect he had a particular horror. Their heresy is a mixture, he says, of all others, while it alone has no element of good in it (*Serm.* xvi. 4; xxiv. 5, "Nihil quod ex ulla parte possit tolerabile judicari"). Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 444, Leo made a diligent search for them. A large number, both of teachers and disciples, were found, and among them their bishop was taken. A trial was thereupon held in presence of a large number of authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, a "senatus amplissimus," as Valentinian calls it, at which there can be no doubt that confession was made of the most hideous immoralities in their secret assemblies (*Ep.* vii. p. 624; xv. 16, p. 708; *Serm.* xvi. 4, and Constitutio Valent., *Ep.* viii.). After this those who remained impenitent were banished "in perpetuum" by the civil power, and a constitution of Valentinian reviving the previous laws against the sect, dated June 19, 445, put them under all kinds of civil penalties. Leo, by sermons (ix., xvii., xxiv., xxxv., xlii.) and a circular letter to the bishops of Italy (*Ep.* vii.), did all he could to publish their infamy, and prevent the sect lying concealed, and his exertions appear to have stirred up other bishops, both in the East and West, to similar activity (Prosper and Idatius, *Chron.* Patrol. li. 600, 882). Theodoret, writing in 449, counts this exhibition of zeal against the Manichaeans, one of St. Leo's greatest titles to fame (Leo Mag. *Ep.* lii. cap. 2). In 447 we find Leo sending an account of these proceedings to Turribius, bishop of Astorga (*Ep.* xv. 16, 708). It seems that at this period the Priscillianists were exercising a very disastrous influence in Spain. The state of disorder into which barbarian occupations and wars had thrown that country, preventing as it did the execution of the civil laws, and the combined action of bishops, had resulted in a sad decay of ecclesiastical discipline. The heretics were living as Catholics, and the bishops even were becoming corrupted with the heresy, or at least conniving at it (*Ep.* xv. p. 696, 697, cap. 16 and 17). Under these circumstances, St. Turribius (*q. v.*), the active opponent of the Priscillianists, wrote to Leo for help and advice, and Leo replies in July 447 (*Ep.* xv.). He views the heresy as a mixture of Manichaeism with other forms of evil, heretical and pagan, and exhorts Turribius to get together a synod of all the Spanish provinces to examine into the orthodoxy of the bishops; with this view he sends letters to the bishops of the various provinces; if, however, such a council is impossible, he urges that a provincial synod of Gallicia should at least be held (*Ep.* xv. cap. 17). In effect we find subsequent allusions to a Galician council, to which Leo is said to have written (Labbe, *Concilia*, v. 837 A; Idat. *Chron.* xxiii.), and to a council of various provinces at Toledo in 447, which is said to have acted "cum praecepto papae Leonis (Labbe, ii. 1227 B; cf. Tillemont, xv. 555 seq.; Ceillier, x. 668). Though we hear still of Novatianism and Donatism in Africa (*Ep.* xii. 6), yet neither against these nor other heresies in the West did Leo take any special measures. We must now speak of his relations to the Eastern heresy of Eutyches.

III. Leo's introduction into Eastern disputes is a somewhat curious one. Eutyches, some time early in the year 448, wrote to Leo apparently deploring the revival of Nestorianism. Leo replies on June 1, applauding his solicitude, and assuring him of the divine assistance in his good work. Leo would seem to have heard no more of Eutyches till early in 449 he received two letters announcing his condemnation in the council of Constantinople—one from the emperor Theodosius, the other from himself. Eutyches's letter (*Ep.* xxi.) is a complaint of the conduct of St. Flavian, and a justification of himself similar to that which he addressed to other chief bishops, explaining his refusal to confess the "two natures," and contains an appeal to the judg-

ment of the Roman pontiff, an appeal for which he declares, but apparently not with truth (EUTYCHES, Tillem. xv. 517), that he could not obtain a hearing in the council, though he professed himself ready to abide by the decision of Rome. The emperor's letter appears also to have been favourable to Eutyches.

Leo, however, did not yield to the temptation of committing himself to the cause of the man who seemed so ready to recognize his authority. Eutyches's own explanation may well have made him hesitate. At any rate, he maintains a cautious attitude: writes to Flavian (*Ep.* xxiii.) complaining that he has sent him no information about the condemnation of Eutyches, that the appeal of the condemned to Rome was, according to his own account, not received, and he himself hastily condemned, though he professed himself ready to amend anything in his faith which should be found at fault. At the same time he writes to the emperor, lamenting his ignorance of the true state of the case (*Ep.* xxiv.). Meanwhile, it appears that Flavian had really written shortly after the conclusion of the council, to inform Leo of what had been done, as he had written to Domnus of Antioch and other prelates. His letter, however (*Ep.* xxii.), had not reached Leo in the end of February, 449.[e] Had it arrived, it would have been calculated to give Leo a clearer view of the dogmatic question at issue. Flavian's second letter to Leo, in reply to his (*Ep.* xxvi.), contains no allusion to Leo's complaints of his silence and want of consideration; he characterizes Eutyches's representations as crafty and false, explains clearly the drift of his teaching, and urges the pope to send his subscription to the condemnation, and to keep the emperor on the right side (*Ep.* xxvi. p. 788); the matter, he adds, only needs his assistance to keep it all straight. Leo, by this time, was confirmed in his adhesion to the side of Flavian, and he writes a brief letter in May 449, assuring him of his sympathy (*Ep.* xxvii.). This is followed in June by "the tome" (*Ep.* xxviii.), one of the most justly celebrated of pontifical decrees—nominally a letter to an individual bishop, but really addressed to all the world, Western as well as Eastern;[f] that tome, which a story, resting professedly on the authority of St. Gregory, declares to have been corrected by the very hand of St. Peter himself, in which, as the Chalcedonian fathers declared, Peter spake by Leo, and which the Roman council assembled under Gelasius held so sacred that they pronounced anathema on him who disputes but one iota of it (Baron. *Ann.* 449, § 40; Labbe, iv. 1263 A). Of the theological aspect of this celebrated letter we will speak below. Suffice it to say now, that in it Leo, though he is a Roman, ignorant of Greek, and is defining points of Greek theology for Greek-speaking bishops, yet expounds the doctrine of the two natures with great practical clearness and fulness, and lays down in broad lines a definition which steers as clear of Nestorianism as of Eutychianism.[g]

We must notice, moreover, that however strongly Leo's letters condemn the doctrine, yet, considering the tone of the controversies of that age, they express considerable tenderness for the person of Eutyches, whom they characterize as "unskilful" and "imprudent," rather than as anything worse, and of whose repentance and restoration, they continually express hopes (*Ep.* xxix.; cf. "qui nulla *maturitate cordis* ornavit canitiem senectutis," *Ep.* xxxiii.; "qui in senectute carnis, mente sunt parvuli," *Ep.* xxxviii. 888; "error de imperitia magis quam de versutiâ natus," *Ep.* xxx. 848). At the same time with the tome, Leo also sent letters directed against Eutyches's doctrine, and calling attention to his tome, to Pulcheria,[h] to Faustus (*q. v.*), Martin and the other Archimandrites of Constantinople, to the Ephesine council itself, and two to his close friend and correspondent, Julian of Cos (*q. v.* see *Epp.* xxxi.–xxxv.). Meanwhile, Theodosius, at the instance of Eutyches, had directed the assembling of a council, which, professing to be aimed at Nestorianism only, excited much alarm in the minds of Eastern prelates, as well as in that of Leo, who, though he praises the emperor's zeal for religion, yet ventures to hint to him that there is no occasion for assembling a synod in a matter where there is no possibility of doubt—an opinion which he expresses more strongly to Flavian. He also complained of the short time which had been allowed for preparation (*Epp.* xxix. xxxvii. 887, xxxvi. xxxi. 4). Theodosius had sent a request that Leo would himself be present at the council. This, as he writes to Pulcheria, the circumstances of the city would by no means permit; there would moreover, as he tells Theodosius, be no precedent for such a course of action (*Epp.* xxxi. 857, xxxvii. 887). To supply his place he sent ("de latere suo") three legates, Julius bishop of Puteoli, Renatus a presbyter who however died on the road, and Hilary a deacon, afterwards the pope (*q. v.*); to these were joined Dulcitius, a notary, a man of proved fidelity. These legates were to represent on Leo's behalf the spirit at once of severity and of mercy (*Epp.* xxix. p. 841, xxxiv. cap. 2, xxxiii. p. 866). They seem to have left Rome before the 23rd of June. Before they left, Leo had written and sent by them another batch of letters to Theodosius and Flavian (*Epp.* xxxvi.' xxxvii.), and we have two more letters very soon after these to Flavian, sent by different messengers, dated June 23 and August 11 (*Ep.* xxxviii. xxxix.). Leo had heard nothing, and his anxiety could not brook silence. Apparently at

[e] Nor, indeed, is it certain when, if ever, it did reach Rome. Baronius (ann. 448, § 54) accuses Eutyches of getting Flavian's letter detained, but on no evidence whatever. The "gesta" of the council which Flavian sent with the first letter (xxii. 4) are apparently sent again with the second (xxvi. 786; see Tillem. note xvii.).

[f] See *Epp.* lxvii., lxviii., which shew us Leo circulating it in Gaul, and the Gallic bishops shewing all anxiety to have the most perfect and correct possible copy from the pope's own hand. *Ep.* lxxxviii., Leo sends his letter to Paschasius of Lilybaeum. Cf. *Ep.* xcvii., Epistle of the council of Milan, *Ep.* xcix., Epistle of Gallic bishops.

[g] Leo owns to a difficulty in expressing the mean between these extremes. In writing to the Palestinian monks (*Ep.* cxxiv. cap. 1), he expresses a fear that his meaning has been lost in translation, owing to persons "non valentes in Graecum eloquium apte et proprie Latina transferre, cum in rebus subtilibus et difficilibus explicandis, vix sibi etiam in sua lingua disputator quisque sufficiat."

[h] We have *two* letters of the same date to Pulcheria, similar to one another, *Epp.* xxx. xxxi., of which the latter is more theological than the former. See Ballerini's *Admonitio.*

the beginning of October news of the proceedings of this ill-omened council were brought to Rome by the fugitive Hilary (*q. v.*; for proceedings of council see DIOSCORUS). That the council had been packed and managed by Dioscorus; that his own tome had, despite the earnest solicitations of his legates, not been read; that Eutyches had been reinstated and St. Flavian and Eusebius condemned and deposed; finally, that of his own legates, one only had barely escaped to tell the tale —this was the news that Leo heard, and though he was ignorant of the crowning enormity of the murder of St. Flavian, his indignation boils over (*Epp.* xliii. p. 904, xliv. p. 912, xlv. p. 921, cxx. cap. 3, p. 1224, xlv. cap. 2). The proceedings of the council are characterized as a "sceleratissimum facinus, quod cuncta sacrilegia excedit;" it was no synod at all, but a "latrocinium," a den of robbers: its acts are null and void: it cuts to the root of the Christian faith (*Epp.* xliv. i. p. 913, lxxxv. i. p. 1051, xcv. 2, xlv. 2, p. 923, xliv. 1, 913). Still he is more indignant than dismayed (*Ep.* xlviii.). The fearful and half-anticipated result of the synod only stirs his energies. There was sitting at Rome, at this time, a council, a "frequens synodus," which seems to represent the whole West, and which appears to have been assembled to consider the present emergency (*Epp.* lxi. 1, xlv. 2, xlvi. 2, lxix. p. 1008). In his own name and that of the council, Leo addresses a number of letters to various quarters. The church of Constantinople and the Archimandrites (*Epp.* l. li.) are exhorted to be loyal to the faith and to Flavian, whose death was not yet known in Rome, and they are assured that no one who may usurp his place while he is alive can be in the communion of Rome or a true bishop (p. 934). There is another very brief letter of consolation to Flavian himself, written in Leo's name alone, promising him all the support he can give him (*Ep.* xlix.). There is another letter to Julian of Cos (*Ep.* xlviii.), also very brief, lamenting the result of the synod, but expressing the fullest confidence in God. Another (*Ep.* xlvii.) is addressed to Anastasius of Thessalonica, congratulating him on his absence from the council, and urging him to constancy for the faith. Besides those, there are three letters (*Epp.* xliii. xliv. xlv.), two to the emperor, and one to Pulcheria. The main topic of those to the emperor is an urgent and solemn request that a larger and more oecumenical council may be held in Italy. Till this has been done, Leo begs the emperor by all that can be named most sacred that everything may be allowed to remain as it was before the first decision at Constantinople (*Ep.* xliv. 2, 915). This request, which is made in the name of all the bishops and churches of the West ("nostrae partes," xliv. 3), is accompanied by the strongest condemnation of the Ephesine council and is backed up by an appeal to the empress Pulcheria (*Ep.* xlv.). The ground of the request is found in the opposition offered in the council to the condemnation of Flavian by the papal legates and especially in the appeal of Flavian (*q. v.*) to Rome, an appeal for the justification of which Leo offers the authority of a Nicene canon (*Ep.* xliv. 916; *vid. infra*).

Later on in the year (Dec. 25), Leo, who is still surrounded by his council, presses his request in another letter to the emperor (*Ep.* liv.); and in March 450 he writes again to stir up Pulcheria, the archimandrites (*Ep.* lxi.), and the clergy and people of Constantinople, to press his petition for a "plenaria synodus" and "next to the divine assistance to aim at obtaining the favour of the Catholic princes" (*Epp.* lix. 5, 981, lx. lxi.). Meanwhile, taking the opportunity of the Western emperor, Valentinian, being in Rome with his wife Licinia Eudoxia (Theodosius's daughter) and his mother, Galla Placidia, he gets them all to write letters urging the Eastern emperor to do what the pope wished (*Epp.* lv. lvi. lvii.). Galla Placidia wrote at the same time to Pulcheria, expressing detestation of the Ephesine synod, and describing how Leo, when solemnly asking their intercession with Theodosius, could hardly speak for grief (*Ep.* lviii.).

All this time, however, the "Catholic prince" was thoroughly in the interests of Eutyches. In his replies to Valentinian, Placidia, and Eudoxia (*Epp.* lxii. lxiii. lxiv.) he asserts his continued orthodoxy, but professes his complete satisfaction with the Ephesine synod. His reply to Leo is not preserved, but containing, as it did, an absolute refusal to do what he wished, it must have been galling enough to him. And he had another cause of anxiety. Anatolius (*q. v.*) had written to him in the end of 449, telling him of his election in the place of Flavian (*Ep.* liii.). Anatolius had been Dioscorus's representative at Constantinople, and what security had Leo for his orthodoxy? Moreover, he had simply announced his consecration, without asking for any consent to it on Leo's part. But Leo cannot let it pass thus easily. He writes in July 450 to Theodosius, whom he addresses still with the utmost respect, requiring that Anatolius should read the Catholic Fathers and the Epistle of Cyril, without overlooking his own Epistle to Flavian, and then make a public profession of adherence to their doctrine, to be transmitted to the apostolic see and all bishops and churches. This he demands at once and somewhat peremptorily, and sends the bishops Abundius and Asterius, and the presbyters Basil and Senator (*q. v.*) as legates to explain his views, at the same time renewing his request for an Italian council (*Ep.* lxix.). This letter he backs up with others to Pulcheria, Faustus, and the archimandrites (*Ep.* lxx. lxxi. lxxii.). Leo appears even now to have been full of hope (*Ep.* lxxiii. to Martin), yet indeed he had good cause for anxiety. Dioscorus had had the audacity to excommunicate him; the emperor was all against him. But before his legates could reach Constantinople, the chief cause of this anxiety was removed. Theodosius died in July 450, and was succeeded by Pulcheria, always Leo's friend, who united to herself as emperor, Marcian, equally zealous for his cause. Dioscorus's hopes were gone. The letter of the new emperor (*Ep.* lxxiii.), announcing his election, promises also the council to be held specially under Leo's influence ("te auctore") and the letter which follows the arrival of Leo's messengers at Constantinople, asks him either to come himself to the East to assist at it or, if that is impossible, to let the emperor summon the Eastern, Illyrian, and Thracian bishops to some place "ubi nobis placuerit" (*Ep.* lxxvi.). But we hear nothing of Leo's requirement that the council should be in Italy, though he himself did not cease to wish that it should be there (*Ep.* xcv. 1). Meanwhile Anatolius has willingly

signed the tome, and not only Anatolius, but "all the church of Constantinople, with a number of bishops:" it appears, moreover, that it was sent for signature to all the metropolitans (*Ep.* lxxxviii. 3; Labbe, iv. 546 C): the bishops banished for adherence to Flavian are recalled, and all honour has been shewn to Flavian's body (*Ep.* Pulcheria, lxxvii.). At the same time a large number of the bishops who had been induced by fear to assent to the decrees of the Ephesine synod (by July 451 almost all) had testified their sorrow, and, though by the decision of the papal legates not yet admitted to the communion of Rome, were allowed the privileges of their own churches: Eutyches was banished, though not quite far enough to satisfy Leo, and the result of all this was that everywhere "the light of the Catholic faith was shining forth" (*Epp.* lxxx. 2; lxxxiv. 3; cxxxii. p. 1053). The legates, who returned at once, carried back a number of letters to their master, and in April 451 we have a number of letters from him, expressing genuine satisfaction. He commends all that has been done, praises the "sacerdotal" zeal of Marcian, the diligent watchfulness of Pulcheria, and rejoices in Anatolius's adhesion to the truth (*Epp.* lxxviii. lxxix. lxxx.; cf. lxxxv. 3). At the same time he praises the conduct of his legates, and confirms their wish that the names of those bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius, who had taken a chief part in the crimes of the council of Ephesus should not be recited at the altar (lxxx. 3; lxxxv. 2). The really penitent he will readmit to his communion; at the same time he enjoins caution in the readmission of the lapsed (*Ep.* to Julian, lxxxi.). Finally, he commends to Pulcheria and Anatolius the cause of Eusebius (*q. v.*), who was now with him, of Julian, and the orthodox clerics (*Ep.* lxxix. lxxx. 3, 4). But now that orthodoxy was again triumphant, Leo's anxiety for a general council had somewhat cooled; perhaps it was that, since he could not have one in Italy, he did not want one elsewhere. At any rate, he writes to the emperor in April and June 451 (*Epp.* lxxxii. and lxxxiii.), begging him not to allow it to be supposed an open question "whether Eutyches's opinion was impious and Dioscorus's verdict monstrous:" all that is settled. The only question now is about the readmission of the penitent who had fallen into error almost without their own free will (*Ep.* lxxxiii. 1). To assist Anatolius in deciding their case, he sends envoys—Lucentius the bishop and Basil the presbyter, one of the former legates—the case of the heretical leaders being reserved for the "maturer counsels of the apostolic see" (*Ep.* lxxv. 2). As for the council, he wishes it postponed, the times being too unquiet to admit of bishops leaving their dioceses—besides which there is not time enough allowed for Leo to summon the Western bishops (*Ep.* xcii. 1065). In this respect, however, he has to yield to the emperor's wishes, and he writes to him in June 451 (*Ep.* lxxxix.), naming the legates whom he was sending to represent him at the council in addition to Lucentius and Basil, who had gone before, viz. Paschasinus of Lilybaeum and Boniface, a presbyter. To these was added Julian of Cos (*q. v.*), whose knowledge of Eastern affairs made him an important instrument (see *Ep.* xcii.). But though he yields, he makes it a point that his legates should preside, and that the question of the true faith should not be treated as an open one. This is repeated in another letter to the emperor, written only two days later (*Ep.* xc.), and in an accompanying letter to the council, which it was at first proposed to hold at Nicaea (*Ep.* xciii.). If Leo, presiding in the person of his legates, secures the position of his see, and if the prohibition of maintaining heretical positions ("nec id liceat defendi, quod non liceat credi") gives security to the faith, there will be no cause of anxiety about the council. Only a caution is still needed that the condemnation of Eutyches must not be allowed to become an excuse for any rehabilitation of Nestorianism (*Ep.* xciii. end), and Leo keeps the East alive to the sacrifice he has made in assenting to the council in letters to Marcian and Pulcheria, dated July 20 (*Epp.* xciv. xcv.). At the same time, to secure that his views should be expressed, he armed his legates with written instructions ("commonitorium," cf. Quesnel's note, *Patrol.* liv. p. 1226 D seq.). When the synodal letter of the council of Chalcedon (*Ep.* xcviii.) reached Leo, it was couched in terms highly complimentary to himself, and brought the best news as regards the question of faith. Eutyches had been finally condemned and Dioscorus deposed. On these points, Leo expresses his satisfaction (*Ep.* to Marcian, civ.). The faith of the church has been unmistakeably asserted. In March 453 he tells Maximus of Antioch (*Ep.* cxix.) that "the glory of the day is everywhere arisen." "The divine mystery of the Incarnation," he tells Theodoret, "has been restored to the age;" "it is the world's second festivity since the advent of the Lord" (*Ep.* cxx.). But while on this score Leo had every cause for joy, there was one decree of the council against which his legates had protested, and which stirred his utmost indignation, viz., the twenty-eighth decree on the dignity of the see of Constantinople, which seemed to imperil the unique position of the see of Rome. But before treating of this matter, we will take a general review of the position and influence of Leo as bishop of Rome up to this point of his pontificate.

IV. It was remarked above that the character of the age into which Leo was born was one which demanded, above all else, a firm consistency and therefore centralisation in the church. The canon of the true faith which Vincent of Lerins had given but a few years before Leo's accession, "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," admits of more than one development. If, laying stress upon the "ab omnibus," we claim that every part of the church, individual or collective, is to be allowed to embody the truth in that aspect which is more especially congenial to its individual or national spirit and requirements, we may still have a Christian faith which is one —the same everywhere and the same throughout, but the unity of the faith will be a unity in and through the diversity of various characteristics —a unity which, while it is the fullest and the most comprehensive, carries with it always a tendency to separation and schism. This was not the aspect of the truth akin to Leo's mind. He was no philosopher. His energy was intensely practical and administrative. He does indeed say in one place (*Ep.* cxx. § 1) "that the merit of the sacerdotal office shines out in its strength

there where the authority of the highest is no bar to the liberty of the subordinate," but his policy certainly consistently sacrifices liberty to authority. He had no sympathy with differences of view. "The Catholic faith, which is true and one, may not be vitiated by any diversity"—"varietatem veritas, quae est simplex atque una, non recipit" (*Epp.* cxli. 1, clxxii.); and indeed, if we put aside the case of Hilary, the differences with which he met—such as the half scrupulous, half stupid obstinacy of Eutyches, or the soul-destroying impurities of the then Manichaeism—were not very worthy of consideration. This was an age of little intellectual energy, and was to be succeeded by ages of still less. The world wanted above all things unity and strength, and this was found in taking Rome for a centre and a guide both in faith and in discipline. And accordingly the papal supremacy made a great stride during Leo's life. He has been well called "the first pope," "the Cyprian of the papacy," for just as we associate with the name of Cyprian the formularisation of the equal (in the main) and independent authority of bishops, so now, when simple episcopal government had yielded to the system of metropolitans and patriarchs, we associate with Leo's name the first clear assertion that they too in their turn are subject in some way, still undefined, to Rome. The pyramid must have its apex. And what is Leo's own view of his position? In his sermons preached on his "birthday," *i.e.* the day of his consecration—an occasion on which a provincial council used annually to be assembled at Rome—he takes occasion to express his sense of his own insignificance indeed, but of the magnitude of his position, and of the presence of St. Peter in his see; "ordinatissima totius ecclesiae charitas" he says "in Petri sede Petrum suscipit" (*Serm.* ii. 2; cf. iii. 3; v. 4). St. Peter is the rock; St. Peter alone has to "strengthen his brethren" (iii. 3; iv. 3). And not only has he the primacy (iii. 4), but also he is the channel through which is given whatever graces the other apostles have, and so, though there are many bishops and pastors, yet Peter governs them all by his peculiar office ("proprie"), whom Christ governs by His supreme authority ("principaliter"); thus "great and wonderful is the share in its own power which the divine condescension assigned to this man" (Iv. 2). And, just as the faith of Peter in Christ abides, so also does the commission of Christ to Peter, and "Peter's care rules still all parts of the church" (iii. 2; v. 4). Thus the see of Rome is the centre of sacerdotal grace and of church authority; it represents Peter, "from whom, as from a head, the Lord wills that His gifts should flow out into the whole body, so that he should know he has no share in the divine mystery who has dared to retire from the solid foundation of Peter" (*Ep.* x. 1, *in re* Hilary of Arles). The see of Rome, again, occupies in the ecclesiastical world more than the position which the empire of Rome occupies in the secular—"gens sancta, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, caput orbis effecta latius praesidet religione divina quam dominatione terrena"—because the Roman empire uniting the world was just the divine preparation for the spread of the universal Gospel (*Serm.* lxxxii. 1 and 2). This, then, is his theory: let us see how he put it in practice. We see him standing as in a watch-tower, with his eye on every part of the Christian world, zealous everywhere for the interests of the faith and of discipline, and, wherever he sees occasion, taking the opportunity of insinuating the authority of his see, not only in the West, but in the East. The "authority of the apostolic see" to regulate discipline and depose bishops is asserted very absolutely to the bishops of Aquileia and of the home provinces in the beginning of his pontificate; as for the heretics, "obediendo nobis, probent se esse nostros" (*Epp.* i. v. iv.). With something more of apology (though with the precedent of his predecessors), he asserts his authority—"*in order to prevent usurpations*" in Illyria (*Ep.* v. 1). As his predecessors had done, he appointed a vicegerent, Anastasius of Thessalonica, to whom he wishes the Illyrian bishops to submit as to himself. He is to be to the metropolitans as they are to the ordinary bishops, and a regular system of provincial administration is ordained, by which the assent of the papal vicarius is required for all episcopal elections, and by which metropolitans are to be ordained actually by him (*Ep.* vi. 4; but cf. xiv. 6, where the latter point is modified). Again, biennial provincial councils, summoned by the metropolitans, referring graver matters to a representative synod, summoned by the vicar, whence again difficult questions are to be referred to Rome—these are to maintain provincial discipline and provide a constant gravitation of graver questions up towards Rome (*Epp.* xiv. 7; xiii. 2). Moreover, any individual bishop can appeal from the metropolitan directly to Rome, as Atticus, the metropolitan of Epirus Vetus, actually did some years later, securing the pope's interference against the cruel treatment of Anastasius (*Ep.* xiv. 1, p. 685). This supremacy of the papal vicar, which is of great historical importance, seems to have been accepted without remonstrance by the Illyrian churches (*Ep.* xiii. 1). Meanwhile, in the year 445, a letter from Dioscorus of Alexandria, probably announcing his succession to St. Cyril, gave Leo an opportunity of dictating to the church of Alexandria (*Ep.* ix.). That church owned St. Mark for her founder, while Rome had been founded by St. Peter; hence should not the church of St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, be in complete accord with the church of his master? On the strength of this relation between the churches, Leo gives Dioscorus detailed directions about the days of ordination and the celebration of mass.[1] About the same time the restless energy of Leo was engaged in his famous controversy with St. Hilary of Arles. This controversy (for which see under HILARY), which is of special importance as being the first case in which "the supremacy of the Roman see over Gaul was brought to the issue of direct assertion on the pope's part, of inflexible resistance on the part of his opponent," arose out of an appeal of a bishop, Celidonius, to Rome against the judgment of Hilary. In this place it is only necessary that we should make a few remarks on its general features. And first we must observe that, however little we may be disposed to deny that some blame attaches to Hilary in the matter, we cannot doubt that Leo's conduct was

[1] It seems, however, that in fact Egypt retained its ancient customs (Tillem. xv. 440).

imperious, precipitate, unjust, and not over-scrupulous. The fact is he was tempted by the opportunity which the appeal offered of pressing a disputed claim of the Roman see and extending the Roman prerogative, and the temptation was too strong for him; his violent language about the saintly Hilary (*Ep.* x.), his high-handed treatment of Gallic rights, and his attempt to give a sort of primacy in Gaul to Leontius on the mere score of age (*q. v.*)—these parts of Leo's conduct cannot be defended. Indeed, he seems to betray a consciousness that he is treading on doubtful ground in the beginning of his letter to the Gallic bishops—he is so careful to assert that there is nothing *new* in his proceedings, and that he is *only defending the Gallic bishops from the aggressions of Hilary.* He professes, we observe, to consult them (cap. 4); he fortifies his own arm with an imperial edict, for which he must be held in the main responsible (*vide supra*); we notice too that, though he apparently[j] excluded Hilary from his communion, he did not venture to depose him from his episcopal functions, and on his death speaks of him as "sanctae memoriae" (*Ep.* xl.; cf. Tillemont, xv. 80, 89). Lastly, we must notice that the peremptory orders of Leo seem to have obtained but inadequate execution in Gaul (Tillem. xv. 86). This is seen in the election of Ravennius, Hilary's successor. Leo had desired (*Ep.* lxvi. 2) that the privileges which he took from Hilary should be given to the bishop of Vienne; now this latter seems to have taken no part in the consecration of Ravennius, as he must have done if Leo's desires in this respect had been carried out, and yet Leo speaks of this consecration as constitutionally conducted and divinely inspired (*Epp.* xl. xli.), and he certainly appears in the directions which he gives Ravennius to recognise him as a metropolitan (*Ep.* xlii.; Tillem. xv. 93). Of the mode in which Ravennius was consecrated, the bishop of Vienne seems to have made no complaint. He did, however, complain of the ordination by Ravennius of a bishop of Vaison (*Ep.* lxvi. 1). This complaint was followed on the other side by a petition from nineteen bishops of the three provinces formerly subject to Arles, asking for the restoration to that see of its former dignity. Leo had now an opportunity to mediate. However imperfectly subservient to Leo's wishes the Gallic church had hitherto been, the tone of this letter is sufficiently abject. The pope's authoritative attitude and the imperial edict had done their work. They simply put themselves in Leo's hands. They ground the claim of Arles on ancient custom, civil dignity, and specially on the fact that in Trophimus that town had had the first Gallic bishop, and Trophimus had been sent by St Peter; they even claim for Arles a certain authority over all Gaul as the vicegerent of the Roman see. Having received this appeal, so satisfactory in its tone, and the counter-complaint from Vienne, Leo proceeded to divide the authority. He examined carefully, he says, the rival claims of Vienne and Arles, and ultimately assigned a limited authority over four churches to the bishop of Vienne, and the rest of the province of Vienne to Arles; of the claims of Arles to larger metropolitan rights, he says nothing (*Ep.* lxvi.). This decision seems to have been acquiesced in by Ravennius, but did not succeed in finally stopping the disputes of the rival sees (Tillem. xv. 95, 96). In company with the letter containing the decision, Leo sends his tome to Ravennius for distribution in Gaul and secret communications, "quae committenda litteris non fuerunt" by the mouth of the messengers.

Probably about the year 446 we find Leo correcting some scandals, and at the same time asserting his authority in what still remained of the church of Africa, too weak and disorganized now, from the devastations of Genseric and the recently concluded war, to resist interference as she had done in the days of Celestine. He had heard of violations of discipline there in the election of bishops, and had sent a representative to make inquiries into the facts; on receiving his report, he writes them a letter (*Ep.* xii. to the bishops of Mauretania Caesariensis), assuming complete authority over the administration of their church. It appears that he had even received an appeal from an African bishop, Lupicinus (*q. v.*), and had reversed the decision of the African church in receiving him to communion.[k]

In 447 we have seen Leo entering into the affairs of the church of Spain, distracted like the African with barbarian invasions, and dictating the course to be pursued against the Priscillianist heretics; and in this same year we find him sharply reprimanding the Sicilian bishops for the alienation of church property, of which complaints had been laid before him in a Roman synod by the clerics of the churches so robbed (*Ep.* xvii.). He threatens with deposition all who had a share in such alienations, and in a letter of the same date, giving directions about baptism, he insists on their absolute conformity to the customs of the Roman church, "whence they receive the consecration of their office," and enjoins the attendance of three Sicilian bishops annually, "coram beatissimo Apostolo Petro" at the Roman council (*Ep.* xvi. 1 and 7). Some months after this he receives an appeal from a presbyter of Beneventum, and interferes with some irregular promotion which had taken place in that church (*Ep.* xix.). The course of events now brings us to consider the bearings of the Eutychian controversy upon the authority of Rome. First, then, that controversy went far to aggrandise the position of Rome, because, while the church and empire of the Western world were centring more and more around the papacy, this controversy turned the eyes of all the East to Rome as the seat of dogmatic truth, and the refuge of oppressed orthodoxy. Rome's pretensions to a superior jurisdiction are older than her claims to be the source of dogmatic truth. The claim of infallibility is yet unheard, but it went far to lay the ground of this claim that in the last great controversy about the Incarnation it was Rome's utterance which became the standard of orthodoxy. The glory of being the safest dogmatic guide coalesced with increasing authority as the centre of discipline and government. No doubt, when the letter of Leo to Flavian went out for signature east and west, it went out on the authority of a council; no doubt, there is

[j] This is denied by the Ballerini and others.

[k] Quesnel and others, however, have doubted the genuineness of this part of the letter (see *Admonitio* of the Ballerini in Migne).

no approach to a claim to dogmatic authority as bishop of Rome on Leo's part; still the letter was Leo's letter, and the stream of things was running in the direction of his exaltation. Moreover, the position of Rome at this period made Leo the recipient of appeal after appeal. Eutyches, Flavian, Eusebius, Theodoret, the presbyters Basil and John (*Ep.* lxxxvii.), made, or were supposed to have made, an appeal in turn, and gave Leo an opportunity of asserting an old claim. The council of Sardica had framed a canon, allowing appeals from discontented bishops to pope Julius (*q. v.*). This canon, with the others of this council, was in the Roman church included under the head of canons of Nicaea, and as such had been quoted by the popes; but that this it was not, the African church had shewn quite clearly in the time of Zosimus. Nevertheless, though Leo could not be ignorant of this fact, he still alleges the authority of Nicaea for the right of appeal (*Ep.* liv. p. 917, in the case of Flavian). No "custom of the Roman church" can justify this. (For the Roman canons, see collection in Migne's *Patrol.* lv. init.; Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* § 92.)

But to return. We must notice the relations between Leo and the Eastern bishops through the Eutychian controversy. And first Leo appears to make no exact or definite claim over the Eastern bishops. He professes his "universalis cura" for the welfare of the whole church (*Ep.* lxxv.), and he claims to be kept fully alive to what goes on in the East (cf. *Ep.* to Flavian, xxiii.), while the power of excluding from his own communion gave him a sort of hold on the episcopal elections. He requires that they should be notified to him, and that he should have satisfactory proofs of the orthodoxy of a new bishop (cf. his language at the confirmation by him of Anatolius's election); "nostra communio" all through his writings is an expression of much meaning and weight. Moreover, we have seen that he claimed a right of receiving appeals from all parts of the Christian world, and we shall see him trying to annul the authority of a canon of Chalcedon which displeased him. But when he comes to write his celebrated letter to Flavian, on the subject of the true faith of the Incarnation, he writes in a tone no wise different from that adopted by St. Cyril in his letters against Nestorius. The bishop of Ravenna (Peter Chrysologus), at the beginning of the Eutychian controversy, wrote to Eutyches recommending him to listen to Rome, because "the blessed Peter who lives and presides in his own see gives the truth of the faith to those who seek it" (*Ep.* xxv. ad fin.),[1] but there is nothing of this tone in Leo's own words. He classes his letter with that of Cyril (*Epp.* lxvii. lxix. 1006): "non aspernetur Anatolius," he says, "etiam meam epistolam recensere, quam pietati patrum per omnia concordare reperiet" (lxx. 1010). After the council of Chalcedon, when he commends his own letter, he commends it as confirmed by the council and witnessed to by patristic testimony (e.g. *Ep.* cxx. to Theodoret, cap. 4; cf. especially *Ep.* cx. 3, 117, where he fortifies himself by the authority of St. Athanasius; and *Ep.* cxxiii. 2, where he speaks of his tome simply as "synodalia decreta;" *Ep.* cxxxix. 4; Leo attached the "testimonia patrum" to his tome after the Robber council, *Ep.* lxxxviii. 3).

As regards the Eastern bishops, Theodoret (*q. v.*), in making his appeal (*Ep.* lii.), addresses him in language very reverential to his see, in language in fact which in another age or context might sound ironical. "If Paul betook himself to Peter that he might carry back from him an explanation to those who were raising questions at Antioch about their conversation in the law, much more do I," &c.; but it is notable that while he says it is expedient that the pope should have the first place (primas) in all things, he grounds this position of the Roman see on (1) the greatness of Rome; (2) the continuous piety of the church; (3) the possession of the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul: not, as we see, the sort of prerogatives on which Leo would ground his primacy. As for Flavian, he addresses Leo in a way entirely consistent with the dignity of his own see. He informs him of the condemnation of Eutyches (*Ep.* xxii.), but only that he may *put the bishops subordinate to him on their guard*, and when he asks for his subscription (*Ep.* xxvi.), asks it for an already canonically made deposition. At the council of Chalcedon, Leo was treated with all possible respect. He had required (*Ep.* lxxxix. to Marcian) that his legates should preside, "on account of the inconstancy of so many of his brethren." Certainly the doubtful orthodoxy of so many of the chief Eastern bishops, and the connexion of Anatolius with Dioscorus, would have made it difficult, even on the ground of orthodoxy, to find any one so fit as the Roman legates to preside. Besides this, all the influence of Marcian and Pulcheria was on the side of Leo, "giving him entire authority" (*Theodor. Lector*, lib. i), except in the matter of the *place* of the council; there would then have been reasons enough for giving him the presidency, even if Leo had not been Leo and Rome Rome. As he was, there was no direct opposition, and the influence of his legates was strong enough to enforce in a great measure his wishes as to Dioscorus (*q. v.*). When the synod proceeded to read Leo's tome, some Illyrian and other bishops raised doubts on certain expressions in it. Explanations were therefore given and conferences held, where those points were shewn by the legates and others to be in agreement with the doctrines of councils and the epistle of Cyril (Labbe, iv. 367 C D, 491 D). Finally, his letter was unanimously received, because it was in agreement with the decrees of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and the Epistles of St. Cyril (p. 471 sq.). "Peter," the bishops cried, "spoke thus by Leo! Leo teaches truly! Cyril taught so! Eternal the memory of Cyril! Leo and Cyril teach alike! This is the faith of the fathers!" (367, 368).

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[1] He goes on: "nos enim pro studio pacis atque fidei extra consensum Romanae civitatis Episcopi causas fidei audire non possumus." In this there seems no more of submission than would have been practised towards the church of Alexandria by its subordinates (see notes *in loc.*), but we must notice that this second chapter of Peter's letter is omitted in most of the MSS. of Leo's letters (it is certainly omitted in the two Harleian MSS. of the British Museum, 3074, saec. xi., 3268, saec. xv.), and has to be supplied from another source. Milman doubts its genuineness, but probably without ground (see *Admonitio*, Migne).

It will be seen, then, that Leo's letter was treated by the council like the letter of any other highly respected churchman; and in the eighth session of the council we find Leo's decision on the orthodoxy of Theodoret was not accepted till the bishop in question had satisfied the synod that he really was orthodox (Labbe, iv. 621 C, D). But there are one or two points in which especial reverence for Leo was shewn in the council. We notice that, according to the acts of the council, the form in which the papal legates expressed the condemnation of Dioscorus was, "The archbishop of the great and elder Rome, *through us and through the holy synod now present*, together with the . . . apostle Peter, who is the rock . . . has stripped Dioscorus of all sacerdotal dignity" (Labbe, iv. 426 C). This "sentence" indeed exists in a widely different form, as sent by Leo himself to the Gallic bishops (*Ep.* ciii.), in which Leo is described as "head of the universal church," and condemns "by us his vicars with the consent of the synod." This and other more considerable differences in the two versions may make us doubtful as to what the original version may have been; but the *Acta* are probably the best authority, as we do not know exactly whence Leo's version may have come; and in any case, certainly the papal legates were regarded as *passing sentence on Dioscorus with the consent of the council* (cf. *Patrol.* li. p. 989, note b; Evagr. *Hist.* ii. 4).

It remains to observe that the title "oecumenical archbishop" is used of Leo in the plea of Sophronius against Dioscorus (411 D), and the title "bishop of all the churches," or "of the oecumenical church," by the papal legates.[m] It is, perhaps, in mistaken allusion to these expressions of individuals that pope Gregory I. states that the bishops of Rome were called "universales episcopi" by the council of Chalcedon (Greg. Mag., *Epp.* lib. v. ep. xviii. 743, Migne), and that the title thus offered to them had been consistently rejected (pp. 749, 771, 919).

The synodical letter (*Ep.* xcviii.) which the assembled bishops wrote to Leo was highly complimentary to him. They speak of him as the "interpreter to all of the blessed Peter." He has presided by his legates as "the head over the members" (cap. 1). It is he who took away his dignity from Eutyches (cap. 2). They express their indignation at the monstrous attempt which Dioscorus made to excommunicate Leo, "he to whom the Saviour intrusted the care of the vine" (cap. 3); but all this language, so acceptable to Leo, serves to usher in a very unpleasant matter. The first council of Constantinople had decreed that the bishop of that place should have the primacy of honour after the bishop of Rome, because "it is itself new Rome" (Labbe, ii. 947 C). Leo's statement, that this canon had never taken effect, is entirely untrue. On the contrary, the precedence of honour had become an extensive jurisdiction (Tillem. xv. pp. 701 sq.); and this jurisdiction had now been sanctioned by the 28th canon of the council of Chalcedon, which professed to confirm the canon of Constantinople. "The fathers," they say, "gave with reason the primacy to the chair of old Rome, because that was the royal city, and, with the same object in view, the 180 pious bishops gave equal primacy (τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα) to the chair of new Rome" (which phrase, however, is afterwards explained by the words "*being next after* old Rome"); this addition to the rank of new Rome is grounded on her imperial position; it is then further allowed that the see of Constantinople should have the right of ordaining the metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and certain other bishops (Labbe, iv. 795 D sq.).

From the discussion on this subject in the council the papal legates had retired, saying they had no directions from Rome in the matter; but when the Eastern bishops had confirmed the canon, learning what had happened, they demanded and obtained another session, when they protested against what had been done, but protested in vain (Labbe, iv. session 12). Doubtless the bishops had been partly inspired by jealousy of Rome, whose presidency at the council would have seemed to them an example of her usual self-assertion. At any rate, Leo's oft repeated sneer, that they had been compelled to sign, was stoutly denied in session by themselves (Labbe, iv. 809, 813 B seq.). This canon the council announce to Leo: their object in making it was, they say, to secure order and good discipline, and it was made at the wish of the emperor, the senate, and the citizens (*Ep.* xcviii. 1097): they therefore express a good hope that Leo will not resist it as his legates did. At the same time, Leo received letters from Marcian, Anatolius (*Epp.* c. ci.), and Julian, expressing joy at the successful suppression of heresy and endeavouring to conciliate him in regard to the 28th canon. Anatolius writes in as conciliatory a tone as possible, urging that the jurisdiction actually reserved for Constantinople is less than custom had sanctioned, repeating that it was at the wish of emperor, senate, and consuls, that the canon was passed, and complaining gently of the conduct of the legates after so much deference had been shewn them. It would seem from the words of the "Commonitorium" which he intrusted to his legates (Labbe, iv. 829 E) that Leo had had some inkling of what the council might do in this respect. Indeed, Eusebius of Dorylaeum stated in session that he had actually read this canon to Leo, when at Rome, in presence of some clerics from Constantinople, and that he had accepted it (815 B). Whatever this may mean, Leo is now extremely indignant. A very angry tone runs through the letters to Marcian, Pulcheria, Anatolius, and Julian (*Epp.* civ.–cvii.). He urges that when Anatolius's antecedents were so doubtful, an attitude of humility would have best beseemed him (*Ep.* civ. cap. 2; cv. 3; cvi. 5), that secular importance cannot confer ecclesiastical privilege, "alia enim est ratio rerum saecularium, alia divinarum" (civ. 3), and that the canon is in flat contradiction to the unalterable decrees of Nicaea, alluding probably to the sixth canon, on the rights of certain metropolitans. He treats very scornfully the assent of the Chalcedonian bishops; it is an "extorta subscriptio;" what can it avail against the protest of the

[m] Lest we should attach too much importance to these flattering titles in the Eastern world, we should notice that the same title is applied to *Dioscorus* at Ephesus (Labbe, iv. 270, 472 A, 479 E; Tillem. xv. 564).

legates? (*Ep.* cv. 1055). He thinks just as little of the decree of Constantinople (*Ep.* civ. 2). He charges Anatolius with having diverted the council from its own proper object to subserve his ambitious purposes (*Ep.* cvi. 2), and finally he takes up the cudgels for Antioch and Alexandria, though the bishops of those sees, Theodoret and Maximus, had signed the decree —which indeed does not appear to interfere with the prerogatives which the canon of Nicaea assigned them (cf. Tillem. xv. p. 709), while not only had custom long allowed to Constantinople a position of superior dignity, but that position had been secured to her by a council, of the authority of which Leo has no right to speak so scornfully. It is not the place here to examine the complete accord of the Chalcedonian canons with the Nicene, nor the necessity of such agreement, but we cannot but ask whether these exhortations to avoid ecclesiastical ambition which Leo frequently uses, and such contention for the canons of Nicaea, came with a good grace from the mouth of a bishop of Rome. If anything can justify Leo's claims, surely it is not the council of Nicaea. In February 453 the emperor writes to Leo, begging him to send as soon as possible his confirmation of the acts of Chalcedon, that those who were disposed to shelter themselves under the excuse that he had not confirmed them might have this ground cut away from under their feet (*Ep.* cx.). Leo in answer to this writes, March 11, to the council and to the emperor (*Epp.* cxiv. cxv.), saying that, if Anatolius had shewn his letters, which he had motives for concealing, no doubt could have existed as to his approval of the decrees of the council, "that is, *as regards faith* (in sola videlicet causa fidei, quod saepe dicendum est), for the determination of which alone the council was assembled by the command of the Christian prince and the assent of the apostolic see" (cxiv. 1). In writing to the emperor, he sends his assent to the decrees concerning faith and the condemnation of the heretics as a matter of obedience to him, and begs him to make his assent universally known (cxv. 1204, cf. also *Epp.* cxxvi. cxxvii.). Meanwhile Leo has suspended all correspondence with Anatolius (*Epp.* cxvii. 5), and without directly alluding to the disputed canon finds another matter on which to vent his wrath on him. He has, under pretext of promotion to the care of a cemetery, set aside Aetius the Catholic archdeacon, and put one Andreas, whom he formerly deposed for Eutychianism, in his place. (See Tillem. xv. § 127.) The rights and wrongs of the matter need not be here discussed. Clearly Leo is not in the mood to make the best of Anatolius's actions, and he writes bitterly against him to Marcian and Pulcheria (*Epp.* cxi. and cxii.), begging them to administer a stern reproof to the archbishop; this he writes word to Julian (*Ep.* cxiii.) that they have done. Meanwhile (*Ep.* cxvii. 4) he tells Julian that these wrongs must be patiently borne, "lest we seem to exceed the measure of our accustomed moderation." He expresses, however, his indignation at learning that Anatolius has summoned the Illyrian bishops in order to secure their subscriptions to his pretensions, and he writes to Maximus of Antioch, stirring him up to assert the true position secured to his see by the decrees of Nicaea, and takes the opportunity of reasserting his view of these decrees as overriding and rendering null and void those of all subsequent councils which may contradict them (*Ep.* cxix. 4 and 5). In the same year (453) Leo seems to have appointed Julian of Cos (*q. v.*) to watch over his interests and those of the faith, as his apocrisarius at Constantinople. In March of the following year (454), in answer to a letter of the emperor's on behalf of Anatolius, Leo professes himself quite ready to be reconciled, if Anatolius will express penitence and keep the canons (*Ep.* cxxviii.). This produces an expression of penitence and self-humiliation from Anatolius (*Ep.* cxxxii.). In the matter of Aetius he does all that Leo could ask or wish; in the matter of the twenty-eighth canon, he appears to speak of it as "confirmed by the universal synod," only he shifts the responsibility off his own shoulders on to those of his clergy, and deprecates the charge of arrogance; besides he says that there too "the whole force and confirmation of what was done was reserved for the authority of your blessedness." With this Leo is satisfied. He takes it for a retractation of the whole claims of the church of Constantinople (*Ep.* cxxxiii. cap. 3). As such indeed it might be read, only whatever it may have meant, the canon as a matter of fact, and despite the opposition of the pope, did take effect (see Tillem. xv. 730), and that in Leo's own lifetime. It was no doubt one of the causes which helped towards the ultimate severance of East and West.

In leaving the subject of the council of Chalcedon and its twenty-eighth canon, we cannot do better than quote the words of Thorndike (Works, vol. iv. p. 457, Library of Anglo-Cath. Theol.). "To what effect is that disowned, which takes place without him who protests against it? Unless it be set up as a monument of half the church disowning the infinite power of the pope, the other half not pleading it, but only canonical pre-eminences by the council of Nicaea." Indeed, despite the reverential speeches of council, emperor, and bishops to Leo, neither this canon nor the attitude of the council towards Leo's tome, nor indeed Leo's own way of talking about it, gives modern Romanists any great cause for satisfaction with the council of Chalcedon. After this we have other letters from Leo to Anatolius expressing friendly relations, but Leo's constant interference in the affairs of his see could not allow his feelings towards him to be otherwise than somewhat jealous (cf. *Epp.* cxxxvii. cli. epistles to Julian at Constantinople and *Ep.* clxiii., the last which passed between them).

Meanwhile, in maintaining the cause of the faith, Leo was asserting his prerogative in many quarters. In 451 Leo's tome was approved in a council under Eusebius of Milan; this council addressed a highly complimentary letter to him (*Ep.* xcvii.), in which, however, we notice that the tome is commended as agreeing with the statements of St. Ambrose, just as it was by the council of Chalcedon as agreeable to the mind of St. Cyril. There is, however, nothing in this which could offend the feelings of Leo.

About the next year the East was troubled by the tumultuous proceedings of the Eutychian monks in Palestine, headed by one Theodosius, who elected a bishop in place of Juvenal, seized Jerusalem, and committed all sorts of violences (cf. THEODOSIUS, MARCIAN, Tillemont, xv. §

138, &c.). These disturbances caused Leo great anxiety (*Ep.* cix.), and the letters of Marcian and Pulcheria to the monks, which went far towards restoring quiet, were highly praised by him (*Ep.* cxv. 2; cxvi. 2; cxvii. 2, where he speaks of their acting "divina inspiratione," and being "sacerdotalis sanctitatis"). He himself addressed them a letter some time in the course of this year, explaining the true faith (*Ep.* cxxiv.). He is afraid that the translation of his tome has misled them, and proceeds to a clear and admirable exposition of the faith, as lying between Nestorian and Eutychian error. About the same time, having received secret instructions from the emperor, he wrote the second of two letters of remonstrance to the princess Eudocia (*q. v.*), who was encouraging the revolt of the monks (*Epp.* cxvii. 3; cxxiii.; the first to Eudocia is lost). His anxiety, meanwhile, was very great; but in January of the next year (454) he can congratulate the emperor on the restoration of order and orthodoxy; and in the same year he writes to congratulate Juvenal on his restoration to his see and to admonish him to keep soundness of faith in the reality of the divine Incarnation (*Epp.* cxxv. cxxvi. cxxxix.). The monks, however, were giving trouble elsewhere. One named George had stirred Cappadocia, and Leo is not satisfied with his bishop's attitude towards him (*Ep.* cxviii.). Two others, Carosus and Dorotheus (*q. v.*), are spreading Eutychianism in Constantinople itself (*Epp.* cxxxvi. and cxlii.). Besides this, more important troubles arise out of the violence of the Eutychian monks in the Alexandrian diocese, to which we must briefly refer. Proterius, who was elected in place of Dioscorus, had signified his accession in 452 to Leo in a letter which did not give him complete satisfaction. In 454, however, he received another letter entirely satisfactory on the subject of his faith, in return for which he promises to support the rights of his see, alluding again however to the relation of St. Mark, who founded the Alexandrian church, to St. Peter who founded the Roman (*Epp.* cxiv. 3; cxxvii. cxxix.). Meanwhile he suggests, in writing to Marcian, that readings of the Catholic Eastern fathers should be made in the ears of the Alexandrian people, and is very anxious that an accurate translation of his own tome should be secured to them (cf. *Epp.* cxxx. cxxxi. to Julian). All this anxiety was due to the very strong hold which Eutychian error still had in Egypt and Alexandria. Leo hoped much from Dioscorus's death, and imperial efforts, "Instabiles animos habeant quod paveant, non habeant quod sequantur;" still this anxiety of mind shews itself in constant letters, and on the death of Marcian in 457 Eutychian risings were attempted in Constantinople and Alexandria (*Epp.* cxl. cxliv.). The former was suppressed, but in the latter place they assumed dangerous proportions, and, among other enormities, Proterius was massacred and Timotheus Aelurus usurped the see. Leo (*Ep.* cxlv.), writing to congratulate the new emperor Leo on his accession, urges him to active measures against the heretics, and by constant letters does all he can to keep Anatolius and Julian, as well as the emperor, zealous for the Chalcedonian decrees and the suppression of heresy. He is urgent that the question of the faith should not again be allowed to come into discussion. To impress his mind on the Christian world, he writes to Basil, the new bishop of Antioch, complaining by the way that he had not, "according to ecclesiastical custom," notified his consecration to him, and addresses other letters against Timotheus Aelurus to the bishops of Thessalonica, Jerusalem, Corinth, and Dyrrhachium, which he sends for distribution to Julian (*Epp.* cxlix. cl. clii.). At the same time, to strengthen the force of consent to his tome, he sends the expressions of agreement to it from the bishops of Gaul and Spain in a letter to Aetius, and writes (Oct. 11, 457) condoling with the refugee Egyptian Catholics now in Constantinople (*Epp.* cliv. clv. clx.). "They are not," he says, "exiles from God." Meanwhile, a circular letter from the emperor, asking all the metropolitans to summon provincial councils and collect the opinions of their bishops on the conduct of Timotheus Aelurus and the authority of the Chalcedonian decrees, gave Leo an opportunity of again impressing his views on the emperor, and urging him to make up by his zeal for any laxity in Anatolius (*Ep.* clvi. cap. 6). He had to resist at once all inclination on the emperor's part to listen to the suggestions which accused his doctrine of Nestorianism, and to oppose strongly the idea of assembling another council, which the emperor had entertained. When the emperor dropped the idea of a council, he proposed, wherever the suggestion may have come from, a conference between some of the Eutychian heretics and an envoy of the pope (*Ep.* clxii.). This again Leo cannot consent to, involving, as it would, the discussion of the faith which had been once for all determined, as if it were an open question ("patefacta quaerere, perfecta retractare, definita convellere"). He does send legates, not however to dispute, but to teach "what is the rule of the apostolic faith;" and some time in the same year he addresses to Leo a long dogmatic epistle (*Ep.* clxv.), which has sometimes been called the "second tome," closely parallel to the epistle which he had before sent for the instruction of the Eutychian monks of Palestine. To it is attached a collection of testimonies, more ample than that which he had previously sent to Theodosius. In the year 460, Leo saw his wishes realized in the expulsion of Timotheus Aelurus, who however was allowed to come to Constantinople. Leo writes in June to congratulate the emperor on his energy against Aelurus, and to impress on him the need of a pious and orthodox bishop for the see of Alexandria ("in summo pontifice," *Ep.* ccxix. cap. 2). At the same time he writes to Gennadius,[n] the new bishop of Constantinople, who had succeeded Anatolius in 468, urging him to be on his watch against Aelurus, whose arrival at Constantinople he deplored. It appears that he would be likely to have a considerable following there. The bishop who was actually elected for Alexandria, Timotheus Solofaciolus, met with Leo's warm approval.

The letters which Leo wrote at this time (August 461) to Timotheus, his church, and some monks of Egypt (*Ep.* clxxi. clxxiii.) are the last public documents of his life. Before his death

[n] Leo does not fail to seize an opportunity of *dictating* to him on matters of discipline (*Ep.* clxviii. March 189).

it was vouchsafed to him to see the peace of the church established and orthodoxy supreme, for a period at least of sixteen years, in the elevation to the throne of Alexandria of Timothy Solofaciolus. We have traced Leo's conduct through his lifetime; we have seen him occupied in the affairs of the world, exerting his paramount influence in Italy, in Sicily, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, in Illyria, at Constantinople, at Antioch, in Palestine, in Egypt, indeed over the whole Christian world; we have seen him striving everywhere to secure the supremacy of the true faith of the Incarnation, and with this faith, of the church of St. Peter, over which he presided. In pressing the authority of his see in Constantinople, in Africa, in Gaul, in Illyria, we must at least confess that he was heedless of the rights of national churches, harsh and violent in his treatment of Hilary, and not always very scrupulous in his assertions about the canons of Nicaea; but though we may not thus altogether acquit him of blame, we may at the same time urge that personal ambition in his case was wholly merged in the sense of the surpassing dignity of his see and that his zeal was always high-minded, and always inspired by an overmastering passion for unity in faith and discipline. And who can say how it would have fared with that faith and that discipline in those days of weakness and trouble if a man of Leo's persistence, integrity, piety, and strength had not been raised up to defend and secure both the one and the other?

V. We have considered Leo as exercising a general supervision on church discipline. It remains to consider a little more in detail the character of the discipline which he enforced. We shall find the notes of it to be authority, uniformity, and antiquity, the authorities to which he appeals being Scripture, tradition, and the decrees of councils or the holy see. His zeal for uniformity shewed itself in the beginning of his reign by the care he took that the whole of Christendom should celebrate Easter on the same day. In the year 444, according to the Roman calculation it would fall on March 26, according to the Alexandrian on April 23. In this difficulty Leo wrote to St. Cyril, who replied, of course, in favour of the Alexandrian computation. After this he consulted Paschasinus, his referee now and again on the subject, the bishop of Lilybaeum (*q. v.*), who gave the same reply. Whether the fragment given in Migne after *Ep.* ii. is Cyril's reply *to St. Leo* is not certain. It appears, as we have it, to be addressed to the West, but to a *number of persons* (charissimi, p. 604). Its tone, "praecipio vobis," is strikingly different from that of Paschasinus's letter, which is almost abject: "provolutus obsecro ut pro mea parvitate, immo pro totius orbis statu, orare dignemini" (cap. 4). However, we must remember how even pecuniarily indebted Paschasinus and his barbarian-harassed see were to Leo. In this matter, both on this occasion, and with regard to the year 455, Leo had to surrender his point: "non quia ratio manifesta docuerit, sed quia unitatis cura persuaserit," and the Roman cycle gave way to the Alexandrian (*Epp.* lxxxviii. xcvi. cxxi. cxxii. cxxxiii. (from Proterius of Alexandria), cxxxvii. cxxxviii.). It was not often that love of unity led the pope to yield to another see. Generally, as we have seen, his love of uniformity led to his pressing the will of Rome on the universal church. But as he supported the authority of his own see, so where it did not clash with his own he could support that of any bishop. We find him maintaining the rights of metropolitans and reproving a bishop for appealing to himself in a difficulty instead of consulting his metropolitan (*Ep.* cviii. 2). The bishop is to rule with a strong hand. He must know the law, and he must not shrink from enforcing it, for it is "negligent rulers who nourish the plague, while they shrink from applying to it an austere remedy," and the "care of those committed to us requires that we should follow up with the zeal of faith those who, themselves destroyed, would destroy others" (*Epp.* i. 5, iv. 2, vii.). Among the details of his disciplinary directions we notice regulations forbidding the ordination of slaves (*Ep.* iv.), which, though justified on the ground that they are not free for the Lord's service, are couched in language breathing more of the Roman patrician than is quite agreeable in a Christian bishop (cf. "quibus nulla *natalium* dignitas suffragatur," "tanquam servilis vilitas hunc honorem capiat," "sacrum ministerium talis consortii vilitate polluitur"). Moreover a second marriage, or the marriage of a widow or divorced woman, is a bar to orders (*Ep.* iv. 2, 3; xii. 5), and those who are in orders, even subdeacons, must abstain from "carnale connubium, ut et qui habent, sint tanquam non habentes, et qui non habent, permaneant singulares" (*Ep.* xiv. 4, and clxvii. 3). For the day of ordination and consecration, it is to be Sunday only (*Ep.* vi.), or the Saturday night (*Ep.* ix.). The proper antecedents of the consecration of a bishop are declared to be "vota civium, testimonia populorum, honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum" (*Ep.* x. 4, 6). On this Leo would strongly insist (*Ep.* ccxvii. 1). Where there is a division of votes the judgment of the metropolitan must intervene, who is to be guided by the preponderance of supporters and of qualifications (*Ep.* xiv. 5). When ordained no cleric is to be allowed to wander; he must remain in his own church (*Ep.* i. cf. xlii. 4, xiv. 7). All must rise in due order from the lower to the higher grades (*Ep.* xii. 4; cf. *Ep.* xix.). Unambiguous condemnation of heresy is to be required before ordination from those who are suspected; and those who are reconverted are to give up hope of promotion (*Ep.* xviii. cxxxv. 2). The multiplication of bishops in small places where they are not needed is forbidden (cap. 10). As he insists on the relative dignity of different parts of the body of Christ (*Ep.* cxix. 6), so he reasons that each part should acquiesce in fulfilling only its own functions. Laymen and monks—*i.e.* those who are extra ordinem sacerdotalem—are not to be allowed to preach (*Ep.* cxix. cxx. 6). We have seen already how he would enforce local discipline by insisting on provincial councils. As for the sacraments, baptism is not to be given unnecessarily except at Easter or Pentecost (*Ep.* xvi. and clxviii.). For the Mass, the rule of the Roman church, which he would enforce on Alexandria also, is that where the church will not hold all the faithful it should be celebrated on the same day as often as is necessary for them all to "offer" (*Ep.* ix. 2). In regard to ecclesiastical penance, believing that "indulgence of God cannot be obtained ex

cept by sacerdotal supplication," he gives rules for the reception of the penitent, &c. (*Ep.* cviii. 2, and clxvii. 2 and 7-14), and directs that in ordinary cases (de penitentia quae a fidelibus postulatur) private confession first to God, and then to the priest should be substituted for the public confession, the scandals involved in which would be likely to deter people from penitence altogether (*Ep.* clxviii.). In regard to the laity, it may be noticed that those who are under penitential discipline are exhorted to abstain from commerce and the civil law courts (*Ep.* clxvii. 10, 11), and even those who have at any time been penitents are advised to abstain from marriage, and ordered to abstain from military service (cap. 12-13). We may also notice an answer given (*Ep.* clxvi.) to Neo of Ravenna, on the question whether persons returning from captivity who had no memory of baptism should be baptized. On this, as a "novum et inauditum" point, Leo consulted the synod, "that the consideration of many persons might lead more surely to the truth" (*Ep.* clxvi. p. 1406). He shews a great fear of appearing to sanction a repetition of baptism, but decides that where no remembrance is possible in the matter, and no evidence can be obtained, baptism may be given. The barbarian invasions and the consequent captivities common at this period gave rise to several similar difficulties in questions of ecclesiastical discipline (cf. *Ep.* clix.). Finally, we may notice that Leo has a strong opinion on usury. "Fenus pecuniae," he says, "est funus animae." "Caret omni humanitate" (*Serm.* xvii.), and it is forbidden to the laity as to the clergy (*Ep.* iv. 2, 4).

We may conclude this brief notice of Leo's rules of discipline by quoting some more of the brief epigrammatic sentences in which he expresses his mind on occasion of the various disciplinary questions which are presented to him. "Penitence," he says, "is to be measured not by length of time, but by sorrow of heart" (*Ep.* clix. 4); "not instituting what is new, but restoring what is old," is his canon of reformation (*Ep.* x. 2). Again, among rules for episcopal government which he gives, we may notice the following as characteristic: "Integritas praesidentium salus est subditorum, et ubi est incolumitas obedientiae ibi sana est forma doctrinae" (xii. 1), or this: "sic est adhibenda correptio, ut semper sit salva dilectio," or this: "constantiam mansuetudo commendet, justitiam lenitas temperet, patientia contineat libertatem." These specimens must suffice; we pass to consider Leo as a theologian.

VI. Leo's theology is to be gathered chiefly from some six or seven dogmatic epistles and from his sermons (*Epp.* xxviii. the tome to Flavian, xxxv. to Julian, lix. to the church of Constantinople, cxxiv. to the monks of Palestine, cxxxix. to Juvenal, clxv. the "second tome," to the emperor Leo, all written between 449 and 458). These epistles are wholly occupied with the controversial statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation. His others are devoted almost entirely to matters of discipline and organization. Of his genuine sermons ninety-six remain, five, "de natali suo" (*vid. supra*), on the see of St. Peter; six, "de collectis," on the duty of almsgiving; nine, "de dec. mens. jejunio," on the duty of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting; ten, "de Nativitate," theological and practical discourses on the Incarnation; eight, "In Epiphaniae solemnitate," containing more of narrative than the Christmas sermons, and specially applicable to an age no longer tried by persecution; twelve, for Lent, on fasting and works of mercy; one on the Transfiguration; nineteen on the passion, preached on Sundays and Wednesdays in Holy Week, being devotional and practical commentaries on the Gospel narrative; two for Easter, preached on the eve; two for Ascensiontide; three for Pentecost, containing theological statements; four for the Pentecostal fast; four on the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of St. Lawrence; nine on the fast of the seventh month; one on the Beatitudes, and one against Eutyches on the occasion of the arrival of some Egyptian merchants, who had spoken in justification of the proceedings of the Egyptian Eutychians.

As for style, what applies to Leo's theological writings applies to all he wrote: it is generally forcible, and always to the point—business-like and severe, epigrammatic and terse in expression. No doubt the love of epigram and antithesis, which is characteristic of Leo's age, always tends to simple mannerism and obscurity, but in Leo the tendency is under control; he is almost always weighty and clear, and sometimes eloquent. In order to impress upon others his meaning, he has no objection whatever to repeating himself (*Serm.* xxv. init.). Some of his epistles (*Epp.* cxxiv. and clxv.) are extremely similar even in language. His sermons are in very much the same style as his epistles. Sozomen (vii. 19) says, "that in his day in Rome neither bishop nor any one else teaches the people in the church." This statement is denied and its meaning disputed (cf. notes *in loc.* and Migne, Patrol. lv. p. 197), but at least we should judge from Leo's sermons that there is no tradition of pulpit eloquence behind him. His tone is that of the Christian bishop, reproving, exhorting, and instructing with the severity of a Roman censor (Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, i. 233), while sometimes indeed he rises to eloquence, but generally speaks with a terse brevity, more adapted, but for its epigrams which would catch the ear, to be read than merely listened to. The sermons are, most of them, very short; but he must have impressed truth on his people by repetition, and the practical aspect of the truth as opposed to the speculative is in his sermons specially prominent. If Christ has renewed our nature, we must live up to the possibilities of the nature He has renewed. The mystery of the Incarnation is incomprehensible by the understanding; but for that let us rejoice, "sentiamus nobis bonum esse quod vincimur" (*Serm.* xxix.). Christ *must* be God and man—man to unite us to Himself, God to save us, "Expergiscere igitur, o homo, et dignitatem tuae cognosce naturae; recordare te factum ad imaginem Dei, quae etsi in Adam corrupta in Christo tamen est reformata" (xxvii. 6).

In theological statements he is always characterized by great clearness, fulness, strength, an intense reverence for dogma, and a deep conviction of its supreme importance. His theology is throughout of the *Western* type; we may illustrate this in two aspects. First, by the fact already noticed, that he is wholly on

the practical, not on the speculative, side of theology. Philosophical theory, speculation on the relation of the Persons in the Trinity, there is none, only a clear and powerful grasp upon the dogma as an inexpugnable truth of quite incomparable practical importance.[o] Secondly, his statement of the doctrine of the Trinity is Western, tallying with the Athanasian Creed, with none of the Eastern doctrine of "subordination" remaining, "In Trinitate enim divina, nihil dissimile, nihil impar est, ut omnibus existentiae gradibus exclusis, nulla ibi Persona sit anterior, nulla posterior" (*Serm.* lxxv. lxxvi. 2, cf. *Serm.* xxii. 2, where he interprets "My Father is greater than I" of the *Incarnate* Son only). Indeed, ignorant as Leo was of Greek, he could not be versed in Eastern theology; but we notice that in the "testimonia patrum" (*Epp.* cxxv.), more Greek than Latin fathers are quoted (of course from translations). We will proceed to examine somewhat more at length the main subjects of his theological writings: and first his doctrine of the Incarnation, which is produced in antagonism to Eutychianism and is coloured by this antagonism. And we must notice that the Eutychianism which he opposes is not so much the particular doctrine of the particular man as that which he represents,—namely, the denial of the real and permanent humanity of Jesus Christ. He presents a dilemma to Eutyches: either, he says, denying as you do the two natures in Christ, you must hold the impiety of Apollinaris, and assert that the Deity was converted into flesh and became passible and mortal, or if you shrink from that you fall into the Manichaean madness of denying the reality of the body and the bodily acts (*Epp.* cxxiv. 2). If he can escape from this dilemma, he is sure to be only veering to the opposite pole of Arianism. For Christ is spoken of as being "raised," "exalted," &c. What is exalted if the humanity is not real? You must assert the divinity of Christ to be an inferior one, capable of exaltation (*Epp.* lix. 3). Thus Eutyches is to Leo the representative of the "Manichaean impiety," as he is fond of calling it, which denies the reality of our Lord's manhood. This gives him his starting point to assert our Lord's true and perpetual humanity, while avoiding the contrary Nestorian error of abstracting from His perfect divinity, which was always being charged upon the anti-Eutychians, "in integra ergo veri hominis perfectaque natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris . . . humana augens, divina non minuens" (*Epp.* xxviii. 3). The human nature was really created and really assumed, and in such a way that it was created in being assumed (*Epp.* xxxvi. 3). There is the whole of human nature, body and soul, and the whole of the divine (*Epp.* xxxv. 2); each nature remains distinct in its operations, "glorificata permanet in glorificante, Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est et carne exsequente quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit injuriis;" "proprietas divinae humanaeque naturae individua permanet." All through the life he traces the duality of the operations in the unity of the Person (*Epp.* xxviii. cxxiv. 5). And so perfect is this unity that what is proper to one nature can be ascribed to the other (communicatio idiomatum, cap. 5). The unity is not a mere inhabitation of the Creator in the created nature, but a real mingling of the one nature with the other, though they remain distinct (*Serm.* xxiii. § 1), and the result is "ut idem esset dives in paupertate, omnipotens in abjectione, impassibilis in supplicio, immortalis in morte" (*Epp.* xxxv. 2).[p] Just as the visible light is contaminated by none of the filth on which it sheds itself, so the essence of the eternal and incorporeal light could be polluted by nothing which it assumed (*Serm.* xxxiv. 4).

In proof of this doctrine of the Incarnation Leo appeals to several classes of evidence, sometimes to the analogies of reason—why, he urges, cannot the divinity and humanity be one person, when soul and body in man form one person? (*Epp.* xxvi. 2);[q] constantly to Scripture—the very source of heresy is that man will not labour "in the broad fields of Holy Scripture" ("in latitudine SS." *Ep.* xxviii. 1 and 2); constantly to the creeds and the past of the church (for he hates novelty)—it is the Creed which introduces us to Scripture (*Ep.* cxxviii. 1); we need not blush to believe what apostles and those whom they taught, what martyrs and confessors believed (*Ep.* clxv. 9, clii.); but over and above this Leo very often and very characteristically appeals to consequences, or looks at the heresy he is opposing or the truth he is supporting in the light of the necessities of the church's life. What becomes of the salvation of our human nature if Christ have it not? How can He be the head of the new race? How can He clothe our human nature with His divine? ("Caro enim Christi velamen est verbi, quo omnis qui ipsum integre confitetur induitur," *Ep.* lix. 4.) What is the meaning of the holy communion of His body and blood, the very purpose of which is that, receiving the virtue of the heavenly food, we may pass into ("transeamus in") His flesh who became our flesh? (*Epp.* lix. 2; cf. also *Serm.* xci. 3.) What becomes of the resurrection and ascension; nay, what becomes of His mediation? How does He reconcile man to God if He have not the whole of humanity, except sin? (cxxiv. 6, 7, and *Serm.* xxv. 5, &c.).[r] We may conclude our notice of Leo's theology of the Incarnation by quoting (*Ep.* lix. fin.) a passage in which he distinguishes off the true doctrine from all the heresies. "Thus we call Christ not God only, like the Manichaeans, or man only, like the Photinians, nor man in such a sense as that there should be anything wanting to Him

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[o] Cf. on this the interesting comments of Dorner on Leo's tome (*Person of Christ*, Period ii. Epoch i. Clark's Foreign Theol. Lib.).

[p] This and other sentences in the Epistle are omitted in the Greek version, which is probably Julian's, possibly (see Admonitio in Migne) from motives of prudence.

[q] Here, as elsewhere, we find a close parallel between Leo's statement and that of the Athanasian Creed. Compare also this passage (*Ep.* clxv. 2):—

"Natura Unigeniti, natura est Patris, Natura est Spiritus Sancti, simulque impassibilis, simul est incommutabilis sempiternae Trinitatis indivisa Unitas, et consubstantialis aequalitas." "Nulla in essentia discretio, nulla in Majestate diversitas" (*Ep.* cxxiv. 7).

[r] We may notice in passing that he asserts absolutely "solus inter filios hominum Dominus Jesus innocens natus est."

which certainly belongs to man's nature, whether soul, or rational mind, or flesh (which, some say, was not taken of a woman, but was produced by the conversion and transmutation of the word into flesh), which three falsities have produced the three sects of the Apollinarians; nor do we say that the blessed Virgin Mary conceived a man without Deity, who, when He had been created by the Holy Spirit, was afterwards taken by the Word upon Himself,—for preaching which we rightly and justly condemned Nestorius; but we say that Christ, the Son of God, very God, was begotten of God the Father without any beginning of time, and that same Christ, very man, was born of a human mother in the fulness of time; and that His humanity, in which He is inferior to the Father, diminishes nought from His nature by which He is equal with the Father. But this one Christ is both these, as He most truly said, 'I and my Father are one,' according to His divinity, and 'my Father is greater than I,' according to His humanity. This faith, which alone makes true Christians, do ye perseveringly hold and constantly assert."

As regards the atonement, he holds the view once prevalent, but now utterly abandoned, which may be stated out of his writings as follows. Man in his fallen state was in a condition of slavery to the devil, and as it was by his own free will that he had fallen, he was justly under the devil's power. The devil had certain rights over him, rights which he would retain unless that humanity which he had conquered could conquer him again. And in redeeming man, God chose to overcome the devil rather by the rule of justice than of power. The omnipotent God could have overcome him without recognising his (so to speak) just claims, but He preferred to defeat him as man in fair conflict. To this end He became man. The Incarnation deceived the devil. He knew not with whom he was matched. He saw a Child suffering the sorrows and pains of childhood; he saw Him grow, as other boys grow, by natural stages to manhood, and having had so many proofs that He was mortal, He concluded that He was infected with the poison of original sin. So he set in force against Him, as though he were only exercising a right upon sinstained humanity, all methods and instruments of persecution. He spent his whole force upon Him, thinking that, if He whose virtues exceed so far those of all the saints, must yield to death, and His merits availed not to deliver Him, he would be secure of every one else for ever. But in persecuting and slaying Christ, whom was he slaying? One who was *man*, but sinless, who owed him nothing, in whom he had nothing; but thus, by exacting the penalty of iniquity from Him in whom he had found no fault, he exceeded his bond; he went beyond his right. The covenant which bound man to the devil was broken. His injustice in demanding too much cancelled the whole debt of man due to him; his rights are over. Man is free. (*Serm.* xxii. 3, 4; lxix. 3. The same theory is stated *Serm.* xvi. 1; lxi. 4. The nails which pierced our Lord's hands and feet transfixed the devil with perpetual wounds, lxiv. 2, 3.) Thus, to effect our redemption, Christ must have been both man and God; and it was necessary that He should suffer and die by the operations of the devil; and His death has a value different in kind from that of all the saints (*Serm.* lxiv. 2, 3; lix. 1). On the cross of Christ the oblation of human nature was made by a saving victim (lv. 3). His death, the Just for the unjust, was a price of infinite value (lvi. 3; lvii. 4). But to whom was its price paid? According to this theory, to the devil. The devil "paid off," man is free; "redemptio aufert captivitatem et regeneratio mutat originem et fides justificat peccatorem" (xxii. 4). Here then there is nothing said about—there is hardly clear room left for—an oblation to God. Elsewhere, however, Leo speaks of Christ of course as the mediator between God and man, and of His offering a "new and true sacrifice of reconciliation to His Father." (*Serm.* lix. 5. See also *Ep.* cxxiv. 2, where the sacrifice is clearly conceived as offered to the Father. The language is repeated *Serm.* lxiv. 2, 3.)

Living, as Leo did, in a time when the doctrine of grace was still in dispute, and mixed up, as he had been, in part of the dispute, we may perhaps wonder that we have so little, in his genuine works, on the subject. He speaks of it indeed (*Ep.* i. 3) in orthodox terms, and of course his whole reputation places him on the orthodox side. "The whole gift of God's works depends upon the previous operation of God ("omnis bonorum operum donatio, divina praeparatio est"), for no man is justified by virtue before he is (justified) by grace, which is to every man the beginning of righteousness, the fount of good, and the source of merit." Nothing in us, he implies, can antedate the operation of grace; all in us needs the salvation of Christ; but this grace of God which alone justifies was given, not for the first time, but in larger measure ("aucta non coepta") by Christ's birth, and this "sacrament of great holiness" (the Incarnation) was so powerful, even in its previous indications ("tam potens etiam in significationibus suis"), that they who hoped in the promise received it no less than they who accepted the gift" (*Serm.* xxii. 4). On this subject he often dwells; the Incarnation is the consummation of a previous presence and operation of the Son (*Serm.* xxv. 4). All along through the Old Testament men were justified by the same faith, and made part of the body of Christ by the same sacrament (*Serm.* xxx. 7; *Serm.* liv. 1). This same truth comes out in his sermons on Pentecost. There is perfect equality, he there says, in the Trinity. "It is eternal to the Father to be the Father of the co-eternal Son. It is eternal to the Son to be begotten of the Father out of all time. It is eternal to the Holy Spirit to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son; so that the Father has never been without the Son, or the Son without the Father, or the Father and the Son without the Spirit. Thus the unchangeable deity of the blessed Trinity is one in substance, undivided and inseparable in operation, concordant in will, alike in power, equal in glory." "What the Father is, that is the Son, and that is the Holy Spirit;" and what the Father does, that does the Son, and that does the Holy Spirit. There was no beginning to the operation of the Holy Spirit upon man since his creation. The descent at Pentecost was not the "beginning of a gift, but the addition of fulness" ("adjectio largitatis") (*Serm.* lxxvi. 3). The difference has lain not in the virtue and reality of the gifts, but in their *measure* (cf. on the unity of divine purpose and love, from first to

last of the divine economy, the end of the 3rd chapter of "the tome").

As regards the merit and cultus of saints, Leo holds that their "merits" can work wonders, and give aid to the church on earth (*Serm.* v. 4). He often speaks of St. Peter assisting his people with his prayers (*Serm.* xii. xiii. xvi., ad fin. &c.), and with his merits (lxxxi. 4). So also of St. Laurence (lxxxv.). He attributes the deliverance of the city from the barbarians to the "care of the saints" (*Serm.* lxxxiv. 1). The Leonine sacramentary, which certainly contains much of Leo's age, is full of such prayers as "adjuva nos, Domine, tuorum prece sanctorum, ut quorum festa gerimus sentiamus auxilium" (cf. *Ep.* lviii. init. ci. 3, for similar sentiments of Leo's age). But he never speaks of the blessed Virgin at all as aiding in any way of this kind, nor of any saints but St. Peter, St. Paul (*Serm.* lxxxii. fin.), and St. Laurence; nor does he invoke them, or direct them to be invoked. There is only present to him the consciousness that they are aiding the church by their patronage, prayers, or merits. Elsewhere, distinguishing the value of the deaths of the saints from that of Christ, he very zealously guards the prerogative of Christ, as the real source of merit: "acceperunt justi, non dederunt coronas; et de fidelium fortitudine exempla nata sunt patientiae, non dona justitiae" (*Serm.* lxiv. 7). "No man," he says, beautifully, "is good for himself alone," but the goodness of the martyrs aids us only by way of example: "plus est opere docere quam voce" (lxxxv. 1).

To relics we have no allusion in Leo's writings, except where he rejoices that the relics of St. Flavian had been brought back to Constantinople (*Ep.* lxxix. 2), and perhaps where, in writing to Eudocia and Juvenal, in Palestine, he endeavours to stir their faith through the local memorials of Christ's passion (*Ep.* cxxxix. 2; cxxiii.). Comparing Leo's works with those of Gregory, we are singularly struck by the total absence in him of the element of superstition. His sermons, as has been very well said, "are singularly Christian—Christian as dwelling almost exclusively on Christ: His birth, His passion, His resurrection" (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* i. p. 233). We have noticed also that Leo's whole bent of mind was practical; and so we find constant reference to the special dangers and wants of his time. He is constantly warning against the prevalent Manichaeism. When he converted a number of Manichaeans, at once he applies his sermon, regardless of saying what was old and repeating himself, to instruct them (xxv. 1). At another time he notices that the people are forsaking the commemoration of the deliverance of the city, probably from Genseric, which he had instituted on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul; they forsake it for games and spectacles; he reproves them, and exhorts them to the duty of gratitude to God (lxxxiv.). Elsewhere he reproves the idolatrous practices which troubled the church. Magic, charms, cabalistic doctrines, and even a worship of the rising sun, were in vogue. Christians, on their way into St. Peter's Basilica, would turn and bow to the sun (lxxxiv. 2; xxvii. 4). This worship, which, as he says, was half pagan, akin to that of the Priscillianists and Manichaeans, and half due to ignorance in people who meant to worship, not the creature but the Creator, but which in any case was akin to idolatry, he deeply deplores and earnestly prohibits.

Especially we find Leo applying himself to enjoin purity, strictness, and severity of life, in an age no longer troubled by persecutions. "Kings now," he says, "do not so much pride themselves on being born to empire as rejoice that they are re-born in baptism." External persecution for the time is over, but the devil tries by avarice and ease those whom troubles could not alienate (xxxvi. 3). Hence the interest of his sermons in Lent and at the other fasts of the "Quattuor Tempora" and those (on almsgiving) "de Collectis."* Prayers, fasting, and alms-giving are, in his view, the three chief parts of Christian duty. "By prayer the mercy of God is sought; by fasting, the lusts of the flesh are extinguished; by almsgiving, our sins are atoned for—redimuntur." "The most effectual petition for pardon lies in alms and fasting, and the prayer which is assisted by such suffrages rises more speedily to the ears of God" (xii. 4; xvi. 2). He uses almsgiving in a large sense almost equivalent to love (xliv 2). "Alms destroy sins" (*Serm.* vii., quoted from Ecclus. iii. 30), "abolish death, extinguish the penalty of eternal fire" (x.). It is a grace without which we can have no other (x.). "He who has cleansed himself by almsgiving need not doubt that even after many sins the splendour of the new birth will be restored to him" (xx. ad fin.). But we must look *how* we give, so as not, for instance, to overlook the retiring; we must "understand about" the poor (ix. 3; "Beatus qui *intelligit super*," Ps. xl. 1). Our gifts should go to those who do not yet believe, as well as to Christians (xli. 3), and special thoughtfulness is enjoined for slaves. Moreover what God looks to is, as he often insists, not the amount, but the spirit of the gift: "ibi censetur qualitas actionis, ubi invenitur initium voluntatis" (xciv. 1); "nulli parvus est census, cui magnus est animus" (*Serm.* xl. 4); and gifts given not in the spirit of faith, though they be ever so large, avail nothing (xliv. 2). Love, he insists, is the fulfilling of the law. Truth and mercy, faith and love, go together. "There is no love without faith, no faith without love" (cf. especially *Serm.* xlv.).

As for fasting, that too is constantly enjoined. Virtue is a very narrow mean (xliii. 2), and all through our Christian walk strict self-discipline is absolutely necessary. But fasting is a means, not an end. We must be careful not to let it proceed from any belief in matter as evil in itself. "No substance is evil, and evil in itself has no nature" (xlii. 4). The object of fasting is to make the body apt for pure, holy, and spiritual activity—it is, as he often says, to subject the flesh to the reason and spirit. "A man has true peace and liberty when the flesh is ruled by the judgment of the mind, and the mind is directed by the government of God" (*Serm.* xxxix. 2, xlii. 2). He insists strongly on this dominion of the mind. Otherwise "parum est si carnis substantia tenuatur et animae for-

* *I.e.* at that stated period of the year when offerings were made in the Roman church, by an old custom instituted in place of a still older pagan solemnity; cf. *Admonit.* in *Serm.* vi. Migne.

titudo non alitur;" "continendum est a cibis sed multo magis ab erroribus jejunandum" (*Serm.* xci. 2). Fasting having thus a directly moral object, there must always be joined with it works of mercy. The "abstinentia jejunantis" must be the "refectio pauperis" (*Serm.* xiii.); "sentiant humanitatem nostram aegritudines decumbentium, imbecillitates debilium, labores exulum, destitutio pupillorum et desolatarum maestitudo viduarum" (*Serm.* xl. 4). Fasting without such works of mercy is not a purification of the soul, but a mere affliction of the flesh (*Serm.* xv.). In Lent, prisoners are to be set free and debts forgiven (*Serm.* xli. 3). If a man cannot fast from bodily weakness, let him occupy himself in works of love (*Serm.* lxxxvii. 3). Through all Leo's sermons in penitential seasons there runs a great sense of the unity of the church's work and the co-operation of all her members in the penitential discipline and prayers. "The fullest abolition of sins is obtained when the whole church joins in one prayer and one confession" (lxxxviii. 3). The merit of holy obedience is the strength of the church against her enemies (*Serm.* lxxxviii. 2, 3). Public acts are better than those which are individual (lxxxix. 2). Further, on Leo's penitential sermons, we need only remark that, though he is speaking of the remedies for sins—as well those of habitual laxity as the more venial and accidental—in preparation for the Easter feast, he yet makes almost no allusion to confession in any sacramental sense, or indeed in any sense at all, but only to self-examination, to penitential works, fasts, prayers, works of mercy and moral self-discipline as the means of purification (cf. l. 1, 2, lxxxviii. 3, xli. 1, xliii. 3). Forgiveness of injuries (xliii. 4) and the exercise of love (xlv.) are insisted on from this point of view: "qui potuit malitia pollui, studeat benignitate purgari" (xlv. 4)—all this seeming to indicate that in the life of the ordinary Christian, who was not under regular penitential discipline, penitence and progress were not separated in Leo's mind as they are with us. The Christian is purified by moral effort and discipline and his sanctification is his purification (but cf. xcii. 1, l. 1, 2, lxxxviii. 5).

There is another aspect of Leo's work as an ecclesiastical writer which remains to be considered. "The collect as we have it is Western in every feature; in that 'unity of sentiment and severity of style' which Lord Macaulay has admired; in its Roman brevity and majestic conciseness, its freedom from all luxuriant ornament and all inflation of phraseology" (Bright, *Ancient Collects*, append. 206); and not only is it undoubtedly Western, but there is no early Western writer to whose style it can bear a closer resemblance and with whose character it is more consonant than that of Leo, its reputed inventor. How much of Leo's work the fragment of the Sacramentary attributed to him by its first editor in 1735, P. Joseph Blanchinius, actually contains, it is impossible to say. "Muratori holds it to be a series of Missae, clumsily put together by a private person at the end of the 5th century, containing much that he wrote." Certainly it is Roman, certainly the oldest Roman sacramentary and certainly it contains much which seems to be in the style and express the doctrine of St. Leo. As certainly Leo's work, Quesnel with propriety specifies two noble "prefaces," for the consecration of a bishop and a presbyter ("Deus honorum omnium," and "Domine sancte," § xxvii. 111 and 113, Migne) and an "Allocutio archidiaconi ad episcopum pro reconciliatione poenitentium" (at the end of the sacramentary in Migne's edition). In the *Liber Pontificalis* the addition of the words, "sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam" to the canon of the mass is ascribed to Leo (Migne, Patrol. liv. p. 1233). Other slight alterations in the liturgy are also attributed to him (Migne, lv. 320). The following collects in the English Prayer-book are derived from the Leonine sacramentary: those for the third Sunday after Easter (referring originally to those who had been baptized on Easter Eve), the fifth Sunday after Trinity (suggested originally by the disasters of the dying Western empire), and the ninth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Sundays after Trinity. (See Bright, *Ancient Collects*, pp. 208, 209.)

Before concluding this notice of Leo as a theologian, we must mention a statement of Gennadius (*de Script. Eccles.* lxxxiv.; Patrol. Lat. lviii. 1107), that the letters of pope Leo on the true Incarnation of Christ are said to have been addressed to their various destinations, and dictated ("ad diversos datae et dictatae") by Prosper of Aquitaine. It is also stated that one or two of Leo's sermons are found in one manuscript assigned to St. Prosper.[t] On this we may remark, first, that Gennadius himself attributes "the tome," the chief of Leo's letters on the Incarnation, absolutely to his own hand (cap. lxx.). Next we may remark that it is very probable that Leo should have brought this man, "doctissimus illorum temporum," with him from Gaul to Rome, to assist him in his conflicts with heresy: he may have been secretary to him, as Jerome was to pope Damasus:[u] he may specially have exerted himself for St. Leo against the Pelagians. But the unity and individuality of style which run all through St. Leo's writings, and which appear not least strongly marked in his dogmatic epistles, separate them off from those of St. Prosper, and forbid us to attribute to Prosper in any sense the *authorship* of these writings, though we cannot deny that he may have assisted in their composition. (Cf. Tillem. xv. p. 540, xvi. 25, and note 7 on St. Prosper; Arendt, *Leo der Grosse*, p. 417, &c.)

It remains to mention that Leo is said to have restored the silver ornaments of the churches of Rome, after the ravages of the Vandals, and repaired the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, placing a mosaic in the latter which represented the adoration of the four-and-twenty elders; he is also said to have built a basilica in honour of St. Cornelius, established some monks by the church of St. Peter, instituted guardians, called at first, "cubicularii," and afterwards "capellani," for the tombs of the apostles, and erected

[t] Antelmus, in the 17th century, went furthest in attributing the works known as Leo's to the authorship of Prosper.

[u] It appears probable that *Ep.* cxx. (to Theodoret) was written by a secretary, and that Leo's personal salutation is added at the end. See concluding words, "et alia manu, Deus te incolumem custodiat, frater charissime." Cf. conclusion of *Ep.* cxxxiii. (Proterius to Leo), and Marcian's letter, *Ep.* c.

a fountain before the church of St. Paul, at which people might wash their hands before entering. (For authorities, see Tillem. xv. art. 73, and *Vita Anastasii*, Migne, *Patrol.* liv. 55, and 1234.) In the life of St. Valentine, bishop of Passau, it is recorded that St. Leo received him at Rome, and ordained him bishop for missionary work in Rhaetia (Tillem. xv. 175).

The death of Leo occurred in the year 461 (Marcellin. *Chron.* &c.), almost certainly late in the year, and possibly on Nov. 10 (Tillem. xv. note 73). He was buried in the church of St. Peter, where it is said that no previous pope not a martyr had been buried (*Anast. Vita Pontif. Patrol.* liv. p. 60, Migne). The tomb having become crowded up, his body was removed to a more honourable position by Sergius I. at the end of the 7th century (*Patrol. Lat.* lv. p. 329, Migne). The three succeeding Leos were subsequently interred in the same chapel. There his body was found in 1607, and transferred with great pomp to the new church of St. Peter. There was another translation in 1763. (Tillem. art. 74, and *AA. SS.* Bolland. April, vol. ii. p. 21; *Patrol.* lv. 333, where see also on supposed relics.) Leo has been honoured in the church as a *saint* and *confessor*. He has been also commonly known as "the Great." [v] Benedict XIV. in 1754 decreed him the title and cultus of a *doctor ecclesiae* (*Patrol.* lv. 835). He is commemorated in the Roman church on April 11, possibly the day of the first translation of the body; in the Eastern church on Feb. 18 (*AA. SS.* April. ii. p. 15).

Opera Sancti Leonis. Editions.—The genuine works of Leo which we possess are 96 sermons and 173 letters (including a few addressed to him or written about him). He is not known to have written any large treatises. On works ascribed to him (the *de Vocatione*, &c.), vide supra, and consult discussions of editors in Migne's *Patrologia*. For history of editions, *vide* Schoenemann's *Notitia Historico-Litteraria in S. Leonem*, prefixed to Migne's edition. The most famous editions of Leo's whole works are:

1. Quesnel's: which appeared in 1675 in Paris, a work of consummate learning and great fulness, placing the study of Leo on a wholly new basis: expressing, however, as it did, strong Gallican opinions, this edition was condemned by the popes, and all the commentaries, &c., were put on the Index in 1682. The work, however, was too valuable to be allowed to be suppressed, and by the injunction of the pope Benedict XIV. there was produced—

2. The edition of the Ballerini, which appeared in Venice, 1753–1757, and while reproducing all Quesnel's edition, re-edited it with remarks and discussions in the Roman interest on Quesnel's excursuses. This is now the standard edition, and is reproduced in the *Patrologia Latina* of the Abbé Migne, vol. liv. lv. lvi. Vol. liv. contains introductions; brief life of pope Leo by Anastasius; all the sermons and letters, with fragments &c.; and the notes of Quesnel and of the Fratres Ballerini. Vol. lv. contains the *Liber Sacramentorum*, and the other works ascribed to St. Leo, together with the eleven very long dissertations of Quesnel's, and the observations of the Ballerini on these dissertations. Vol. lvi. contains collections of ecclesiastical canons having reference to the period of St. Leo, with discussions by the editors, as before, and a few hitherto unedited sermons ascribed to St. Leo of no great value. Recently select sermons and letters of St. Leo have been edited by H. Hurter, S.J., in vols. xiv. and xxv. of *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta*. There is also an English translation of selected sermons of St. Leo with theological notes, and "the Tome," added in the original, by Dr. Bright, London, 1862.

Materials and Authorities.—i. Leo's own works; *vide supra*. ii. The contemporary chronicles of Prosper and Idatius, and others. The *Acts* of the council of Chalcedon, &c. iii. Lives of the Saint, church histories, &c., among which we may mention the following:—(1) The very brief life in the *Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (9th century), prefixed to Migne's edition of Leo's works, and given with very full commentary in the *Patrol.* vol. cxxviii. pp. 299 sq. (2) The elaborate *de Vita et Gestis S. Leonis*, being the first of Quesnel's *Dissertationes*, Migne's *Patrol.* lv. pp. 153 seq. (3) The exhaustive, accurate, and impartial *Mémoire* of Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. xv. pp. 414–832, with notes. (4) The detailed account of Leo's works in Ceillier's *Auteurs sacrés*, vol. x. (5) The Bollandist Life by Canisius, of very little value, *AA. SS.* April. vol. ii. p. 15. (6) *La Vie et Religion des deux bons Papes Léon I^er et Grégoire I^er*, by P. Dumoulin, the Protestant theologian,[w] Sédan, 1650. (7) *Histoire du Pontificat de Saint-Léon le Grand*, by Maimbourg. La Haye, 1687; a work written to convert Protestants by shewing them that the 5th century recognised the primacy of the pope and the authority of the church; dedicated to Louis XIV. (just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), whom it denotes as possessing "the soul of a great pontiff as well as of a great king." (8) *Leo der Grosse und seine Zeit*, by W. A. Arendt, Mainz, 1825; a book written from a Catholic point of view, as a prologue to a history of the middle ages; indicating especially the importance of Leo's position in the development of the papal authority. The author is too unwilling to admit faults in Leo's character. (9) *Papst Leo's I. Leben und Lehren*, by Ed. Perthel, Jena, 1843. A valuable part of this work is the accurate and elaborate account of Leo's doctrine, but complaining of the partiality of Arendt, the Protestant author goes to an opposite extreme, undervaluing alike the abilities and virtues of Leo. (10) *Histoire du Pontificat de Saint Léon le Grand*, by Al. de Saint-Chéron, Paris, 1845, a partial work from an extreme papalist point of view. Besides the above "Lives" &c. we may notice (11) some remarks specially on Leo's style in Bähr's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Suppl.-Bd. II. Abth. pp. 354–366; (12) an admirable account and judgment of Leo's life and works, viewing him chiefly as the architect of the papacy, in Böhringer's *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*, i. 4, pp. 170–309; (13) Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. cap. 4, an excellent account of Leo and his time; (14) Bright's

[v] For the opinion entertained of him by mediaeval preachers, see quotation in Arendt, *Leo der Grosse*, p. 423.

[w] This book the writer of the above article has not been able to see.

History of the Church, cap. xiv. xv.; (15) Alzog's *Grundriss der Patrologie*, § 78; and (16) The article "Leo I." in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*. [C. G.]

LEO (6) II., pope A.D. 682–683, the second of that name, whose biographer, in the vivid strain of a contemporary, and with an instinct hardly less than prophetic, writes thus of him: "Vir eloquentissimus, et in divinis Scripturis sufficienter instructus, Graecâ Latinâque linguâ eruditus ... linguâ quoque scholasticus eloquendi majore lectione politâ ... Hic suscepit sanctam sextam synodum, quae per Dei providentiam *nuper* in regiâ urbe celebrata est, Graeco eloquio conscriptam ... in quâ et condemnati sunt Cyrus, Sergius, Honorius, et Pyrrhus ... qui unam voluntatem et operationem in D. N. J. Christo dixerunt vel praedicaverunt ... sed ut et nunc duae voluntates et operationes ipsius dispensatoris Christi et Salvatoris Dei nostri dicantur, sicut eadem synodus *studiosissime in Latinum translata* declarat ..." Agreeably with which the fourteenth council of Toledo, meeting A.D. 684, under Julian their metropolitan, by command of their king Ervigius, acknowledge the receipt of the Acts of this council, accompanied by a letter from Leo, inviting their acceptance and publication of them (*Dict. of Christ. Ant.*; TOLEDO, COUNCILS OF). These Acts, accordingly, were gone through *seriatim*, and, having been examined thoroughly, were directed to stand next after the Acts of the council of Chalcedon, as being in perfect agreement with that council and its three great predecessors—a point to which we must return again. These Acts, it must be further said, had been conveyed from Constantinople to Rome by no other than John bishop of Porto, who had subscribed to them as first legate of the late pope Agatho, and afterwards became pope himself as John V. Lastly, to complete the survey, in their 12th action, the very document on which the condemnation of pope Honorius was grounded—his original letter in Latin to the late patriarch Sergius——was fetched from the patriarchal archives and put into the hands of the same legate to be compared with the copy that had just been read, so that it must have been genuine to have been accepted by him. On the whole, then, it would be scarcely possible to find the Acts of any council better authenticated in every way. Yet, strange to say, all the letters of Leo bearing upon this council (five in number), and the only pieces of his extant, were pronounced spurious by Baronius, and for no other reason, apparently, than because they testified to these facts, guaranteed to us, fortunately, from other sources. No. 1 is a reply to a letter from the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, announcing in general terms the results of the sixth council. The fictitious dates affixed to these letters supply Baronius with chronological arguments against both, which Pagi thus solves. The council sat from 7th Nov. A.D. 680 to 16th Sept. A.D. 681, which was the first month of the tenth Indiction, in which the following events happened. Pope Agatho died 10th Jan. A.D. 682. Leo was elected in his room 16th April ensuing. The legates of the former wintered at Constantinople, but set out at once on hearing of the election of his successor, bringing with them the Acts of the council, and the letter in question from Constantine to Leo. This they delivered to him on their arrival in July; and John bishop of Porto was one of his three consecrators, 17th Aug. His reply to the emperor would naturally be one of his first acts after consecration in the tenth Indiction still proceeding, or just over. It contained this sentence, of which his biographer was no doubt well aware: "Pariterque anathematizamus novi erroris inventores, Theodorum Pharanitanum episcopum, Cyrum Alexandrinum, Sergium . . . necnon et Honorium, qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicae traditionis doctrinâ lustravit, sed profanâ proditione immaculatam fidem subvertere conatus est" (Mansi, xi. 731. Comp. Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 683, n. 1 et seq. and A.D. 382, n. 2). This is plain enough, but it was not a synodical utterance. No. 2, on the other hand, is addressed to the bishops of Spain generally; and in expounding to them, "ex officio," the definition of the recent oecumenical council in dogmatic language for reception, it adds: "Qui vero adversum apostolicae traditionis puritatem perduelliones extiterant, abeuntes quidem aeternâ condemnatione mulctati sunt: id est Theodorus ... Cyrus ... Sergius ... cum Honorio, qui flammam haeretici dogmatis, non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit." He then explains how it was that he had no more than the definition at present to send, as the Acts, being in Greek, had to be translated into Latin, and were not yet finished, but they should have the remainder soon. Peter, his notary, would be the bearer of this portion of them.

Two more letters on the same subject, but of less importance, follow; one addressed to Quiricius, late metropolitan of Toledo, whom Leo must have supposed alive; the other to count Simplicius without further designation. No. 5 is to king Ervigius. In this Honorius is characterised as one "who had assented to the defilement of the immaculate rule, handed down from the apostles, and received from his predecessors, and who had been, as such, by a resolution of the late venerable council, condemned; that is, cast out of the communion of the Catholic church."

All these letters seem to have been penned simultaneously, the first thing after his consecration, as they have no special dates affixed to them; but all alike speak of the sixth council as having sat "*per* nonam nuper elapsam Indictionem," which was strictly correct. Unfortunately Leo died 3rd July, A.D. 683, not only before the translation of its Acts had been completed, but even possibly before what had been translated had been sent off, there being a short letter extant of Benedict II. the next pope, commissioning Peter anew, but only charging him with the same portion of the Acts over again that Leo speaks of having consigned to him (Mansi, xi. 1085). This document, however, short as it is, accounts satisfactorily for the reference to them in the fourteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 384, as having been sent by Leo, yet only then received, as an interval of eleven months and twenty-two days elapsed between the death of Leo and the consecration of Benedict, 26th June, A.D. 684 (Pagi ad Bar. A.D. 684, n. 2–12). Thus the chronological difficulties are plainly no more than might have been expected; on the other hand,

the condemnation of Honorius by Leo proclaims its own genuineness by the varied circumlocution in which it is expressed. Heretic is a term that is never applied by Leo to his erring predecessor. Not to have condemned him at all would have been dishonest, after the sixth council had spoken and been received by him. It took its place amongst the general councils everywhere by common consent, even in Spain, where the fifth council was still persistently kept out of sight (*Dict. of Christ. Ant.* II. 1968 and 1971). No exception had been taken to it anywhere by contemporaries for having anathematised Honorius. On the contrary, the *Liber Diurnus* of the Roman pontiffs proclaims its own contemporary composition, so far as relates to his condemnation, by designating the sixth council, in the exact words of the biographer of Leo, as having been "lately" held (ap. Migne, Pat. Lat. cv. 42 and 52). The Roman Breviary, M. Renouf tells us, contained his condemnation likewise "till the 17th century" (*Condemn. of Pope Hon.* p. 6). Pope Agatho doubtless abstained from urging it, though his legates subscribed to it; nor is it mentioned by *his* biographer. We might as well suspect the name of Honorius to have been erased dishonestly from the life and letters of pope Agatho as to have been inserted dishonestly in the Acts of the sixth council or the letters of pope Leo. History tells us that there were two parties at that time both at Rome and Constantinople. Just before the summoning of the sixth council there was a talk at the latter of erasing the name of pope Vitalian, and indeed of every pope in succession after Honorius, from their diptychs. Another party was in the ascendant there when the sixth council was held. Agatho was reticent about Honorius, so was his biographer. Pope Martin had been equally reticent in the Lateran council, A.D. 649, previously to which John IV. had openly defended him. Yet, in the same breath, he calls his betrayer Sergius "*reverendae memoriae patriarcha*" (Mansi, x. 683). Anastasius, the papal librarian, with the Acts of the sixth council before him, though no less apologetic, bears honest testimony to their contents (*Ib.* 693). Leo, similarly, was too honest to tamper or to quibble with the Acts of a council that had become law, and of which he approved. Notwithstanding he minimises the fall of his predecessor, confessedly blameless in all other respects, as far as he can. Putting the best construction upon facts that tell against us is natural enough; suppressing, misrepresenting, or pronouncing them fictitious *on that account* is a crime. M. Rohrbacher has discussed the Acts of this pontificate learnedly, and with every regard for historic truth (vol. x. 378–81). Dr. Dollinger has passed over them "*sicco pede.*" The comments of Binius, Labbe, Cenni, Baldini, Pagi, Sommier, Bencini, and Mafei, may be found collected in Migne, Pat. Lat. cxxviii. 851–66, following on the life of this pope in the work of Anastasius. Mansi (xi. 1045–58) says as little as he can; the authors of *L'Art de vérif. les Dates*, i. 254, still less; nor Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 598, much more. [E. S. Ff.]

LEO (7) III., pope, was, according to his biographer, a Roman by birth, of studious and devout habits, and unblemished life. The same authority tells us that he was elected unanimously by all the Romans to succeed Adrian I., who died on Christmas Day, A.D. 795, the very next day after his decease; and being then a priest only, was consecrated bishop the day following, which was the feast of St. John the Evangelist, then as now. So far his biographer, who stops short at this point; throwing a complete veil over his acts and the events going on round him for the ensuing three years of his pontificate. This is the more noticeable for three reasons: (1) As being in marked contrast to the fulness with which the acts and events of the two pontificates immediately preceding his are noted down from their commencement. (2) For the disappearance of all his letters to Charlemagne previously to A.D. 806. (3) For the non-appearance of even these, but ten in number, as part of the *Codex Carolinus*. What that Codex professes to be may be repeated from Vol. I. p. 457, of this work. "In 791 he (Charlemagne) caused all the letters which had been directed by the apostolic see to his father, grandfather, and himself, to be collected and transcribed for the benefit of his successors." Their number, as given by Cennius, amounts to just one short of 100 (*Monum. Dom. Pont. Praef.* § 2). But according to the authority from which this statement was drawn —the description given of it in a supposed contemporary MS. (ap. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.* iii. 602)—it should contain the letters "*de Imperio ad eos directae,*" likewise; now only conspicuous by their absence. Further, why the papal epistles themselves should stop at A.D. 791 has never been explained. Certainly, there is one letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, writing three years after that time, still extant, which would have been a most inconvenient addition to this Codex, viz. the one defending the decrees of the 2nd Nicene Council against the author of the Caroline Books (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont. Rom.* p. 214—misplaced and misdated by Mansi, xiii. 759). Possibly we might have discovered, in the earlier letters of Leo, reasons equally strong for their exclusion from it, had they been extant. Cennius begins his first dissertation on those which have come down to us, with the following thesis: "Multo plures editis a Conringio adhuc latent." Who can doubt it? But, more than this: the biographer of Leo writes throughout as if under restraint. Annalists of the same date are not agreed in their accounts. The Lauresshamensian pass over even the fact of his accession in silence. The Laurissensian state that he was no sooner installed, than he sent ambassadors to the king with gifts, and the keys of the confession, or tomb, of St. Peter, and the standard of the city of Rome, besides. Eginhard adds that he petitioned the king to send one of his chief men to Rome, to bind the Roman people to him in allegiance and fidelity by oath. The Saxon poet says the same. But there happens to be an authentic document extant which in some measure discredits all three. The answer of the king to a letter of his on his accession has come down to us among the letters of Alcuin. How it came to be found among them is easily seen. Angilbert the bearer of it was a bosom friend of Alcuin, who treated him with all the respect due to the name with which his royal master delighted to honour him, Homer. Yet Homer,

equally with his royal master, had recourse to Alcuin for advice now and then. Accordingly, we have, side by side with this answer of the king to the pontiff, among the letters of Alcuin, a copy—perhaps the original—of the secret instructions given by the king to Angilbert himself. It is headed: "Karolus gratiâ Dei Rex, et defensor sanctae ecclesiae, Homero auriculario salutem." Homer was to admonish the pope on the irreproachable character of his life, and above all things, on the observance of the holy canons; on the pious direction of the holy church of God, as opportunity for mutual conference offered, and he found the pope disposed to listen; but oftener reminding him how shortlived was all honour that he had now; and how lasting the reward bestowed on good services hereafter. Another topic to be pressed on him energetically was the extirpation of the simoniacal heresy, then woefully deranging the holy constitution of the church in many places. "Et quicquid mente teneas saepiùs querelis agitasse inter nos," a sentence which had best be left untranslated, till the clue to it can be found. The rest is unimportant.

In writing to the pope, Charles styles himself as follows:—"Karolus gratiâ Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac Patricius Romanorum, Leoni papae, perpetuae beatitudinis, in X^to. salutem," intimating plainly to what source he ascribed those titles; but omitting another, which in writing to Angilbert he had assumed equally, though no previous letter of the pope's extant had ever assigned it to him or his predecessors. Let us see now what he says to the pope. First, there is not a word about the arrival of ambassadors, keys, or standard from him; no hint that Angilbert had been despatched in compliance with any request of his. Charles merely states that having read his letter and listened to the instrument of his election (decretalis chartula), he was pleased at the unanimity testified in the latter, and the obedience and fidelity promised to himself in the former. Regrets for his dear predecessor had been alleviated by the glad tidings of his accession. Angilbert, the secretary, who was no stranger to him, and whom he had previously promised his predecessor, through Campulus and Anastasius, to despatch on a matter already discussed between them, was now sent with full power to negotiate the same with him, and had special instructions for that purpose. The pope was to be maintained in his honours, and the king in his patriciate. Thus they would discuss how the pact entered into between himself and the late pope might best be carried out; so that the apostolic benediction, invoked by the prayers of the saints, might attend him everywhere, by the grace of God; and that the holy Roman church and see might also, by the grace of God, be defended at all times by his devotion. "It is ours," he says, "with assistance from above, to protect the holy church of Christ everywhere from the inroads of pagans, and the ravages of unbelievers, with arms abroad and at home, to surround her with bulwarks by the acknowledgment of the Catholic faith. It is yours, holy Father, with hands uplifted, like Moses, to assist our warfare, and procure victory for us by your intercession . . . Only, let it ever be the discretion of your authority to follow the canons, to the end that a pattern of complete sanctity may be patent to all in your life."

If Charles has here described aright the pact discussed between him and the late pope, we cannot be surprised that the death of Adrian should have intervened between it and its fulfilment. The pope was merely to have said his prayers, and adhered rigidly to the canons, and trusted for all the rest to the king. If this was what was to be implied in the title "defensor ecclesiae," we cannot be surprised at his suppression of it in his first letter to Leo. That his own theologians should have passed it only shews how they must have felt themselves his creatures. When Alcuin, for instance, makes him a present of "the two swords," and says, "Hoc mirabile et speciale in te pietatis Dei donum praedicamus, quod tantâ devotione ecclesias Christi a perfidorum doctrinis intrinsecus purgare tuerique niteris, quantâ forinsecus a vastatione paganorum defendere vel propagare conaris . . ." (*Ep.* c. ed. Migne), we might fancy we were listening to divines of the *Jacques premier* or *Louis quatorze* school; when Alcuin writes to Leo III. on his accession, "Qui sedem sanctorum tenes Patrum, eorum exemplis inhaereas semper, ut cum illis multiplici laboris mercede in Domini Dei tui gaudia intrare merearis . . ." (*Ep.* xxiv. *ibid.*), we feel he must have been privy to the letter on which we are now engaged. Angilbert was the bearer of both letters; if he had brought back a complaisant reply to either, would it not have been preserved? Contemporary facts may perhaps help us to understand their full import. Almost all the kings of Spain had constituted themselves "ecclesiae defensores" of late years, in the sense put upon that title now by Charlemagne. Almost all had formulated at the successive councils of Toledo dogmatic tomes or prefaces for their bishops to sign. Charles himself had taken advantage of their precedent to address a dogmatic epistle to archbishop Elipandus and the bishops of Spain from Frankfort; nay, more, to publish his refutation of the second Nicene council at the same place, though it had been received by the late pope. Adrian, on this, had felt it his duty to defend the Nicene decrees against the king. One of the points which the king had dragged into controversy was the actual creed of the church, a point, strange to say, overlooked altogether by Dean Milman. This Adrian upheld in the form given to it at Chalcedon, and meant to be final, while Charles constituted himself champion of an unauthorised addition made to the article relating to the Holy Ghost in Spain. Was this one of the points "agitated with complaints between them" that Angilbert was instructed to bear in mind? Another point interwoven with this was the bond of union in which it formed almost the last link between old and new Rome. The second Nicene council had galvanised their relations into new life, which Adrian had fostered to the chagrin of the king. Could Leo be persuaded, or would he bear forcing, to be more pliant? Such we may fairly conjecture to have been the alternatives that presented themselves to the royal mind in despatching Angilbert. Angilbert was to try the first of them and report. Accordingly we have detailed accounts of the costly presents that he brought with him,

a portion of the spoils Charles had just had sent him from the palace of the vanquished king of the Huns. But Angilbert must have returned as he came, some say more than once, or we should have heard of his success. An ominous silence ensued, unbroken, save by an exchange of letters between king Kenulf and the pontiff on the privileges of the see of Canterbury, then in abeyance, which Haddan and Stubbs refer to A.D. 798, and, possibly, the ghost of a synod at Rome, condemning a tract of Felix against Alcuin, which, if it happened at all, must have happened in the first months of the year following (Mansi, xiii. 1030–32); and then, all of a sudden, Rome was electrified and horrified by an event which took place there, in which Campulus, already mentioned in the letter of Charles, as one of the bearers of the last communication between him and Adrian, was, with his brother Paschal, the prime mover, both holding high posts in that church at the time, which they had inherited from the late pope, their uncle.

"The pope," says Dean Milman, "was to ride in solemn pomp on St. George's day to the church of St. Lawrence, called *in Lucinâ*. On a sudden a band of armed men sprang from their ambush, the pope was thrown from his horse, and an awkward attempt was made to practise the oriental punishment of mutilation, as yet rare in the West, to put out his eyes and to cut out his tongue. Paschalis and Campulus, instead of defending the pope, dragged him to a neighbouring church, and there, before the high altar, attempted to complete the imperfect mutilation, beat him cruelly, and left him weltering in his blood . . . Leo recovered his sight and his speech . . . a faithful servant rescued him, and carried him to the church of St. Peter . . ." Thence he was removed to Spoleto, and thence to Paderborn, where Charles was then holding his court. "The reception of Leo was courteous and friendly. . . But at the same time arrived accusations of some unknown and mysterious nature against the pope. . . Charles did not decline, but postponed, till his arrival in Rome, the judicial investigation of these charges; but he continued to treat the pope with undiminished respect and familiarity. The return of Leo to Rome is said to have been one long triumph. . . The journey of Charles to Rome was slow . . ." It was not till towards the end of the following year that he even crossed the Alps, nor till the end of November that he entered Rome. Even then "he did not appear at Rome as the avowed protector and avenger of the injured pope against those who had so barbarously violated his sacred person. He assumed the office of judge; a synod was held, and a long and difficult investigation of the charges made against Leo by his enemies proceeded, without protest from the pope. Paschalis and Campulus were summoned to prove their charges. On their failure, they were condemned to death—a sentence commuted by the merciful interposition of the pope to imprisonment in France." Banishment it was *only* from the first, according to his biographer, and banishment to where the court then was. Their "followers," according to the same authority, shared their fate. The bishops shrank from further proceedings. And then, and not before, was Leo permitted to avouch his own innocence. "This solemn judgment had hardly passed when Christmas day arrived—the Christmas of the last year of the 8th century. . . Charles and all his sumptuous court . . . were present at the high services of the Nativity. The pope himself chanted the mass. . . At the close, the pope arose, advanced towards Charles with a splendid crown in his hands, placed it upon his brow, and proclaimed him Caesar Augustus. . . His words were lost in the acclamations of the soldiery, the people, and the clergy" (*Lat. Christianity*, b. iv. c. 12). Dean Milman recognises no connexion between this event and the outrage committed on Leo, with his being carried off to Paderborn to be caressed and befooled there, and then tried at Rome, to say nothing of the mild sentence passed on his accusers and outragers. But suppose that Leo was to be frightened, if he could not be persuaded, into compliance when the time came. On this hypothesis the outrage committed on him hardly needs explanation. The nephews of Adrian had often negotiated matters of delicacy with him before as messengers of their uncle. They were not employed to commit a crime, but to act a part; to terrify, not to kill; to paralyse, not to maim, his successor. What could have prevented their doing either had they been so minded? His cure was instantaneous; in the eyes of the uninitiated a miracle, because no more was ever intended than to let as much of his blood flow as would put him in fear of his life. He was then taken from place to place, as though his would-be murderers were still pursuing him, till at last he was brought to the king as the only person who could ensure his safety. Then, after a short sojourn there, the pope was sent home with the charges against him still hanging over his head, till it was convenient to Charles to move. And then Charles so timed his move as to reach Rome just as Christmas was impending. Arrived there, care was taken that Leo should have to go through a long ordeal before his innocence was established, and that his accusers and assailants should get off the next thing to scot free, while he was called upon to avouch his own innocence to the general public, though it had been already proved. Lastly, with regard to the final scene not having been pre-arranged, the earliest account of it—that of the Lauresha-mensian annals—seems much preferable, which says: "It was judged by the same council that listened to his purgation, that is to say, himself and all the bishops and Christian people composing it, that as the Greeks had no longer an emperor, but a woman at their head, and as king Charles was in possession of Rome, the seat of the Caesars, and all the other places held by him in Italy, France, and Germany, he should be named emperor; for since God had put all these territories in his hands, it was only just that he should accept that title as from God at their request. Thus, on his not liking to reject their petition, but placing himself with all lowliness in the hands of God conformably with their wishes, he assumed the name of emperor on Christmas day, and with it received consecration from pope Leo." All present were privy to it. Alcuin had been earnestly pressed to be present by his royal patron, but had as earnestly begged to be excused. All present were consenting parties to it in their respective ways—the people in theirs and Charles in his; Leo, possibly least

of all, in his. Draw back he could not. It would have been only to kick against the pricks. He sought to make the best of a bad bargain he could. It has been called the transfer of the empire from the Greeks to the Franks; and the French reverted to it, as such, in the last century with enthusiasm. It would, notwithstanding, have been more truly called the division of Christendom into two sections—the Eastern and Western churches, as they were styled in formal documents on both sides all through the middle ages—each with a separate creed of its own, the work of Charlemagne, as we shall shew reason for believing, in the teeth of the pope. Again there is a break in the reported proceedings of Leo. Haddan and Stubbs, indeed, assign A.D. 802 as the year in which his letters to archbishop Athelard and king Kenulph, restoring all ancient rights to the see of Canterbury, diverted from it in favour of Lichfield by his predecessor, on a pressing request from king Offa, were written (iii. 536–9). Eginhard never once mentions his name from A.D. 801 to 804, when, according to him, Leo expressed his desire to spend Christmas with Charles, but with what object we are not told. He passed eight days at Aix accordingly, was complimented with costly gifts, and escorted as far as Ravenna on his return home. Two years afterwards, according to the same authority, Charles held a great meeting of his notables, at which he settled a tripartite division of his dominions between his sons in case of his demise. The instrument embodying this arrangement was brought by Eginhard himself to the pope for his assent and signature, which was readily given. And then, *with that year*, the ten extant letters of Leo to Charles commence, and are supposed to cover a period of seven years from that time. But, in point of fact, they break off abruptly with A.D. 809, the last three leaving a gap of three years from then, and having been all penned under circumstances of unusual excitement, accounting fully for the mis-statements with which the last abounds, between fear of the Moors and reports of troubles at Constantinople. Practically, therefore, the whole correspondence consists of seven letters, and the space covered by them of three years, after which they cease. Cennius prints them in a sort of supplemental code, ranged chronologically, like the letters of the previous code. Certainly they are complaisant enough to warrant their being placed in a code by themselves, as they are more explicit on the "donation" and the rights established by it, in many particulars, than the original code (Praef. p. xxvi. and Diss. i. § 3–4). The fifth and sixth relate solely to English affairs, and are concerned with the deposition of Eardulf king of Northumbria, who, crossing over the sea, presented himself in turn to the emperor and the pope, and through their joint offices is said to have effected his restoration. Letters from Eanbald archbishop of York, from king Kenulph and Wado, to Charles, were forwarded by him to Leo, from whose comments on them we may infer that Kenulph was on as bad terms then with his own archbishop Wulfred as Eardulf with Eanbald (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 562, note b). But the protest of the English bishops against the innovation imposed on their archbishops to go to Rome for their pall, which is addressed to pope Leo, seems more likely to have been intended for the fourth of that name than for the third (*ibid.* 561, note a, though they leave the point open). Again it deserves to be noticed that none of the replies of Charles to these letters are forthcoming. The date which has been assigned to the seventh letter is A.D. 809. In that year Charles reopened the question about the creed. The papal biographer shrinks from hazarding a word on that delicate subject, beyond recording the protest of Leo, so far as it took the form of a votive gift, to which we shall return presently. Meanwhile this was the occasion of it. There was a Latin convent or congregation on Mount Olives—possibly the same that Rufinus of Aquileia frequented in his day—but Frank monks often lodged there now; and the very day on which the resolution was taken to crown Charles emperor, a monk named Zachariah, whom he had despatched to Jerusalem the year before with offerings to the holy places, opportunely returned with two more monks, bearing from the patriarch, in token of his benediction, the keys of the holy sepulchre and of Calvary, with a standard for Charles. All three monks were graciously received and entertained by him, remained to witness his coronation, and were sent back remunerated, as Eginhard says (*Annal.* A.D. 800). In 807 more monks arrived, including, this time, the abbat of Mount Olives and an envoy from the king of Persia. Two years afterwards a council was assembled at Aix in November to consider how the religious difficulty should be met that had occurred at Jerusalem. "A certain monk, named John," says Eginhard (A.D. 809), "first brought it on there." This authenticates both the man and the date. The monks of Mount Olives wrote their own account of it, in a letter that has fortunately been preserved, to Leo. They told him that one John, of the convent of St. Sabas, had accused them of heresy, and that the priests and people had assembled on the Sunday following over against the holy sepulchre, that is, in the space between it and Calvary, to question them on their faith and creed in consequence. "They replied that their faith was that of the Roman church, but that they knew that in their manner of saying the doxology . . . they used expressions which were not in the Greek; and that in the creed they spoke of the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, which was the reason why John had called them heretics. . . They defended themselves to the pope by saying that one of their number, named Leo, before leaving the West had heard the creed thus sung in the imperial chapel; that the emperor had himself made them a present of a homily of St. Gregory and the rule of St. Benedict, where the same expression occurred; and that it was so likewise in the faith of St. Athanasius. They acknowledge that it was not so in the Greek; and, therefore, they beg the pope to ascertain from the emperor how the creed was sung in his chapel, and then instruct them how to act for the future" (*Christendom's Divisions*, part ii. 72).

This account, perhaps, is anything but the artless composition it might appear at first sight. To bid the pontiff ascertain from the emperor how the creed was sung in his chapel, when they had stated this already themselves, and then instruct

them how to act, was as much as to intimate that the only course open to him would be to uphold them on that point against the Greeks. When they stated that one of their number had been their informant, they must have well known that they could have confirmed his testimony by that of their abbat had they pleased. Indeed the probability would be, that they were aware the emperor had himself upheld his version of the creed against the late pope, who maintained the Greek version of it to be that of the church. Then, again, the works quoted by them, in support of the *chapel* version of it, call for remark. St. Gregory the Great had been apocrisiarius at Constantinople; and at least three of his works were then circulating in a Greek dress, and extremely popular. A monastic rule like that of St. Benedict would be sure to procure respect in the East. Finally "*the Faith of St. Athanasius*," which they reserve to the last, on a subject so grave, might well be thought to leave the Greeks without reply. No other three works, in short, on the Latin side could have been chosen for their purpose so well. Some further remarks on the last of them, in reference to questions of our own times, may be not out of place. (1) By "the faith of St. Athanasius," as shewn by the subject on which it is quoted, must certainly be meant the creed called after him still. (2) This is, as certainly too, the first authentic mention of it in any known document with a name to it, whose date cannot be questioned. (3) Equally certain is it, in conclusion, that the first use to which there is authentic evidence that it was turned, was to be quoted against the Greeks on the procession of the Holy Ghost. Leo forwarded their letter to Charles, enclosed in a short one, which Cennius is pleased to omit, from himself. He there mentions having heard subsequently from Thomas patriarch of Jerusalem, advising that he should commend them to the emperor. "We have sent them," he says, "a profession of the Catholic faith, which should be held steadfast and inviolate by all members of our holy Catholic and apostolic church." His profession of faith, which is a long one, is stated to be that of the holy Roman Catholic and apostolic church, and is addressed to all the churches of the East (Mansi, xiii. 978). It speaks of the Holy Ghost as "proceeding from the Father and the Son" in one place; and as "proceeding equally from Both," in another—equally sent by Both, in other words—mission and procession being considered synonymous in those days, when not expressly distinguished. At the end of the whole we read: "Him that believes not according to this faith the holy Catholic and apostolic church condemns." This profession, he adds, he would send the emperor for perusal. Whether it ever reached the East we are not told. If it ever reached the emperor, Leo, so far as we know, never got thanked for it. Leo had become more tractable since the outrage, but there was still a point on which he was as unwilling as ever: and that point was the creed. Nothing short of his giving way on that point would satisfy Charles. Accordingly the letter which he had written to the emperor could have been barely received when a deputation started from Aix to Rome, consisting of the bishop of Worms, the abbat of Corbey, and the abbat of St. Michael in Lorraine, Smaragdus, the best known of the three, who reports their proceedings at full length, proving that their whole mission was confined to this one point. The deputies made the most of the arguments which they had evidently been told to use. The pope admitted having authorised the singing of the creed, but was peremptory that he never had authorised the singing it with the "*Filioque*" clause, and also that he never would. The emperor was quite free to drop the singing of the creed in his chapel, if he liked. The comment on this finale by Eginhard is curt enough. "Nec aliquid tamen definitum est, propter rerum, *ut videbatur*, magnitudinem." On their departure, Leo took steps to bind his successors for ever to the firm stand he had thus made; and this act of his the papal biographer takes care to report, though he omits all mention of what had led to it. Midway among his various gifts to churches it is recorded of him, that he caused two silver plates to be made, and affixed to the confession, or shrine, of St. Peter, in the basilica of that name; on one of which the creed was engraved in Greek, on the other in Latin; and in each case without those words "*and from the Son.*" The Greeks never forgot that act of Leo during the controversy which ensued. Photius appeals to it in writing to the patriarch of Aquileia (§ 4), St. Peter Damian, two centuries later, testifies to their being *in situ* then (*Opusc.* xxxviii.). Veccus patriarch of Constantinople, two more centuries on, declares they were kept hanging up still (Allat. *Graec. Orthod.* i. 173). At length the successors of Leo yielded to the successors of Charlemagne, broke, as it appears to the present writer, with the church of the Fathers, by turning their backs upon its oecumenical creed, that had maintained its unity till then unscathed, and received as their reward the power of bestowing crowns in Europe, and of being crowned themselves. Benedict VIII., according to Berno, deferring to the urgent request of his benefactor Henry II. of Germany, sanctioned, A.D. 1014, the recital of the interpolated creed in the Roman Mass for the first time.

To finish with Leo. No more letters would appear to have passed between Charles and him for three years after his *ultimatum* had been delivered at Aix. Eginhard never again names him, during the lifetime of Charles, except to say that the ambassadors of the Greek emperor Michael having prevailed upon Charles to ratify the treaty drawn up between him and the late emperor Nicephorus, in which his own title was recognised, received it in duplicate from Leo in the church of St. Peter, A.D. 812, on their way home. But no message to him from Charles on that occasion is reported. One of the envoys, Michael metropolitan of Synnada, brought him a flattering letter, indeed, from the then patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus, which may have comforted him for his stiffness about the creed. For, though it flatters him, it is uncompromising in its orthodoxy: rehearsing the councils by name, and professing obedience to them all, asserting of the Holy Ghost too, distinctly, that He has His being from the Father, not indeed by generation, but by procession. The three letters addressed by Leo to the emperor in that and the following year

must have found the latter breaking up, as his death was expected A.D. 813, and actually took place A.D. 814. He had not been dead a twelvemonth, before a fresh conspiracy was formed against Leo; but Leo, now free to act for himself, far from interceding for his enemies, put them all to death without scruple, and justified his severity to Bernhard king of Italy, whom the emperor Louis had despatched to investigate the matter, on hearing of it. But Leo fell ill soon afterwards, shewing that he had overtaxed his strength; and a fresh outburst might have proved more successful, had it not been quelled at once by Bernhard. The year following, A.D. 816, May 25, Leo died, having held office twenty years and five months exactly. M. Rohrbacher says he is honoured on June 12, but he has never been canonised. For more, see his *Hist.* bks. liii.–v.; Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv.; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, bk. iv.; Gieseler, per. iii. div. i. part ii. c. ii. § 5; Jaffé's *Regest. Pontif. Rom.*; Cennius, *Mon. Pontif. Dom.* 2 vols.; *Anastasius in Vit.*; Eginhard, *Annal.* &c. [E. S. Ff.]

LEO (8), second bishop of Brundusium, A.D. 172–182 (Ughelli, ix. 11; Cappelletti, xxi. 115). Cappelletti thinks he may have been the martyr Leontius of Brundusium. [C. H.]

LEO (9), bishop of Sipontum (Siponto), acc. c. A.D. 256, died c. A.D. 293. (Sarnelli, *Vescovi Sipontini*, p. 23; Cappelletti, xx. 578; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vii. 814 and note.) [R. S. G.]

LEO (10), third bishop of Die, before A.D. 325. (*Gall. Ch.* xvi. 511.) [R. T. S.]

LEO (11), bishop of Samos; probably during the reign of Constantius, A.D. 337–61. (*Acta SS.* Boll. iii. April. 625; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 929.) [L. D.]

LEO (12) I., second bishop of Vicohabentia (Voghenza) A.D. 364. (Cappelletti, iv. 15, 224.) [C. H.]

LEO (13) II., eleventh bishop of Voghenza c. 611. (Cappelletti, iv. 21; Ughelli, ii. 518.) [C. H.]

LEO (14), bishop and martyr in the time of the Arian struggles under Constantius and Liberius. De Rossi discovered his inscription, which perplexed him much, as it purported to be erected by Laurentia his wife. De Rossi supposes that April 11, now dedicated to pope Leo the Great, was originally dedicated to this martyr. (De Rossi, *Bullett.* 1864, p. 84.) [G. T. S.]

LEO (15), generally supposed to have been bishop of Feretrum (Montefeltro) c. A.D. 368. It is doubtful, however, whether he was not only a presbyter of that place. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 285.) Ughelli (ii. 844) omits him. [R. S. G.]

LEO (16), bishop of Horta (Orte), probably c. A.D. 384, and said to have held that see for twenty-three years. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 734; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vi. 33.) [R. S. G.]

LEO (17) I., 28th bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia from A.D. 380 to 395. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* ii. 41.) [J. de S.]

LEO (18) I., tenth bishop of Acheruntia (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 13). Cappelletti computes his period as A.D. 382–405 (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xx. 420, 450). [C. H.]

LEO (19) II., seventeenth bishop of Acheruntia, c. 796–799. (Ughelli, vii. 13; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xx. 420, 450.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (20), third bishop of Troyes, in the 4th century. (*Gall. Ch.* xii. 484). [R. T. S.]

LEO, bishop of Ancyra. [LEONTIUS (8).]

LEO (21), bishop of Mopte, or Moste, a town of Mauretania Sitifensis (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 654), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 143, 223; ii. 53; iii. 2). He was also present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 418, and probably at that of Milevis A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176; Innoc. *Ep.* 27; Bruns. *Conc.* i. 195.) [H. W. P.]

LEO (22), bishop of Oppinum in Mauritania Tingitana, delegate of his province at the synod of Carthage, A.D. 419. (Mansi, iv. 438; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 251.) [R. S. G.]

LEO (23), bishop of Psynchus in Egypt, at the council of Ephesus, 431, according to one reading (Mansi, v. 590 B), but the reading of other lists is Theon or Theonas (Le Quien, ii. 615). [C. H.]

LEO (24), bishop of Turiasso (Tarazona in Aragon), slain by the soldiers of the Roman general Basilius (Idatius, *Chron.* in *Pat. Lat.* li. 882). See Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xlix. 81. [C. H.]

LEO (25), seventh bishop of Teate (Chieti), apparently in the 5th century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xxi. 96.) [C. H.]

LEO (26), placed first among those present at the synod of Angers, A.D. 453 (Mansi, vii. 900 and Sirmond's note, 902 C), probably metropolitan of Bourges. The epistle which he and two other bishops addressed to the bishops and presbyters of Tertia Lugdunensis, and which was once reckoned ep. 96 of Leo the Great (Cave, i. 444; Tillem. xvi. 770), will be found in *Pat. Lat.* liv. 1239. [R. T. S.]

LEO (27), bishop of Sabrata in the Provincia Tripolitana, one of the bishops banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 60; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 269.) [R. S. G.]

LEO (28), eighth bishop of Nantes, in the 5th century. (*Gall. Ch.* xiv. 796.) [R. T. S.]

LEO (29), sixteenth bishop of Sens, probably the prelate of that name addressed, together with Heraclius bishop of Paris and Theodosius bishop of Auxerre, in the third letter of St. Remigius, written about 512, in reply to one of theirs, which is lost (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxv. 966; cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 159). During his episcopate king Childebert desired to establish a bishopric at Melun, which was within his territory, while Sens, its diocesan city, was in the kingdom of Theodebert. Leo strenuously resisted this diminution of his dignity in a letter to Childebert which is extant (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 11, 12; Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 31; *Gall. Christ.* xii. instr. 1), expressing his wonder that this unprecedented step should be attempted

without the concurrence of Theodebert, whose subject he himself was. The project was never carried out, and Melun remained in the diocese of Sens. He is commemorated April 22 (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 960; Boll. Apr. iii. 31). For his life, see *Gall. Christ.* xii. 6; Boll. Apr. iii. 31–2, and *Hist. Litt.* iii. 244–5. [S. A. B.]

LEO (30), thirteenth bishop of Tours for six months, cir. A.D. 526. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 31; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 18; Tillem. *Mém.* x. 782.) [S. A. B.]

LEO (31) I., twenty-fourth bishop of Nola, c. 533 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xix. 583, 632). Ughelli thinks that this is the bishop Leo to whom Marcellus addressed his life of Felix the presbyter of Nola (Boll. *Acta SS.* 14 Jan. i. 946), but there is no actual proof of it, as is remarked by Bolland and Tillemont (*Mém.* iv. 227). [C. H.]

LEO (32) II., twenty-seventh bishop of Nola, A.D. 620. (Cappelletti, xix. 584, 632; but see Ughelli, vi. 253.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (33) III., 30th bishop of Nola c. 700 (Cappelletti, xix. 585, 632). Ughelli (vi. 253) reckons him the 25th. [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (34), fourth bishop of Agde, said to have been sitting in 541. Nothing is known of him except a story related by Gregory of Tours in the *De Glor. Mart.* i. 79. This story is put by Baronius under the year 583 (an. 583, xlvii.), but the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* believe that Gomacharius was ruling Agde about 540 (vi. 667). [S. A. B.]

LEO (35), fourth bishop of Volterra 566. (Ughelli, i. 1427; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 215, 263.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (36) of Capua, eighth bishop of Cales (Calvi) in Campania, 557–567. (Cappelletti, xx. 184, 193.) [C. H.]

LEO (37), a bishop in Corsica, to whom Gregory the Great in 591 committed the visitation and care of the destitute see of Saona. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. 78, 80 in Migne, lxxvii. 532, 534.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (38), seventh bishop of Catania; he was accused of crimes of which, after a personal investigation, Gregory the Great declared him innocent. He received several letters from Gregory (A.D. 592, 596, 600). (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 33, lib. vi. indict. xiv. 33, lib. x. indict. iii. 22 in Migne, lxxvii. 572, 824, 1081; Pirro, *Sic. Sac.* i. 517.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (39), bishop of Fano, A.D. 589–658. He received a letter from pope Gregory the Great in 596 desiring him to protect and provide for a certain monk Joannes (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. vi. indict. xiv. 47 in Migne, lxxvii. 833). He is the 6th known bishop of the see, succeeding Eusebius after a long interval in 589 and preceding Fortunatus. (Ughelli, i. 658; Cappelletti, vii. 337, 431.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (40), bishop of Novara, the authority for whom is the life of Gaudentius the founder of the see (cap. iv. § 21 in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 421). Leo's period is still to be determined, and the chronology of the see of Novara is very defective before the 9th century. Baronius (*Mart. Rom.* Jan. 22, note f) found from the records of the cathedral that he was contemporary with pope Paul I., *i.e.* cir. 760, and this date is accepted by Tillemont (x. 759). Lazarus A. Cotta in his *Museo Novarese* (p. 19) regards Leo as the twenty-fourth bishop, from a little after 680 until before 723, which reckoning is in the main that of Ughelli (iv. 695) and Cappelletti (xiv. 449, 526), who place him cir. 700, between Laureolus and Ambrosius. [C. H.]

LEO (41), bishop of Haran, an adherent of the orthodox faith, to whom Elias, a Jacobite bishop, addressed an apologetic letter which is still extant, c. A.D. 630 (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 467). Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* ii. 977) supposes that both this bishop and his predecessor Constantine belonged not to the Haran (Charrae) in Mesopotamia, but to a little town of the same name in Coele-Syria. Ceillier (xii. 100) assigns this bishop to A.D. 740, because Elias cites and rejects the doctrine of John of Damascus who lived during the reigns of Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus, A.D. 717–775. [L. D.]

LEO (42) II., twelfth bishop of Catania, c. 778, surnamed THAUMATURGUS from his reputed miracles. There is a short account of him in Basil's *Menology* (Feb. 20). Narratives in greater detail are given by Pirro (*Sic. Sac.* i. 518) and Bolland (*Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 222). (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 636.) [C. H.]

LEO (43), bishop of Salerno, who subscribed a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761 (Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* 195). He is reckoned eighteenth bishop of the see. (Ughelli, vii. 328; Cappelletti, xx. 285, 324.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (44), bishop of Albano, who subscribed a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761 (Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* 195). He is placed tenth in the see between Tiberius and Eustasius or Eustachius. (Ughelli, i. 250; Cappelletti, i. 659, 678.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (45), bishop of Viterbo, c. 767, according to a single MS. record, which is relied upon by the Viterbians as a proof of the antiquity of their cathedral (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vi. 79). Ughelli (i. 1401) makes no mention of this bishop. [C. H.]

LEO (46), bishop of Citta di Castello (Tifernum) in Umbria, present at the Lateran synod in 769 (Mansi, xii. 715; Hefele, § 343). Cappelletti (iv. 590, 746) reckons him the tenth known bishop of the see. Ughelli (i. 1318) does not give him. [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (47), archbishop and forty-fifth bishop of Ravenna (Cappelletti, ii. 73, 184). Anastasius in his life of pope Stephen III. relates that on the death of Sergius in 769, Leo, then archdeacon, was canonically elected to succeed, but that Maurice duke of Ariminum, in concert with Desiderius king of the Lombards, appointed the layman Michael, whom they requested pope Stephen III. to consecrate. Anastasius adds that Maurice carried Leo captive to Ariminum; that the pope not only refused to consecrate the intruder but sent messengers to Ravenna,

accompanied by the envoys of king Charles, who were then at Rome, and succeeded in putting down Michael, who was brought prisoner to Rome. In 770 Leo was consecrated by the pope, who delegated to him authority over the exarchate which Pippin had recently conferred on the Roman see, but of which the pope had no more than a titular possession. In 772 Stephen III. was succeeded by Hadrian I., and Charles was sole king of the Franks. In 773 Charles marched into Italy against the Lombard power, and, if the Ravenna writer Agnellus is to be credited, it was archbishop Leo who invited Charles, while the person who guided the Frank army across the Alps was Leo's deacon Martin, himself afterwards archbishop. There seems no reason why Leo may not have engaged in this scheme as well as Hadrian. In 774, when Desiderius was dethroned and the Lombard power broken up by Charles, Leo began to exercise independent authority of a civil nature in the territory he was appointed to administer for the pope, as appears from many bitter complaints in Hadrian's letters to Charles, A.D. 774, 775. Reviving the title borne by the Byzantine viceroys residing at Ravenna down to about 751 [EUTYCHIUS (33)], Leo even styled himself exarch of Italy. As the temporal dominion of the Roman see was then springing into existence, Leo of Ravenna, evidently a dangerous rival, acquires a measure of historical importance. Ravenna, as the latest capital of the empire for the Italian dominions, had some advantages over Rome. The towns grouped around Ravenna had long been accustomed to look to that city as the central authority. Consequently on the downfall of the Lombard domination and the departure of Charles in 774, the archbishop had found no difficulty in obtaining recognition in his own name. Besides the familiarity of the old obedience, the territory itself was beyond the power of Rome, the Apennines lying between. There was every appearance therefore at this juncture that the pontiff of the Adriatic capital would be the first to constitute himself a territorial potentate. Hadrian's letter to Charles in 774 (ep. 52) is especially interesting for its information on the subject of this rivalry. It enumerates the towns in which Leo was confessedly acknowledged. They are found nearly all on the great road which, commencing at Ariminum, runs at the base of the Apennines in a straight course to Placentia. Commencing from the south there were Caesena (Cesena), Forum Popilii (Forlim Popoli), Forum Livii (Forli), Faventia (Faenza), Forum Cornelii (Imola), Bononia (Bologna). These, with Ravenna itself and two others, Comaclum and Bobium, virtually comprised the exarchate. Comaclum (Comacchio) lay in the maritime marshes north of the capital. The position of Bobium is less certain, but this town is not to be supposed the Bobbio of Columbanus, which was quite unconnected with this district. Spruner's map puts Bobium at Galeata, far up in the Apennines near the source of the Vitis or Bidens (now Ronco or Bedese), a stream running down to Ravenna. Galatea (Galeata) according to Rampoldi (*Corografia dell' Italia*, s. v.) was once a fortified place. Besides this district there was another, the Italian Pentapolis, occupied by a chain of coast towns extending from Ariminum (Rimini) to Ancona and Auximum (Osimo), which Hadrian claimed and Leo pretended to; but these were outside the exarchate and the pope allows were better affected to Rome. Hadrian's letter also shews that Leo's emissaries were then in France busily seeking to forward their master's projects at the expense of the Roman see. Ravenna however had neither the pontifical history nor the political associations that could compete with Rome, and the Petrine traditions in the church of Ravenna (*vid.* Agnellus's *Life of Apollinaris*) were no rival for those of the older capital. Leo died Feb. 14, 777, and was succeeded by John, who is variously reckoned John VI., John VII., John VIII. (Anastas. Biblioth. *Life of Steph. III.* §§ 282, 283, in *Pat. Lat.* cxxviii. 1158; Agnellus, *Lib. Pontif. Raven.* in *Pat. Lat.* cvi. 733; Hadrian. Pap. *Epp.* 52–55 in *Pat. Lat.* xcviii. 283 sq.; Rubeus, *Hist. Ravennat.* p. 199; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 343; Ceillier, xii. 118.) [C. H.]

LEO (48), the name of several bishops present at the seventh synod in 787, viz. the bishops of—

Aleus or Alii (Alini) in Phrygia Pacatiana. (Mansi, xii. 997 D, 1108, xiii. 148, 371 B, 394, 628; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 807.)

Algiza. (Mansi, xii. 996 A, where LEONTIUS is the Greek reading, 1097, xiii. 142, 367, 386, 626.)

Amisus or Pompeiopolis. (Mansi, xii. 997 A, xiii. 374 B, 391; Le Quien, i. 536.)

Andida, *vid.* Sandida.

Ariste, *vid.* Neocaesarea.

Aspendus in Pamphylia. (Mansi, xii. 996 E, xiii. 145, 370 C, 391; Le Quien, i. 1002.)

Baris or Bare, in Pisidia. (Mansi, xii. 1000 A, xiii. 149, 371 C; Le Quien, i. 1049.) The Moesian town Odyssus or Odessus on the Euxine, somewhere near Varna, was also called Bares, and Le Quien (i. 1226) repeats this Leo under the see of Odyssus.

Carpathus in the Aegean. (Mansi, xii. 1153, xiii. 141, 367, 628; Le Quien, i. 948.)

Cisamus in Crete. (Mansi, xiii. 146, 370 B, 391; Le Quien, ii. 272.)

Cius in Bithynia. (Mansi, xii. 1096, xiii. 141, 367, 372, 625; Le Quien, i. 634.)

Corydallus in Lycia. (Mansi, xii. 997 B, 1111, xiii. 147, 370 E, 394, 629; Le Quien, i. 980.)

Dida, *vid.* Sandida.

Docimium in Phrygia Salutaris. (Mansi, xii. 1108, xiii. 148, 371 B, 395, 628; Le Quien, i. 854.)

Eumenia in Phrygia Pacatiana. (Mansi, xii. 997 D, xiii. 148, 371 B, 394, 628 where, and at xii. 1105 the reading is LEONTIUS; Le Quien, i. 808.)

Heraclea in Thracia. (Mansi, xiii. 135, 379; Le Quien, i. 1109.)

Iconium (Cogni), the metropolis of the province of Lycaonia. (Mansi, xii. 1152, xiii. 137, 366, 382, 625; Le Quien, i. 1071.)

Limyra in Lycia. (Mansi, xii. 997 B where the Greek reads LEONTIUS, 1106, xiii. 147, 370 E, 394, 627; Le Quien, i. 972.)

Linoë in Bithynia. (Mansi, xii. 996 E where the reading is LEONTIUS, 1104, xiii. 145, 370, 627; Le Quien, i. 657.)

Madytus in Thracia. (Mansi, xii. 996 B, 1100, xiii. 143 where and at 367 the reading is LEONIDES, 626; Le Quien, i. 1141.) [LEONIDES (7).]

Mesembria in Thracia. (Mansi, xii. 1097, xiii. 142, 367, 386, 625; Le Quien, i. 1181.)

Minzus, also written Minizus, Mnizus, Mizus, in the province of Galatia Prima. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 482; Mansi, xii. 996 C, xiii. 143, 367, 387.)

Neo-Caesarea in Bithynia, also called Ariste. (Mansi, xii. 996 D, 1104, xiii. 145, 370 B, 390, 627; Le Quien, i. 629.)

Odyssus, *vid.* of Bares.

Phocaea in the province of Asia. (Mansi, xii. 996 B, 1100, xiii. 141, 367, 386, 626; Le Quien, i. 736.)

Phoenix, on the southern coast of Crete. (Mansi, xiii. 146, 370, 392; *Or. Christ.* ii. 268.)

Poemaninus in the Hellespont (Mansi, xii. 996 C, 1101, xiii. 143, 367 C, 390 where the Greek reads LEONTIUS, 626); Le Quien (i. 769) recognises Leontius as the bishop.

Porthmus in Euboea. (Mansi, xii. 1109, xiii. 145, 370, 391, 629; Le Quien, ii. 204.)

Rhodes, the metropolis of the Cyclades. (Mansi, xii. 1152, xiii. 137, 366, 382, 625; Le Quien, i. 925.)

Sandida (also written Andida and Dida), in Pamphylia. (Mansi, xii. 1000 A, 1108, xiii. 149, 371 D, 395, 629; Le Quien, i. 1029.)

Sebaste in Phrygia Pacatiana. (Mansi, xii. 1109, xiii. 147, 371 B, 629; Le Quien, i. 806.)

Sibela (also written Sibila, Sibilla, Sibylla). Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 1083) thinks that this is an error for Psibela in Lycaonia, although Anthimus bishop of Verinopolis, another name of Psibela, is also amongst the subscribers. (Mansi, xii. 1000 A where the Greek reads LEONTIUS, 1109, xiii. 144, 149, 374 A, 398, 629.)

Tracula. (Mansi, xii. 996 D, 1101, xiii. 143, 370 A, 390, 626.)

Trajanopolis (also written Tranopolis and Trannpolis) in Phrygia Salutaris (Mansi, xii. 997 D, 1108 A, xiii. 628 B; Wiltsch, *Handbook*, i. 448). Le Quien (i. 803) places Philip bishop of Trannpolis or Tranopolis (Mansi, xiii. 147, 394) at this Trajanopolis. Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* vii. 891) on insufficient ground identifies the place with Trani in Italy, and Cappelletti (xxi. 49) copies him.

Troas in the Hellespontine province. (Mansi, xii. 996 C, 1101, xiii. 144, 370 A, 626; Le Quien, i. 779.)

Trocmada, also written Trocnada, in the province of Galatia Secunda. (Mansi, xii. 997 B, 1104, xiii. 146, 370, 391, 627; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 494.) [C. H.]

LEO (49), bishop of the island of Zacynthus. (Mansi, xiii. 146, 369, 391; Le Quien, ii. 232.) [C. H.]

LEO (50) (LEONTIUS), eighteenth bishop of Coutances, in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 866.) [S. A. B.]

LEO (51), a doubful bishop of Toulon (*Gall. Christ.* i. 743), at the commencement of the 9th century. [S. A. B.]

LEO (52), one of the bishops who subscribed a placitum of 804 and believed to have been eleventh bishop of Trieste (Cappelletti, viii. 682, 716). Ughelli (v. 577) does not mention him. [C. H.]

LEO, confessor at Viguentia. [LEUS.]

LEO (53), a presbyter of Accinipus and another of Gemella, at the council of Elvira in 305. (Mansi, ii. 108.) [T. W. D.]

LEO (54), Roman priest who bore a letter from pope Coelestine, cir. 425, to Africa. (Coelest. ep. 2 in *Pat. Lat.* l. 423.) [C. H.]

LEO, Armenian martyr. [LEONTIUS.]

LEO (55), a priest in the diocese of Narbonne, who, together with Sabinianus, another priest, exceeded due measure in the punishment of an adulterer. A letter of pope Leo the Great on the subject is extant. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. liv 1200; Ceillier, x. 200; Tillem. *Mem.* xv. 404.) [S. A. B.]

LEO (56), minister of Euric king of the Visigoths, and poet, principally known from the writings of his friend Sidonius Apollinaris. The date of his appointment to his office is unknown, but cannot have been previous to 466, the year of Euric's accession. He belonged to the city of Narbonne (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* ix. 15; Carm. xxiii., Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 656, 743), and counted among his ancestors the orator Fronto, whose eloquence he was thought to have inherited (viii. 3, col. 591). At the court of Euric he was "consiliorum principis et moderator et arbiter" (Ennodius, *Vita S. Epiphanii*, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxiii. 220), and exercised also quaestorial functions (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* viii. 3, col. 591). Though serving a zealous and persecuting Arian prince (cf. vii. 6, col. 569–572), he appears to have remained a Catholic, and on several occasions used his influence in favour of orthodox prelates. In 474 he lent his aid to Epiphanius the bishop of Ticinum in his embassy from the emperor Julius Nepos to the court of Euric (Ennodius, *ibid.* col. 220–1). In the following year, when the Auvergne had fallen under his master's power, and Sidonius was imprisoned at Livia, Leo obtained his release (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* viii. 3, col. 591). He is mentioned as still living in one of his friend's letters written about 483 (ix. 15, col. 636), and if we may believe Gregory of Tours, he survived Euric and held the same post under his son and successor Alaric, for he relates that Leo was supernaturally punished with blindness for lowering the roof of the church at Narbonne, which contained the bones of St. Felix, to afford an unobstructed view from Alaric's palace windows (*De Glor. Mart.* cap. xcii.).

He had the reputation of being one of the most eloquent men of his age (Sid. Apoll. Carm. xxiii. col. 743; *Epist.* viii. 3, col. 591; Ennodius, *ibid.* col. 220–1), and added an intimate acquaintance with the sciences (Carm. xiv. col. 710–11) and jurisprudence. As an historian he might have surpassed Tacitus (iv. 22, col. 527), as a legist Claudius Appius (carm. xxiii. col. 743), and as a poet Horace (*ibid.*). He was "rex Castalii chori" (ix. 13, col. 630), and is characterized, with reference probably to the ingenuity of his versification, by the epithet of "catus" (Carm. ix. col. 703). In character he was careless of riches, and led an abstemious and austere life at a most luxurious court (viii. 3, 591–2). See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 627–632; Tillem. *Mém.* xvi. 220, 256, 264, 484. [S. A. B.]

LEO (57), a monk of Oasis but a native of Cappadocia, visited in the reign of Tiberius II.,

by John Moschus and Sophronius. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* cap. 112.) [C. H.]

LEO (58) (popularly ST. LIÉ), abbat at Mantuniacum (Mantenay-St.-Lié), on the Seine, two leagues below Troyes. The monastery was founded by St. Romanus, and, as was said, received a charter from Clovis I. About the year 533 St. Romanus became bishop of Rheims (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 33), and thereupon Leo succeeded him in the government of the monastery. (Usuardus, Mai. 25; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 73–5; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 531; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 114, Paris, 1668.) [S. A. B.]

LEO (59), ex-consul in Sicily, twice mentioned in letters of Gregory the Great, in 590 and 591 (*Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. epp. 3, 72; Migne, lxxvii. 446, 527). [A. H. D. A.]

LEO (60), the name of some monks and ecclesiastics at the seventh synod in 787, viz.:

i. A presbyter representing the see of Side (Mansi, xiii. 366, 382, 625; Le Quien, i. 1000); an oeconomus representing the see of Sozopolis (xii. 1000 A, where the Greek reads LEONTIUS, 1108, xiii. 629; Le Quien, i. 1044); an oeconomus representing the see of Zoropolis (xii. 1109), which town is thought by Hardouin to be meant for Sozopolis in Thrace. Zoropolis and Sozopolis occur both in one list. There was a Euphemius or Euthymius bishop of Sozopolis at this synod (Mansi, xiii. 371 D), and Le Quien (i. 1182) assigns him to the Thracian Sozopolis.

ii. A presbyter of the apostolic church, ruler of monasteries and defensor of the church (xiii. 135).

iii. The following hegumeni of monasteries, viz. of—

St. George of the Cells (xiii. 151, 631).
Leucus or Aqua Alba (151, 631).
St. Deipara of Saldala (154, 631).
St. Cyriacus (155, 632). [C. H.]

LEO (61), a Gallic monk, who with several companions, Dominicus, Theodorus, Arimundus, Gregorius, Joannes, and others, retired in the reign of Charlemagne to Mount Olivet. (Baluze, *Miscellanea*, t. ii. p. 84, ed. 1761; Ceillier, xii. 218.) [C. H.]

LEO (62), subdeacon, commemorated with the presbyter Corsicus, June 30 (Usuard. *Mart.*). The *Rom. Mart.* calls his companion the presbyter Caius. [C. H.]

LEOBALDUS (LETHBALDUS, LEBARDUS, LEOBARDUS), archbishop and twenty-fifth bishop of Tours, said in the chronicles to have sat six years, but Le Cointe assigns two years only for his episcopate, A.D. 622–624. His successor had certainly been consecrated in 625. (Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, pp. 89, 213; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 622 vi., 624 ii.; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 27.) [S. A. B.]

LEOBARDUS (1), Jan. 18 (popularly ST. LIBERD), a recluse at Majus Monasterium (Marmoutier), near Tours, in the time of Gregory bishop of Tours, cir. 583. (Greg. Turon. *Vit. Patr.* cap. 20; Boll. *Acta SS.* 18 Jan. ii. 198; Ceillier, xi. 366, 382.) On Marmoutier, see *Gall. Chr.* xiv. 192. [C. H.]

LEOBARDUS (2), Feb. 25, a disciple of Columbanus and founder of the monastery Cella-Leobardi, afterwards called Maursmünster near Saverne or Zabern, in the north of Alsace, A.D. 586. He died in 618. (*Gall. Chr.* v. 866; Le Cointe, *Annal.* ann. 586 xlii., 618 xlix.) [C. H.]

LEOBARDUS (3), nineteenth bishop of Nantes, present at the first council of Rheims, held probably in 625, and, according to Gams, at that of Clichy also, but his name does not appear among the list of the subscriptions in Mansi. (Flodoardus, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 5 in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 102; Mansi, x. 611–12; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 800; Gams, *Series Episc.* 581.) [S. A. B.]

LEOBATIUS, first prior of the monastery of Senaparia (Senevières), in the 6th century, appointed by Ursus the founder (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Patr.* cap. 18; Ruinart's note on the passage; *Gall. Chr.* xiv. 191). He was commemorated with Ursus on July 28. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 563.) [C. H.]

LEOBERICUS, of Urgel. [LEUBERICUS.]

LEOBERTUS, thirty-fifth bishop of Chartres, succeeding Agatheus, and followed by Hadò, said to have been in occupation of the see in A.D. 706. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1102.) [S. A. B.]

LEOBGYTHA. [LIOBA.]

LEOBINUS (LEUBINUS, popularly LUBIN), ST., seventeenth bishop of Chartres in the 6th century; he died about the year 556. A biography of him survives, which, though positive testimony as to its date is wanting, the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (iii. 357–8, 483), think was written some years after his feast had been publicly established, *i.e.* about A.D. 590, by one of the clergy of the church of Chartres. They attach a high value to its fulness of detail, order, precision, and sincerity, and reject the theories that it was the work of the author of the lives of St. Avitus abbat of Piciac and St. Maximin, or of Venantius Fortunatus, and allow but little weight to the damaging suggestion that expressions in it imply that St. Leobinus was familiar with the rule of St. Benedict, which was not introduced into France till after his death. Duchesne gave some fragments of this life, but it was first published in full by Labbe in his *Bibliotheca* (tom. ii.), then by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 123–8, Paris, 1668), and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 350). It is one of the lives included in Baillet's *Vies des Saints* (March, xiv. tom. iii. 185–190). The circumstantial account of his wanderings while a monk affords an interesting picture of the country, though, perhaps, of a later time than is pretended.

Though his biographer does not mention it, Leobinus was present at the fifth council of Orleans in 549, and was one of the bishops who sat in judgment on Saffaracus the bishop of Paris, and whose sentence was confirmed at the second council of Paris, held about A.D. 555 (Mansi, ix. 136, 740). According to an old MS. codex of the church of Chartres, he was the first to define clearly the boundaries of the diocese, and sat about twelve years (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1096; Mabill. *ibid.* n.).

Leobinus is commemorated in the diocese of

Chartres on two days of the year, March 14 and Sept. 15, but in other churches on the latter only. [S. A. B.]

LEOCADIA (1), Dec. 9, virgin and martyr at Toledo, in the reign of Diocletian, under the praeses Dacianus. Three churches are dedicated to her in Toledo, of which the basilica of St. Leocadia is the first and most famous. (*Esp. Sag.* vi. 309, 320; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* vi. 390; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 334; *Mart.* Usuard. Adon.; Tillem. v. 57.) [F. D.]

LEOCADIA (2), grandmother of Gregory of Tours. (*Vita S. Greg. Tur.* i. Bouquet, ii. 129.) [S. A. B.]

LEOCADIUS, one of the principal senators of Gaul, a reputed descendant of Vettius Epagathus, the martyr of Lyon. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* i. 29, *Glor. Confess.* cap. 92.) [C. H.]

LEODARDUS (LETARDUS), fourth bishop of Amiens, cir. 416. (*Gall. Chr.* x. 1152.) [C. H.]

LEODEBAUDUS (LEODEBALDUS), tenth bishop of Nevers, according to the *Gallia Christiana*, omitted in Coquille's series. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxxviii. 1170; Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, sub fin., Paris, 1612.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEBERTUS, thirtieth bishop of Orleans, about the commencement of the 8th century. (*Gallia Christ.* viii. 1417.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEBODUS, first abbat of St. Anianus (St. Aignan), in the diocese of Orleans, and founder of the monastery of Fleury on the Loire in the same diocese, by his testament in the second year of Clovis II., *i.e.* A.D. 639. (*Gall. Chr.* viii. 1520, 1538; Ceillier, xiii. 148.) [C. H.]

LEODEBOLDUS, bishop of Lisieux, A.D. 662 or 663. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxxviii. 1181; *Gallia Christiana*, xi. 764.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEGARIUS (1) (LÉGER), ST., priest in the district of Perthe (Perta) in Champagne, and supposed to have lived in the 5th or 6th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 485–8.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEGARIUS (2) (LÉGER), martyr, bishop of Autun, one of the most famous of French saints, was born about 616 of a family of high rank. At an early age he was taken to the court of Clotaire II., who soon afterwards sent him to Dido bishop of Poitiers, his maternal uncle, to be educated. At twenty this relative ordained him a deacon, and a little later promoted him to the office of archdeacon, and shared with him the government of the diocese. He was next given the abbey of St. Maxentius, in the same diocese, whence, after six years, he was summoned to the court of Clotaire III., and St. Balthildis, his mother. About 657, the bishop of Autun, Ferreolus, died, and for nearly two years the city was the scene of a fierce contest between aspirants for the office, only terminated by the murder of one, and the consequent flight of the other. By the influence of Balthildis Leodegar obtained the see (c. A.D. 659). Of the early years of his episcopate we know little, but the sequel proves they were not spent in idleness.

In 670 Clotaire III. died. The choice of his successor was the signal for an outburst of hostile forces, which had long been arrayed against each other. The central figure of this time in France was undoubtedly Ebroin, who had become mayor of the palace to Clotaire III. in Neustria, about the same time that Léger went to Autun. Amid the general lawlessness and violence of the times, it is possible to trace the opposition of two great parties representing adverse political principles. On the one side Ebroin stood forward as the champion of the partisans of the royal power, whose stronghold was in Neustria, where circumstances had favoured its growth. On the other side was the party of the nobles or great proprietors, whose ideal apparently was the reduction of the sovereign to his original position as the general of a military nation, and who were dominant in Austrasia and Burgundy. Upon Clotaire's death Ebroin of his own authority installed Theoderic III. as king. The Austrasians refused obedience, and demanded a king of their own, with a mayor of the palace of their own choice. Ebroin, not finding himself at that time strong enough to resist, sent them Childeric II., the second son of Clovis II., and they appointed Wulfoald duke of Champagne as mayor of the palace. Childeric now formed the rallying point of the nobles of Austrasia and Burgundy. But the latter kingdom furnished the only man who could at all cope with Ebroin on equal terms, the bishop of Autun. It was not long before the confederacy proceeded to measures of active hostility. Their design was that the united forces of the two kingdoms should fall unexpectedly upon Neustria, drive out Theoderic III. and Ebroin, and give the kingdom to Childeric. The plan was entirely successful. The king and the mayor of the palace were captured, the one being shut up as a monk at St. Denys, the other at Luxeuil, and Childeric II. became sovereign of the whole of France, with Wulfoald for mayor of the palace for Neustria and Austrasia, and Leodegar for Burgundy. (Ursinus, cap. v., Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 338.)

It seems that before elevating Childeric to this supreme position the nobles had exacted pledges from him in their own interest and especially for the limitation of the royal power, and it was probably to keep him to their fulfilment that Leodegar now left his see and became a sort of prime minister to Childeric in Neustria, whither he had transferred the court. At first he was successful, as appears from the three ordinances directed to limiting the royal prerogative, which are imperfectly reported by one of his biographers (*Vit. Anon.* c. iv., Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 350; cf. Fauriel, ii. 465–6), and from the statement of the other that he had restored the old order (Ursinus, cap. v., Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 338). But once firmly established, Childeric found these restraints irksome, and soon came to view Leodegar as the obstacle to the free indulgence of his passions. First discarded from his counsels, he was finally sent back to his see. But here he seems to have become still more an object of the king's suspicion, and an occasion was sought for his downfall. The king at his invitation spent Easter of 673 at Autun. At the same time there came to that city one Victor, a patrician of Marseilles, ostensibly to present a petition to the king for the recovery of some lands which

he claimed in right of his wife from the church of Clermont, where St. Praejectus (Prix) was bishop. Patricius was a friend of Leodegar, and stayed with him. Whether the two were really engaged in plotting against Childeric II., or whether the accusation was merely a convenient pretext for the king and Wulfoald, is not clear, but in the result Victor and his attendants were killed, and Leodegar was arrested and shut up in Luxeuil, with his old opponent Ebroin. Freed from the last restraint upon him Childeric now gave free play to his lawless passions. A conspiracy was formed against him, and shortly afterwards he was killed, with his wife, and one of his children, in the forest of Bondi, by a Frank whom he had outraged. Though his panegyrists deny the fact, there is little doubt that Leodegar from his enforced retreat directed this conspiracy, and sent his brother Gairinus, or Gerinus, as his lieutenant, in its execution (cf. *Gesta Francorum*, xlv., Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1460). At the news of the king's death, Leodegar and Ebroin sallied forth from Luxeuil. The old enmity, which had been dissembled during their imprisonment, soon declared itself again, and Ebroin was only prevented from laying violent hands upon his rival by the intervention of Genesius archbishop of Lyons, with a strong troop. At Autun the bishop made a triumphant entry, but hastened on to present himself before Theoderic III., who had also emerged from St. Denys, and, with Leudesius as mayor of the palace, had ascended the throne in Neustria, and was surrounded by a party inimical to Ebroin. But the aspect of affairs was soon changed. Ebroin, after collecting an army of adventurers in Austrasia, set up a pretender in the person of Clovis III., whom he asserted to be a son of Clotaire III., and fell upon and dispersed the triumphant party. Leudesius was killed; Clovis III., having now served his purpose, disappeared, and Theoderic III., with Ebroin as mayor of the palace, ruled over the whole kingdom. Almost his first step was to avenge upon Leodegar the reverses of the last few years. An expedition under the leadership of Waimerus duke of Champagne, and two dethroned bishops, surrounded Autun. The bishop and his people defended the city, but after a few days he gave himself up to save his flock. His eyes were put out, and he was carried away prisoner by Waimerus, whose orders from Ebroin, according to the biographers, were to starve him to death, but who was so wrought upon by his fortitude and patience that he and his wife were converted. Henceforth till his death Leodegar was confined in various places, and was made at times to endure terrible torments by the direction of his foe. After being deprived of his lips, cheeks, and tongue, and seeing his brother Gairinus stoned to death, he was finally brought before a council of bishops to answer for his share in the death of Childeric. Here his episcopal robe was torn up in sign of his degradation from the office, and he was committed to Chrodobert count of the palace to be executed. Ebroin ordered that his body should be hidden in a well, lest the honours of martyrdom should be paid it. Chrodobert disliked the task, and left it to four servants, who beheaded him in a lonely wood (A.D. 678). The body, contrary to his persecutors' intention, was conveyed by the direction of Chrodobert's wife to Surcin, and there buried in a little oratory. After Ebroin's death, Theoderic III. seems to have admitted Léger's claims to martyrdom, and presided over the council where the possession of the body was disputed by Ansoaldus bishop of Poitiers, Hermenarius, Leodegar's successor at Autun, and Vindicianus bishop of Arras, in whose diocese the martyrdom was consummated. The *sortes* declared for the first of the three, and the body was transported by the abbat Audulfus amid numerous miracles to Poitiers, and after many ceremonies buried with great pomp in a new church at St. Maxentius (circ. A.D. 683).

Leodegar's character is well summed up by Fauriel. Though the church venerates him as a saint, history is more embarrassed on his score. His party could have found no leader more capable or more resolute. Renowned for his knowledge, allied by birth to the most powerful personages of his time, ambitious, enterprising, of great force of will, and quick to turn his sacerdotal character to the profit of his political designs, he possessed every qualification for the playing of a great *rôle* in the difficult times in which his lot had fallen. He was the most formidable adversary Ebroin could encounter in his path (*Hist. de la Gaule Mérid.* ii. 463–4).

His Writings.—Three productions of St. Léger remain:

1. The canons of the synod of Autun held by him about 670. They are imperfect as we have them, and relate chiefly to points of monastic discipline. They were first published by Sirmondi, and may also be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 377–380, and Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* xi. 123, Florence, 1759–98.

2. His will, the authenticity of which has been doubted, but unjustly according to the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*. It is given in Migne, *ibid.* 379–384.

3. A letter of consolation written to his mother Sigrada, who had entered the nunnery of Notre Dame at Soissons. The occasion of it was the death of Gairinus, whom Ebroin had just caused to be killed. It is to be found in Migne, *ibid.* 373–6, and Boll. Oct. i. 408–410. (See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 619, and Ceillier, *Hist. Gén.* xi. 781, for these writings.)

For the *cult* of St. Leodegar and an enumeration of the various churches and monasteries which claim the trunk, head, or limbs of the saint, see Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, Oct. 2, tom. vii. 27–30. His commemoration as a martyr on Oct. 2 began very soon after his death. (See Ado and Usuard, *Martyrologia*, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 373, cxxiv. 529.)

Authorities.—The chief are two biographies of contemporary writers, one by an anonymous monk of St. Symphorian, who wrote at the request of Leodegar's successor, Hermenarius, soon after the translation to St. Maxentius (A.D. 682). He speaks usually as an eyewitness, but his acquaintance with the facts of Leodegar's life previous to his elevation to the episcopate is very limited. This life may be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 680–698, Paris, 1669; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 463–484; Bouquet, *Recueil*, ii. 611–627; and Migne, *ibid.* 345–374. A French translation of it appears in Guizot's *Mémoires*, &c. ii. 325, with a preface and notes. The second biography was written by Ursinus, prior or abbat of Ligugé, at the request of

Ansoaldus bishop of Poitiers, and Audulfus abbat of St. Maxentius. His knowledge was derived from trustworthy sources, but was not apparently at first hand. He gives fuller details of Leodegar's early life, but in the rest borrows considerably from his predecessor, whose style he has improved on. It is published by Surius with changes in the style (Oct. 2, tom. v. 545–553), and more correctly in Mabillon, *ibid.* ii. 698–705; then in Boll. *ibid.* 485–491; Bouquet, *ibid.* 627–632; and Migne, *ibid.* 335–346. These two biographies are the most important sources remaining of contemporary French history, but inspired as they are, especially the former, with passionate hatred for Ebroin and partizanship for St. Leodegar, it has not been easy to disentangle the truth. Scantier notices, but in some instances correcting the bias of the biographies, are found in the *Gesta Francorum*, xlv., Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1460; *Vita S. Praejecti*, Boll. Jan. ii. 631–32; Bouquet, iii. 594; Fredegarius, *Chronicon Cont.* xciv.–xcvi. There is a third life in verse attributed to Walafridus Strabo (Ceillier, xii. 416), now published from a MS. of St. Gall by Pitra (*Hist. de St. Léger*, 464–503). The ecclesiastical historians have accepted the partial story of the original biographies literally, and reproduced it. (See amongst others *Gall. Christ.* iv. 349–355; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 355 seqq.; Baronius, tom. xi.; Fleury, *Hist. Ecclés.* tom. viii. lib. xxxix.; Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, Oct. 2, tom. vii. 17–27; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 618–621; Ceillier, *Hist. Gén. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xi. 780; Guettée, *Hist. de l'Église de France*, ii. 446 seqq.; Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univ.* v. 520 seqq.; Pitra, *Hist. de St. Léger*, Paris, 1846.) Among the moderns whose criticism has contributed to placing St. Leodegar's story in its true light are Fauriel, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, ii. 461–473, to whom this article is largely indebted; Michelet, *Hist. de France*, i. 276–8; Martin, *Hist. de France*, ii. 208–216; Bönnell, *Die Anfänge des Karolingischen Hauses*, pp. 154–6; Fehr, *Staat und Kirche im fränkischen Reiche*, p. 105 seqq.; and Richter, *Annalen*, p. 170 seqq. [S. A. B.]

LEODEGARIUS (3) I., twenty-second bishop of Orleans, about the middle of the 7th century. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxxviii. 1186, 1189 n., 1191; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1416; Gams, *Series Episc.* 593.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEGARIUS (4) II., said to have been twenty-ninth or thirtieth bishop of Orleans, about the beginning of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1417.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEGARIUS (5), bishop of Luni, c. 720. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 433, 483; Mabill. *Annales Ord. Bened.* t. ii. p. 154, lib. 22, num. 57.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEODEGARIUS (6), doubtful bishop of Spoleto c. 747. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, iv. 344.) Ughelli (i. 1257) does not mention him. [A. H. D. A.]

LEODEGISILLUS, twenty-first bishop of Orleans, in the first half of the 7th century. (Mansi, x. 759; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1416; Gams, *Series Episc.* 593.) [S. A. B.]

LEODEGISIUS ("cognomento Julianus"), from about 675 till about 678, metropolitan of Braga, presided at the third council of Braga in 675. Seven of the eight suffragan sees of Braga (Porto, Tuy, Iria, Oreuse, Lugo, Britonia, and Astorga) were represented at the council. As there is no mention of the remaining see of Dumium—which only comprehended the famous monastery of that name, and was founded in honour of St. Martin (*q. v.*)—it is most probable that, as in the time of his predecessor St. Fructuosus (*q. v.*), and of his successor Liuva, the sees of Dumium and Braga were united during the pontificate of Leodigisius. A separate bishop of Dumium appears again in 688. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262; Florez. *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 155, and xviii. 44.) [PATERNUS.] [M. A. W.]

LEODENINGUS, sixteenth bishop of Bayeux, known from his subscription to the *placitum* of Attigny in A.D. 765. (Mansi, xii. 675; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 351.) [S. A. B.]

LEODRANDUS, fifteenth archbishop of Tarentaise, perhaps about the commencement of the 8th century. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xii. 702), following Mabillon, suggest that he may be identical with the bishop Leudegaudus, or Leudegangus, who is mentioned in the *Vita S. Balthildis* (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 783, Paris, 1668–1701). [S. A. B.]

LEOLINUS (LEONINUS, LEONIUS), bishop of Patavium (Padua), said to have held that see from c. A.D. 232 to 244. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 29 Jun. v. 483; Giustiniani, *Vescovi di Padova*, p. 16; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 398; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 484.) [R. S. G.]

LEONARDUS, ST., confessor in the 6th century, honoured at Corbiniacum (Corbigny), in the diocese of Autun. There is a short life of him published by the Bollandists, which, if we may believe its own testimony (§ 4), was written by an author almost contemporary. According to it Leonardus was one of a company of saints who came into the province of Le Mans during the episcopate of Innocentius I. (or Innocens, who sat circ. A.D. 496–542, cf. *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 344). Desiring to build a cell, he was directed by the bishop to a desert place on the Sarthe, which has since borne his name (S. Leonardus-de-Boscis, St. Leonard-des-Bois, on the right bank of the Sarthe, in the district of Le Mans. It was also called Vendopera, or Vendoeuvre). With Innocentius's help he built a church there in honour of St. Peter, and a monastery. After a long life, filled with good works, and not destitute of miraculous events, he died, Oct. 15, in the reign of Chilperic (A.D. 561–584), and was buried in his monastery by St. Domnolus, then bishop of Le Mans (A.D. 559–581, cf. *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 345), who ordained one of the monks as abbat in his place, who was still living when St. Leonard's biographer wrote.

The date of St. Leonard's death is variously given in 559, 565, and 570. According to Baillet the body remained at St. Leonard-des-Bois for more than three hundred years, and about 877 was removed to Corbigny, probably from fear of the Northmen. Here it remained finally, and became renowned for its miracles. The little abbey which he had founded became in after times a priory dependent on the monastery of St. Vincent (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 434). For Corbigny see *Gall. Christ.* iv. 475 sqq. It was

originally called after St. Peter, but later after St. Leonardus, when his cult there became famous. He is the first saint of the crown of France.

St. Leonard's name does not appear in the classical martyrologies or in the older hagiologists. Of the more recent ones the majority give him on Nov. 26, which Baillet thinks may have been the day of his translation to Corbigny (Usuardus, *Martyrologium Auct.* Nov. 26 in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 739–742). The notice of the Bollandists and Baillet is on Oct. 15, the day of his death. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 1, 45–9; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Oct. 15.) [S. A. B.]

LEONAS, a "famulus Dei," who brought St. Augustine for his perusal many things from Consentius. (August. *Cont. Mendacium*, cap. i. sub init.; Tillem. xiii. 811.) [C. H.]

LEONIANUS (LEUNIANUS), **ST.**, abbat of the monastery of St. Peter at Vienne, who died about 510, and is commemorated Nov. 16. He is to be distinguished from the contemporary archdeacon Leonianus of the 65th and 77th letters of Avitus archbishop of Vienne. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lix. 274, 278; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 571, Paris, 1668.) [S. A. B.]

LEONIDES (1), April 22, father of Origen, martyr in 202 or 203. [ORIGEN.] [G. T. S.]

LEONIDES (2), April 16, martyr at Corinth, in the reign of Decius, mentioned by Nicephorus Gregoras in his *Life of Codratus* (cap. iii. § 11, in *Pat. Gr.* cxlix. 516); commemorated with Callistus, Charisius, and others. (Wright, *Syr. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* 16 Apr. ii. 402; Tillem. iii. 357.) [G. T. S.]

LEONIDES (3), Jan. 28, a martyr with Aclas in the Egyptian Thebaid in the Diocletian persecution. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; *AA. SS.* Boll. Jan. ii. 832; Tillem. v. 360.) [G. T. S.]

LEONIDES (4), bishop of Bage in Lydia, subscribed the letter of his provincial synod to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 573; Le Quien, i. 889.) [L. D.]

LEONIDES (5), bishop of Athens, commemorated by the Greeks and Latins on April 15 (*Acta SS.* April. ii. p. 378; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 171). Le Quien places him, rather conjecturally, before the sixth synod, 680. [L. D.]

LEONIDES (6), bishop of Coele in Thracia, on the Hellespont; present at the seventh general council at Nicaea, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 387; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1121). At this council there appears also a Leonides bishop of Madytus, according to one reading, another reading making the bishop Leo [LEO (48)]. The two towns Madytus and Coele may be the same according to one place in Mansi (xiii. 144), where Leonides is bishop, Μαδύτου ἤτοι Κόλης. Le Quien discusses this point (i. 1141). [J. de S.]

LEONILLA, Jan. 17. Martyr in Gaul, in the country of the Lingones, during the persecution of Aurelian, together with her grandsons Speusippus, Elasippus, and Melasippus. They are said to have been disciples of a presbyter Benignus, whom St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, sent into Gaul. The anachronism in this account is obvious. Polycarp died A.D. 156. Aurelian's persecution began in 272. The name of Aurelian may have been the mistake of a copyist for Aurelius, *i.e.* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who ascended the throne A.D. 161. This would fix this martyrdom during the time of the fourth persecution, when the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne suffered (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Till. *Mém.* iii. 39–42, 605–609). Bede mentions Leonilla in his life of Ceolfrid (*Vit. Abbat. fin.*). [G. T. S.]

LEONIUS (1), second bishop of Apt, suffered martyrdom in the invasion of the Alemanni under Chrocus in 266 or 312. (Mansi, ii. 463; *Gall. Ch.* i. 349.) [R. T. S.]

LEONIUS (2), Feb. 13 (popularly ST. LIENNE), presbyter of Poitiers, the "sacerdos ordinarius," or chaplain, of St. Hilary. He accompanied the latter into exile, and witnessed his death, A.D. 367 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 91; Tillem. vii. 468). On the date of St. Hilary's death, see note in Pat. Lat. lxxi. 79. [R. T. S.]

LEONORIUS, ST., a Briton, a disciple of St. Iltutus, who passed over to Brittany in the time of king Childebert, A.D. 575–96. (*Acta Sanctorum*, July 1, i. 121–4, and supplement, 161; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 160; ii. 88; Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 187; Tillem. x. 461.) [C. W. B.]

LEONTIA (Λεοντώ in Cedrenus), Augusta, wife of the emperor Phocas. On Nov. 30, 602, seven days after her husband's coronation, she was crowned and named Augusta at Constantinople (Cedren. *Compend.* in *Pat. Gr.* cxxi. 773). In July 603 Gregory wrote his congratulations to Leontia, promising her his prayers and bespeaking her favour towards the Roman church (lib. xiii. ind. vi. ep. 39). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (1), fifth known bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, between Lucius and Eulalius (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 370). It is supposed by Possinus (note on Nilus), *Oratio in Albianum*, in *Pat. Gr.* lxxix. 704) that the Leontius presbyter, and afterwards bishop, mentioned by Nilus as the instructor of Albianus, was this Leontius, but Tillemont (xiv. 216, 744) argues that it must have been Leontius bishop of Ancyra. The earliest certain appearance of Leontius in history is as the consecrator of Gregory the Illuminator [GREGORIUS (7)] first catholicos of Armenia as recorded by Agathangelus (§§ 139, 140 in Langlois). The assigned date for this event is cir. A.D. 302.

The name of Leontius appears in 314 among the bishops present at the councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea (Mansi, ii. 534, 540; Tillem. vi. 198–200). It is also in the list of the Nicene fathers in 325 (Mansi, ii. 694, 699). The history of the council by Galasius shews Leontius taking a prominent part in the proceedings as the mouth-piece of the synod, being thus associated more than once with Eupsychius bishop of Tyana (Mansi, ii. 835, 858, 859, 863, 867, 870, 871). Thus the two "Cappadocian bishops" Leontius and Eupsychius mentioned among others of the Catholic party by Athanasius in his letter of A.D. 356 to the bishops of Egypt (§ 8 in *Pat. Gr.* xxv. 558 A) are identified.

Leontius is mentioned among the principal subscribers to the council, being described as "ecclesiae domini ornamentum." He undertakes to transmit the decrees to Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus Diosponti, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus, Armenia Greater and Less (Mansi, ii. 882). The period of his death is not recorded. [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (2), bishop of Antioch, A.D. 348–357. He was a Phrygian by birth (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 10), and, like many leading Arians, had been a disciple of the celebrated teacher Lucian (Philostorg. iii. 15). He became a presbyter at Antioch, where he had a virgin, Eustolium, probably a relation, living in his house. When the impropriety of this arrangement was objected to, he mutilated himself in order to be able to continue it without reproach (Ath. *De Fuga*, 26, *Hist. Ar.* 28). The bishop Eustathius deposed Leontius for his act; and as this bishop played an important part at the Nicene council, we may well believe that it was the case of Leontius which suggested the first and third Nicene canons against self-mutilators and against sub-introductae. Leontius would be about forty at the time of the council, so that the occurrence in question might easily have happened previously. The story of the deposition of Eustathius has been told vol. ii. p. 383. Whether on that event Leontius was restored to the presbyterate does not appear; but when afterwards the see of Antioch became vacant by the removal of Stephen, the emperor Constantius effected the appointment of Leontius. Leontius would seem to have belonged to what may be called the broad church party of his day, men not less hated by the strictly orthodox than avowed heretics, who, while themselves having no objection to sign orthodox formulae, sympathized with the Arians, and were anxious for their comprehension in the church. Leontius strove to avoid giving offence to either side. One of the party tests of the day was whether the doxology was used in the form universal among ourselves, or in the form which the Arians (Philostorg. iii. 13) maintained to be the more ancient, "Glory be to the Father, *through* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost." Those who watched which form Leontius would use, could never make out more of his doxology than "world without end. Amen" (Theod. ii. 19). Among the orthodox members of the flock of Leontius the leading part was taken by two ascetics, Flavian and Diodorus, who, though not yet advanced to the priesthood, enjoyed the greatest influence on account of their holiness of life. To these men Theodoret ascribes the invention of the practice of dividing the choir into two and chanting the Psalms of David anti-phonically, a use of the church of Antioch which legend soon attributed to its martyr bishop Ignatius (Soc. vi. 8). They assembled the devout at the tombs of the martyrs and spent the whole night in singing of hymns. The devotion became so popular that Leontius could not forbid it, but requested its leaders to hold their meetings in church, a request with which they complied. Leontius foresaw that on his death the conduct of affairs was likely to fall into less cautious hands, and, touching his white hairs, predicted—"When this snow melts there will be much mud." Notwithstanding his apparent desire to hold the balance even, the orthodox complained that he shewed manifest bias in the exercise of his episcopal functions, discouraging the orthodox and advancing unworthy Arians. In particular he incurred censure by his ordination to the diaconate of his former pupil Aetius, who afterwards became notorious as an extreme Arian leader. However, on the strong protest of the above-mentioned Flavian and Diodorus, Leontius gave way and suspended Aetius from ecclesiastical functions. Philostorgius (iii. 27) relates that Leontius subsequently saved the life of Aetius by clearing him from false charges made to the emperor Gallus. When Athanasius came to Antioch, he communicated not with Leontius and the dominant party, but with the ultra-orthodox minority called Eustathians, who had refused to recognize any other bishop while the deposed Eustathius was alive, and who worshipped in private conventicles. Leontius was provoked to accuse Athanasius of cowardice in running away from his own church. The taunt stung Athanasius deeply. He wrote his *Apologia de Fuga* in reply to it, and always speaks of Leontius with the utmost asperity, seldom omitting the opprobrious epithet ὁ ἀπόκοπος. In one painful passage (*De Fug.* 26) he even accuses the aged bishop of criminality in his early relations with Eustolium. If there had been any proof of this charge Leontius would have been deposed not for mutilation but for corrupting a church virgin; and if his guilt had been believed in at Antioch the respect paid him by the orthodox members of his flock would be inconceivable. The censure of so great a man irretrievably damaged Leontius in the estimation of succeeding ages, and his mildness and moderation have caused him to be compared to one of those hidden reefs which are more dangerous to mariners than naked rocks. Yet we may charitably think that the gentleness and love of peace which all attest were not mere hypocrisy, and may impute his toleration of heretics to no worse cause than insufficient appreciation of the importance of the issues involved. What his own followers thought of him appears from a notice preserved in the Paschal Chronicle under the year 350 (Bonn ed. p. 535), where he is described as a man in every respect faithful and pious and zealous for the true faith. He is commended for the care he bestowed on houses for the entertainment of strangers, and a story is told how three of his agents in this work effected the conversion of a Jew by accepting his challenge to eat a dead serpent which they had found. The same chronicle, p. 503, quotes the authority of Leontius for the account it gives of the martyrdom of Babylas. Leontius died at the end of 357 or beginning of 358. Athanasius, writing in the latter year, *Hist. Ar.*, speaks of him as still living, but Leontius might have been then dead, though the news had not reached Athanasius. [G. S.]

LEONTIUS (3), bishop of Tripolis, in the province of Lydia, a supporter of the Arians, present at the council of Seleucia, A.D. 359, and deposed by the majority of the bishops, the semi-Arians. (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 39; Mansi, ii. 324; Philostorg. vii. 6; Le Quien, i. 879.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (4), bishop of Comana in Lesser Armenia, one of the Macedonians who presented

a petition to the emperor Jovian in 363 A.D. (Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 25; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 449; Tillem. vi. 529.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (5), a bishop of the Novatian sect at Rome in 388 A.D. (Soc. *H. E.* v. 14; Ceillier, vi. 368; Tillem. iii. 485.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (6), bishop of Perta in Lycaonia, present at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, i. 1087.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (7), bishop of Besançon, ob. 399. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 10, cap. 9; *Gall. Chr.* xv. 8.) [R. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (8) (LEO, LEONTINUS), bishop of Ancyra. He is mentioned by Sozomen (vi. 34) as one of the two most distinguished among the monks of Galatia and Cappadocia before he became bishop of Ancyra. Tillemont (xiv. 216–218) thinks that he was the Leontius presbyter and subsequently bishop mentioned by Nilus (*Orat. in Albian.* in *Pat. Gr.* lxxix. 704) as the instructor of Albianus. Theodoret (*H. E.* v. 27) speaks of him as bishop of Ancyra, adorned with many virtues, when Chrysostom succeeded Nectarius at Constantinople in 397. Yet in 403, at the synod of the Oak, Leontius was one of Chrysostom's foremost opponents (Soc. vi. 18; Soz. viii. 20). Palladius, who calls him Leontinus (*Dial.* cap. 9, in *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. 31), affirms that he was influenced by the threats and promises of the palace. Leontius was very severe in his treatment of the Novatians in his province, whom he deprived of their church (Soz. viii. 1; Soc. vi. 22; Suidas *s. v.* Σισίννιος). Leontius was succeeded in his see by Theodotus. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 462; Tillem. ix. 218; xiv. 743, note 4.) [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (9) (LEGONTIUS), eleventh bishop of Trèves (or thirty-eighth according to the Bollandists), cir. 407. (*Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 130; *Gall. Ch.* xiii. 378.) [R. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (10), bishop of Musertis, or Muster, probably in Proconsular Africa, perhaps the same as Muste, which Ptolemy calls a village, present at the Carthaginian conference in 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cogn. i. 133; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 415, ed. Oberthür; *Petil.* iv. 342.) [H. W. P.]

LEONTIUS (11), Donatist bishop of Rusticiana, a town of Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 646), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* i. 198; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 448, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

LEONTIUS (12), Donatist bishop of Praesidia, a town of Byzacene (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 649), present at the Carthaginian conference. (*Collat. Carth.* i. 208.) [H. W. P.]

LEONTIUS (13), a bishop of about the period A.D. 431, addressed by Firmus bishop of Caesarea (ep. 36 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxvii. 1506). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (14), an Egyptian bishop addressed frequently by Isidore of Pelusium, who calls him a shrine of purity (lib. iii. ep. 387). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (15), ST., third bishop of Fréjus, between Cyllinius or Quillinius and Theodorus, early in the 5th century. In A.D. 419 he is one of the Gallic bishops whom pope Boniface I. addressed on the subject of the accusations made against Maximus of Valence (*Epist.* iii. in *Pat. Lat.* xx. 756). Another letter was afterwards written to him amongst other provincial bishops by pope Coelestinus II. on various points of doctrine (*Epist.* 21 in *Pat. Lat.* l. 523–537; cf. Ceillier, x. 277, and *Gall. Christ.* i. 420). To a Leontius Cassian about 423 dedicated the first ten of his *Collationes* in terms of warm esteem (*Pat. Lat.* xlix. 477 seqq., cf. col. 770), and it is generally assumed that he was identical with this prelate (Boll. *ibid.* p. 242; Gazaeus, *Pat. Lat. ibid.* col. 769–72; Ceillier, viii. 161 seqq.). Numerous notices of Leontius occur in Tillemont (xii. 398, 468–470, 476, 480, 676–678, xiii. 1040, xiv. 179, xv. 81, 406, 886, xvi. 16, 17). [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (16), a Gallic bishop, whose see is unknown, to whom in 445 Leo the Great, in controversy with St. Hilary of Arles, assigned a prerogative which apparently had belonged to that latter prelate (Leo Mag. *Ep.* x. cap. 9, 641, Migne; see LEO THE GREAT; HILARY OF ARLES; Tillemont, xv. 81, 886; a note of Quesnel and the Ballerini in Migne's *Patrol.* liv. 1296). This bishop must not be identified with LEONTIUS (24) of Fréjus, who died in 432 (*Gallia Christiana*, i. 420). [C. G.]

LEONTIUS (17), bishop of Ascalon; he took part in the Ephesine *Latrocinium*, A.D. 449 (Mansi, vi. 931), but recanted two years later at the council of Chalcedon. (Mansi, vi. 942, vii. 31, 120, 142, 403, 431; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 599.) [J. de S.]

LEONTIUS (18), bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander in the province of Asia, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449. (Mansi, vi. 932, 1085; vii. 276, 293; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 699.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (19), bishop of Araxa in Lycia; his name is found both among the subscriptions of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and appended to the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vi. 1086, where the reading is LONGINUS, vii. 153, 439, 580; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 973.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (20), bishop of Calinda in Lycia, his name is subscribed to the letter of the synod of Myra, the metropolis of Lycia, to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 580; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 991.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (21), bishop of Arles, to which see he was elected, apparently about A.D. 454, on the death of Ravennius. Leontius died, as nearly as can be ascertained, about 482.

Authorities.—1. Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris (see especially lib. vi. *Epist.* 3; lib. viii. *Epist.* 12). 2. Acts of a council of Arles held in A.D. 475 (Mansi, vii. 1007). 3. Sirmond, in his edition of Sidonius, Tillemont (*Mém.* xv. 58, 77, 96, 821, 825, x. 36–39, 42–45, 105, 224, 423, 424), and Ceillier, in his *Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés*, &c. (Tome x. chap. xv.), have gleaned a few other references to Leontius from the letters of

pope Hilary and of Ruricius. See also Cave, i. 449.

The council above named was summoned by him to condemn the errors of the presbyter Lucidus, to whose fatalist teaching attention was drawn in a letter addressed to Leontius by Faustus of Riez. [FAUSTUS (11), to which article the reader is referred for further information and evidence on this head.] A letter of Leontius to Hilary is extant, printed by D'Achery (*Spicil.* t. iii. p. 302 ed. 1723) and since by Migne among the letters of Hilary to Leontius (*Pat. Lat.* lviii. pp. 20 sq.). The letters belong to the years 462, 463, and probably 465; the one in reply to Leontius was written in Jan. 462. (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 48.) [J. G. C.]

LEONTIUS (22), a bishop to whom, along with another named Rusticus, Arnobius junior in 460 addressed his *Commentary on the Psalms.* (*Max. Bibl. Pat.* viii. 238; *Pat. Lat.* liii. 327; Ceillier, x. 330.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (23), sixth bishop of Sedunum (Sitten, Sion) in 463. (Mueliuen, *Helvet. Sac.* p. 24.) He is not given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xii. 735). [R. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (24), seventh bishop of Apt, is said to have been exiled by the Arian Euric the Visigoth, A.D. 474. (*Gall. Ch.* i. 351.) [R. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (25), a bishop of Burca in Numidia, and another of Decoriana in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56, 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 110, 150.) [R. S. G.]

LEONTIUS (26) (LEGONTIUS, LEONUS), July 1, eighth bishop of Autun, in the 5th century. (*Gall. Ch.* iv. 338; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. i. 54.) [R. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (27), seventh archbishop of Elusa, present at the first council of Orleans, in A.D. 511. (Mansi, xiii. 356; *Gall. Christ.* i. 969.) [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (28), bishop of Sozusa in Palestine, signed a synodical letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 518. He also took part in the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1172; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 595.) [J. de S.]

LEONTIUS (29), catholicos of Armenia, c. A.D. 530. The Greek catalogue (Combefis, *Graec. Lat. Bibl. Pat. Nov. Auct.* ii. 289) describes him as ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αρέτ and assigns him three years; the *Historia Armena* designates him AGHPIERANUS, from the town of Puocerarestus, and assigns him two years. Both authorities place him between Christopher I. and Nerses II., as does Le Quien, who reckons him 24th patriarch. He is accounted by the Armenians of the Roman schism the last of the early orthodox patriarchs of their church, since his successor gathered together the council of Tiben [ARMENIANS]. (Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1381; Galanus, *Hist. Arm.* cap. 10, p. 79.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (30) I., bishop of Helenopolis (Drepanum) in Bithynia, present at the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, i. 623.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (31) II., bishop of Helenopolis (Drepanum) in Bithynia, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 680; Le Quien, i. 624.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (32) I., the elder, appears as 8th or 9th in our lists of the archbishops of Bordeaux; but there is reason to suppose that three or four names have been lost [LEONTIUS II.] (*Gall. Chr.* ii. 792). There is an epitaph on him by Venantius Fortunatus (*Misc.* iv. 9 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 161–2). [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (33) II., the younger, appears as the ninth or tenth in our list of the archbishops of Bordeaux, but as Venantius Fortunatus apostrophises him in the words "tertius a decimo huic urbi antistes haberis," we must suppose that three or four names have been lost (*Misc.* i. 15, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 78; cf. Gams, *Series Episc.* 519). Leontius was a native of the district of Saintes. His father was a Roman senator (Venant. Fort. iv. 10), and he himself married a wife named Placidina, who was a descendant of Sidonius Apollinaris the poet. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 2, with Ruinart's note, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 243; and Venant. Fort. i. 15.) They apparently separated when he was made bishop (Venant. Fort. *ibid.*). As a young man he served in Childebert's expedition into Spain in 531 (Venant. Fort. *ibid.*; cf. Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 10). His episcopate is remarkable for the activity displayed in the building and restoration of churches.

From scattered odes of Venantius, we find that he built the church of St. Martin at Bordeaux (*Misc.* i. 6), repaired that of St. Vincent near Agen, adding a leaden roof (*ibid.* i. 8), built another in honour of the last-mentioned saint at a place called Vernemetis (i. 9), rebuilt that of St. Nazarius (i. 10), enlarged that of St. Denys (i. 11), completed that of St. Bibianus at Saintes (i. 12), and rebuilt that of St. Eutropius at the same place (i. 13). Secular buildings also came in for his attention (see i. 18, 19, 20). According to Fortunatus's epitaph, he died at the age of fifty-four (iv. 10, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 163), probably about the year 564. He is commemorated at Bordeaux on Nov. 15. (Tillem. ii. 88, iv. 449, 547, 716, x. 820.) [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (34), bishop of Arabissus in Lesser Armenia. Photius (*cod.* 272) praises his sermon about the creation, and the resurrection of Lazarus. Cave (i. 551) assigns him to the 6th century. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 450; Ceillier, xi. 645.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (35), bishop of Arce in Lesser Armenia, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 392; Le Quien, i. 448.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (36), bishop of Amadassa in Phrygia Salutaris, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 396; Le Quien, i. 850.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (37), thirteenth bishop of Orleans, present at the second council of Orleans, A.D. 563. (Mansi, viii. 838; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1414.) [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (38), bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, an ecclesiastical writer whose *Apology* against the Jews, and concerning the images of the saints, was quoted at the fourth session of

the seventh general council (Mansi, xiii. 44–53). He flourished during the reign of the emperor Maurice, A.D. 582–602. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1062; Cave, i. 580; Ceillier, xi. 658.) His discourses *In Symeonem* (on Symeon Salus) and *In Festum Mediaepentecostes* are printed in Greek and Latin in Combefis's *Graec. Lat. Bibl. Pat. Nov. Auct.* i. 681, and in Latin in La Bigne's *Max. Bibl. Pat.* t. xii. p. 294. His *Fragmentum Contra Hebraeos*, in Latin, is given by La Bigne and by Canisius (*Thesaur. Monum.* i. 793), where also is given an *Observatio* on Leontius by Basnage. Migne (*Pat. Gr.* xciii. 1565) gives all the above, together with a life of Joannes Eleemosynarius, and a critical notice of Leontius by Fabricius. [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (39), bishop of Urbino, addressed by Gregory the Great in 593, 595, 596. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. 24; lib. v. indict. xiii. 44; lib. vi. indict. xiv. 45; Migne, lxxvii. 622, 774, 832.) Cappelletti (iii. 169, 231) regards him as the first known bishop of the see, and Exhilaratus as the next. Ughelli (ii. 785) believes in one earlier than Leontius, Evander in 313. [A. H. D. A.]

LEONTIUS (40), of Apamea, bishop of Cyrene in Libya Pentapolis, cir. 600. (John Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 193; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 624.) [J. de S.]

LEONTIUS (41), ST., 13th bishop of Saintes, succeeding St. Palladius, or in Gams's *Series* (p. 623) Audobertus, and followed probably by Bertarius, present at the council held at Rheims about 625 (Flodoardus, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 5, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 102), and perhaps at the synod of Clichy about 628. (See *Gall. Christ.* 1060, ix. 337.) [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS (42), bishop of Faenza, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649 (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307). Ughelli (ii. 492) places him 4th in the see, Cappelletti (iii. 245, 304) the 6th. Cappelletti thinks he may be the bishop Leontius of the *Roman Martyrology*, March 19. [A. H. D. A.]

LEONTIUS (43), 34th bishop of Naples, between Eusebius and Adeodatus, present at the Lateran synod in A.D. 649 (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307). He was bishop for four years. (*Gesta Episc. Neapol. in Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 416; Ughelli, vi. 58; Cappelletti, xix. 398, 523.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEONTIUS (44), bishop of Sebaste, the metropolis of the first province of Lesser Armenia, present at the Trullan synod (Quinisext), A.D. 692 (Mansi, xi. 989). After this date the bishops of Lesser Armenia disappear from the acts of the councils, their country having been conquered by the Mahometans. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 426.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS (45), bishop of Dorylaeum in Phrygia Salutaria, at the Trullan synod (Quinisext), A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1001; Le Quien, i. 838.) [L. D.]

LEONTIUS, bishop of Coutances. [LEO (50).]

LEONTIUS (46), bishop of Amiternum, who subscribed the constitution of pope Paul I. at the Roman council of 761 (Mansi, xii. 650). He is the fifth known bishop of the see, following Cetheus, and without any known successor for two centuries. (Ughelli, x. 13; Cappelletti, xxi. 418.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS, bishops of Algiza, of Eumenia, of Linoe, and of Poemaninus, A.D. 787. [LEO (48).]

LEONTIUS (47), bishop of Bari, present at the council of Nice in 787, according to Ughelli (vii. 593) and Cappelletti (xxi. 10). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (48), presbyter, A.D. 358, deputed, with others, to carry a message from the semi-Arian council of Ancyra to the emperor Constantius at Sirmium. (Hilarius, *de Synodis*, cap. 90; *Patr. Lat.* x. 542; Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 13 in *Patr. Graec.* lxvii. 1144; Ceillier, iv. 551.) [W. M. S.]

LEONTIUS (49), a presbyter in whose behalf Gregory Nazianzen wrote to Olympius the governor of Cappadocia Secunda, A.D. 382. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 143 al. 175.) [E. V.]

LEONTIUS (50), one of the solitaries of Nazianzus praised by Gregory Nazianzen in his poem addressed to Hellenius, περὶ τῶν μοναχῶν. (*Pat. Gr.* xxxvii. 1466, ver. 203.) [E. V.]

LEONTIUS (51), addressed by Gregory Nazianzen, cir. A.D. 381. (*Ep.* 95 al. 103 in *Pat. Gr.* xxxvii. 167; Ceillier, v. 259.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (52), a presbyter sent by Silvanus to Jerome from Alexandria requesting him to translate the *Rule of Pachomius*. (Hieron. *Regul. Pachom.* praef. § 2, in *Opp.* t. ii.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (53), a deacon, probably of Arles, who carried a letter between Prosper of Aquitaine and St. Augustine; mentioned in a letter to the latter from Hilary, A.D. 428 or 429. (Aug. *Epp.* 225, 226.) [H. W. P.]

LEONTIUS (54), a monk, to whom, along with three others, Jovianus, Minervius, and Theodorus, Cassian dedicated his seven last *Conferences*. (Collat. xviii. praef. in *Pat. Lat.* xlix. 1087; Tillem. xiv. 180.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (55), a priest sent by the bishops of Armenia, with another named Aberius, to Proclus bishop of Constantinople (cir. 434). (Liberat. *Breviar.* cap. 10 in *Pat. Lat.* lxviii. 990; Tillem. xiv. 629). He may have been the celebrated Armenian martyr of 455. [LEONTIUS (74).] [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (56), deacon of Alexandria, agent of Cyril at Constantinople, mentioned in Cyril's letter to Theognostus, A.D. 433 (ep. 37 ol. 40). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (57), one of the Eutychians who, as ἐλάχιστοι ἀρχιμανδρῖται, appeal to the emperor Marcian in 451 A.D., headed by Carosus, asking for a general council (Labbe, iv. 524). The orthodox archimandrites in the council of Chalcedon did not recognise his claim to call himself an archimandrite, but described him as ἀποαρκτοτρόφος (? Lat. ex ursario, i.e. as coming from a part of the town which got its name

from a place where bears were bred). (Labbe, iv. 521 A.) [C. G.]

LEONTIUS (58), a monk in the reign of Zeno, much resorted to for his skill in declaring the hidden sense of Scripture. (Suidas, *s. n.*; Tillem. xvi. 372.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (59), monk, one of four deputies from the East, who from Rome, 520, addressed Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe and his brother exiles in Sardinia. (Fulgent. *ep.* 16 fin., *ep.* 17 init., in *Pat. Lat.* lxv. 451; Labbe, iv. 1516.) [MAXENTIUS.] [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (60), presbyter at the council of Arles, aera 461, A.D. 524, representing his bishop Constantinus or Constantius. (Isidor. Merc. in *Pat. Lat.* cxxx. 382; Mansi, viii. 627.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (61), an abbat of a monastery near Rome, who cir. 579 accompanied Gregory of Agrigentum [GREGORIUS (33)] when a young man to Jerusalem (Leont. *Vit. Greg.* in *Pat. Gr.* xcviii. 573, 576 and *n.*); not, as remarked by Morcelli (*ib.* p. 534), the biographer of Gregory. [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (62), a scholasticus of Byzantium and afterwards a monk in Palestine who wrote cir. 610 a Greek treatise *De Sectis.* (*Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 1193; Cave, i. 543; Ceillier, xi. 666.) [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (63), a monk who wrote against John Philoponus (Niceph. Call. *H. E.* xviii. 48), and perhaps the solitary mentioned in the *Epistola Synodica* of Sophronius. (Phot. cod. 231 *s.f.*; Ceill. xi. 653.) [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (64), presbyter and hegumen of St. Sabas near Rome, cir. 680, author of the Life of Gregory of Agrigentum [GREGORIUS (33)]. He was probably the Leontius sent by pope Martin I. to John bishop of Philadelphia in 649, and the deacon Leontius who signed the libellus presented to the Lateran council of 649. (Mansi, x. 805 D, 910 D; Morcelli, *De Leont.* num. iv. ix. x. xi. in *Pat. Gr.* xcviii. 534, 543, 545.) [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (65), a monk of the Laura of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, cir. 800 (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 306), and author of a life of Stephanus Thaumaturgus, a monk of the same laura. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iii. 531.) [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (66), June 18, soldier and martyr with Hypatius and Theodulus at Tripoli in Phoenicia Maritima under a president Hadrianus in Vespasian's reign. His martyrdom was celebrated from early times. Theodoret (Orat. viii. *de Martyr.* Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxiii. col. 1034) reckons him among the chiefest martyrs with SS. Peter and Paul, Marcellus and Mauritius. (Bas. *Men.*; *AA. SS.* Boll. Jun. iii. 553; *Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Tillem. ii. 153.) [G. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (67), Jan. 20, martyr at Nicomedia with Cyriacus and others. (Wright's *Syrian Mart.*) [G. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (68), Aug. 1, martyr at Perga in Pamphylia, in the Diocletian persecution. (Bas. *Menol.*; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Aug. i. 21.) [G. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (69) (Oct. 17, Basil. *Menol.*; Sep. 27, *Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Wandalb.), brother of Cosmas, Damianus, Anthimus, and Euprepius, who suffered with him in Cilicia during the Diocletian persecution. [COSMAS.] (*AA. SS.* Boll. Oct. vii. 798.) [G. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (70), Aug. 30, martyr with Carpophorus at Vicentia in the reign of Diocletian. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 35.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (71), July 10, martyr at Nicopolis in Armenia Minor, with Mauritius, Daniel, and certain others. They suffered under Licinius by order of the president Lysias, probably at the same time as the Forty Martyrs. [FORTY MARTYRS; HERACLIUS.] (Bas. *Menol.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. iii. 33.) [G. T. S.]

LEONTIUS (72) (LEUCIUS and LAURENTIUS being other readings), a martyr after whom a monastery near Rome, mentioned by Gregory the Great (lib. vi. ind. xiv. *ep.* 62 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii. 846), was named. Baronius thinks he may have been the same as Leucius bishop of Brundusium, commemorated on Jan. 11 (*Mart. Rom.* Jan. 11, note), but see Tillem. v. 537. [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (73), one of the martyrs of Saragossa. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

LEONTIUS (74), priest and martyr of Armenia in the reign of Isdigerd II. king of Persia. He acted a conspicuous part in the stand which the Armenian church made against the court of Persia, as related chiefly in the *History of Vartan* by Elisha Vartabed and in the historical work of Lazarus of Barb. In the original Armenian his name stands as GHÉVONT (Langlois, *Historiens de l'Armén.* t. ii. pp. 3, 202), or LÉVONT (Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas. Emp.* vi. 281, ed. Saint-Martin). In the English version of Elisha Vartabed by Neumann he appears as LEONT, and in the French version as LEONCE, *i.e.* LEONTIUS. In the French versions of Gorioun, Moses of Khorene, and Lazarus of Barb, the name is written LEON, *i.e.* LEO. He belonged to the town of Idchavan, in the canton of Vanant, in the province of Ararat (Langl. ii. 242). In early life he was one of the disciples of Mesrob, who placed him and his companion Enoch in charge of a mission at Sber (Moses of Khor. in Langl. ii. 167). Subsequently Leontius went with Gorioun to study at Constantinople, where they joined their fellow disciples Joseph of Baghin and Eznik, who had preceded them there (Gorioun in Langl. ii. 3, 12). He appears as an influential public man in the crisis of 450, when he was present at the synod of Ardashad (Laz. of Barb, § 22, in Langl. ii. 282) [JOSEPHUS (2)]. In the same year the prospect in Armenia looked so desperate that Vartan was abandoning it for the Roman dominions, and had already reached the frontier town of Aramans, when Leontius, believing in the hypocritical Vasag, whose protestations were entrusted to him to carry, came with some others and prevailed on him to remain in the country (Laz. § 22, p. 289). After this, in November 450, a

body of seven hundred magian priests, sent under escort to instruct the Armenians in their new religion, arrived at Ankes (written also Angegh or Angel in Saint-Martin's Le Beau, vi. 281) in the canton of Dsakhgodn, in the province of Ararat, and the centre of Armenia. There having lain encamped for twenty-five days, they at length one sabbath morning ordered the church to be broken open. This act was the commencement of the persecuting violence of Persia, and here Leontius again appears. Putting himself at the head of his people he attacked the magian party and put them to flight, after which divine service went on in the church unmolested through the day. A general rising followed, and in 451 sixty-six thousand Armenian Christians mustered under prince Vartan in the plain of Artass on the banks of the Dekhmud to encounter the Persian army. Joseph and a large body of his clergy, including Leontius, were present to encourage the Christian forces (Lazarus, § 34 in Langl. ii. 296, 297; Elisha, *u. inf.*). Leontius, who is everywhere mentioned with Joseph, and is usually the orator, as he is the chief inspirer, of the whole movement, delivers a fervent address before the battle (omitted by Neumann, but given fully by Langlois), dwelling on the examples of Phineas, Elijah, Gideon, and the other famous believers under the Old Testament (Langl. ii. 218). The battle (June 2, 451, *ibid.* 298 note) was lost and a remnant found refuge in the stronghold of Pag. This too was taken and many of the clergy were put to death, but Joseph and Leontius, who had appealed to the Persian court, were for the present spared with a few others. The narrative of Elisha Vartabed, terminating about this period, but including some addresses of Leontius before Persian functionaries, has been thus far our principal authority (Neum. pp. 29, 51, 53, 60, 63, 66; Langl. ii. 202–242); for the sequel we have recourse to Lazarus (Langl. ii. 300 sq.). Joseph, Leontius, and their companions, were taken to the court of Persia, and put on their defence. Finally they and four others were executed on the 25th day of the month Hroditz, in the sixteenth year of Isdigerd (A.D. 455), in the province of Abar, near a village of the Mogs named Révan. The account of the martyrdom has every appearance of being a genuine coeval record, simple, natural, unlegendary. Lazarus himself wrote in the following generation, and his position gave him access to the best authorities, which he describes, especially assuring his readers that he faithfully reports the last words of the martyrs. The most severely dealt with was Leontius, he being regarded as the chief instigator of the Armenian resistance. The general history of these events may be read in Saint-Martin's Le Beau, t. vi. pp. 258–318. [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (75), a Roman officer, called by an anonymous Donatist writer count (comes), under whom some of the severities ordered by Constantine against the Donatists are said to have been carried out, A.D. 320. But there is some reason to think that the name is a satirical one, applied by the Donatists to Gregorius the prefect, as expressing the qualities denoted in the description of Dan. vii. 4, 5. Optatus mentions Leontius in a doubtful manner ("nescio quis"), and we may add that the language of St. Augustine, in replying to the general and vague statements of Petilianus, is also of a doubtful kind; the bare mention, therefore, of the name by later Donatist writers adds no evidence in deciding the question of the existence of Leontius apart from Gregorius. A person of this name was consul A.D. 344; but there is nothing to shew his identity with the one here mentioned. (*Opt.* iii. 4, 8, 10; *Mon. Vet. Don.* No. 27, p. 219, ed. Oberthür; Aug. c. *Petil.* ii. 92, 202, 208, 209; *Praef.* vol. ix. p. 15; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* ii. 224; Tillemont, vol. vi. p. 107.) [HABETDEUS.] [H. W. P.]

LEONTIUS (76), one of the judges appointed by the emperor Constantius in the dispute between Photinus and Basil of Ancyra (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxi. cap. 1, p. 829). He was prefect of Rome in 355 and 356 (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 11, xv. 7; Corsini, *Series Praef.* p. 214). An edict (*De Episcopis*, leg. 13) dated Oct. 29, 356, was addressed to him by Constantius. (*Cod. Theod.* t. vi. p. 39, ed. Gothofr. 1665; Tillem. vi. 353, 384.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (77), a gentleman near Milan at whose house Ambrose lay concealed for a time to escape being made a bishop. (Paulinus, *Vit. Ambros.* § 9.) [AMBROSIUS.] [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (78), a calumniator of INDICIA. (Ambros. *Ep.* 5, §§ 19, 24.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (79), a sophist, a friend and correspondent of Basil, who extols him as the most celebrated of all the Greek sophists he had known. Two letters of Basil to him are preserved (Basil. *Epp.* 20 (83), 21, (373)), written probably A.D. 364. [E. V.]

LEONTIUS (80), sophist at Athens, father of the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II. [EUDOCIA (4)]. (*Soc.* vii. 21.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (81), a gentleman of the Cappadocian Caesarea who shewed Chrysostom much kindness when passing through that city on his way to Cucusus. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 83.) [E. V.]

LEONTIUS (82), a prefect of Illyricum mentioned in two lives of St. Demetrius as having been healed at his tomb at Thessalonica, and having in consequence built two churches in his honour, one at Thessalonica, the other at Sirmium (Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Oct. iv. 68, 94, 95, 102, 103). The Bollandist believes him to be the prefect of Illyricum of that name to whom edicts were addressed in 412 and 413. (*Cod. Theod.* ed. Gothofr. 1665, t. ii. p. 329, t. iv. p. 509.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (83), magistrianus, a man of probity and many virtues, addressed by Isidore of Pelusium (lib. iii. *ep.* 229). [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (84), prefect of Constantinople, to whom Theodosius addressed his edict against Nestorius, dated Aug. 3, 435. (*Cod. Theod.* t. vi. p. 190, ed. Gothofr. 1665.) [C. H.]

LEONTIUS (85) (or PONTIUS LEONTIUS), a senator of Bordeaux, and friend of Sidonius Apollinaris ("Leontius meus facile princeps Aquitanorum." *Epist.* lib. viii. 12; Carm. xxii.

Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 725). See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 409, 561. [S. A. B.]

LEONTIUS I. and II., emperors. [DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY.]

LEONTIUS (86), an unknown person to whom Basilius Cilix addressed his reply to the *Adversus Ecclesiae desertores* of Joannes Scythopolita. He was probably a bishop, as Basilius, who was then a presbyter, speaks of him as "sanctissimum Deoque carissimum et Patrem." (Photius, *Cod.* cvii.) [JOANNES (565).] [T. W. D.]

LEONTIUS (87), ex-consul in Sicily, an important personage in the time of Gregory the Great, who addressed or mentioned him in 598, 600, 601. Carl Hegel (*Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 177) thinks that he may have occupied the position of the quaestor in Justinian's system. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. 51; Migne, lxxvii. 1106; also lib. viii. indict. i. 35; lib. ix. indict. ii. 28; lib. xii. indict. v. 15–16; Migne, lxxvii. 937–963, 1228; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, ii. 49.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEONTIUS (88), "vir clarissimus," sent by Gregory the Great to take charge of the city of Nepi. Gregory in 592 wrote "clero ordini et plebi," ordering them to obey him. (*Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 11; Migne, lxxvii. 547.) [A. H. D. A.]

LEONTIUS (89), imperial secretary at the seventh synod 787. (Mansi, xiii. 158.) [C. H.]

LEOPACHARIUS (LEOPARIUS, LEUPICARIUS), twenty-first archbishop of Tours, hospitably entertained St. Columban on his way to Nantes, A.D. 610. His episcopate seems to have lasted twelve years and a few months. (Jonas, *Vita S. Columbani*, §§ 42, 43; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 1036; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 26; Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, pp. 88, 175, 213.) [S. A. B.]

LEOPARDINUS, Oct. 7, abbat of St. Symphorian of Vivaris, and martyr, in the 6th or 7th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 914.) [C. H.]

LEOPARDUS (1), Sept. 30, a domestic servant of the emperor Julian, martyred at Rome. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 413.) See also Molanus in the *Auctaria* to Usuard, and Tillemont, vii. 352. [C. H.]

LEOPARDUS (2), a priest sent with two others, Crescens and Alexander, by pope Siricius to Ambrose, cir. 389. (Ambros. ep. 42 § 13; Mansi, iii. 667; Tillemont, x. 228, 364.) [C. H.]

LEOPARDUS (3), lector of church of St. Pudens. De Rossi has discovered his epitaph, on which he notes, as characteristic of the 4th century and later, that the name of the church to which he was attached is added to his record. Previously the title of lector simply is given. It is found on monuments of the 2nd century. (Northcote, *Epit. Catac.* p. 120; De Rossi, *Bullett.* 1871, p. 32, cf. 1867, p. 51; De Rossi, *Inscr. Crist.* num. 62, 164, 388.) [G. T. S.]

LEOPARDUS (4), Nov. 7, first known bishop of Auximum (Osimo), of very doubtful date. Some authorities place him in the 5th century; others early in the 7th century. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 497; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vii. 486, 605.) [R. S. G.]

LEOPARDUS (5), abbat, who subscribed the thirteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 683, for Aurelius bishop of Asturia. (Mansi, xi. 1077.) [C. H.]

LEOPARIUS, of Tours. [LEOPACHARIUS.]

LEOPERTUS, twenty-first bishop of Grenoble, perhaps about the middle of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 223.) [S. A. B.]

LEOSINDUS (LEOVIGINDUS, TEODESINDUS), bishop of Iria Flavia (Santiago), placed under Roderic, the last Gothic king, by the 12th-century *Historia Compostelana*, and by the *Chronicon Iriense Esp. Sagr.* xix. 61, xx. 7, 600. [ORTIGIUS.] [M. A. W.]

LEOTHADIUS, ST., thirty-second bishop of Auch, or Aux, circ. A.D. 691–717, is said to have belonged to a noble family of Aquitaine. According to a tradition, believed to be supported by the evidence of ancient documents, he was abbat of the monastery of Moissiacum, in the diocese of Cahors, before his elevation to the bishopric of Auch (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. x. 123). But the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* believe the abbat Leutadus, or Leotadius, of Moissiacum, to have lived much earlier (i. 976, cf. 159). Though omitted by many martyrologists, his name may be found in some of the *Auctaria* to Usuard. (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 612.) [S. A. B.]

LEOTHERIUS, seventh bishop of Bourges, A.D. 354–363. (*Gall. Ch.* ii. 6.) [R. T. S.]

LEOTWINUS (LEODOWINUS, LUITWINUS, LUTWINUS, LUDWIN), ST., thirty-fourth bishop of Trèves (circ. A.D. 695–713). The story of his life, as we have it, is drawn from the life of St. Basinus, written by Nizo, an abbat who lived at the close of the 11th century (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. i. 315–320), and who admits that the sources had been destroyed, probably by the devastations of the Northmen in 882 (*ibid.* s. 2, p. 315), and from two lives of St. Leotwinus, one of which is sometimes ascribed to the same author (Boll. *ibid.* Sept. viii. 169–172). The other, by an anonymous writer, is somewhat fuller (*ibid.* 172–6), but they are equally untrustworthy (Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 480).

The biographers are plainly mistaken in placing his accession at Trèves after the death of Basinus, since three documents connected with the gifts of St. Irmina to Epternac, and dated in 698 and 699, are attested by both Basinus and Leotwinus with the subscription of episcopus (Hontheim, *Hist. Trevirensis*, i. 90–101, num. xxiv.–xxvi.; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. instr. 293–5).

His death is placed about 713 (Boll. p. 167). A rude epitaph is preserved, but its antiquity is very doubtful (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 387; Boll. *ibid.* p. 167). He is commemorated Sept. 29. [S. A. B.]

LEOVA, king of Spain. [LIUBA.]

LEOVIGILD (LEUVIGILD), Arian king of the Visigoths in Spain from 569 to April or May

586. His reign and that of his successor, the convert Recared, represent the crisis of Visigothic history, religious and political, and as such have a peculiar interest. We propose to divide the present period into five main sections:—i. Settlement and re-invigoration of the monarchy; ii. Hermenigild's rebellion; iii. War with the Franks; iv. Leovigild's character and aims; v. Hispano-Frankish relations under Leovigild.

Early years of the reign. Military successes.—Upon the death of Athanagild in the winter of 567, the Gothic throne remained unfilled for almost half a year, no doubt because of the discords among the electing nobles by which any accession to the Gothic crown was apt to be accompanied. For five months no decision could be arrived at. Then in 586 Leova, *dux* of the Septimanian province (so the 13th-century historians, Lucas Tud. and Rod. Tol.; Isidore says only "post Athanagildum Luiva Narbone Gothis praeficitur") was made king by the magnates of Gallia Gothica. In 569, however, either because Spain proper would not acknowledge his election, or because he was already old and unequal to the task of governing the disturbed and half-subdued Peninsula, Leova made his younger brother Leovigild his partner in the kingdom, assigning to him the government of the Spanish portion. ("Sic regnum duos cepit *dum nulla potestas patiens consortis sit*," says Isid. with characteristic learning, recalling Lucan, *Phars.* i. 92.) In the first year of his reign, Leovigild married Goisvintha, the widow of his predecessor, Athanagild, and a strong Arian. (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* v. 39.) By a previous marriage he had already two sons, Hermenigild and Recared, who were soon to play important parts in the history of his reign. (Some remarks on the vexed question of this first marriage will be found below.) The new king's first business was to provide for the bare safety of the Gothic state in Spain. The six months' interregnum, probably indeed extended to a much longer period within the boundaries of the Peninsula, had let loose all the chronic dangers threatening the Gothic kingdom. The Byzantines in the south-western provinces, with Cordova for their *point d'appui*, the Suevi, Basques, and Cantabrians in the north,—all were in movement; and for the heretical Gothic state, undermined by the discontent of the Catholic provincials, and threatened by the emnity of the orthodox Franks and Suevi, such a fatal moment seemed to have arrived as heralded the downfall of the kingdom of Toulouse under Alaric II. or that of the African Vandals. Leovigild, however, faced the situation with success. His iron will, his foresight and energy combined, succeeded in rescuing the Gothic monarchy from its perilous position, and in making it for the time a powerful instrument of government. His first campaign in the year of his accession, 569, was directed against the Byzantine settlers and garrisons of the Baza and Malaga districts; the country was ravaged and the enemy beaten, but it was not till 570 that the first substantial success was gained. The town of Assidona (not Medina Sidonia as Dahn and others still maintain, but unquestionably Xerez de la Frontera—see Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* x. 20, and Dozy's recent confirmation of his judgment, *Recherches*, &c. i. 313) fell by the treachery of one of its Gothic inhabitants, and from some similar cause Cordova herself succumbed in the following year. For twenty years Cordova had refused to acknowledge the lordship of the Goths, and since Athanagild's rebellion when the troops of the Eastern emperor first entered Gothic Spain, the great town of the Baetis had been the head-quarters of the Imperialist and Catholic power in the Peninsula. Its fall (early in 572?) was a heavy blow to the imperial cause in Spain. Leovigild wreaked a cruel vengeance on the town itself, and on the *rustici* of the Andalusian mountains who had supported the rebellion (Joannes Bicl. *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 377). The capture of other smaller towns and fortresses followed, and the Byzantines were thus driven back upon the coast districts, from which another generation would be needed finally to dislodge them. In 572 (573 according to J. Bicl.) Luiva died, and Leovigild remained master of both divisions of the kingdom. After his southern campaign he turned northwards, took Sabaria (placed by Florez near Salamanca, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 406), subdued Cantabria, and seized the strong town of Amaya, to the destruction of which there is a possible allusion in the Life of San Millan (Braulio's *Vita Sti. Emiliani*, Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* v.). (See Florez's interesting account of the site of Amaya, which Dahn seems to have overlooked, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 408; also Masdeu, *Hist. de España*, x. 134.) Thence the king struck westward to the country of the Aregenses, bordering probably on Suevian territory, where one Aspidius, "loci senior," had founded a local independent government. (Dahn, v. 131, note 1; conf. the Roman provincial nobility of which we hear under Euric, Isid. p. 485.) He with his wife and children were made prisoners, and his *opes* and *loca* taken possession of. No success, however, could really amalgamate the inhabitants of these northern mountainous valleys with southern Spain, and later Visigothic as well as all later Spanish history is full of instances of the separatist spirit of the country, to which the abolition of the *fueros* in our own day has scarcely dealt the last blow. From the Aregenses, Leovigild passed on to the Suevi, in whom most probably these local risings had found support, but Miro, the Suevian king, sued successfully for peace, and Leovigild retraced his steps southwards (Joannes Bicl. l.c. p. 380). One more rebellion remained to be put down. The inhabitants of the province of Orospeda (the mountain country of Cuença and Molina, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 413, Dahn, *l. c.* 131, note 2, and v. Sprüner's *Hist. H. Atlas*, no. 14) were attacked and subdued, the towns and strong places first, and the *rustici* of the mountains and remote districts later on.

In the preceding narrative the order of events given in Joannes Bicl. has been preserved. Dahn, our great German authority on Visigothic history, follows a slightly different order, for the purpose apparently of reconciling Isidore's narrative with that of the abbat of Biclaro. Such a reconciliation is, however, not necessary. Isidore's whole account of Leovigild's reign is of a vague general kind, and does not pretend to minute chronological accuracy. The sequence of names in the few sentences he gives to these early conquests of Leovigild has evidently no importance, whereas the case is quite different with Joannes's narrative, which is thrown into the form of annals, and is, with regard to these points, perfectly consistent with itself and with geography.

The King's Treatment of the Nobles.—The most formidable external enemies of the Gothic rule were now temporarily crushed, and Leovigild could turn his mind to building up and reforming the internal order of the state. In this period of success and prestige we may in all probability place his onslaught upon the Gothic nobility, that intractable order of which Gregory of Tours says naively, "The Goths have learned the detestable habit of killing their king whenever he displeases them, and putting another in his place" (*Hist. Franc.* iii. 30). And again (iv. 38), "Leovigild killed all those who *had made a habit of killing their kings* (conf. "cognito morbo Gothorum," Fredegar, 82), without leaving a male among them." Of this visitation of the nobles, Joannes Biclarensis, himself a victim of Leovigild's Arian persecution, speaks with evident approval. "Leovigildus rex, extinctis undique tyrannis, et pervasoribus Hispaniae superatis, sortitus requiem, propria cum plebe resedit" (*l. c.* p. 381). It remained for Leovigild's younger contemporary, Isidore, at a time when the church and the converted Gothic nobles were no longer in a state of necessary antagonism, to see in this strife with his turbulent and savage *palatini* only another proof of the cruelty and perversity of the Arian king ("Extitit autem et quibusdam suorum perniciosus, etc." *l. c.* apud *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 491). To us, who are able to some extent to trace the effects and tendencies of the various social and political forces in the Hispano-Gothic state throughout its history, it is quite evident that Leovigild's stern treatment of the Gothic nobles was a necessary part of his scheme for the establishment of a strong monarchy, and must be taken together with his care to secure the succession to his sons, with his whole attitude towards the Catholic church, and with other legislative and social acts of his which must be noticed presently. The expression *cum propria plebe*, in the passage quoted above from Joannes Biclarensis, is worth notice as bringing home to us with unusual sharpness the differences of race and creed which still in Leovigild's time separated Goth from Roman provincial, *i.e.* Arian from Catholic, but which in the reign of the convert Recared were to begin to disappear as fast as they had already disappeared in Frankish Gaul, where the religious difficulty had been absent from the beginning. Of this religious difference and difficulty, with all the political complications dependent on it, the famous story of Hermenigild's revolt is the best and most instructive illustration which remains to us.

Hermenigild's Rebellion.—In 572 (or 73) the king had made both the sons of his first marriage "consortes regni" (J. Bicl. p. 378). Gregory of Tours, deceived perhaps by Frankish custom, speaks of an equal division of the kingdom between them ("inter eos regnum aequaliter divisit," iv. 38), which the inaccurate Mariana (vi. 11) developed still further into a threefold division of Spain with three capitals, Toledo for Leovigild, the newly-founded Reccopolis for Recared (see below), and Seville for Hermenigild. The words used by J. Biclarensis, however, imply nothing more than such a position as Tulga assumed later in the reign of Kindila ("petitione patris sublimatur in regno," Fred. *Chr.* 82), or Rekesvinth under Kindasvinth ("K. fil. suum Rek. in omni regno Spaniae regem s.ai ilivit," *ib.*), or Wittiza under Egica ("Egica in consortio regni Witizanem filium, sibi haeredem faciens Gothorum regnum, retemptat," Isid. Pac.). The object of these arrangements on the part of the Gothic kings was always one and the same—to win a triumph for the principle of hereditary succession which tended to strengthen the throne, at the expense of that of popular election which tended to weaken it. After the death of Amalaric, the last representative of the house of Theodoric I.—which possessed the crown, though always by right of election, from 451 to 531—none but the strong kings could thus secure the succession for their sons, or induce the palatini who elected, and the clergy who confirmed and anointed (Dahn, v. 172), to relinquish the electoral rights which gave them so much formidable political power. As Dahn well says, "Of the two forces which combine to make Germanic kingship—hereditary succession and popular election—the latter was always the stronger among the Visigoths, and at last won complete supremacy." The consortium regni may be looked upon as a compromise between these two forces. It does not appear to have carried with it necessarily any assignment of territory. As in the cases of Recared and Rekesvinth (v. Braulio's letter to Kindasvinth, *Esp. Sagr.* xxx.), the heir thus recognised—(by election at the hands of the palatini?)—was his father's general and representative throughout the kingdom. To Hermenigild, however, eight years after he became consors regni, special territory was assigned, as Gallicia was later to Wittiza, and perhaps for much the same reasons. Joannes Biclarensis enables us to judge of the real nature of the transaction as against Gregory's exaggeration. After Hermenigild's marriage, when it had become necessary to send the newly-married pair to a distance, "Leov. rex Hermenigildo filio suo, partem Provinciae (*i.e.* Prov. Hispaniae) ad regnandum tribuit," the partem Provinciae being, as subsequent events shew, Baetica, or as much of it as was free from the imperialists, with Seville for a place of residence. In this arrangement it is extremely probable that, besides the appeasement of family feuds, Leovigild had also in view the stability and defence of the southern frontier against the recently repulsed Byzantines, just as Wittiza was sent to Tuy later to overawe the half amalgamated Suevi. Of any such assignment of territory to Recared there is no trace in the sources. (Dahn suggests, vi. 330, that Hermenigild may have been Dux of Baetica, as Claudius (see art. RECARED) was Dux of Lusitania, or Paulus [WAMBA], Dux Narbonensis. See *l. c.* p. 329, for definition of the position and functions of the *dux* in the Gothic state.)

Sometime before 580 both Hermenigild and Recared were betrothed to Frankish princesses. (Five Hispano-Frankish marriages or projects of marriage occur between Amalaric and Witteric, all with more or less disastrous consequences.) Hermenigild was to marry his step-niece, Ingunthis, the daughter of Sigibert of Metz and Brunichild, and granddaughter therefore of Brunichild's mother, Goisvintha, now Leovigild's second wife, while Recared was betrothed to Ingunthis's first cousin, Rigunthis, daughter of Chilperic and Fredegonde. In 580

Hermenigild's bride, a girl of twelve or thirteen (Sigibert and Brunichild were married in 566), passed the Pyrenees, "cum magno apparatu" (Greg. Tur. v. 39), having been exhorted on her passage southwards by bishop Fronimius of Agde to hold fast her orthodox profession in the midst of the Arian family of which she was to become a member. Meanwhile it was no doubt the expectation of the Goths that Ingunthis would become an Arian as Brunichild or Gailesvintha (*q. v.*) had become Catholics (Dahn, v. 136). The newly arrived bride, however, stood firm, and dissension speedily arose between herself and her Arian grandmother. According to Gregory of Tours (v. 39), upon whose authority alone the details of this portion of the narrative rest, Goisvintha had recourse to personal ill-treatment when persuasion failed (see art. INGUNTHIS), and in order to secure family peace Leovigild assigned a town to Hermenigild and Ingunthis ("unam de civitatibus in qua residentes regnarent"). Gregory's notions of the geography of Southern Spain are throughout extremely vague, and he persistently confuses Seville with Cordova, if not also Merida with both these towns (cont. v. 39, vi. 18, and vi. 43). Here, viz. at Seville, the influence of his wife, says Gregory of Tours—of the famous Metropolitan of Baetica, Leander (see art. LEANDER), according to Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iii. 41—succeeded in converting Hermenigild to Catholicism (*Hist. Fr.* v. 39; Paul. Diac. W. iii. 21), and he was confirmed in the orthodox faith (*not* re-baptized, as Fredegar. *Ep.* 83) by Leander, taking the new name of Johannes ("ac dum chrismaretur, Johannes est vocitatus"). We are here confronted with the strange fact that neither of the Spanish contemporary reporters, Joannes Biclarensis and Isidore, so much as mentions Hermenigild's conversion, "*H. factione Goisvinthae Reginae* (conf. Florez, vi. and Görres, *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1873, i. 11, on these difficult words), tyrannidem assumens in Hispali civitate rebellione facta recluditur," says the former; while one short sentence, "H. deinde filium imperiis suis tyrannizantem obsessum exuperavit," is all that Isidore gives to the whole matter. We are not here concerned with an explanation of this curious silence (see art. HERMENIGILD), but it may be as well to point out that, notwithstanding it, the fact of the conversion itself does not admit of question (conf. Görres, *l. c.* and Dahn, v. 147, note 4). Opinions, however, differ widely as to how the fact is to be interpreted. By this step the son placed himself in direct opposition to his father and to all the Gothic traditions, while at the same time it brought him into natural alliance with all the forces threatening the Gothic state, with the Byzantines in the south, with the Suevi in the north, and with whatever of disaffection was smouldering among Leovigild's provincial subjects. It is indeed most probable (as Helfferich has already partially suggested, *Entsteh. und Gesch. des Westgothen-Rechts*, p. 11) that Hermenigild's conversion was largely a political matter, although in the famous account of him in the *Dialogues* Gregory the Great has carefully, or perhaps unconsciously, kept out of sight all the political surroundings of the case. As the case stands in the documents, it is certainly open to any student of the time to conclude that the conversion was the result of a combination between certain of the Catholic bishops under Leovigild headed by Leander and the Byzantine leaders, counselled perhaps by such eminent bishops within the Greek territory as Licinian of Cartagena—the Byzantine headquarters—and Severus of Malaga (*q. v.*). The share assigned to Leander in the matter by Gregory the Great, his subsequent exile and appearance at Constantinople, "pro causis fidei Visigothorum" (*Pref. in Moralia*), and his friendship for Licinian of Cartagena, together with the open alliance presently formed between Hermenigild and the imperial prefect, all seem to point in this direction. The young couple at Seville may well have appeared to the Catholics a pair of convenient instruments for dealing a deadly blow at the heretical Gothic monarchy; while in the case of the Byzantines a strictly political motive would have been also present. By Hermenigild's conversion to Catholicism the monarchy was to be attacked at its centre before the exceptional qualities of Leovigild should succeed in making it once more a powerful engine of government. (We are here at variance with Dahn, who calls the supposition of a Catholic and Byzantine conspiracy "eine dramatische construction," without, however, bringing forward any arguments against it.) Nor do we know anything of Hermenigild personally which should oblige us to place his conversion in a higher category of human action. To the Spanish reporters of his own time—both Catholic bishops—he is simply a "tyrannus" and a "rebellis;" even Gregory of Tours, for all his natural sympathy, has hard things to say of him, as we shall see presently. Nor in our own day has an Ultra-Catholic historian of Gothic Spain (Gams, *K. G.* ii. (2), p. 4) anything but a lukewarm defence to make of his general conduct, the chief point in the defence being that "martyrdom, like a baptism of blood, effaces all former sins."

The peril was a grave one. "Quae causa in provincia Hispaniae tam Gothis quam Romanis majoris exitii quam adversariorum infestatio fuit," says Joannes. Leovigild, however, when the news reached him, behaved, as in earlier dangers, with an extraordinary combination of energy and prudence. In the first place Gregory tells us of a correspondence between father and son. "Veni ad me," writes the king, "quia extant causae, quas conferamus," et ille "non ibo, quia infensus es mihi pro eo quod sim catholicus." Then Leovigild assembled a council of Arian bishops (581, mentioned in C. Tol. iii. as occurring in the twelfth year of Leovigild), and they drew up a formula designed to facilitate the conversion of Catholics to Arianism. Re-baptism was no longer demanded by the Arian bishops as heretofore. They laid down that all "*de Romana religione* ad nostram catholicam fidem venientes non debere baptizari sed tantummodo per manus impositionem et communionis perceptionem ablui, et gloriam Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto dari." (The Gloria Patri plays an important part in the history of Spanish Arianism. Conf. Greg. of Tours' conversation with Leovigild's envoy, the Arian Oppila—*Hist. Franc.* vi. 40, and C. Tol. iii.) A *libellus* containing the decisions of the council was issued and widely circulated (C. Tol. iii. 16, Tejada y Ramiro, ii.). At the same time other

temptations were offered to the Catholic bishops and clergy, and Isidore and Joannes mournfully confess that many among them yielded to the strain of the situation. Vincent of Saragossa, for instance, consented even to re-baptism: "tanquam a coelo in infernum projectum." The king also began to pay the most scrupulous respect to Catholic feeling and belief, to shew respect to Catholic saints (see the strange story of Masona and the tunic of St. Eulalia in the *De Vit. et Mir. Patr. Emerit. Esp. Sagr.* xiii.), and to pray in Catholic churches (Greg. Tur. vi. 18). "I believe," he is reported to have said, "with firmness that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, equal to the Father, but I do not at all believe that the Holy Ghost is God, since in no book of Scripture do we read that He is God." By such means as these Leovigild endeavoured to secure the Catholic party within the territory outside Hermenigild's influence. It is plain that although according to Gregory he was looking out for means to destroy his son (coepit causas quaerere qualiter eum perderet), he did not for some time feel himself strong enough to make an open quarrel, and meet Hermenigild in the field. Precautions had to be taken on all sides, and first and foremost in the direction of the Franks. Here Recared's betrothal to Chilperic's daughter Rigunthis formed a useful point of departure. Accordingly, from 580 to 584, we find constant embassies on the subject of the marriage passing between Leovigild and Chilperic; and thus any combination of Chilperic of Soissons with Ingunthis's brother, the boy-king Childebert, and with her other uncle Guntchramn of Burgundy, the covetous neighbour of Gallia Gothica, was skilfully warded off. (For the threatened attack on the Spanish north-eastern frontier by Chilperic and Guntchramn, which Dahn places in 581, there is no authority in the sources. Rather it may be shewn that in that year Chilperic was in alliance with Leovigild and at variance with Guntchramn; and that, moreover, the hands of the latter were tied by an alliance between Chilperic and Childebert. For a general sketch of the political relations between Spain and Gaul during this reign, see below.)

One more difficulty remained to be met before Leovigild could meet his rebellious son. In 581 the Basques again rose in revolt. Leovigild overran part of their country, and built the town of Victoriacum (Vittoria) as a symbol of his victory and a protection for the future. Then, secure from attack in the north-east (the Suevi meanwhile were advancing from the north-west), Leovigild at last "exercitum ad expugnandum tyrannum filium collegit" (Joh. Bicl. p. 383) (A.D. 582).

During these two years Hermenigild had assumed a more and more formidable position. He struck coins inscribed with his bust and the royal title (see engraving of the unique example extant in Florez's *Medallas*, iii. 190, "Ermenigildi Regi a Deo Vita"), and aimed openly at his father's place and life, "nesciens miser," says even the hot partisan Gregory of Tours, "judicium sibi imminere divinum qui contra genitorem, quamvis hereticum, talia cogitaret" (vi. 43). Many "civitates et castella" in Baetica had declared for him; and Cordova, after eight years of submission to Leovigild, had again revolted, and invited a Byzantine garrison. The large and important town of Merida, within a dangerously short distance of Toledo itself, was for him, and his followers are described as numbering many thousands (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 43). Upon the approach of Leovigild's army, Merida apparently was the first of the revolted towns to fall. (See coin in Florez's *Medallas*, iii. 182, "Leovigildus Rex pius Emerita victor," and *Hist. Franc.* vi. 18.) That Merida, the capital of Lusitania, should have declared for Hermenigild, sufficiently proves the extent to which the rebellion had spread. The fact is probably to be attributed to the influence of bishop Masona, who appears at the conversion council of 589, and may well have been at the head of the Catholic resistance in the town at this moment, though the conjecture cannot be verified from the almost unusable but most curious life of him in the *De Vit. et Mir. Patr. Emerit.* (see art. MASONA, and *Esp. Sagr.* xiii. Append.) in which the capture of the town is not mentioned. From Merida the king marched southwards to the siege of Seville. At the same time, Miro, king of the Suevi, was advancing thither in aid of his natural ally Hermenigild. Leovigild, however, met and surrounded him, obliging him to purchase a safe return by such an oath of submission as his son Eburic took later (*q. v.*). On his arrival in his own territory Miro died from the effects of the bad air and water of southern Spain. (So Gregory; Joh. Bicl. describes the Suevian king as dying before Seville.) The siege of Seville lasted through 583 into 584. Leovigild pressed the besieged town from all sides, and by all available means, "nunc fame, nunc ferro, nunc Baetis conclusione." The walls of the ancient Roman town of Italica, near Seville (founded by the elder Scipio, Cortez y Lopez, *Dicc. Geog. de la Esp. Antigua*), were restored by him, and made use of in the general system of environment, and at last the town was taken by storm. Hermenigild had previously escaped to the Byzantines at Cordova (Hermenigildo *ad Rempublicam* commigrante, Joh. Bicl.), where his wife Ingunthis had apparently been already placed for safety. After the fall of Seville Leovigild reduced the neighbouring towns and strong places which had espoused his son's cause, among them, in all probability, the fortress of Osser (or Ossetum? conf. Dahn v. 145 n. 4), with its garrison of 300 picked men, although in Gregory's narrative the fall of Osser precedes the Suevian treaty. Then the king marched up the valley of the Guadalquivir to Cordova. Here the rebellion collapsed. The imperial prefect (? Commitiolus: v. arts. LICINIAN of Cartagena, and SEVERUS of Malaga) was persuaded to give up Hermenigild and the town by a bribe of 30,000 solidi. Hermenigild was found in a church where he had taken refuge, and from which he was tempted by the promises of his father and brother. Leovigild embraced and pardoned him within the church, but as soon as he was drawn thence is reported to have ordered him to be despoiled of his garments (no doubt the royal dress, in imitation of his father who had been the first of the Gothic kings to adopt it) and of his servants (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 43). He was then conveyed to Toledo, and thence exiled to Valencia (A.D. 584) (Joh. Bicl. *l. c.* p. 383). Leovigild struck two

medals in commemoration of the capture of Seville and Cordova, the first bearing the inscription, "Cum Deo obtinuit Spalim;" the second, "Cordubam bis obtinuit." (*Medallas*, iii.)

Conquest and Incorporation of the Suevi.—Upon this brilliant success, won against formidable odds, and under most critical circumstances, followed the final incorporation of the Suevi with the Gothic state in 585 (see EBURIC). "Suevorum gentem, thesaurum et patriam, suam in potestatem redigit, et Gothorum provinciam facit" (Joh. Bicl.), "Regnumque eorum in jura gentis suae *mira celeritate* transmisit," says Isidore, thus rendering with a stroke the vigour and force which were Leovigild's characteristics. "Thus," he continues, "he possessed himself of the greater part of Spain, whereas before him the people of the Goths were confined within narrow limits (gens Gothorum angustis finibus arcebatur), upon which, indeed, follows the inevitable qualification, "sed obfuscavit in eo error impietatis gloriam tantae virtutis."

Persecution of the Catholics.—By caution and daring combined, Leovigild had succeeded in crushing the Catholic and Byzantine conspiracy against his throne, of which Hermenigild had been the instrument. The result of his triumph was an outbreak of that savage and fanatical temper which seems to have been the peculiar and disastrous possession of the Visigothic race, which, after the fusion of the Roman and Teutonic elements under Recared, infected the jubilant Catholic church, dictating the Jew-laws, which are the disgrace of the later councils of Toledo, and which, intensified by centuries of Mohammedan occupation, has left its fatal mark on all subsequent Spanish history. The persecuting temper of the Arian kings, however, it must in justice be remembered, had always some political justification. Under Euric (*q. v.*), placed between the orthodox Franks and his own disaffected Catholic subjects, under the Vandal kings of Northern Africa, where the Byzantines take the place of the Franks, or under Leovigild, the situation with its tendencies is always the same. The Catholic church, acting as the leader of the Romanised populations, is the natural foe of her Arian rulers, and the natural friend of their enemies, and when her attempts to shake them off fail, it is inevitable that the penalty of failure should fall most heavily on her, and on her guides and officers—the bishops. Sidonius Apollinaris has left us a vivid account of the church's sufferings under Euric. They were no doubt largely repeated at this particular moment in the reign of Leovigild, though the exact extent of the persecution is very hard to determine. Isidore's words are well known: "Denique Arianae perfidiae furore repletus, in Catholicos persecutione commota, plurimos episcoporum exilio relegavit. Ecclesiarum redditus et privilegia abstulit, multos quoque terroribus in Arianam pestilentiam impulit, plerosque sine persecutione illectos auro rebusque decepit" (these last words referring to the time previous to the suppression of the rebellion). We may perhaps suspect this account of a touch of the author's favourite rhetoric (conf. Dahn, *sehr übertrieben*, v. 141). Still many scattered facts can be gathered in confirmation of it. Leander of Seville was banished, and in his exile at Constantinople made friends with the papal Apocrisarius, afterwards Gregory the Great, the biographer of Hermenigild. Fronimius of Agde was obliged to fly into Merovingian territory (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 24), an Arian bishop was sent to Merida, and Masona, after various ineffectual attempts on the part of the king to win him over to Arianism, was imprisoned (Paulus Emerit. *Esp. Sagr.* xiii. p. 369). From the signatures at the conversion council it is evident that in many sees (see art. FROISCLUS), especially in those within the newly annexed Suevian territory, a large but indefinite number of Catholic bishops were replaced by Arians, the Catholics returning to their sees under Recared, but, except in the case of metropolitans, occupying them thenceforward jointly with their converted Arian supplanters. To the list of eminent exiles the names of Fulgentius of Astigi, Leander's brother, and Licinian of Cartagena are commonly added (Dahn, v. 139). For the banishment of the first, however, there is no authority but a statement in Rod. of Toledo (lib. ii. cap. xiv.), which is either a misunderstanding of or an addition to his sources, and the second was certainly not exiled by Leovigild. Cartagena was at that moment the headquarters of the Byzantine power in the peninsula, and its bishop could scarcely have been under the jurisdiction of the Gothic king. Indeed for Licinian's death at Constantinople (Isid. *de Vir. Ill.* cap. 42) a quite other explanation is forthcoming (see art. LICINIAN). (On the general subject of the persecution, conf. Greg. Tur. v. 39, and for various doubtful details of it, see Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* xii.; *Glor. Mart.* lxxxii.; and *De Vit. et Mir. Patr. Emerit.* cap. xi.)

Failure of the Rigunthis-Recared Marriage.—In 584, the year of the suppression of the rebellion, Rigunthis, the bride elect of Recared, had reached Toulouse on her way to Spain. There the news of her father Chilperic's murder threw her plans into confusion. She was detained there by Chilperic's enemy, the Dux Desiderius, robbed of her treasures, and finally escorted to her mother Fredegonde, "after many affronts and humiliations" (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 45, vii. 9, 15, 33, 39). That Recared and his father made no effort to avenge or recover her, shews that after Chilperic's death the marriage had no further importance for them and was easily relinquished.

Death of Hermenigild.—In 586, Hermenigild met his death at Tarraco at the hands of Sisebert. "In urbe Tarraconensi a Sisberto interficitur" is all the notice which the contemporary Spanish witness, the abbat of Biclaro, gives to the event. The circumstance of his death and his claim to the dignity of martyrdom will be found shortly discussed under his name. Whether his death is to be considered as an execution ordered by Leovigild, or as the half-authorised act of a fanatical Gothic noble done in the practical certainty that it would be acceptable to the father, and for the sake of removing a public danger, can scarcely now be determined. (Conf. Joh. Bicl.'s short entry under Recared, "Sisbertus, interfector Hermenigildi, *morte turpissima* perimitur.") In any case, however strongly our sympathies may go with the son, the father's standpoint must not be disregarded. To Leovigild and those surrounding him, Hermenigild's life as a Catholic must

have appeared a perpetual menace to the safety of the Gothic state and monarchy. Chilperic's death had changed the position of affairs in France, and at any moment a combination of Childebert and Guntchramn with the Imperialists might have carried the son to the throne at the expense of his father's life, and of the principles by which it had been guided. What precipitated the final catastrophe, which does not seem to have been contemplated when the rebel was first captured at Cordova, can never be certainly known, though it is a plausible conjecture that it may have been owing to the discovery of some fresh intrigues between Hermenigild and the national enemies. His place of exile, Valencia, was close upon the Greek border, and his murder at Tarraco looks like a flight northwards to the Franks, stopped by a successful pursuit. However this may be, it is certain that the reasons for the execution given in the famous account of Gregory the Great (*Dial.* iii. 31) can never be considered exhaustive by any non-Ultramontane student of the time. In the same year, Ingunthis, the bride of 580, died in Africa in the hands of the Imperialists on her way to Constantinople, at the age of nineteen, leaving an infant son, Athanagild (see art. INGUNTHIS). Thus ends one of the most tragic stories of this violent and dramatic time, a story which may almost be regarded as summing up for us the whole political and religious situation of the century.

Attack of the Franks on Septimania.—"Quibus causis commotus" (*i.e.* the deaths of Hermenigild and Ingunthis) Guntchramn of Burgundy, Ingunthis's uncle, gathered an immense army for the invasion of Spain, and made his long-meditated attack on Gothic Gaul, while at the same time he sent a fleet to Gallicia, no doubt with the object of rousing the recently annexed Suevian districts. "First bring under our rule the Septimanian province which borders upon the Gauls," he is reported to have said to his army, "for it is a disgrace that the boundary *of these horrible Goths* (indignum est horrendorum Gotthorum terminus) should extend unto the Gauls" (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 30). Reinforcements flocked to him from beyond the Saone, the Rhone, and the Seine, and the huge miscellaneous army marched in two divisions upon Nismes and Carcassonne. Both divisions were equally unsuccessful. Carcassonne first admitted and then repulsed the invaders, killing their leader Terentiolus, count of Limoges, and exposing his head on the walls. Ambuscades outside the city cut down the flying troops, and as their scattered remains made their way home, the inhabitants of the friendly towns they had plundered on the southward march inflicted still further damage on them. The Nismes division ravaged the open country, but could do nothing against the fortified places, and they too were forced to retreat, finding in their march through the desolated province, a fit retribution for the excesses of plunder and licence they had permitted themselves when first passing through it to Septimania (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 30; Dahn, v. p. 150). Guntchramn, "with bitterness in his heart," was holding a kind of inquiry into the causes of this disastrous campaign with his duces at Autun, when Leovigild struck his return blow. Recared crossed the Pyrenees, took the fortresses of Caput Arietis (? Cabarède, Jacobs, *Géographie de Gregoire de Tours*, p. 100), and of Ogernum (? Beaucaire, l. c. 138), and shut himself up in Nismes. After this success Leovigild sent ambassadors to Guntchramn, proposing peace (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 35). But Guntchramn had been still further incensed by the news of the ill success of his naval expedition to Gallicia (from which only a few survivors escaped in open boats to tell the story of its destruction), and Leovigild's offers were refused. Again and again the peace-overtures were repeated by the Gothic king, but with no effect upon the ageing and embittered Guntchramn, and hostilities were still continued. But Leovigild's work was done. Perhaps the eagerness for peace he had displayed throughout this unvaryingly successful war (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 35, 38, 45) may be taken as an index of failing health and strength. At any rate he died in April or May of this year at Toledo, according to some reports constant to the beliefs and principles by which he had lived, according to others—less trustworthy—a repentant convert to Catholicism, mourning over the unrighteous death of his firstborn son.

Leovigild's character and aims.—"Leovigild's reign," says a German authority, "represents the last attempt to maintain the Gothic state in its traditional aspects and character by the strenuous use of all possible weapons against its traditional dangers—war with Catholicism, chastisement of the nobility, reinvigoration of the monarchy, and defence of it against its hostile neighbours" (Dahn, v. 150). It was one of the last outbursts of Gothic pride and Gothic nationality in the face of the superior civilisation destined inevitably to absorb both forces,—forces which did indeed accept their defeat, though not a final defeat, at the hands of Leovigild's son Recared. An Arian monarchy, strong in all directions—towards its own pillars and supporters, the Gothic nobles, towards foreign outsiders, and towards its natural enemy Catholicism—this appears to have been Leovigild's ideal. To its influence may be traced most of the spontaneous actions of his government, the association of his sons, his treatment of the rebellious and murderous nobles, his attitude towards the Catholic bishops, and, above all, certain alterations in the outer aspects of Gothic kingship which mark out the reign, and shew that the king was prepared to accept just so much of Roman custom as would further his own ends. "Primusque etiam inter suos," says Isidore (*Hist. Goth.* p. 491), "regali veste opertus in solio resedit. Nam ante eum et habitus et consessus communis, ut populo, ita et regibus erat" (conf. coins of Leovigild and Leova I. Florez. *Medallas*, iii.). To him Toledo owed its permanent elevation to the rank of capital and royal residence (comp. Dahn, v. 834; Helf. *W. R.* 8). He also first endeavoured to place the heavily-taxed royal treasury on a level with the private accumulated wealth of the great noble families. "Fiscum quoque primus iste locupletavit, primusque aerarium de rapinis civium, hostiumque manubiis auxit." Nor was he lacking in some of the works of peace, though his reign was passed in the midst of war, and, as Dahn points out, he was rather remarkable for what he prevented than for what he accomplished. But the building of the towns of Victoriacum and Reccopolis, which last, "miro opere et moenibus et subur-

banis adornans, privilegia populo novae urbis instituit" (Joh. Bicl.), and the legal improvements and alterations of which Isidore speaks must not be forgotten: "In legibus quoque ea quae ab Eurico incondite constituta videbantur, correxit, plurimas leges praetermissas adjiciens plerasque superfluas auferens" (see Helfferich, *W. Recht*, 15, on the relationship of Leovigild's legislation to that of Euric on the one hand and Recared on the other; also Dahn's *Westgoth. Studien, Gesetzgebung*). The supposed fact which, though it has been much disputed, is brought forward even by Dahn to prove Leovigild's early moderation and freedom from prejudice towards the Catholics, viz. his marriage with Theodosia, daughter of Severianus, and sister to Leander, Isidore, and Florentina, will not long, we imagine, be allowed a place in sober history. It appears first in the 13th century, fathered by Lucas of Tuy, to whom, in spite of cardinal Arevale's arguments (Isid. *Opera*, i.), it is impossible not to attribute a good deal of the legendary growth around the Isidore family. The "tribus superstibus germanis" of Leander's *Regula* (see art. LEANDER), may be quoted against it with almost conclusive force. But it is sufficient to say that had Leander really been the maternal uncle of Hermenigild, whom he converted, and Recared, of whom he was the adviser and minister, it is simply incredible that we should have had no notice of the fact from any of the contemporary witnesses, from Isidore, Leander's brother and Recared's panegyrist, or from Gregory the Great, Leander's intimate friend and correspondent, and the founder of Hermenigild's saintly reputation (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* ix.; Helfferich, *Arianismus* p. 52).

The other report, which attributes to Leovigild a death-bed repentance for his Arian errors and for the death of Hermenigild, has far better authority to shew for itself, but is in reality scarcely less doubtful. (Conf. with the well-known passages in Greg. Magn. *Dial.* iii. 31, and Greg. Tur. viii. 46, the silence of the Spanish authorities, Isid. *l. c.*, Joh. Bicl. *l. c.*, and the direct testimony to the contrary furnished by Paulus Emerit., *De Vit. et Mir.* &c. cap. xvi.). We may indeed hope that some remorse for the fate of an eldest son softened the successful king's last hours; but the state of the evidence does not justify us in concluding more. In all probability Leovigild died as he had lived, the champion of an old-world cause, doomed to ultimate failure in the interests of advancing Christian and national unity, and Isidore's well-known antitheses are substantially true—"Ille (Leovigild) irreligiosus et bello promptissimus, hic (Recared) fide pius et pace praeclarus; ille armorum artibus gentis imperium dilatans; hic gloriosius eamdem gentem fidei trophaeo sublimans" (*Hist. Goth.* l. c.).

Hispano-Frankish Relations under Leovigild.—In 570, the second year of Leovigild, Frankish Gaul was ruled by three grandsons of Chlodwig, Chilperic of Soissons, Sigibert of Austrasia, and Guntchramn of Burgundy. Sigibert's wife, married in 566, was the notorious Brunichild, daughter of Athanagild and Goisvintha, and Leovigild's stepdaughter, while Chilperic, having murdered his young wife Gailesvintha, Brunichild's sister, at the instance of Fredegonde, was now married to Fredegonde. Some time before 572 (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 38), the two betrothals, of Hermenigild to Ingunthis, Sigibert's daughter, and Recared to Chilperic's daughter Rigunthis, had taken place. The latter betrothal may have been intended as a sign of peace between Leovigild and Chilperic, and of condonement of the murder of Gailesvintha; both had probably, in Leovigild's mind, the important political end not only of securing the Frankish alliance in general, but also of warding off from Gallia Gothica and the Spanish frontier the covetous attacks of Guntchramn of Burgundy, who would thus be liable to find himself checked by his two brothers in any hostile enterprises he might embark upon. In 575, Sigibert was murdered (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 52), and his young son Childebert (born 570) succeeded him. Thenceforward a careful study of the last five books of the *Historia Francorum* will enable the student to disengage the following lines of policy. Chilperic is throughout Leovigild's firm ally. Guntchramn of Burgundy, on the other hand, is his natural enemy. As the neighbouring state to Gallia Gothica, Burgundy pursues the policy of a "natural south-west frontier," and is throughout aiming at the expulsion of the Goths from Septimania. After the murder of Sigibert in 575, his son Childebert represents an important determining influence on Hispano-Frankish relations. According as he is allied with Chilperic or with Guntchramn, Leovigild's prospects in Gaul grow dark or bright. From 581 to 584 he is allied with Chilperic, with perhaps some intermission in 582 (*H. F.* vi. 19). Guntchramn's hands are thus tied during the whole of the critical period of the Hermenigild rebellion, and Leovigild's north-eastern border is secured from attack. In 584 Childebert goes over to Guntchramn, and as a consequence shews hostility towards Chilperic and Leovigild (vi. 45). In the same year Chilperic dies, and nothing but a quarrel about the same time between Childebert and Guntchramn saves Leovigild from attack. Chilperic's widow, Fredegonde, pursues her husband's policy of friendship with the Goths in defiance of Guntchramn, her son's nominal guardian. At last in 585, after the death of Ingunthis and the defeat of Childebert's army by the Lombards, Guntchramn ventures his attack on Septimania. Childebert throughout shews great indifference to the fate of his sister Ingunthis, in spite of his mother Brunichild's arguments (*H. Fr.* viii. 21), and is evidently only influenced by considerations of Frankish policy in his attitude towards the West Goths. Upon Leovigild's death he willingly receives Recared's advances, while Guntchramn remains to his death, in 593, the implacable, but for the most part powerless, enemy of the Visigothic state.

There are many details in the accounts of these relations given by Gregory of Tours which are worth notice from an ecclesiastical point of view. The conversations which Gregory reports between himself and Leovigild's Arian envoys on their way through Tours to Soissons or Paris (*H. F.* v. 44 and vi. 40), are especially valuable as throwing light upon the every-day social relations between Arianism and Catholicism at the time. [See art. OPPILA.]

I. *Spanish sources.*—Joannes Biclarensis, abbat of Biclaro and bishop of Gerona, a contemporary

of Leovigild (see art. under his name), his *Chronicon*, apud Florez. *Esp. Sagr.* vi.; Isidore of Seville, born about 560 (?), and writing about 630, *Hist. Goth.* ib.; Paulus Diaconus Emeritensis, flor. 650, *De Vit. et Mir. Patr. Emeritensium Esp. Sagr.* xiii.; Coins, in Florez. *Medallas*, iii. and in Heiss. *Descr. Gen. des Monnaies des Rois Wisig. d'Espagne*, Paris, 1872, p. 80; *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* (Hubner, No. 76).

II. *Foreign sources.*—Gregory of Tours (died 594), *Hist. Franc.* iv. viii.; Gregory Magn. Pap. *Dial.* iii. 31; Paul Warnf. Diac. *Hist. Longob.* iii. 21.

Later Spanish accounts.—Chron. Albeld. (A.D. 881), *Esp. Sagr.* xiii.; Lucas Tud. *Chron. Mundi*, and Rod. Tol. *De Reb. Hisp.*, both in Schott, *Hisp. Illustrata*, Frankfort, 1603; *Cronica General*, ed. 1604, cap. 38, 39; Mariana, v. 11; Morales, *Cron.* v. 507, ed. 1791); Ferreras, ed. D'Hermilly, ii. 192, &c. All uncritical, but interesting from Luc. Tud. onwards, as shewing the growth of the Hermenigild cultus.

General Literature.—See list prefixed to Dahn's *Könige der Germanen*, Vte. Abth. Dahn's account of the reign remains the best in point of insight and treatment, in spite of certain minor inaccuracies, but the most recent work on Leovigild and Hermenigild, as well as the most minute and exhaustive discussion of all the moot points, is to be found in certain articles by Prof. F. Görres, "*Kritische Untersuchungen über den Aufstand und das Martyrium des westgothischen Königssohnes Hermenigild*," in *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* (1873), i.; "*Leovigilds Stellung zum Catholicismus*," *ib.* p. 533; "*Ueber die Anfänge des Königs der Westgothen Leovigild*," in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, xii. (1872), p. 591, and xiii. (1873), p. 633. Conf. also *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts*, by Adolf Helfferich, Berlin, 1858; and *Westgothischer Arianismus*, Berlin, 1860, by the same. [M. A. W.]

LEOWALDUS, an early bishop of Mainz. [LUPOALDUS.]

LEPIDUS, prefect of Smyrna at the trial of St. Pionius in the Decian persecution. (*Acta Alia Pionii*, cap. 4, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 45.) [C. H.]

LEPORINUS, bishop of Le Mans. [LIBORIUS.]

LEPORIUS (1), a presbyter of Hippo Regius, who having been possessed of large worldly means, induced, as it seems, the members of his household to adopt with himself a monastic life, which he carried on with them in a building situate in a garden at Hippo. Of this establishment he defrayed the expenses, till he was persuaded by St. Augustine to give up his property and the temporal care of the monastery, and live in it as one who had renounced the world. Previously to this he had, at St. Augustine's suggestion, erected a house of refuge for strangers, *xenodochium*, not entirely at his own expense, but out of money given in alms by the Christians of the place, and from the same source he built a church in memory of the "eight martyrs," who were probably natives of Hippo (Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* iii. 267). This was about the year 425 A.D. (Aug. *Serm.* 356, 10). He was also present on the occasion when Eraclius was appointed to succeed St. Augustine, A.D. 426 (Aug. *Ep.* 213 al. 110).

A question has arisen whether this person was or was not the same as one of the same name, on whose behalf Augustine wrote a letter to some of the bishops of Gaul, to inform them of his recantation of certain doctrinal errors which he had published in that country (Aug. *Ep.* 219).

If this identity be accepted, his history is as follows:—He was a native probably of Treves, and in course of time, having become a monk, perhaps at Marseilles, fell into mistakes of doctrine, partaking both of a Pelagian and a Nestorian character. His opinions are gathered both from his own recantation and from the letter of Augustine mentioned above, and among them he argued that our Lord was made Christ in virtue of His baptism, that He associated the divine with His human nature in such a manner as virtually to make two Christs, and that He became free from sin by the exercise of His own free will. Having been rebuked for these errors by Cassian, he refused to abandon them; and having been severely censured by the Gallic bishops, he quitted that country and crossed, together with his friends Bonus and Domninus, to Africa, where he was received kindly by St. Augustine, who convinced both him and them of their errors, and induced them to recant them publicly. It is right, however, to mention that Leporius alone is mentioned by Augustine, and not his two companions. This recantation has been preserved, and bears strong marks of St. Augustine's influence, if not of his composition, and has been sometimes quoted as his. In the letter in which he announces the happy change in the opinions of Leporius, while he allows the propriety of the course adopted by the bishops of Gaul, Augustine recommends him warmly to their favour, as having retracted his errors. It is addressed by Aurelius, Augustine, Florentius, and Secundinus to Proculus and Cylinnius, the former of them probably bishop of Massilia, the latter perhaps of Fréjus. Proculus ceased to be bishop, either by death or deposition, about A.D. 419, and a bishop of Fréjus named Quillirius, a name which may well stand for Cylinnius, is mentioned as having preceded Leontius in that see, whose episcopate began about the same date. The recantation therefore must have taken place before 420, and cannot have been earlier than 415, about which time Cassian first came into Gaul. These dates would agree fairly enough with the circumstances mentioned in the former part of this article, and with the manner in which Augustine speaks of Leporius in his sermon, for he may well have returned to Gaul after his recantation, as the letter of Augustine seems to imply that he intended to do, and come back afterwards to Africa; and thus the identity of the presbyter of Hippo with the monk of Marseilles seems to be fairly established, an identity which Cassian himself, his opponent, and Gennadius assume as certain, but which is doubted by Tillemont, though the grounds of his doubts do not, in the opinion of the writer of this article, appear conclusive. The recantation (Leporii *Libellus Emendationis*) was printed by Sirmond in 1630 (*Opuscula Dogmatica*, p. 1), and reprinted in his *Opera Varia* (t. i. 345, ed. 1696, t. i. 203, ed. 1728). It will also be found in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, vol. vii. p. 14; in Labbe,

Conc. ii. p. 1678; in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xxxi. 1221. (Tillemont, x. 699, xii. 558, 676, xiii. 850, 878–885, 1039; Fleury, *H. E.* xxiv. 49; Ceillier, viii. 232; Cassian, *de Incarn.* i. 4; Gennadius, *de Scr. Eccl.* c. 59; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 402.) [H. W. P.]

LEPORIUS, bishop of Le Mans. [LIBORIUS.]

LEPORIUS (2), bishop of Augura (?) in Numidia, was one of the bishops banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 87.) [R. S. G.]

LEPORIUS (3) (LEBORIUS), third bishop of Maurienne, present at the council of Châlons, about A.D. 650. (Mansi, x. 1194; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 616.) [S. A. B.]

LERENIUS, bishop, "de Secoro." (Hilar. *Fragm.* ii. in *Pat. Lat.* x. 643 A.) [IRENAEUS (4).]

LERTHAN, LERTHANA, abbess of Kildare, A.D. 773. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 768; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 772; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 629 a, 666 b.) [J. G.]

LESMO, Dec. 9, abbat in the mountains of Argyle, A.D. 781. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 221, 378.) [J. G.]

LETATIUS (Usuard.), **LAETANTIUS** (Baron.)—July 17. One of the martyrs of Scillita. [FELIX (212).] (Ceillier, i. 543.) [G. T. S.]

LETOIUS (1), bishop of Melitene, the metropolis of the second province of Lesser Armenia, to whom Gregory of Nyssa wrote his *Epistola Canonica*, c. A.D. 390. (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xlv. 221; Photius, *Bibl.* Cod. 52; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 441; Tillem. viii. 534, ix. 607, 608, xiv. 449.) [EUCHITES.] [L. D.]

LETOIUS (2), bishop of Libyas (Livias, Bethara) in Palestine; present at the second general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1126, 1223, 1368, v. 590, 617, 716; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 655.) [J. de S.]

LEU. [LUPUS.]

LEUBERICUS (LEOBERICUS), bishop of Urgel, subscribing the 13th, 15th, and 16th councils of Toledo, A.D. 683, 688, 693. (Mansi, xi. 1076, xii. 22, 85; Villanueva, *Viage Literario*, x. 18.) [C. H.]

LEUCADIUS (1) (LEUCADAS), bishop of Ilium, in the convention at Philippopolis, A.D. 344. (Mansi, iii. 139; Le Quien, i. 775.) [L. D.]

LEUCADIUS (2), superior of a community of female solitaries at Sannabadas. On his death Gregory Nazianzen wrote a consolatory letter to the sisterhood. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 180; Tillem. ix. 548.) [E. V.]

LEUCADIUS (3), a magistrate who turned apostate from Christianity to Mithraism during the revival of Paganism under the usurper Eugenius at Rome, A.D. 392–394. His name occurs with those of Hierius, Marcianus, and Symmachus in a previously unpublished poem of cent. iv. first printed from a Parisian MS. by Ch. Morel in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1868, t. xvii. p. 451, xviii. 44; cf. De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1868, p. 49, *Bullet.* 1877, p. 114. It is a very important and interesting document for the reign of Eugenius. It gives an original description of the ceremonies of the Taurobolium, vv. 57–67. [G. T. S.]

LEUCADIUS (4), an archdeacon addressed by Nilus (*epp.* 188–190, lib. i.). [C. H.]

LEUCADIUS (5), bishop of Mnizus in the province of Galatia Prima, at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 481.) [T. W. D.]

LEUCADIUS (6), eighth bishop of Bayeux, subscribed the third council of Orleans in A.D. 538, and was represented at the fourth and fifth in 549. (Mansi, ix. 10, 121; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 349.) [S. A. B.]

LEUCHERUS, ST., bishop of Dol in the 7th century. (Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 185, Paris, 1668; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 1041.) [S. A. B.]

LEUCIUS (1), the reputed author of large apocryphal additions to the New Testament history, which originated in heretical circles, and which, though now lost, were much current in early times. The fullest account is that given by Photius (*Cod.* 114), which we therefore place first out of chronological order. He describes a book, called *The Circuits of the Apostles*, which contained the Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and which purported to have been written by Leucius Charinus. This second name Charinus is peculiar to Photius, earlier writers calling the author simply Leucius, a name variously altered by transcribers, as will presently be mentioned. Photius characterises the book as in style utterly unlike the genuine New Testament writings, and as full of folly, self-contradiction, falsehood, and impiety. It taught the existence of two gods—an evil one, the God of the Jews, having Simon Magus as his minister, and a good one, from whom Christ came. It confounded the Father and the Son; it denied the reality of Christ's Incarnation, and gave a docetic account of His life on earth and in particular of His crucifixion; it condemned marriage, and regarded all generation as the work of the evil principle; it denied that demons were created by God; it related childish stories of miraculous restoration to life, not only of dead men but of dead cattle; and in the Acts of John it used language which the Iconoclasts regarded as favourable to them. From this description we can identify as the same work a collection of Apostolic Acts, from which extracts were read at the second council of Nicaea (*Actio* v., Mansi, xiii. 167), the story of LYCOMEDES (*q. v.*) being that which was made use of by the Iconoclasts, and the docetic tales being those of which we have given a summary (Vol. I. p. 870). In the council was next read a citation from Amphilochius of Iconium, denouncing certain heretical Acts of the Apostles, and in particular arguing against the truth of a story, evidently the same as that to which we have just referred, on the ground that it represented the apostle John as on the Mount of Olives during the crucifixion, and so contradicted the gospel, which relates that the apostle had been close to the cross. With

this evidence that the work read by Photius was in existence before the end of the 4th century, we may probably refer to the same source a statement of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51, p. 427), that Leucius was a disciple of John, and that he joined his master in opposing the Ebionites. It was common enough with church writers to content themselves with rejecting the doctrine of heretical apocrypha, and to accept stories told in such documents as true, provided there were no doctrinal reason for refusing assent to them. The docetic Leucius, who denied the true manhood of our Lord, was at the opposite pole from the Ebionites, who asserted Him to be mere man, and therefore the Acts of John might well have contained a confutation of Ebionism. The Acts of Leucius were in use among the Manichees in the time of St. Augustine. Faustus the Manichaean (book 30, *c.* 4, vol. viii. p. 447) appeals to Acts of the four Apostles mentioned by Photius (Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and John), charging the Catholic party with wrongly excluding them from their canon. In several places Augustine refers to the same Acts (*Cont. Adimant.* 17, viii. 137, 139; *Cont. Faust.* xxii. 79, p. 409; *Cont. adv. leg. et proph.* i. 20, p. 570), and he names as the author Leutius, the name being written in some MSS. Levitius or Leuticius (*Act. cum Felice*, ii. 6, p. 489; see also *De Fid.* cc. 5, 38, App. pp. 25, 33). In the passage last cited, the writer, who is supposed to be Evodius of Uzala, a contemporary of Augustine, quotes from the Acts of Andrew a story how Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Egeas, under whom that apostle suffered, in order to avoid having intercourse with her husband, without his knowledge substituted her maid in her own place; and how, on another occasion, when she and her companion were engaged hearing the apostle, an angel, by imitating their voices, deceived the husband into the belief that they were still in her bedchamber. This story, which agrees with what Photius tells of the author's condemnation of sexual intercourse, is much softened in the still extant Acts of Pseudo-Abdias, which shew themselves to be an orthodox recasting of a heretical original. We find still the names of Maximilla and Egeas; but Maximilla does not refuse intercourse with her husband, and only excites his displeasure because, on account of her eagerness to hear the apostle, she can be with him less frequently; and, without any angelic deception, providential means are devised to prevent Egeas from surprising his wife at the Christian meeting. These Augustinian notices enable us to infer that it was the same work Philaster had in view when he stated (*Haer.* 88) that the Manichees had Acts purporting to be written by disciples of St. Andrew, and describing the apostle's doings when he passed from Pontus into Greece. He adds that these heretics had also Acts of Peter, John, and Paul, containing stories of miracles in which beasts were made to speak; for that these heretics counted the souls of men and of beasts alike (see Epiph. *Haer.* 66, p. 625). In the Gelasian decree on apocryphal books we read: "Libri omnes, quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphi," where we have various readings, Lucianus and Seleucius (Thiel, *Epp. Rom. Pont.* 463). In the spurious correspondence between Jerome and Chromatius and Heliodorus (vol. xi. p. 279), Jerome is represented as giving an orthodox version of certain authentic additions to St. Matthew's narrative, of which a heretical version had been given by Leucius (or as it is printed Seleucus), the author of the Acts already mentioned. In the letter of Innocent to Exsuperius (Mansi, iii. 1041) he condemns documents bearing the name of Matthew, of James the Less, of Peter and Paul written by Leucius, of Andrew written by Xenocharis and Leonidas the philosophers, and of Thomas. It has been conjectured that in Xenocharis an adjective has been joined with a proper name, and that we have here a corruption of Charinus. It is to be mentioned that in the Latin version of the apocryphal *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (Tischendorf, *Evan. Apoc.* p. 369), two sons of the aged Simeon, named Leucius and Charinus, are represented as having died before our Lord, and as miraculously returning to bear witness to His triumphs in the under world. It is plain that the writer borrowed these names from the apocryphal Acts, and the question arises, Did he there find warrant for regarding them as the names of distinct persons, or was Photius right in reporting both names to have been given to the same person? It would seem that only the Acts of John and perhaps of Peter named Leucius as their author: the necessities of the fiction would require the Acts of Andrew to be attested by a different witness, possibly Charinus, and it is conceivable that Photius may have combined the names merely from his judging, no doubt rightly, that all the Acts had a common author. Concerning the Acts of Paul in use among the Manichaeans see the articles LINUS and THECLA. Besides the authorities already cited, the Acts of Leucius are mentioned by Turribius, a Spanish bishop of the first half of the 5th century, from whom we learn that these Acts were used by the Priscillianists, and that the Acts of Thomas related a baptism, not in water but in oil, according to the Manichaean fashion; and by Pseudo-Mellitus (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* ii. 604), who acknowledges the truth of apostolic miracles related by Leucius, but rejects and argues against his doctrine of two principles.

It remains to mention one other reference to Leucius. Pacian (*Ep.* i. 2; Migne, *L. P.* xiii. 1053) says, "Phryges nobiliores qui se animatos a Leucio mentiuntur, se institutos a Proculo gloriantur." On this passage Zahn (see *infra*) mainly relies for holding that the Acts of Leucius are earlier than A.D. 160. But no other writer mentions a Montanist use of the Acts of Leucius, and on this subject the authority of Pacian does not count for much. The context does not indicate that he had much personal knowledge of the sect, and his heretical notices appear to be derived from the Syntagma of Hippolytus, where we have no reason to think that he would have found any mention of Leucius. It is highly probable that Pacian, as well as others of his contemporaries, believed that Leucius was a real companion of St. John, and therefore no doubt earlier than Montanus; but that Pacian had any means of real knowledge as to the relative priority of Leucius and Montanus we have no reason to believe. Besides those authorities which mention Leucius by name, there are others which speak of apocryphal Acts, and in which the same literature is in all probability referred to. Thus the *Synopsis*

Scripturae ascribed to Athanasius (ii. 154) speaks of books called the travels (περίοδοι) of Peter, of John, and of Thomas; and by the second the Leucian story is likely to be intended. Eusebius (iii. 25) tells of Acts of Andrew and of John; Epiphanius (*Haer.* 47) states that the Encratites used Acts of Andrew, John, and Thomas; (*Haer.* 61) that the Apostolici relied on Acts of Andrew and Thomas; (*Haer.* 63) and that those whom he calls Origeniani used Acts of Andrew. And it is worth remarking that it is of the three apostles, Thomas, Andrew, and John, whose travels were written by Leucius, that Origen (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 1) is able to tell the countries where the lot of their preaching had fallen, viz. India, Scythia, and Asia respectively.

The testimonies we have cited are not earlier than the 4th century, and several of them speak of Leucius as a Manichaean; but Grabe, Cave, Mill, Beausobre, Lardner, and other critics, are of opinion that he lived in the 2nd century; and, as he therefore could not have been a Manichaean, was probably a Marcionite. Some have identified him with the Marcionite LUCANUS (*q. v.*). But we may safely say that no Marcionite would have chosen for the heroes of his narrative the Jewish apostles, John, Thomas, and Andrew. Beausobre (*Manichéisme*, i. 350) gives six arguments for the early date of Leucius, not one of which is conclusive, all being vitiated by the tacit assumption that Leucius was a real person, and not, as we hold, merely the fictitious name of an imaginary disciple of St. John, whom the forger chose to make the narrator of the story.

Zahn (*Acta Johannis*, 1880) has lately published some new fragments of Leucius, which increase our power of recognising as Leucian things which different fathers have told without naming their authority. The Leucian character of the new fragments is verified by various coincidences with the old. Names recur, as for instance that of Lycomedes. Again, there is a story of a miracle performed on one Drusiana, who had submitted to die rather than have intercourse with her husband. This agrees with the story already told of Maximilla and Egeas in revealing the violently Encratite principles of the author; compare the story told in the *Acts of Thomas* (Tischendorf, *Acta Apoc.* p. 200). There is also an amusing story of bugs who kept the apostle awake for half a night, but then at his command retired and left him unmolested, returning next morning to their habitation when he had given them permission. Zahn has also argued the case for the early date of Leucius in a much more scientific way than previous supporters of the same thesis. He tries to shew that there are statements in earlier writers which are really derived from Leucius, though his name is not given. All Zahn's arguments do not seem to us conclusive, yet enough remains valid to induce us to regard the Leucian Acts as belonging to the same age which produced the travels of Peter (which are the basis of the Clementines), and the Acts of Paul and Thecla. When a writer, who in one place quotes Leucius, elsewhere makes statements which we know to be Leucian, we may safely conclude that he derived them from Leucius, though he does not there name his authority. For example, Epiphanius names Leucius only once, in a passage already cited. But we may safely count as additional instances of his use of Leucius, his reference to the manner of John's death (*Haer.* 79, 5), and to John's virginity (*Haer.* 28, 7; 78, 10). Further, in the immediate context of the passage where Epiphanius names Leucius, he names other heretics of the apostolic age, and the presumption that he found these names in Leucius is turned into almost certainty by the fact that in one of the new Leucian fragments one of these names, CLEOBIUS (*q. v.*), is found, as that of a person in John's company. Among the other names in the same context are CLAUDIUS, MERINTHUS, and the Pauline Demas and Hermogenes; concerning whom see the Acts of Thecla and also the so-called Dorotheus (*Paschal Chron.* ed. Dindorf, ii. 124). The Augustinian and Hieronymian notices may be treated similarly. We can identify as Leucian several statements[a] which are described as found "in ecclesiastica historia" or "in patrum traditionibus" and thence a presumption arises that other things reported with the same formulae of citation are derived from the same source.

We go on then to enumerate some of the statements which may be characterised as Leucian, naming some of the early writers who have repeated them. (1) A Leucian fragment (Zahn, p. 247) tells how John's virginity had been preserved by a threefold interposition of our Lord, breaking off the Apostle's designs each time that he attempted to marry. There is a clear reference to this story in a sermon ascribed to Augustine (Mai, *Nov. Pat. Bib.* I. i. 378), and it is probably from this source that so many of the fathers have derived their opinion of John's virginity, concerning which the canonical Scriptures say nothing (Ambros. *de inst. Virg.* viii. 50; vol. iii. 324; Ambrosiaster on 2 Cor. xi. 2, vol. iv. 2, 232; Jerome, *in Isaiam*, ch. 56, vol. iv. p. 658; *adv. Jovin.* I. 26, vol. ii. 278; August. *cont. Faust.* xxx. vol. x. 535, *in Johan.* c. 21, vol. iv. 1082; Epiph. *Haer.* 58, 4). The Leucian Acts, in conformity with their strong Encratism, seem to have dwelt much on the apostle's virginity, describing this as the cause of our Lord's love to him, and as the reason for his many privileges, in particular as the reason why to a virgin the care of the virgin mother was committed. In *Pistis Sophia* the name of the apostle John has usually the title ὁ παρθένος appended, and we may therefore set down *Pistis Sophia* as post-Leucian, but the uncertainty as to the date of that book prevents us from drawing any further inference. But the earliest mention of John's virginity is found in the epithet "spado" given to that apostle by Tertullian (*De Monog.* 17), whence Zahn infers that Tertullian must have used the Acts of Leucius. We think he does not sufficiently allow for the probability in the case of one who is said to have lived so long, that a true tradition that he never married might have been preserved in the churches of Asia. Zahn contends that because Jerome in a passage quoted above uses the word "eunuchus," not "spado," he is not copying Tertullian, but that both writers took the epithet from a common source,

[a] In particular may be named an account of a hymn supposed to have been sung on the night before the crucifixion by the apostles holding hands and forming a circle about our Lord (see Aug. *Ep.* 237 *ad Ceretium*, vol. 2, p. 849).

viz. Leucius. But when the passage in Tertullian is read in connexion with the rest of the treatise, it will, we think, be thought more likely that the epithet is Tertullian's own.

(2) But further evidence of Tertullian's acquaintance with Leucius is found in his story of the apostle's having been cast into burning oil. Speaking of Rome he says, "ubi apostolus Johannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur." What authority for this story had Tertullian? Now, though none of the extant fragments of Leucius relate to this matter, yet that these Acts contained the story is made probable from the following evidence. Jerome (vol. vii. p. 655) commenting on Matt. xx. 23 states on the authority of "ecclesiasticae historiae" that the apostle had been "missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Pathmos insulam." Now Abdias, whose work is notoriously based on Leucius (*Hist. Ap.* v. 2, Fabric. *Cod. Ps. N. T.* ii. 534), has "proconsul jussit eum velut rebellem in dolio ferventis olei mergi, qui statim ut conjectus in aeneo est, veluti athleta, unctus non adustus de vase exiit." On comparing these passages the second will be seen to be the original, Jerome's use of the word *athleta* receiving its explanation from Abdias. This conclusion is strengthened by another passage in Jerome (*Adv. Jovin.* i. 26, vol. ii. 278), where, though he names Tertullian as his authority, he gives particulars not found in Tertullian, viz. the "dolium ferventis olei," and that the apostle came out fresher and more vigorous than he had entered. We feel ourselves forced to believe that Jerome, who certainly used Leucius, found in it the statement about the boiling oil; and then there is a strong case for suspecting that this was also the authority on which Tertullian made his statement. But though Tertullian names Rome as the scene of the miracle, it may be doubted whether this was so in the Greek Leucius. The mention by Abdias of a "proconsul" suggests that Asia was the place. Hippolytus, however, agrees with Tertullian in placing John at Rome (*De Christo et Antic.* 36). It ought to be mentioned that some of the earliest fathers who try to reconcile our Lord's words to the sons of Zebedee (Matt. xx. 23) with the fact that John did not suffer martyrdom, do not mention this story of the baptism in oil (Origen, *in loc.* De la Rue, iii. 719). A later story makes John miraculously "drink a cup" of poison with impunity.

(3) An acquaintance with Leucius by Clement of Alexandria has been inferred from the agreement of both writers in giving on John's authority a Docetic account of our Lord (see Vol. I. p. 870). We had conjectured the "traditions of Matthias" as likely to have been Clement's authority; but the fact that it is John who is appealed to, no doubt gives probability to the conjecture that Clement's source is the Acts which treat of that apostle.

(4) This conjecture gains probability on an examination of the story told by Clement (*Hypotyp. ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14) as to John's composition of the fourth Gospel, urged by the request of his friends. A very similar story is told in the Muratorian fragment, in which the request is urged by the apostle's fellow bishops in Asia; he asks them to fast for three days, begging for a revelation of God's will, and then it is revealed to Andrew that John is to write. The stories told by Clement and the Muratorian writer are too like to be independent; yet it is not conceivable that one writer copied from the other; therefore it may be believed they used a common authority, and that authority was not Papias, else Eusebius, when he quotes the passage from Clement, would scarcely have failed to mention it. Now several later writers (Jerome in the preface to his commentary on St. Matthew, a writing published as St. Augustine's—Mai, *Nov. Pat. Bib.* I. i. 379 —Victorinus in his Scholia on the Apocalypse, Galland. iv. 59; and others, see Zahn, p. 198) tell the same story, agreeing, however, in some additional particulars, which shew that they did not derive their knowledge from either of the two whom we have named. Thus they tell that the cause of the request that John should write was the inroads of Ebionite heresy, which made it necessary that the apostle should add something concerning the divinity of our Lord to what his predecessors had told about His humanity; and they tell how, in answer to their prayers, the apostle, filled with the Holy Ghost, burst into the prologue, "In the beginning was the Word." Other verbal coincidences, which it would be tedious to enumerate here, make it probable that this story was found in the Acts of Leucius, which we know from Epiphanius contained an account of John's resistance to the Ebionite heresy. And if so, Leucius is likely to have been the authority used by Clement also.

Combining the probabilities under the four heads we have enumerated, there seems reasonable ground for thinking that the Leucian Acts were 2nd century, and were known to Clement and Tertullian. It must be observed, however, that Irenaeus shews no sign of acquaintance with them, and that Clement must have had some other source of Johannine traditions, his story of John and the robber being, as Zahn owns, not derived from Leucius; for no later writer who tells the story shews any sign of having had any source of information but Clement.

We may add that we cannot follow Zahn in combining the two statements of Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* iii. 4) that the Quartodecimans appealed to St. John's authority, and that they used apocryphal Acts, and thence inferring that Leucius represented St. John as sanctioning the Quartodeciman practice. If this were so, we think some other traces of this Leucian statement would have remained. Theodoret would have found in Eusebius that the churches of Asia appealed to St. John as sanctioning their practice, and that may possibly have been a true tradition.

A brief notice will suffice of other probable contents of the work of Leucius. He appears to have mentioned the exile to Patmos, and as resulting from a decree of the Roman emperor; but that the emperor was not named is likely from the variations of subsequent writers. Zahn refers to Leucius the story of St. John and the partridge (see DICT. BIBLE) told by Cassianus, who elsewhere shews acquaintance with Leucius. A different story of a partridge is told in a non-Leucian fragment (Zahn, 190). The Leucian Acts very possibly contained an account of the death of Mary (see MELLITUS). But the most important of the Leucian stories, which remains

to be mentioned, is that concerning the apostle's painless death. Leucius appears to have given what purported to be the apostle's sermon and eucharistic prayer on the last Sunday of his life. Then after breaking of bread—there is no mention of wine—the apostle commands Byrrhus (the name occurs in the Ignatian epistles as that of an Ephesine deacon) to follow him with two companions, bringing spades with them. They go to a friend's burying-place, there dig a grave, in which the apostle lays himself down, and with joyful prayer blessed his disciples and resigned his soul to God. Later versions improve the miraculous character of the story; in particular that of which Augustine makes mention (*in Johann.* xxi. vol. 3. p. 819), that the apostle lay in the grave not dead but sleeping, as might be seen from the dust heaped over him which admitted his breathing by its motions. For other Johannine stories, see PROCHORUS.

Besides the Acts which we have discussed, Leucius has been credited with the composition of a quantity of other apocryphal literature. If, as we believe, Leucius is only a fictitious personage, the question whether he wrote apocryphal gospels is as ambiguous as the question whether Jedidiah Cleishbotham wrote other novels than the *Tales of my Landlord*. That the author of the romance of Leucius wrote other fictions of like nature is probable enough, though our information is too scanty to enable us to identify his work. But there is no trustworthy evidence that he affixed the name of Leucius to any other composition than the Acts of Peter and John. From the nature of the case the martyrdom of an apostle must be related by one of the apostle's disciples, but such a one would not be regarded as a competent witness to the deeds of our Lord Himself, and accordingly apocryphal gospels are commonly ascribed to the authorship of one of the apostles, and not to one of the second generation of Christians. The only thing that looks like evidence for connexion of the name of Leucius with apocryphal gospels is the mention of the name in the spurious letter of Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus already quoted, a witness unworthy of credit even if his testimony were more distinct. It is likely that the orthodox, finding in the Acts which bore the name of Leucius, plain evidence that the writer was heretical in his doctrine of two principles, still accepted him as a real personage of the subapostolic age; and that when they met with other apocryphal stories, the doctrine of which they were constrained to reject as heretical, while they were willing to accept the facts related as in the main true, Leucius seemed to them a probable person to whom to ascribe the authorship. [G. S.]

LEUCIUS (2), Jan. 11, confessor, commemorated at Alexandria with another confessor, (*Mart.* Usuard.). Other martyrologies (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Ado, *Hieron.*) write LUCIUS and add the name of Severus. The *Roman Martyrology* under the same day gives Leucius bishop and confessor at Brundusium. Bolland represents him as a bishop of Alexandria who came as the first missionary to Brundusium (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 669). The *Acta* which he prints appear very untrustworthy. Leucius is placed by Ughelli (ix. 9) and Cappelletti (xxii. 114) as first bishop of Brundusium, from 164 to 172. [C. H.]

LEUCIUS (3), Jan. 28, *Mart.* Usuard., *Vet. Rom.*, Adon. Jan. 18, 27 (Hieron.). Martyr in the Decian persecution at the city of Apollonia. The name is LUCIUS in *Hieron. Mart.*, in Surius, Dec. 14, and in Symeon Metaphrastes in *Pat. Gr* cxvi. 507. [G. T. S.]

LEUCIUS (4), an African bishop, at the council of Carthage against Pelagius, A.D. 416. The name, however, appears in one MS. as Leontius, in others as Eleutius. (Aug. *Ep.* 175; Innoc. *Epp.* 16, 29.) [H. W. P.]

LEUCONIUS (LEUCO), **ST.**, eighteenth bishop of Troyes. His day of commemoration is April 1. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. i. 12; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 488; Gams, *Series Episc.* 643.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDARDUS, servant of Emnerus deacon of Nantes, cured of six years' blindness at the church of St. Martin at Tours, and on his festival. (Greg. Tur. *De Mirac. S. Martin.* iv. 20.) [C. H.]

LEUDASTES, a count of Tours during the episcopate of Gregory bishop of Tours, put to death by order of queen Fredegund, A.D. 583. Owing to his persecution of that historian we possess very full details of his career, which was that of a low-born adventurer. His story is interesting as a picture of the times, and as such forms the subject of part of the 5th and 6th of Augustin Thierry's *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens.* (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 14, 48–50.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDEBAUDIS, eighth bishop of Séez, who subscribed the second council of Tours, in 566, the fourth of Paris, in 573, and the letter addressed by the latter council to king Sigebert. (Mansi, ix. 805, 868, 870; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 676.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDEBERTUS, twenty-sixth archbishop of Paris, present at the council of Rheims, held about A.D. 625 or 630. (Flodoard, *Hist. Rem.* ii. 5; Mansi, x. 594; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 23.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDEFREDUS (LEODEFRIDUS, LEUFREDUS, LAUDEFREDUS), bishop of Cordova, at the 4th and 5th councils of Toledo (633, 636). His vicar, Valentinianus, represented him at the sixth council (638). To him was addressed a letter of Isidore's on certain points of church organisation. (Isid. *Opp.* ed. Arevalo, vi. 557; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 413; *Esp. Sagr.* x. 235.) [M. A. W.]

LEUDEGISILUS, twenty-second archbishop of Rheims. Le Cointe places his episcopate from 631 to 641. (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 6; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ii. 842, an. 631 n. xv.; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 6; ix. 19.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDEMUNDUS, fourteenth bishop of Sion, cir. A.D. 613. (Aimoin, *de Gest. Franc.* iv. 6; Bouquet, iii. 120, 121; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 736.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDERICUS, bishop of Urgel, A.D. 735–754. (Villanueva, *Viage Lit.* x. 19.) [C. H.]

LEUDEVALDUS. [LEODOVALDUS.]

LEUDINUS BODO (LEUDUINUS), ST., seventeenth bishop of Toul. The date of the commencement of his episcopate is given as about A.D. 667. His day of commemoration is Sept. 13. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 838; *Gesta Episc. Tullens.* 17, Migne, Patr. Lat. clvii. 452; *Vita S. Salabergae*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 522; Migne, Patr. Lat. clvi. 1226; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 963.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDIWIT, bishop of Menevia or St. David's. Girald. Cambr. *Itin. Kamb.* ii. c. 1, wks. vi. 105.) [LENDIVORD.] [J. G.]

LEUDOCUS, Welsh saint. (Girald. Cambr. *Itin. Kamb.* ii. c. 3, wks. vi. 114.) [LLEUDDAD.] [J. G.]

LEUDOMERUS (LUDOMERUS, LUMIER), ST., commemorated Oct. 2, eighteenth bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. His episcopate, according to Le Cointe, commenced in 580, and lasted at the most eight years. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 330–7; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 580. n. 3; 584, vi. tom. ii. 198, 256; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 862.) [S. A. B.]

LEUDOVALDUS, tenth bishop of Bayeux. (*Gall. Chr.* xi. 349). He was one of the envoys sent by Chilperic to Childebert in 581, to confirm the peace. (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* vi. 3, viii. 31, ix. 13.) [C. H.]

LEUFERTH, LEUTHFRIHT, a bishop whose appointment is mentioned by Simeon of Durham under the year 773. (*M. H. B.* 664.) He was the successor of Hadwin as "Migensis ecclesiae antistes," bishop, that is, of the English colony at Mayo, off the west coast of Ireland. He must have died before 782. [S.]

LEUNISIUS (LEONISIUS, LINDEGASIUS, LUDEGASTUS, LEUDEGASTUS), thirty-fifth bishop of Mainz, cir. 612. (Fredegar, *Chronicon*, xxxviii.; Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 98; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 762; *Vita Columbani*, s. 52; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 25, 26, Paris, 1668–1702; Serarius, *Rerum Moguntiacarum*, &c. i. 168; *Gall. Christ.* v. 436.) [S. A. B.]

LEUPOLDUS (LUPOLDUS), said to have been twenty-second bishop of Mainz. His death is put in the year 421. (Serarius, *Rerum Moguntiacarum*, i. 165; *Gall. Christ.* v. 435.) [S. A. B.]

LEUS (LEA, LEO), presbyter and confessor at Viguentia in the diocese of Ferrara, Italy, in the time of Diocletian, is commemorated Aug. 1. The Bollandist Sollerius (Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Aug. i. 48) has carefully analysed his legend, but the true facts remain obscure. [J. G.]

LEUSIBORAS, twice mentioned by Jerome (*Ep.* 75 al. 29, *ad Theod.* § 3, *Opp.* i. 453, and *in Isai.* 64, *Opp.* iv. 761), but by no one else, as an unintelligible name in use among Gnostic sects. [G. S.]

LEUTFREDUS (LEUFROY), ST., founder and first abbat of the monastery, which afterwards bore his name (Crux S. Leutfredi, La-Croix-St.-Leufroy, originally Monasterium Heltonis) in the pagus Madriacensis, on the Eure, near Evreux (circ. A.D. 690–738). Jacques du Breul first published his biography, written by an anonymous monk, who apparently lived in the latter half of the 9th century. It was repeated by Surius and Barali, and later from fresh MSS. by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. 1, 583–592, Paris, 1668–1701). A new edition is also to be found in the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 105 sqq.). The writer purports to draw his information, partly from monuments, partly from tradition (§ 1, Mab. p. 583). The style is pronounced good for the age (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, v. 275).

See the *Gallia Christiana*, xi. 632 sqq. St. Leutfredus is commemorated June 21 (Boll. Jun. iv. 104 sqq.). [S. A. B.]

LEUTHERIUS (HLOTHERE, LEUTER, LUTHARI), the fourth bishop of the West Saxons (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 619). He was a Frank by birth, and nephew to Agilbert, who, when pressed to return to the West Saxon see, which he had left on his quarrel with king Coinwalch, sent over Leutherius in his stead. He was consecrated by archbishop Theodore, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in 670 (*M. H. B.* 318), and ruled his diocese for about six years, dying during the time when Wessex was broken up among the several ealdormen (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 5). Bede mentions the fact that he ruled the bishopric of the Gewissae alone, "e synodica sanctione," which may mean that the maintenance of Wessex under one bishop, an exception to the favourite policy of Theodore, was permitted by some special synodal act. Leutherius was at the synod of Hertford in 673, where the question of subdividing the dioceses was waived (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 5). His name is attached to a charter of Osric, ealdorman of the Hwiccii, dated Nov. 6, 676 (Kemble, *C. D.* 12), and the same year the *Chronicle* places the appointment of his successor Haeddi, and the termination of the anarchy in Wessex (*M. H. B.* 320). Among the Malmesbury charters is one, no doubt spurious or interpolated, in which Leutherius confirms to Aldhelm the possession of his monastic property. Although this is not genuine, Leutherius was bishop during a considerable part of Aldhelm's early career, and it was by him, according to the biographers, that Aldhelm was ordained priest, and appointed abbat of Malmesbury (*V. Aldhelmi*, Faricius, cap. i. ed. Giles, p. 359; Will. Malmesb. *G. Pont.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 334, 347, 363, 385). There is a Glastonbury charter attested by Leutherius (Kemb. *C. D.* 7). He probably retained his episcopal see at Dorchester, where he is said, on very late authority, to have been buried. (Rudburn, *Ang. Sacra*, i. 192.) But the ancient list given by Florence of Worcester places him among the bishops who sat at Winchester. [S.]

LEVANGIUS, ST. (LIVANIUS, LIVANIANUS, BEVAGIUS), commemorated Oct. 19; ninth bishop of Senlis, present at the first council of Orleans in 511 (Mansi, viii. 357). (Greven. *Auct.* ad Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 446; *Gall. Christ.* x. 1381.) [S. A. B.]

LEVANUS, ST., the patron saint of St. Levan, a parish near the Land's End. He was probably Irish. The parish feast is on the Sunday nearest to Oct. 15. But he may be the Irish saint Livinus, the apostle of Brabant, who was

martyred Nov. 12, A.D. 656 (Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 255). The parish was until lately always combined with Buryan, named from Buriena, also an Irish devotee. There was a tendency to shift saints' days to the beginning of October. (See Dixon's *Hist of Church of England*, 1. 424.) Compare W. C. Borlase, *The Age of the Saints*, 1878, pp. 37, 51. [BURIENA.] [C. W. B.]

LEVI (otherwise LEBES), bishop of Jerusalem in the 2nd century. He stands twelfth on the list given by Eusebius. (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 5; Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 25.) [E. V.]

LEVIANUS, possibly bishop of Fulginium (Foligno), c. A.D. 175. (Jacobilli, *Città di Foligno*, p. 31; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 733; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 399.) [R. S. G.]

LEWINNA (LEVINA, LEUVINA), July 24, legendary martyr of Britain, assigned to the 7th century. The monk Drogo, who narrates her translation to St. Winoch's in 1058, gives an imaginary account of her (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 613). Sanderus in his *Flandria Illustrata* (t. iii. p. 300, num. iv. ed. 1735), though he speaks of the relics of the English saints Ewald and Idaberga as being at St. Winoch's, is silent as to St. Lewinna's. [C. H.]

LIADHAIN (LEDUIN, LEDUINA, LIADAIN, LIADANA, LIADANIA, LIDUEN, LIEDANIA, LIGHAIN, LIUEN), Irish saint, mother of St. Ciaran (March 5) of Saighir; she was converted by her son, who built a cell for her near to his own at Saighir or Seirkeiran [CIARAN (4)]. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 346, Ind. Chron. A.D. 402; *Misc. Celt. Soc.* 19–21.) It has since been called Killyon (Liadhan's church) in the barony of Fircall, King's County. See Joyce (*Irish Names of Places*, 142-3, 3rd ed.). Though placed before St. Patrick in the 5th century by Ussher and others, she probably did not flourish before the 6th. See also *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 217, 433; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 458, c. 1, 459, c. 10, 472, c. 2; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 7. [J. G.]

LIAMHAIN (LIAMAIN, LIAMAINA, LIEMAN, LIEMANIA, LIMANIA), one of the five reputed sisters of St. Patrick and daughter of Calphurnius. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 259, c. 3, 261 n.[4], 262 nn.[14-18], 716 sq. and *Tr. Thaum.* 4 n.[5], 8 n.[17], 224 sq.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 364–5; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 448, i. 139; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 3, § 18; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 380 sq., Ind. Chron. A.D. 383; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 164–8 discussing the question of the Patrician relationships, and adding "it is nowhere stated that either Restitutus or Liemania was ever in Ireland;" Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 437; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 361 sq. stating, without solving, the difficulties.) [J. G.]

LIBAN, LIBANA, LIBANIA (LIBHAN), Irish virgin saint, was one of those who assembled at or near Ballysadare, co. Sligo, to confer with St. Columba on one occasion of his visiting Ireland; she is named with Fortchern and probably both were of Odhba Keara in Partry, Connaught. See Colgan, *Acta SS.* 337, c. 7, 339 n.[29]; *Four Mast.* A.D. 558, by O'Donovan, i. 201 n.[a]; O'Beirne Crowe, *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Ass. Ir.* ser. 4, vol. i. 94 sq.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 327; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 741, c. 3 b and *Tr. Thaum.* 463, c. 55; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 457–9, ii. 558; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 26. [J. G.]

LIBANIUS (1), a deacon from whom, in his passage through Caesarea, A.D. 378, Basil received tidings of Eusebius of Samosata. (Basil, *Epist.* 268 [9].) [E. V.]

LIBANIUS (2), a rhetorician of Antioch in the 4th century A.D., the friend of the emperor Julian, one of the most noteworthy and characteristic figures of expiring paganism. Libanius was born in Antioch in the year 314 A.D. His father died when he was ten years old, and the charge of himself and his two brothers then fell entirely upon their mother, who is described by him as a gentle, tender person, but somewhat wanting in the severity which cannot be quite dispensed with in education. Hence, up to his fifteenth year, Libanius was more engaged in open air country sports than in learning; but at that period a passion for eloquent discourses seized him; he took no more interest in horse-racing or in theatres; he abstained from witnessing the gladiatorial contests (which were always, he says, a great source of interest to him); and lastly, a loss which he speaks of with most feeling, he sold his pigeons. He then applied himself to the teachers of rhetoric in Antioch; but unfortunately the one competent instructor had recently died; of the others he speaks in his autobiography with small respect. Hence he was, in the main, self-taught. He devoted himself to the Greek classics, and to these exclusively; as to the Latin language, he appears never to have learned it at all. (Cf. *Epist.* 923, 956, 1241.) It is a curious proof of the Greek literary pride, that a man like Libanius (and he is not the only instance) should have assumed this attitude of contempt towards the language of the masters of the world. Hellenism, as opposed alike to the empire of Rome and to the Christian church, was the object of his passionate attachment.

In his early youth, while reading the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes with his tutor, Libanius was struck almost blind by a flash of lightning; a pain in his head resulting from this, and, aggravated by neglect, proved an infliction to him all his life long. This, and an attempt on the part of his friends to induce him to marry (which failed on account of his determination to adhere entirely to his studies) were the most noteworthy circumstances of his early life. Libanius was twenty-two years old when he first left his home and went to Athens to study (cf. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, p. 43; from a passage near the beginning of his autobiography it might be thought that he was two or three years younger when this journey took place). At Athens Libanius remained four years; then, partly on account of a jealousy which he had involuntarily excited, partly at the request of his friend Crispinus, he took a journey to Heraclea in Pontus. Returning, he had an offer in Constantinople, from the rhetorician Nicocles, of the post of teacher of rhetoric; he accepted the offer, but having taken an oath to revisit Athens, he was detained so long on his journey thither

by stormy weather, that when he reached Constantinople again, he found the post occupied by another. Upon this he set up as a private lecturer, and was so successful, that whereas Nicocles had promised him forty pupils, his audience now reached the number of eighty. This success brought envy upon him, and in the end accusations of having taken part in a disturbance in the city. Though no proof could be obtained against him, the prefect Limenius was unfavourably disposed towards him, and gave him an informal order to leave the city. This happened in the year 343 A.D. Libanius obeyed, and retired to Nicaea; but shortly afterwards was invited by the inhabitants of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, to deliver public lectures in their city. In Nicomedia he spent the five happiest years of his life. He was in the prime of life, his health was good, and his talents procured for him universal applause. "I seemed," he says, "like a man sitting by the side of fountains of clear water in secret, under the shadow of stately trees, with garlands on my head, and continually feasting; but my delight was not in eating and drinking, but in the suavity of discourse, and in the fact that Athens applauded Bithynia." His friend Crispinus visited him from Heraclea, and brought a cartload of books as a present, than which none more grateful could have been given. Here, too, as at Athens, he won numerous friends, of whom he mentions Aristenetus with especial tenderness. At Nicomedia, moreover, was studying at this time a youth afterwards celebrated, who, though prohibited from attending the lectures of Libanius, was his secret and ardent admirer—the nephew of Constantine, Julian, at this time about fourteen years old.

From Nicomedia, Libanius, whose fame had by this time spread far and wide, received a summons to lecture in Constantinople. He went; but among the haughty citizens of the new capital continually regretted his beloved Nicomedia. Twice he attempted to return there, but was driven back, the first time by a pestilence, the second time by a famine. After a time he received, but refused, the offer of a chair of rhetoric at Athens.

It was when he was approaching his fortieth year, that Libanius obtained leave to visit his home, Antioch, where he had not been for sixteen years. There he found his mother, his brother, his uncle Phasganius, and many of his old companions. He tore himself away from them with reluctance; and though he again delivered lectures at Constantinople, he could never settle there. Partly from real, partly perhaps from feigned, illness, he obtained leave to visit Antioch a second time; and though his return to Constantinople was vehemently called for, he always contrived to evade the demand. It should be noted that this was no matter of free choice on his part, and that it needed the certificates of many physicians, and the influence of many courtiers, to enable him to escape the necessity of returning to an office of which he was thoroughly weary. For the remainder of his life—nearly forty years, if not even more—Libanius was a respected citizen of his native town, which he hardly ever left henceforth. Antioch could hardly be said to be in a peaceful state; famines, disturbances, and severities on the part of the imperial prefects, were alike frequent. Libanius, as a noted advocate of the now decaying and unpopular worship of Jupiter and Apollo, would seem to have been in a dangerous position; yet he always escaped unhurt, and almost unsuspected. Probably the harmlessness and caution of his character were fully recognised; and his conceit, which was great, limited itself to attacks on rival rhetoricians, and to outpourings of regret for the decline of his party, which no doubt were not always submitted to the public eye. The most remarkable event of these forty years, as far as Antioch and Libanius were concerned, was the arrival of Julian at Antioch, his expedition against the Persians, and his premature death. The characters of Libanius and Julian were exactly adapted for one another. Each loved to dwell in a world of gods, goddesses, and heroes, which not only was wholly incredible in itself, but which was no longer a subject of belief to any but the extremely ignorant, or to those whose eyes were blinded by the pride of learning, race, and station, or, it must be said, by the more creditable feeling of the beauty and power of the ancient classical writers. If Libanius had not the force of character of Julian, neither had he the recklessness which marked, in so many respects, the practical conduct of the emperor. He seems, indeed, to have behaved towards Julian with marked prudence and integrity. When Julian arrived at Antioch, on his way towards the East, Libanius rather retired from than sought his society, even though he had been noticed amid the crowd which collected to witness the entry of Julian, and had been greeted with the words, so flattering from imperial lips, "When am I to hear you?" On the antagonism which subsequently arose between Julian and the people of Antioch, Libanius did his utmost to reconcile the opposing sides, to each of which he was so much attached. He looked on, of course, with admiring delight at the resuscitation by Julian of the ancient religion, at the rebuilding of temples, at the morning and evening sacrifices, at the renewal of the auguries, at the profound commune with Hercules or Apollo through oracles or dreams. To his credit, Libanius always advocated toleration, and restrained the precipitate zeal of the pagans in their temporary power (see especially the remarkable passages from *Epist.* 636, 669, 673, and 731, quoted by Neander in his *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 63, note, of the translation published by Clark, Edinburgh, 1852); he entertained the real though visionary belief that the gods of Greece would vindicate their own supremacy and assist their champion to victory. Confidently expecting the triumphant return of Julian from Persia, he was stunned when the news of his death arrived, and of the peace, on humiliating terms, concluded with the Persians. His grief and despair were increased by the fact that so few around him shared these feelings. Nor could they have been diminished, though his pride must have been flattered, by the words which, as was told him, Julian uttered after one of his most signal successes, "The Syrian orator has now material for an oration." But presently Libanius devoted himself to the task of celebrating the memory of his imperial friend, and collecting every fact relating to his last campaign from the lips of those who had taken part in it.

The remainder of the life of Libanius was passed under the reigns of Valens and Theodosius (if we except the short rule of Jovian). It could not be a happy time for him. The "wars and rumours of wars," the severities of prefects, the sense of uncertainty under which men sat, in which the anticipated displeasure of an emperor shook all hearts with terror and drove men to take refuge in the mountains for safety, the frequent scarcity of bread and the tumults roused thereby among the people: these calamities were shared by Libanius with others. But the disappointment of a cherished though vain ideal, the restoration of the ancient glories of Greece and the Greek religion and culture, belonged to him more, perhaps, than to any other man. Then, too, he had his full share of all the troubles of old age. Besides his severe headaches, he was afflicted with gout. He saw his relations and friends (among them his son Cimon) die before him; and as he either reached or approached his eightieth year, the end of his life was more than usually bereft of the friends of earlier days. Of the principal public event which occurred in the city of Antioch during these reigns, the tumult in which the statues of the emperor Theodosius, and of his wife and sons, were broken in pieces and dragged contemptuously through the streets, Libanius has left us an account in orations which may be compared and contrasted with the orations of his celebrated Christian pupil, John Chrysostom, on the same subject. Chrysostom has a worthy theme (of a kind that Libanius was not able to employ) for the offending citizens, in the consideration that a higher power than that of the emperor has been transgressed against, and that separation from God was more to be feared than the vengeance of Theodosius. To the same emperor Theodosius Libanius addressed his oration on behalf of the heathen temples, "Pro Templis Gentilium non exscindendis"—an oration in which the course of the argument sufficiently proves the inanity of the religion for which the orator pleads. Libanius admits, and even takes as the basis of his pleading, that whatever the emperor enjoins is right; he submits entirely to the imperial prohibition of sacrifices, and only urges that the offering of incense and other rites should be allowed, because they had not been laid under a similar prohibition. The exact date of the death of Libanius is uncertain; it is not even quite certain that he did not survive Theodosius (whose death took place A.D. 395). When, shortly before his death, he was asked who should be his successor in his chair, he is reported to have answered, "Chrysostom, if the Christians have not stolen him" (Sozomen, viii. 2). Besides Chrysostom, St. Basil was also among his pupils. Libanius was never married; an engagement with his cousin, the daughter of Phasganius, was rendered vain by her death, which took place just before his final return to Antioch. Afterwards he lived in concubinage, and had a son Cimon; for whose sake mainly, no doubt, he induced the emperor Julian, and afterwards Valens, to issue a law by which certain advantages were granted to natural children. But Cimon died some years before his father, in consequence of injuries which he received from being thrown from his carriage in Cilicia, while returning home from Constantinople.

The principal writings of Libanius are—

1. Προγυμνασμάτων παραδείγματα, *i.e.* examples of rhetorical exercises. In many of them, historical characters, such as Demosthenes, or (more frequently) the heroes of the epos or the drama, such as Achilles or Medea, are introduced, speaking with reference to some circumstance of their real or traditional lives.

2. Μελέται, or declamations. These have a strong resemblance to the προγυμνάσματα, but on the whole rather take as their subject imaginary occasions or crises than special celebrated persons—*e.g.* the petition of a son to be disinherited together with a brother who was dear to him, the petition of a man condemned, under particular circumstances, to be exiled, &c.

3. Λόγοι, or orations (sixty-five in number in Reiske's edition). These relate to his own time, and, except his letters and his autobiography, constitute by far the most important part of his works. It is an interesting question, but one which cannot now be certainly solved, how far these orations were actually published. To whatever extent they were published (and it would be unfair to think that they, like the rhetorical exercises, were intended solely for a circle of admiring pupils), Libanius was a real actor in the events of his time. But even so, the unpractical character of his mind forces itself upon every reader; he perpetually forgets the present, even when most affecting and important in the past. The most judicious, and certainly not too unfavourable, characterisation of these writings is to be found in the twenty-fourth chapter of Gibbon, and may be quoted here: "The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist: for the most part they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words—the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence; he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius." Eunapius calls his orations weak and lifeless; this is in the main true, though some of them have a certain rhetorical beauty; but it may be said in favour of Libanius that he never descended to the depth of puerility and superstitious belief in which Eunapius indulged. An adherence to paganism in those days could only be relieved from transparent weakness by the absolute excision of all the picturesque details of the religion, which to the common mind constitute its whole substance; and such an excision we find in Hierocles; but Libanius was too little of a real philosopher, and too much a lover of show, to attempt it. The deadness of paganism is nowhere more conspicuous than in his writings.

4. A life of Demosthenes, and arguments to the speeches of the same orator.

5. An autobiography, entitled Βίος ἢ λόγος περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης, or *De Fortunâ suâ*. This work contains much valuable information, and would have contained more, but for the allusive and indirect style of the author.

6. Ἐπιστολαί, or letters: the most valuable, probably, of the works of Libanius. No fewer than 1605 of these are extant in the original Greek. Besides these, Zambeccari published 397 letters in what purports to be a Latin translation; but the genuineness of these last is very doubtful (see especially Richard Förster's *Francesco Zambeccari und die Briefe des Libanios*, Stuttgart, 1878). The letters are in many cases addressed to eminent and celebrated contemporaries of the author—*e.g.* the emperor Julian, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, &c. We have, also, a few letters extant addressed by the emperor Julian to Libanius. The intercourse of these two was alike honourable to both; they met on terms of such equality as is very rarely found between sovereign and subject; there was no arrogance on the one side, or servility on the other side. It may be mentioned, that a few of the writings of Libanius were translated by John Duncombe, and published together with the *Select Works of the Emperor Julian* (2 vols. London, 1784). On the whole, the impression left by the character of Libanius is a pleasing one, in spite of its weakness.

Those who wish to obtain a more minute knowledge of Libanius should consult, above all, Dr. G. R. Sievers's work, *Das Leben des Libanius* (Berlin, 1868) (a work to which the writer of this article is much indebted). Very judicious notices of him may be found in the third volume of Gibbon's history; where also is translated one of the most striking pieces in his orations, commemorating the valour of the emperor Valens in the fatal battle of Adrianople.

The best edition of the epistles of Libanius is that of J. Ch. Wolf (Amsterdam, 1738, fol.). The other works were published by F. Morellus (Paris, 1606, 2 vols. fol.), and subsequently, with some fresh additions, by J. J. Reiske (Altenburg, 1791–97, 4 vols. 8vo). Other works relating to Libanius will be found mentioned in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, art. "Libanius." [J. R. M.]

LIBANIUS (3), a gentleman of rank of Antioch, an intimate friend of Carteria [CARTERIA], at whose instance he visited Chrysostom at Cucusus in 404. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 229, 230, 232.) [E. V.]

LIBANIUS (4), bishop of Palaeopolis in Pamphylia, signed the protest against the opening of the council of Ephesus before the arrival of John of Antioch, A.D. 431. (Mansi, v. 768, 614.) [L. D.]

LIBANIUS (5), bishop of Paralaus in Pisidia, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. He also signed the synodal letter of his province to the emperor Leo A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 160, 571.) [L. D.]

LIBANIUS (6), a deacon mentioned by Paschasinus bishop of Lilybaeum. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* iii. 610, Migne.) [C. G.]

LIBARIA (LIBERTA, LIBRARIA), martyred with her sister Susanna and brothers Eliphius and Eucharius bishop of Toul, A.D. 362, according to Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* eod. an.) and Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 337, Ind. Chron. eod. an.), but A.D. 211 according to Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 431). [J. G.]

LIBELLUS SYNODICUS (Vetus Synodicon or Συνοδικόν, Fabric.). A compendium of the proceedings of 151 councils from the time of the apostles until the eighth general council held about the union between the patriarch Photius and pope John VIII. A.D. 879. The history of this work is as follows. Towards the close of the 16th century a Greek from the Morea, Andreas Darmasius, sold it, with other MSS., to Johannes Pappus, a Protestant theologian at Strasburg. Sixteen years after, A.D. 1601, Pappus published the Greek text with a Latin translation, which, as he tells us in his dedication, he made when travelling to his own country to beguile the tedium of the journey. It will also be found in a complete shape in Voelli et Justelli *Biblioth. Jur. Canon. Vet.* ii. 1166–1213; Harduin. *Conc. Collect.* v. 1492; Fabricii *Biblioth. Graec.* ed. Harles, xii. 359; and in detached pieces under the synods to which they belong in Mansi's and in Labbe's *Concilia*. The author of the work lived in the latter half of the 9th century, and therefore in strictness it lies beyond our period, but as the documents and councils with which he dealt lie within it, it may clearly be regarded as belonging to the literature of the first eight centuries. The author is quite unknown. Pappus says in his preface that some have suspected it was Nicephorus the author of the *Chronicon*, but he can find no ground for this. Others have suggested a Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, but without any substantial reason. Pappus says we can only be certain of this, that the writer lived under the emperors Basil and Constantine and the patriarch Photius, about A.D. 880. The work is a compendium of a select number of councils, oecumenical and provincial. Such epitomes were by no means uncommon among the Greeks. Thus we have still those of Germanus, patriarch of C.P., dealing with the proceedings of the six general councils Voell. et Justell. *l.c.* ii. 1155; Harduin. *Concil.* v. 1458; Le Moyne's *Var. Sacr.* i. 81–123 [GERMANUS]; of Nicephorus patriarch of C.P. A.D. 806–815; of Photius patriarch of C.P. 877–886, and of an anonymous author treating of seven oecumenical councils. Several others also are mentioned by Fabricius, *l. c.* Lambecius discovered in the Imperial Library at Vienna several MSS. of the same character. One presents an epitome recited on the 1st Sunday in Lent, "Dominica Orthodoxiae," the feast observed in the Greek church in memory of the restoration of images, and another bears exactly the same title as the *Libellus Synodicus* of Pappus (cf. note of Harles, Fab. *Bib. Graec.* t. xii. 358). The *Libellus Synodicus* bears its character and design patent on its face. It was written by an opponent of the patriarch Photius, and a supporter of his rival Ignatius and the pope. Photius was the champion of the independence of the Greek church as against Rome. The writer of this work therefore sets himself to shew that the church of Rome has ever had precedence and authority over that of Constantinople. Thus in sec. 34 we are told, what no contemporary historian relates, that the presbyters Vito and Vincentius, the papal legates,

presided at Nice. In sec. 94 Leo the Great is described as equal to the apostles. In sec. 114, pope Hormisdas, A.D. 514–523, convenes a synod by his own authority at Constantinople. In sec. 115, pope Agapetus deposes the patriarch of C.P. Anthimus for Manicheism. There is the most wonderful confusion of facts and dates in these sections. Pope Hormisdas, for instance, is represented as succeeded by Agapetus, though in reality there were twelve years and four popes between them. Sec. 118 explains away the fact that the patriarch of C.P. presided over the fifth general council and not the Roman legate. Pope Theodore, A.D. 642, deposes by his own authority Pyrrhus the patriarch of C.P. In the sixth oecumenical council held at Constantinople the papal legates are represented as presiding, though as a matter of fact the emperor himself acted in that capacity. But though an advocate of the supremacy, the writer is no believer in the infallibility of the pope. The fall of Honorius is of course lightly passed over, as it is the object of the writer to represent the popes as the champions of orthodoxy as against the perpetually erring patriarchs of Constantinople. Yet in sec. 130 he calls Honorius a Monothelite, and relates the anathema pronounced against him at the sixth general council. The writer made large use of the early historians Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. In fact in some places he uses the very expressions of these writers, as for instance, in sec. 62, where describing the election of Ambrose he uses the exact words of Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 6. He was doubtless also acquainted with other early documents now lost. Thus he refers to the Canons concerning Easter, published by Anatolius of Laodicea, as existent in his day in their Greek shape. We now possess only the Latin version first published by Bucherius in the 17th century [ANATOLIUS]. In Hefele's *History of the Councils*, Book I. ch. i., there is a very good analysis and criticism of the *Libellus Synodicus* so far as it deals with the councils of the first three centuries. It adds however but very little to the narrative of Eusebius. In section 34, the following story is told about the way in which the council of Nice decided upon the canon of Scripture. All the books, spurious and genuine alike, were placed near the Lord's table. Then prayer was offered that the inspired books might come to the top and the spurious sink to the bottom, which happened in due course. [G. T. S.]

LIBER (1) (LIBERIUS), "the Martyred," is commemorated November 2 (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 294, 433), and is identified by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 742, c. 6) with a Liberius whom he makes successor of Tigernach at Clogher about A.D. 550. [J. G.]

LIBER (2) (LIBERIUS), Mar. 8, abbat of Aghaboe, Queen's County, died A.D. 619, has a short memoir given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 566), and is placed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 8, Mart. i. 749) among their praetermissi. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 257–8; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 90) [J. G.]

LIBER (3), bishop, disciple of St. Barry. (Caufield, *Life of St. Fin Barre*, 18.) [J. G.]

LIBER (4) (LIBERIUS), abbat of Maghbile (now Movilla, county Down), died A.D. 749. (*Ann. Tig.* eod. an.; *Four Mast.* A.D. 744; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 748; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 650, c. 9.) [J. G.]

LIBER (5) (LIBERIUS, LIBERN, LIBERNUS), one of the three sons of Luissen, commemorated August 1. He had his cell at Inismor and appears in the *Life of St. Senan.* (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 209; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26; *Mart. Tallaght*, Aug. 1, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxxi.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 533–4, cc. 24–7, 540 n.[18]) [J. G.]

LIBER PONTIFICALIS, called also in the MSS. LIBER EPISCOPALIS, or else LIBER DE GESTIS ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM. This work in its present shape contains the lives of the popes from St. Peter to Nicolas I., who died A.D. 867, or even in later editions to Stephen VI. (A.D. 885–891). It gives brief sketches merely till pope Constantine I. (A.D. 708–715) is reached, when its narrative becomes much more diffuse. It narrates pontifical decrees, the building and endowment of churches, acts and monuments of the martyrs, and is very valuable for the purposes of Christian archaeology and the liturgiology of the 5th and 6th centuries. In modern times it has been attributed to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, but without any ancient authority. Till the end of the 14th century it was generally regarded as anonymous. It was evidently the intention of its original author, or some early reviser, to make it pass under the name of Damasus, as we find all MSS. thereof, no matter how old, prefaced by an apocryphal correspondence between Jerome and that pope, wherein Jerome asks Damasus for an authentic catalogue of the Roman bishops down to his own time. Thus we find it quoted under the title of *Chronica Damasi Papae de Gestis Pontificum* in the *Chronicon* of Martinus Polonus in the end of the 13th century, while in the 15th and 16th centuries it is always ascribed to that pontiff. Onufrius Panvinius at the end of the 15th century was the first to ascribe the authorship of the Lives from Damasus to Nicolas I. to Anastasius, a notion which Bellarmine took up without examination (*De Scriptor. Eccles.* art. Damasus), whence it has been handed down to our times, so that now in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* the *Liber Pontificalis* must be looked for under the name of Anastasius, tt. cxxvii. cxxviii. About the middle of the 17th century several learned men remarked that the *Liber Pontificalis* had been used by the forger of the False Decretals, and quoted by authors certainly anterior to Anastasius, as in particular by Bede. Pearson (*De Serie et Successione prim. Rom. Episcop.* 1687, Diss. i. cap. xii. p. 124) rejected the claims both of Anastasius and Damasus to its authorship. He suggested the close of the 6th century as the time of its publication. The reasons for assigning to it an earlier date than Anastasius are manifest. In the first place many manuscripts are of an older date. Again, the exarchate of Ravenna is often alluded to in the text as still existent, and the last exarch (Eutychius) was expelled from Italy by Aistulphus the Lombard king in A.D. 752, while again pope Leo II. is described as accepting the decrees of the sixth general council (A.D. 681) *lately* ("nuper") held in Constantinople, an

expression which could not possibly be used by Anastasius at the end of the 9th century. We shall now discuss (1) the date; (2) the sources; (3) the aim and influence of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

I. *Date.*—The book may be divided into two parts. The first extends from St. Peter to the death of pope Symmachus, A.D. 514. The second from that date to the death of Nicolas I., A.D. 867. The former part was probably compiled soon after the year 514, during the pontificate of Hormisdas, A.D. 514–523, by some converted Goth, who had ardently espoused the side of pope Symmachus, as appears from the rude and barbarous style of the Latin. The second portion was the work of several hands, generally contemporary with the popes whose lives are recorded, or else was compiled out of contemporary documents. This appears from the accuracy of consular, imperial, and regal dates, the full historical details, and from particular expressions in the text. The date of the earlier portion is determined thus. We possess a document variously called—*Catalogus Felicianus;* Second Catalogue (in reference to the Liberian Catalogue of 354); catalogue under Justinian, *Liber Pontificalis* of 530, giving a history of the popes to Felix IV., A.D. 530, in a more concise shape than our present *Liber Pontificalis.* It was first published by Henschen in Boll. *AA. SS.* April, t. i., and afterwards by Schelsträte in his *Antiquitas Ecclesiae Illustrata.* Two views have been taken of this document Henschen, Schelsträte, Lipsius, Smedt have regarded it as the germ out of which the first part of the present *Liber Pontificalis* was developed. The Abbé L. Duchesne, on the other hand, who has devoted a most exhaustive treatise to this subject, *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1877, regards the *Cat. Felic.* as simply an abridgment of the first portion of the book. The former, therefore, assign the close of the 7th century or the early part of the 8th century as the date of its compilation. Duchesne, regarding the Felician catalogue of A.D. 530 as an abridgment of the *Liber Pontificalis*, fixes the date of the latter between A.D. 514 and 523. The reasons which lead Duchesne to this conclusion, so very different from all others who have discussed this question, will be found in liv. i. of his work. They depend upon a minute and thorough comparison of the texts of the *Liber Pontif.* and the *Cat. Felic.* and seem most conclusive. His argument, however, is too long for reproduction, while its nature forbids any attempt at compression. His strongest argument for his own view will be found in liv. i. ch. iv., where he treats of the use made of the Liberian Catalogue of 354 in the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Catalogus Felicianus* respectively. The *Liber Pontificalis* transfers to itself the whole of the Liberian Catalogus, while the author of the *Catalogus Felicianus*, not using the Liberian Catalogue directly, but abridging another document which contained it, has cut it up in the most arbitrary manner without troubling himself whether the points omitted were ancient and authentic, or legendary and modern. But as we have already said, and this instance will sufficiently shew, the force of such criticism cannot be adequately represented in the space at our disposal. Assuming, however, as a working hypothesis, the date 514–523 for the compilation of the work, we shall find that all the phenomena of the book fall in with it. Thus the Liberian Catalogue of A.D. 354 gives the consular and imperial dates for the bishops of Rome. These dates are embodied in their completeness in the *Liber Pontificalis.* But after Liberius these dates cease, and only recommence—with the exception of one solitary notice of a consular date under pope Hilarius, A.D. 461–468—towards the close of the 5th century, when the synchronism of emperors and barbarian kings begins again under Felix III. A.D. 483, and the consular dates under Symmachus A.D. 498, from which time they were regularly inserted, shewing that the writer just used dates which came under his own personal knowledge without referring to consular Fasti or public table. The author had at the same time access to the official archives of the Roman see. Thus he refers to a decree of Coelestinus A.D. 423, the letters and tome of St. Leo, and the works of Gelasius, as being in "bibliotheca et Ecclesiae Archivo."

II. *Sources.*—A great many in the past and even still some few maintain that the *Liber Pontif.* was published by direction of the popes and compiled out of official documents. This theory has found its latest exponent in Watterich's *Pontif. Rom. qui fuerunt ab exeunte saec. ix. usque ad fin. saec. xiii. vitae ab aequal. conscriptae*, Leipzig, 1862. But this view is quite mistaken. The documents used in the compilation of the first portion of the *Liber Pontificalis* were—

(1) The so-called Liberian Catalogue of A.D. 354, which was founded on and embodied the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus [CHRONICON CANISIANUM; CHRONICON HOROSII]. In Migne's edition the comparison between the two can be made at a glance, as the text of the Liberian Catalogue is placed beneath that of the *Liber Pontificalis.*

(2) Documents out of the Roman archives, to which the author had access: inscriptions on churches and other public buildings, and tablets usually fixed to the gates of the churches enumerating the names of donors and their gifts. Several of these tablets have been discovered by De Rossi, Mai, and Marini (cf. *Bullet.* 1870, pp. 89, 113; 1873, p. 36; Maii *Script. Vet. Coll.* t. v. p. 209, &c.). It is evident from one instance alone that the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* must have possessed authentic documents concerning the Diocletian persecution. In the Liberian Catalogue we are informed at the close of the notice of pope Marcellinus, A.D. 304, that the Roman episcopate was thenceforward vacant for seven years six months and twenty-five days. This does not mean that there were no Roman bishops during that period, for Marcellus, Eusebius, and Miltiades acted as bishops from 308–311; but that the Roman episcopate was not legally recognised during those seven years as it had been during the years prior to the outbreak of persecution. In the *Liber Pontificalis* we find therefore the following expression concerning Marcellus (A.D. 308–310) which could proceed only from an authentic document. "Hic coarctatus est et tentus, eo quod ecclesiam ordinaret, comprehensus a Maxentio, ut negaret se esse episcopum." This effort on the part of Maxentius to force on the pope not a denial of his Christianity but of his episcopal office which the

State did not recognise, is quite in keeping with the time, and could not have been devised by a 7th-century writer. The long lists of foundations and adornments of churches contained in the *Liber Pontificalis* render it specially valuable about the archaeology of the 4th and 5th centuries.

(3) The apocryphal Acts of pope Sylvester, which originated in the East, and most probably in Armenia (Duchesne, *l. c.* p. 168) at the beginning of the 5th century, and the equally apocryphal Acts of Cyriacus, the Jew who discovered the true cross, which is the source of pope Eusebius's biography in the *Lib. Pontif.* The Acts of Sylvester will be found in Surii *AA. SS.* Dec. 31, and in Combefis. *Illust. Mart. Triump.*; those of Cyriacus in the Bollandists on May 4th.

(4) The Apocrypha which sprang up so abundantly in connexion with the quarrel between Symmachus and Laurentius in the first years of the 6th century. They were—

(1) The *Constitutio Sylvestri*, containing report of a pseudo-council held at Rome previous to Nice.
(2) The Acts of the pseudo-council of 275 bishops held at Rome to confirm the decrees of Nice.
(3) *Gesta de Xysti purgatione et Polychronii episcopi Hierosolymitani Accusatione.*
(4) The Acts of the pseudo-council of Sinuessa.
(5) *Gesta Liberii Papae.*
(6) *Acta Eusebii presbyteri.*

All these documents, save the *Acta Eusebii*, will be found in the Appendix to Coustant's *Epist. Roman. Pontificum*, where the reasons for regarding them as spurious are also set forth. The *Acta Eusebii* are published in the *AA. SS.* Boll. Aug. t. iii. p. 167. They all bear upon their face marks of their apocryphal character. They betray a period, a way of thinking, and circumstances later than the 4th century; while the barbarous Latin in which they are composed shews a decay of that language which had not taken place at the date of the Nicene synod. (Cf. farther about these apocryphal documents Döllinger's *Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages*, Plummer's edit.; Hefele's *Councils*, t. i. pp. 442–444, Clark's edit.; Mansi, ii. 720, 1082 *passim.*)

Coustant thinks that all these documents must have been forged early in the 6th century. He has treated particularly of the *Constitutio Sylvestri*, and in his preface suggests that it was composed in support of pope Symmachus, who had been unjustly accused of several crimes, but was acquitted by a synod which met in 501 or 503. At the same time the principle was asserted that the pope could not be judged by other bishops. The compiler of the *Lib. Pontif.* refers also to other forgeries and documents of the 5th century, as the pretended correspondence between SS. Clement and James, the Acts of S. Clement (cf. Greg. Turon. *de Gloria MM.* capp. xxxv., xxxvi.; Till. *Mém.* ii. 159, 160), and to the so-called *Canones Apostolorum*, first translated from Greek into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus in the beginning of the 6th century. This reference will be found in the apocryphal letter of Jerome to Damasus. While again in the notice of pope Victor there is a clear reference, as Duchesne (p. 29) shews, to the controversy raging at the beginning of the 6th century about the Victorian cycle and the true time for observing Easter. [DIONYSIUS (19).]

III. *Aim and Influence.*—The aim of the author is manifest. Like the writer of the *Libellus Synodicus* he strove to exalt Rome as against Constantinople, and to represent the pope as exercising an universal supremacy from the beginning. For this purpose he does not hesitate to ascribe decretals to early popes containing expressions and ideas of his own time. Thus he attributes to pope Alexander (A.D. 109–119) a decree that any bishop summoned to the apostolic see should not be received back into his diocese unless he brought with him a commendatory letter technically called *Literae formatae*, a term first found used in the beginning of the 5th century. [LITERAE FORMATAE, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*] He supports the claim of the pope to exemption from responsibility to any tribunal save that of his own judgment; and the claim of the clergy to exemption from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals by forged decretals of popes in the beginning of the 4th century. But it is unnecessary to multiply these instances, as all authorities are now agreed that this work, in one shape or other, was the production of a partisan of pope Symmachus. But while he maintained the supremacy of Rome, the writer knew nothing of papal infallibility. He records quite naturally, and without any apology, the apostasy to heathenism of pope Marcellinus in the Diocletian persecution, which very apostasy, however, forms the foundation on which the *Gesta Synodi Sinuessae* are made to build a favourite tenet of our author, "Summum Pontificem a nemine nisi a se judicandum esse" (Coustant, *l. c.* App. p. 29). He tells, too, of the Arianism of Liberius, and represents Felix II., his competitor, as the true Catholic bishop, which is in direct contradiction to modern Roman doctrine [FELIX (2), LIBERIUS (4)]. But indeed with the repeated instances of competing popes during the 6th century, and their notorious subjection to and even election by the Arian Gothic princes, the doctrine of infallibility could scarcely find a place in the mind of the most devoted papal partisan. The influence, however, of the *Liber Pontificalis* helped much towards the development of that doctrine through the publication of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which incorporated it, and to which, in turn, the *Liber Pontificalis* gave an appearance of genuineness. (On this see *The Pope and the Council*, by Janus, cap. iii. sec. 7.)

Bibliography.—The *Liber Pontificalis* is found in very numerous manuscripts. Duchesne gives a list of one hundred and ten of them found in various libraries of Europe, and out of this number he had himself consulted ninety-eight. Crabbe embodied the greater portion of the *Liber Pontificalis* down to Eugenius II., A.D. 827, in his collection of the councils, Cologne, 1538. The *Editio princeps* is that of Busaeus, Mayence, 1602, republished by Fabrottus, Paris, 1647, and again at Venice in 1729. It was also published by Schelstrâte and Bianchini, Rome, 1718–1735, and reprinted in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* t. cxxvii. cxxviii. Muratori included the *Liber Pontificalis* in t. iii. *Scriptorum Rerum Italicarum*, Rome, 1724, accompanied by Bianchini's preface and the dissertations of Schelstrâte (*Antiq.*

Eccles. Illust. t. i.), and of Ciampini (*Examen. Lib. Pontif.* Rom. 1688). Another edition was published at Rome, the first volume by Vignolius, librarian of the Vatican, in 1724, and the second and third by his nephew (P. Ugolinius) in 1753 and 1755 (cf. Potthast's *Biblioth. Hist. Medii Aevi*, p. 422). Dr. Pabst was preparing another edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, but he was killed in the Franco-German war of 1870 before it appeared. Lipsius exhibits a synopsis of the MSS. employed by Pabst, *Chronol. der Römischen Bischöfe*, p. 83 sqq.

Authorities.—For learned discussions of this subject the reader should consult among moderns the works of Lipsius, Mommsen (*Abhandlung. der Königl. Sachs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* 1850), Piper (*Einleitung in die Monument. Theolog.* Gotha, 1867, pp. 315–349), Smedt (*Introductio ad Histor. Ecclesiast.* pp. 198–230), De Rossi (*Roma Sotteranea*, i. 123, *et passim*), and, latest and most elaborate of all, the work so often quoted of Duchesne (*Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1877), published in the Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, under the direction of the Minister for Public Instruction.

Among older writers this subject is discussed in Coustant's *Epistolae Roman. Pontificum*, Paris, 1721, and Dodwell's *Dissert. Singularis de Pontif. Roman. primaeva Successione* contained in Pearson's *Opera Chronologica*, Lond. 1688, as well as by Schelstrate, Bianchini, and the others mentioned under the head of *Bibliography*. [G. T. S.]

LIBERALIS (1), African bishop of an unknown but important see; was with Cyprian at Adrumetum, *Ep.* 48; one of the forty-one in Conc. Carth. sub Cyp. 2, *de Pace*, *Ep.* 57; one of the eighteen who send Syn. Ep. Conc. Carth. *de Bapt. Haer. Ep.* 70. [E. W. B.]

LIBERALIS (2), a martyr, probably under Diocletian. He had been consul. A monument, with an inscription in his memory, was erected by pope Damasus. His name is absent from all the martyrologies, as it was unknown till the tablet was discovered. The epitaph will be found in Gruter (*Corp. Inscriptt.* p. 1171, num. 9), and in Mai (*Scriptt. Vet. Coll.* v. 389). [G. T. S.]

LIBERALIS (3), Ap. 27, confessor cir. 400. He belonged to Altinum, and attached himself to Heliodorus, bishop of that city [HELIODORUS (7)]. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 489.) [C. H.]

LIBERALIS (4), Donatist bishop of Nasaita, perhaps in Numidia (Ptol. iv. 2, 9), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* Cognit. i. 187.) [H. W. P.]

LIBERALIS (5), Donatist bishop of Milidia, perhaps in Numidia (Ptol. iv. 3, 24), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 208.) [H. W. P.]

LIBERALIS (6), a bishop, present at the council of Vannes in A.D. 465, and conjectured to be bishop of Aleth. (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 73.) [C. W. B.]

LIBERANTIUS, Donatist bishop of Tisania, perhaps in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 206.) [H. W. P.]

LIBERATA, Jan. 16, a virgin of Ticinum (Pavia), stated by Ferrarius, but on insufficient grounds, to have been a sister of Epiphanius, the bishop of that city. [EPIPHANIUS (13).] (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 32.) [C. H.]

LIBERATUS (1) (LIBERALIS), presbyter of Eliocrota (Lorca in Murcia), at the council of Elvira, cir. 305 (Mansi, ii. 29, 108), his bishop Successus being also named as present (*ib.* 5, 96). [T. W. D.]

LIBERATUS (2) (LIBERTUS, LIBERIUS), a poet who wrote some acrostic lines in praise of the poet Sedulius. They occur at the end of Sedulius's metrical *Opus Paschale* (La Bigne, *Max. Bibl. Pat.* t. vi. p. 472, ed. Lugd. 1677; *Pat. Lat.* xix. 470, 784; Ceillier, viii. 108). The lines run to the letters of "Sedulius Antilinus Antistes." [C. H.]

LIBERATUS (3), Aug. 17, cir. 450, abbat and martyr at Carthage, A.D. 483, in the Arian persecution of Hunneric. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Victor Vit. *de Persecut. Wandal.* lib. v. 10, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* t. lviii. p. 250; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*; Ceillier, x. 462.) [G. T. S.]

LIBERATUS (4), March 23, physician and confessor in the Arian persecution under Hunneric in North Africa, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *de Persecut. Wandal.* lib. v. cap. 14; Ceillier, x. 461.) [G. T. S.]

LIBERATUS (5), bishops exiled by Hunneric in 484, viz. of Amudarsa in Byzacene, of Aquae Regiae in Byzacene, and of Mullita in the proconsular province. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* 55, 57, 58; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 76, 81, 234.) [R. S. G.]

LIBERATUS (6), primate of Byzacene, A.D. 524, in which year he presided at the council of Junca, and wrote a letter in its name to Boniface bishop of Carthage. (Mansi, viii. 633; Ceillier, xi. 828.) [W. M. S.]

LIBERATUS (7) DIACONUS, archdeacon of Carthage, a Latin writer on the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, an account of which he composed under the title, *Breviarium Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum.* In the course of this work he records some circumstances of his life. He had visited Rome in the pontificate of John II. on the affair of the Acoemetae order of monks (c. 20). In 535 he was deputed to Rome, with the bishops Caius and Peter, by the council of Carthage, in order to consult John II. on the question of how conforming Arian bishops should be received. They arrived about the time of the pope's death (he was buried May 27, 535), and his successor Agapetus (consecrated June 3, 535) replied to the synod by the three envoys (Mansi, viii. 849). Liberatus was an ardent defender of the *Three Chapters*, and undertook many journeys in that cause. On his return home he composed his *Breviarium*, which he so named as being an abridgment in twenty-four chapters of a history of events which, beginning with the ordination of Nestorius in 428, reached to the meeting of the fifth synod in 553. From the latter date it may be inferred that the work was written cir. 560. The author

intimates in his preface that he collected his materials from the *Ecclesiastical History* which had been recently translated from the Greek into Latin (as Garnier thinks, the *Historia Tripartitia* of Cassiodorus), from the Acts of the councils, and from episcopal letters. The text of the *Breviarium* was first printed in Crabbe's *Concilia* (t. ii. p. 98), 1551. Mansi gives it (ix. 659) with a few notes by Binius. It was edited with copious notes and dissertations by Garnier in 1675 (8vo, Paris), and this edition has been reprinted by Galland (*Bibl. Patr.* 1765, t. xii. p. 119), and Migne (*Pat. Lat.* lxviii. 969). Accounts of Liberatus will be found in Dupin (*Eccl. Wr.* t. i. p. 558, ed. 1722), Ceillier (xi. 303), Cave (i. 527), Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat.* t. iv. p. 272, ed. Mansi, 1754). Fabricius in his *Bibl. Graec.* (t. xii. 685, ed. Harles) gives an index of all the writers and heretics mentioned by Liberatus. [C. H.]

LIBERIANUS, martyr with Justin. (*Acta Just. Mart.* Otto, ii. 274.) [G. S.]

LIBERIUS (1) I., bishop of Ravenna, cir. A.D. 200. (*Acta SS.* 29 Apr. iii. 614; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 328; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 22.) [R. S. G.]

LIBERIUS (2) II., bishop of Ravenna, between either Agapetus or Severus, c. A.D. 349, and Probus, A.D. 351. (Ughelli, ii. 330; Cappelletti, ii. 26.) [R. S. G.]

LIBERIUS (3) III., bishop of Ravenna, between Florentius, A.D. 374, and Ursus, A.D. 379. (Ughelli, ii. 330; Cappelletti, ii. 26.) [R. S. G.]

LIBERIUS (4), ordained bishop of Rome May 22, A.D. 352 (*Catalog. Liber.*), as successor to Julius I.[a] He is described (*Catal. Felic.*) as "nacione romanus ex patre Agusto." During that trying period of the Arian controversy when the heterodox were split into sections on the ground of subtle distinctions as to the relation of the Son to the Father; when synod after synod was held, creed after creed prepared; when depositions of bishops, excommunications, and persecutions were continual; and when the emperor Constantius was endeavouring to stamp out Nicene orthodoxy in the West, as it had already seemed almost to have disappeared in the East,—few were found able to stand against the pressure of power; and Liberius, among others, is memorable as having yielded to it, being one of the few popes that can be charged with heresy. Before commencing a review of his life, a glance at the condition of the empire and of theological parties may conduce to a clearer view. The empire having been divided, on the death of Constantine the Great in 337, between his three sons, Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius, the death of the first of these in 340 left Constans sole emperor of the West, and Constantius of the East. Constans upheld in the West the creed of Nicaea, while in the East Constantius favoured the party called, from Eusebius of Nicomedia, that of the Eusebians, who, while they held with the orthodox the eternal generation of the Son, repudiated the term *Consubstantial* (ὁμοούσιος), thus occupying a midway position between orthodoxy and Arianism, though often called Arians by the orthodox. The attempt of the two emperors to reconcile the disputants by means of a general council at Sardica (343) had failed, the Easterns having seceded from it, and held one of their own simultaneously at Philippopolis. But one result had been a division in the ranks of the heterodox. For after this the party called that of the Semi-arians, who desired to minimise as far as they could their divergence from orthodoxy, appeared in marked distinction from that of the genuine Eusebians. Their symbol was the ὁμοιούσιον, by which they acknowledged the Son to be of *like* substance with the Father, though not of the *same* substance. Hence they were called *Homoeusians*, as well as *Semi-Arians*. Their most noted leaders were Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste, Eleusius of Cyzicus, and Mark of Arethusa; all men of piety, and commended as such even by Athanasius and Hilary. Cyril of Jerusalem and Eusebius of Samosata, both saints in the Roman calendar, were also connected with the Semi-Arian party. Eventually there appeared another party, founded by Acacius of Caesarea, and known as that of the *Homoeans*, who rejected altogether the use of the word substance, and contended for the simple assertion that the Son was *like* (ὅμοιος) to the Father, with or without the addition of the words 'in all things.' But this variety, which in the end was adopted by the old Eusebian party, came into notice after the accession of Liberius, though during his reign. There remained also the party of decided Arians, called now Anomoeans in distinction from those who held intermediate views, or designated after the names of their leaders, Aetius, Eunomius, and Acacius. For the last of these, named above as the founder of the Homoean party, afterwards declared himself an Anomoean, though eventually, under Jovian, he signed the symbol of Nicaea.

It remains to be noticed that Athanasius, the original champion of orthodoxy, the exculpation or condemnation of whom was proposed to synods and bishops as a test of faith as much as creeds and confessions, having been twice deposed and banished, and having during his second banishment resided three years in Rome supported by pope Julius, had been a second time recalled. Constantius, at the instance of his orthodox brother, had been induced for a time to take up his cause, and the result had been his triumphant return to Alexandria, A.D. 346, where he was in possession of his see when Liberius became bishop of Rome. But now it was that the assassination of Constans (A.D. 350) in consequence of the rebellion of Magnentius, and the subsequent defeat of that conspirator in 351, had left Constantius sole emperor, without any rival to fear or conciliate. The first symptom of the turn of the tide was before the death of Magnentius, when Valens, the Eusebian bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, and Ursacius his former colleague in resolute opposition to orthodoxy, having both, on the return of Athanasius to his see, denounced Arianism and declared themselves on his side, now recanted their recantation and persuaded the emperor that it had been made only through fear of Constans. Soon

[a] For xi. Kal. Jun. (*Lib. Cat.*) Pagi suggests xi. Kal. Jul. (i.e. June 21), on the ground that the latter day would be a Sunday, on which day of the week it was usual to ordain the popes.

after this new charges against Athanasius were sent to the emperor and Julius the pope, the latter of whom died before they reached him, so that the hearing of them was reserved for his successor. These charges were to the effect that Athanasius had influenced Constans against Constantius, had corresponded with Magnentius, had used an unconsecrated church in Alexandria, and had disregarded an imperial summons calling him to Rome (Athanas. *Apol. ad Constantium*). They were considered, together with an encyclic of seventy-five Egyptian bishops in behalf of Athanasius, by a council under Liberius at Rome. It is on this occasion that the first charge of compliance with heresy is alleged against Liberius. Among the fragments of Hilary (Hil. *Fragm. IV.*) there is a letter purporting to have been addressed by him to his "beloved brethren and fellow bishops throughout the East" at this time, in which he declares that he agrees and communicates with them, and that Athanasius, having been summoned to Rome, and having refused to come, is out of communion with himself and the Roman church. Bower (*History of the Popes*), Tillemont (*Vie de S. Athan.* t. viii.; art. 64, note 68), and Milman (*Lat. Christianity*, B. i. c. 2), accept this letter as genuine. Baronius, the Benedictine editors of the works of Hilary, Hefele (*Concilien-geschicht.* B. v. sect. 73),—the last very positively,—reject it as an Arian forgery; the principal, if not only, ground for its rejection being the improbability of his having written it. It does certainly seem unlikely that he should have done so at that particular time. For (1) in all extant accounts of his career, his rejection of Athanasius afterwards when he was in exile at Beroea (which will be mentioned below) is spoken of as the first instance of unfaithfulness. For instance, Athanasius himself (*Hist. ad Monach.* c. 35) describes him as having been his firm supporter till, on the occasion above referred to, he yielded to threats. (2) The same authority (*l. c.* c. 36) represents him as having said to the eunuch Eusebius (when sent, as will be seen hereafter, to Rome by the emperor to confer with him) that he could not desert Athanasius who had been left in peace by the Roman church, and whom he himself had loved and received into communion in the time of Julius, no allusion being made to any interruption of such love and communion. (3) Almost immediately after the time assigned to the letter in question, there is no doubt that his whole action was singularly resolute on the side of Athanasius, even when strong imperial pressure was put upon him, of which there is no evidence at the commencement of his reign. (4) Other letters of his, written later than this supposed one, seem inconsistent with the supposition of its genuineness. In one to the emperor (Hilar. *Fragm. V.*) he refers to the Roman synod, at the time of holding which the letter in question is supposed to have been written, and gives no intimation of his having wavered in his support of Athanasius. He only rebuts the charge of having suppressed the letters of accusation against him which the Easterns had sent, declaring that he had honestly laid them all before the council, as well as the letters in his defence from the Egyptian bishops, and adds that he had found it impossible to withhold his assent to the verdict, which had been given by the great majority of the council, in favour of Athanasius. Again, in the later letter given in the Fragments of Hilary (*Fragm. VI.*), as addressed by him to the Eastern bishops, at the time when he did undoubtedly seek communion with them, and when it would have served his purpose to allude to the former one if he had really written it, he makes no mention of it, but on the contrary excuses his early support of Athanasius on the ground that his predecessor Julius had set him the example. (5) The supposition of a spurious letter having been attributed to him is not in itself improbable, since Athanasius accuses the Arians of that time of circulating several false letters (*Apol. ad Const. Imp.* 6, 11, 19), and one such is said to have been read at the synod of Sardica (cf. Hilar. *Fragm. II.*). Still the insertion of this letter among the fragments attributed to Hilary is in itself strong external evidence in favour of its genuineness; and it may be argued on the other side of the question that the undoubted weakness of Liberius at a later period greatly reduces the improbability of temporary vacillation at the beginning of his career; that there may have been some peculiar pressure, of which we know nothing, brought to bear on him at the time, under the influence of which, or of annoyance at the refusal of Athanasius to come to Rome at his summons, he did write the letter in question, though further knowledge of facts, or the strong feeling of the Roman synod, soon led him to change his attitude. And it may be observed that, in his letter to the emperor above referred to, he speaks as if he had not fully made up his mind when the synod began, and in some sort apologises for having been unable to refuse assent to the verdict of the majority.

The death of Magnentius in the autumn of 353 having left Constantius entirely free to follow his own heretical bent, or the counsels of his advisers, whose influence was always great with him, Liberius certainly stood forth as a fearless champion of the cause under imperial disfavour. His first step was to send Vincentius of Capua, with Marcellus, another bishop of Campania, to the emperor, requesting him to call a council at Aquileia for the settlement of the points at issue. Constantius, being himself at Arles, summoned one there, which was attended in behalf of Liberius by his legates above named. The main object of the leaders of the council, in which Valens and Ursacius took a prominent part, was to extort from the legates a renunciation of communion with Athanasius. After a fruitless attempt to obtain from the dominant party a simultaneous condemnation of Arius, the legates at length complied. Paulinus of Treves is memorable on the contrary for his refusal, and consequent banishment (Sulpic. Sever. l. 2; Hilar. *Libell. ad Constantium*; id. *in Fragm.*; *opp.* Liber. *ad Constantium et Eusebium*). Liberius, on hearing the result, expressed himself in a letter to Hosius of Cordova much distressed by the weakness of his messenger Vincentius. "I had hoped," he said, "much from Vincentius, as one who had often sat as judge with your holiness in the same cause; yet he has not only gained nothing, but has also himself been led into that dissimulation: after which deed of his, consumed by

a double sorrow, I have determined that it were better for me to die in the cause of God, lest I should seem to be his last accuser" (Hilar. *Fragm. VI.*). He wrote also on the same subject to Caecilianus, bishop of Spoletum (*ib.*).

Subsequently (A.D 354) most of the Western bishops having meanwhile, under fear or pressure, expressed agreement with the East, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, who was at that time in Rome, was, at his own suggestion, sent by Liberius to the emperor, with a priest, Pancratius, and a deacon, Hilary, to demand another council. The mission was accompanied by an earnest letter to the emperor (Hilar. *Fragm. V.*), and another to Eusebius, the orthodox bishop of Vercellae, to whom he had also written previously, requesting his support (*ap. Act.* Euseb.). The result was the summoning of a council at Milan in the beginning of the year 355, which, though attended by 300 Western bishops and but few Eastern, again yielded to the pressure of imperial power. Eusebius of Vercellae at first refused to attend it, probably anticipating the almost inevitable result; but was induced to do so by pressing letters from the council itself, from the pope's legates, and from the emperor. It was opened in the cathedral, where the emperor, as being still only an unbaptized catechumen, was not present. The Catholic bishops demanded that the Nicene creed should in the first place be accepted by the council: but the dominant party resisted the proposal, insisting that the emperor's letter with regard to Athanasius should be at once read. The populace, present in the church, having hereupon raised a clamour, the meeting was adjourned to the palace, where lictors were in attendance, and where the emperor himself took part in the proceedings, rising and saying, "I myself am the accuser of Athanasius." The result was that, in spite of the bold remonstrances of Eusebius, Lucifer, Dionysius of Milan, and others, the condemnation of Athanasius was decreed, and required to be signed by all under pain of banishment. The pope's three legates (though Pancratius and Hilary are said to have been beaten to enforce compliance), Eusebius of Vercellae, Maximus of Naples, and, after a temporary concession, Dionysius of Milan, were among the few who stood firm, and were condemned to exile. (See Sulpic. Sever. l. 2; Athanas. *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos.*) Notwithstanding this forced acquiescence of the greater part of the Western bishops, and persecution brought to bear against recusants, Liberius at Rome still stood firm. He addressed a letter to Eusebius of Vercellae (*ap. Act.* Euseb.) congratulating him on his firmness, and an encyclic one (*ib. et* Hilar. *Fragm. VI.*) to all the exiled confessors, sympathising with and encouraging them, and expressing his expectation of soon having to suffer like them. The emperor endeavoured in vain to win him over by threats or bribes. The eunuch Eusebius, who was the emperor's chamberlain, was sent to Rome with gifts. Liberius refused them. They were offered at St. Peter's church. Liberius rebuked the keeper of the church for not casting out the unholy offerings. Eusebius returned to Constantius, having effected nothing. At length violent measures were resorted to. The gates and harbours of Rome were guarded against Catholics desirous of visiting the refractory bishop and finally Leontius, the prefect of the city, was ordered to apprehend him and convey him to the court. He was accordingly seized by night, and taken to Milan. (See Athan. *Hist. Arian. ad Mon.* c. 35 *et seq.*) Theodoret (l. ii. c. 13) gives a detailed account of his interview with the emperor there. The eunuch Eusebius, and Epictetus bishop of Centumellae, were present, and took part in the proceedings. "I have sent for you," said Constantius, "the bishop of my city, that you may repudiate the madness of Athanasius, whom the whole world has condemned." Liberius continued to insist that the condemnation had not been that of a fair and free council, or in the presence of the accused, and added that those who had condemned him had been actuated by fear, or regard to the emperor's gifts and favour. Eusebius distinguished himself by asserting that the Nicene council had declared Athanasius alien to the Catholic faith. Epictetus said, "Not for the faith's sake, emperor, does Liberius talk, but that he may be able to boast to the Roman senators of having beaten the emperor in argument." "Do you, Liberius," asked Constantius, "comprise in yourself so great a part of the world that you dare alone to support that impious man, and disturb the whole world's peace?" "Be it that I stand alone," was the reply: "three only were found of old to resist the commands of a king." "Do you make our emperor a second Nebuchadnezzar?" asked Eusebius. "By no means," replied Liberius; "but you condemn a man without a trial no less rashly than did he of old." He then offered his proposals, which were in advance of what he had demanded previously; viz. that all bishops should be required to subscribe the Nicene creed, that those exiled for the faith should be recalled, and that all should then resort to Alexandria, and there hold a free council for the trial of Athanasius. Epictetus objected that beasts of burden and carriages would be lacking for the conveyance of so great a multitude. Liberius replied that each church would provide for the journey of its own bishop; and went on to intimate that the emperor's strange inveteracy against Athanasius seemed as if due to private hatred. "He has indeed injured many," said Constantius, "but me more than any. For, after the death of my brother Constantine, he continually incited Constans against me. Wherefore, after my glorious victory over Magnentius, I made less account even of it than of the deposition of that man from ecclesiastical administration." Liberius having warned the emperor against making use of bishops, whose time ought to be devoted to spiritual matters, for the avenging of his own enmities, the latter finally cut short the discussion by saying, "There is only one thing to be done. I will that you embrace the communion of the churches, and so return to Rome. Consult peace, then, and subscribe, that you may be restored to your see." "I have already," Liberius replied, "bid farewell to the brethren at Rome; for I account observance of the ecclesiastical law of more importance than residence at Rome." "I give you three days," the emperor said, "to make up your mind: unless within that time you comply, you must be prepared to go where I may send you." Liberius answered, "Three days, or three months, will make no difference with me: wherefore send

me where you please." Two days having been allowed him for consideration, he was banished to Beroea in Thrace (A.D. 355). The emperor sent him, on his departure, five hundred pieces of gold, which he refused, saying to him who brought them, "Go and tell him who sent me this gold to give it to his flatterers and players, who are always in want because of their insatiable cupidity, ever desiring riches and never satisfied. As for us, Christ, who is in all things like unto the Father, supports us, and gives us all things needful."[b] To the empress, who sent him the like sum, he sent word that she might give it to the emperor, who would want it for his military expeditions; and that, if he needed it not, he might give it to Maxentius (the Arian bishop of Milan), and Epictetus, who would be glad of it." Eusebius the eunuch also offered him money, to whom he said, "Thou hast pillaged the churches of the whole world, and dost thou now bring alms to me as a condemned pauper? Depart first, and become thyself a Christian." The banishment of Liberius was followed by a general triumph of the Arian party. In Alexandria Athanasius was superseded by George of Cappadocia, and, after cruel persecutions (according to the account he gives) of the orthodox there, was compelled eventually to take refuge among the hermits and Coenobites of Egypt. In Gaul, in spite of the fearless protest of Hilary of Poictiers, the orthodox were persecuted and banished, and there also heresy triumphed. With regard to what occurred at Rome after the banishment of Liberius, and after his return, we find traces of two conflicting stories. The account given below is gathered from the essentially unanimous testimony of contemporary and other ancient writers of repute, some of whom have been our authorities so far;—viz. Athanasius (*Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* 75), Jerome (*Chron. in ann. Abram.* mccclx.), Rufinus (*H. E.* x. 22), Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 37), Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 8, 11), Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 14), together with Marcellinus and Faustus, two contemporary Luciferian presbyters of Rome, in the preface to their "libellus precum," addressed to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, during the pontificate of Damasus, the successor of Liberius. The stories which conflict with these authorities are those contained in the Pontifical and in the Acts of Martyrs, of which mention will be made below. From the writers above enumerated we learn that immediately after the exile of Liberius all the clergy, including the deacon Felix (archdeacon according to Marcellinus and Faustus) swore before the assembled people to accept no other bishop during the life of Liberius. The populace, who appear throughout to have been strongly on his side, debarred the Arians from the churches, so that the election of a successor, on which the emperor was determined, had to be made in the imperial palace. The deacon Felix, above named, was there chosen and consecrated, three of the emperor's eunuchs representing the people on the occasion, and three heretical bishops, Epictetus of Centumellae, Acacius of Caesarea, and Basilius of Ancyra, being the consecrators. It seems probable from a combination of the accounts that there was a considerable party among the clergy at least who concurred in this consecration. Marcellinus and Faustus say that the clergy ordained him, while the people refused to take part; and Jerome states that after the intrusion of Felix by the Arians very many of the clerical order perjured themselves by supporting him. Felix appears to have been himself orthodox, no distinct charge of heresy being alleged against him by his accusers; only that of connivance with his own unlawful election by Arians in defiance of his oath, and that of communicating with them. [FELIX (2).] Two years after the exile of Liberius (A.D. 357) Constantius went to Rome. Theodoret gives the following account of what took place on this occasion. The wives of the magistrates and nobles requested their husbands to plead with the emperor for the return of Liberius, threatening, if they refused, to desert them, and fly to their banished pastor. The husbands declined this dangerous mission, but suggested that the ladies might themselves undertake it with better chance of success, or of impunity in case of failure. The ladies accordingly, splendidly arrayed after their manner, waited on the emperor, deeming that the splendour of their attire, betokening their illustrious rank, would inspire in him reverence towards themselves, and clemency. They then besought him to have pity on the city bereaved of its shepherd, and exposed to the snares of wolves. On the emperor replying that they had no need of a second shepherd, having one already to look after them, they averred that none of the inhabitants of Rome would enter a church where Felix was. Constantius was so far moved by their representations as to consent to the return of Liberius on condition of his presiding over the church jointly with Felix. When the emperor's order to this effect was read publicly in the circus, the people jocularly exclaimed that the decree was just; for that, inasmuch as the spectators of the games were divided into two parties, distinguished by the colours they wore, it was right that each party should have its bishop; after which pleasantry burst forth the unanimous cry, "One God, one Christ, one bishop!" There appears to have been some delay before the actual return of Liberius. He was required meanwhile to satisfy the emperor by renouncing orthodoxy and Athanasius. This he was by this time but too ready to do. His conduct now is in strange contrast to his former firmness. It appears that bishop Fortunatian of Aquileia had been employed by the Eusebians to persuade him (Jerome, *Catalog. Scriptor.* 97), and that Demophilus of Beroea had personally

[b] This speech is given, not by Theodoret, but by Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 11), who gives a shorter summary of what took place, in the main agreeing with Theodoret's detailed account. The expression "*like* unto the Father," attributed on this occasion to Liberius, if correctly reported, would seem to imply that, however firm in his refusal to condemn Athanasius unheard, he was himself at this time somewhat vague or unsettled in respect to doctrinal expressions. His readiness to agree with the Easterns on a later, and possibly (as aforesaid) on a former occasion, renders this not improbable.

Though Athanasius and Socrates are silent about the disputation with the emperor at Milan, there seems to be no reason for discrediting Theodoret's account of it. He introduces it thus:—"Mihi vero Liberii summa laude digni liberam pro veritate disputationem, et admirabilem sermonem quem habuit cum Constantio intexere hic placet. Haec enim pii ejus aetatis viri literis providerunt quod ad acuendos excitandosque rerum divinarum studiosos vim habeant."

moved him to compliance (*Ep.* Liber. *ad Orient. Episc. ap.* Hilar. *Fragm. VI.*). Hilary (*Fragm. VI.*) gives letters written by him from Beroea at this time. One is to the Eastern bishops and presbyters, from which extracts are given below, together with the parenthetical comments of Hilary. "I do not defend Athanasius: but because my predecessor Julius had received him, I was afraid of being accounted a prevaricator. Having learnt, however, that you had justly condemned him, I soon gave assent to your judgment, and sent a letter to that effect by bishop Fortunatian of Aquileia, to the emperor. Wherefore Athanasius being removed from the communion of us all (I will not even receive his letters), I say that I have peace and communion with you and with all the Eastern bishops. That you may be assured of my good faith in thus writing, know that my lord and brother Demophilus has deigned in his benevolence to expound to me the true Catholic faith which was treated, expounded, and received at Sirmium by many brethren and fellow bishops of ours. (*This is the Arian perfidy:—This I have noted, not the apostate;—the following are the words of Liberius.*) This I have received with a willing mind (*I say anathema to thee, Liberius, and thy companions*), and in no respect contradict; I have given my assent, I follow and hold it. (*Once more, and a third time, anathema to thee, prevaricator Liberius!*) Seeing that you now perceive me to be in agreement with you in all things, I have thought it right to beseech your holinesses to deign by your common counsel and efforts to labour for my release from exile and my restoration to the see divinely entrusted to me." Another letter is to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, begging their good offices, and excusing his apparent delay in writing, as above, to the Oriental bishops. Before sending that letter he had already, he says, condemned Athanasius, as the whole presbytery of Rome could testify, to whom he seems to have previously sent letters intended for the emperor's eye. He concludes, "You should know, most dear brethren, by this letter, written with a plain and simple mind, that I have peace with all of you, bishops of the Catholic church. And I desire you to make known to our brethren and fellow-bishops Epictetus and Auxentius that with them I have peace and ecclesiastical communion. Whoever may dissent from this our peace and concord, let him know that he is separated from our communion." In giving this letter, Hilary again expresses his indignation in a note: "Anathema, I say to thee, prevaricator, together with the Arians!" A third letter is to Vincentius of Capua, the same bishop whose defection at Milan he had once so much deplored. In it he announces that he had given up his contention for Athanasius, and had written to say so to the Oriental bishops; and he requests Vincentius to assemble the bishops of Campania and get them to join in an address to the emperor, "that I may bo delivered from my great sadness." He concludes, "God keep thee safe, brother. We have peace with all the Eastern bishops, and I with you. I have absolved myself to God; see you to it: if you have the will to fail me in my banishment, God will be judge between me and you."

There is no sufficient ground for doubting the genuineness of the fragment of Hilary which contains these letters, or of the letters themselves. It is true that it is resolutely denied by Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, B. v. sect. 81), as it had been especially by the Jesuit Stilting in the work of the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. t. vi. on Liberius). But the arguments adduced are weak, resting chiefly on alleged historical difficulties, and on the style of the letters. All the great Protestant critics accept them; and among the Roman Catholics Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin, Ceillier, Montfaucon, Constant, and Möhler. Dr. Döllinger does the same. Dr. Newman also (*Arians of the Fourth Century*) quotes them without any note of suspicion. Baronius accepts the letters to the Eastern bishops and to Vincentius, but rejects that to Valens and Ursacius, though only on the ground of the statement contained or rather implied in it that Athanasius had been excommunicated by the Roman church. A refutation of Hefele's arguments is contained in P. le Page Renouf's treatise on *the Condemnation of Pope Honorius* (Longmans, 1868), from which an extract, bearing on the subject, is given in *Appendix* to the English translation of Hefele's work (Clark, Edinb. 1876).

Even if the fragment of Hilary could be shewn to be spurious, the general fact of the fall of Liberius would remain indisputable, being attested by Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* 41; *Apol. contr. Arian.* 89), by Hilary (*contra Const. Imp.* 11), by Sozomen (iv. 15), and by Jerome (*Chron. et De Vir. Illustr.* 97). It was never indeed questioned by any till comparatively recent times, when a few papal partisans—especially Stilting above referred to (*in loc.*), Franz Anton Zaccaria (*Dissert. de Commentitio Liberii lapsu*), Professor Palma (*Praelect. Histor. Eccles.* t. i. P. ii. Romae, 1838)—have been bold enough to take up his defence, relying in the first place on the silence of Theodoret, Socrates, and Sulpicius Severus on the subject of his fall. Others, as Hefele, content themselves with endeavouring to extenuate its extent and culpability.

In the first of the letters above quoted it will be observed that Liberius speaks of having already accepted the exposition of the faith agreed upon "by many brethren and fellow bishops" at Sirmium. There is some uncertainty as to the particular confession here referred to. There had been so far two noted synods of Sirmium, both of which had issued expositions of doctrine. The first had been in 351, assembled by the Eusebians, their main purpose having been to justify themselves from false charges against them of heresies that they did not hold. The confession of faith adopted by them asserted against Photinus and Marcellus of Ancyra the pre-existent divinity of the Son before His human birth, and, but for its omission of the term Consubstantial, was not heretical. Hilary of Poictiers (*De Syn.* 38 sqq.) allows it to be orthodox. Baronius, and the Benedictine editors of the works of Hilary (with whom agrees Dr. Döllinger in his *Papst-fabeln des Mittelalters*) maintain that this was the creed accepted by Liberius at Beroea. But the indignant remarks of Hilary, above cited, with reference to the confession accepted by Liberius on this occasion, are against the supposition of its having been one that he himself has elsewhere allowed to be

unobjectionable. The second Sirmian synod was held in 357, assembled by Constantius at the instance of the Anomaeans, who at this time persuaded him that the best way of reconciling disputants was to forbid, in any connexion, the use of the word Substance. Accordingly the second Sirmian formula, on that occasion issued, prohibited alike the definitions, *homousius* and *homoeusius*, as being both beyond the language of Scripture, and declared the Father to be in honour, dignity, and majesty, greater than the Son, and, by implication, that the Father alone may be defined as without beginning, invisible, immortal, impassible. The doctrine expressed was essentially that of the Homoeans, though the phrase "like unto the Father," from which they got their name, was not yet adopted.

This may have been the creed accepted by Liberius at Beroea. His credit is not much saved by supposing it to have been the former one, since his letters are sufficient evidence of his pliability. Whichever it was, his acceptance of it at Beroea was not enough to satisfy the emperor, who, having gone from Rome to Sirmium, summoned him thither, where he was required to sign a new formula, apparently prepared for the occasion. This was, according to Sozomen, concocted from three sources: first, the creed of the old Antiocene council of 269, in which the term *consubstantial*, alleged to be used heretically so as to compromise the Son's Personality by Paul of Samosata, was condemned; secondly, one of the creeds issued by the Eusebian council at Antioch in 341, which fell short of orthodoxy by the omission of the term *consubstantial;* and thirdly, the first Sirmian creed, above described. Sozomen adds that he signed also a condemnation of those who denied the Son to be *like* the Father according to Substance and in all respects. It is to be observed that when Liberius is said by some writers to have been summoned from Beroea to the *third* synod of Sirmium, and to have signed the *third* Sirmian confession, those are not to be understood which are sometimes so called, viz. those of May, A.D. 359, when a distinctly Homoean formula, prepared by bishop Mark of Arethusa, was subscribed. If the compilation from former creeds assented to by Liberius at Sirmium be called the *third* Sirmian formula, that of 359, which was subsequent to his return to Rome, ought to be spoken of as the *fourth*.[c]

Liberius was now allowed to return to Rome, the bishops of Sirmium having written to the Roman clergy bidding them receive him back to reign jointly with Felix.[d] But the Roman populace, with whom Liberius was popular, would not allow this compromise. Either at once after his return (as Marcellinus and Faustus intimate) or not long afterwards (as other accounts imply) Felix was compelled to retire from the city after tumults and bloodshed. Having attempted afterwards to get possession of a church beyond the Tiber, he was again expelled.

The accounts of the election of Felix and of the subsequent occurrences at Rome which differ from those above given are contained in the lives of Liberius and Felix in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and in the Acts of St. Felix and St. Eusebius. They shew evident signs of compilation in a later age, and in some respects contradict each other. They may be supposed to owe their origin to the party of Felix, which became dominant on the election of Damasus to the papacy, being desirous of clearing his reputation at the expense of that of his rival. For a review of them see Art. on FELIX II. It may be remarked, however, that these stories, however untrustworthy, probably contain elements of truth, suggesting especially the probability that, among the clergy at least, the party of Felix was more numerous than might otherwise have been supposed, and his rivalry more formidable. We may gather from them that, after the compliance of Liberius with heresy, the presbyter Eusebius (honoured afterwards as a saint and martyr) was successful, on the ground of this compliance, in inducing a large party of the orthodox to renounce his communion.

Two ways have been resorted to of excusing, in some degree, the compliance of Liberius. One, taken by Baronius and Hefele, is that the formulae he subscribed were capable of being understood in an orthodox sense, and so subscribed by him, though otherwise intended by the emperor: that, in fact, "Liberius renounced the formula ὁμοούσιος, not because he had fallen from orthodoxy, but because he had been made to believe that formula to be the cloak of Sabellianism and Photinism" (*Hefele*). Baronius, however, condemns him so far as to say that his envy of the fortune of Felix, and his longing for the adulation to which he had been used at Rome, were the Delilah that deprived this Samson of his courage and strength. The other way of saving a pope from the imputation of error on matters of faith is with Bellarmine to acknowledge his external but deny his internal assent to heresy: a view which saves his infallibility at the expense of his morality. The fact remains that in his letters from Beroea he proclaimed to the world his renunciation of Athanasius and his entire agreement and communion with the Easterns, and that at Sirmium he signed a confession drawn up by Semi-Arians, which was intended to express rejection of the orthodoxy for which he had once contended.

It has been observed above that Athanasius, Sozomen, Hilary, and Jerome, all allude to his temporary compliance with heresy in some form as a known and undoubted fact. Athanasius, however, unlike Hilary, speaks of it in a spirit of noble tolerance. He says, "But they (*i.e.* certain great bishops) not only supported me with arguments, but also endured exile; among them being Liberius of Rome. For, if he did not endure the affliction of his exile to the end, nevertheless he remained in banishment for two years, knowing the conspiracy against me" (*Apol. contra Arian.* 89). Again, "Moreover Liberius, having been banished, after two years gave way, and under fear of threatened death subscribed. But even this proves only their (*i. e.* the Arians') violence, and his hatred of

[c] It has been suggested by Mr. Ffoulkes that the creed accepted by Liberius was in fact what is commonly called the third Sirmian, which he conceives to have been drawn up at Sirmium in 358, and to have had the date of May 27, A.D. 359, appended to it afterwards, when it was recited and approved at Rimini.

[d] His return may be assigned with probability to the year 358.

heresy; for he supported me as long as he had free choice." (*Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* 41.)

When once in possession of his see, and surrounded by his orthodox supporters, he appears to have resumed his old position of resolute orthodoxy. In the year 359 were held the two councils at Ariminum in the West and Seleucia in the East, the result of which was the almost universal acceptance for a time of the Homoean formula, which at this time Constantius was persuaded to force upon the church in the hope of reconciling disputants. This was the result that called forth the famous expression of Jerome (*Dial. adv. Lucifer.* 19), "The whole world groaned, and wondered to find itself Arian." Liberius was not present at Ariminum, nor is there any reason for supposing that he assented to the now dominant confession. It is true that Jerome, in the expression above cited, speaks of the whole world, without excepting the bishop of Rome, as having become at that time Arian. But his language is rhetorical, and on the other hand, Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 22) gives a letter from a synod of Italian and Gallican bishops held at Rome under pope Damasus, in which it is stated that the Ariminian formula had the assent neither of the bishop of Rome, whose judgment was beyond all others to be expected, nor of Vincentius, nor of others besides. And Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xxi. 24, Benedictine edition) says that all at the time referred to temporised, "except a very few, and these such as were passed over on account of their insignificance, or such as stood out on account of their virtue, who must needs be left as a seed and root to Israel, that it might again shoot forth and revive by the influences of the Spirit." In the Acts of Liberius, quoted by Baronius, it is said that he escaped compulsion by hiding himself in the catacombs; a circumstance not in itself improbable, though the authority for it is of no great weight. But even without such concealment it is conceivable that Constantius might shrink from using force a second time against a popular Roman bishop at the risk of provoking renewed insurrection of the populace: or he may have been satisfied with his previous compliance on the occasion of his return to Rome.

The death of Constantius (A.D. 361), and the accession of Julian the Apostate, having left the orthodox free from direct persecution, Athanasius returned once more in triumph to Alexandria (A.D. 362). In connexion with the council held in the same year at Alexandria, famous not only for its reassertion of orthodoxy, but especially for the liberal terms offered to those who had accepted heresy, and with the measures taken for restoring peace to the church elsewhere, Liberius seems to have taken no prominent part. There is indeed a letter of his written at this time to the bishops of Italy (Hilar. *Fragm. XII.*), in which he recommends the condemnation of the authors of the compliance at Ariminum, but the sparing, on condition of recantation, of such as had been seduced or compelled into error; thus expressing sentiments in accordance with those that prevailed at the Alexandrian council. There are also two others, purporting to have been written by him to Athanasius and the other bishops assembled at Alexandria, in which he defines the faith and gives them directions; and a third from them to him, in which they seek his support, and acknowledge his authority. But these have no claim to authenticity, and are generally rejected as spurious. The glory of restoring orthodoxy and peace to the church at this crisis is mainly due, not to the bishop of Rome, but to Athanasius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Vercellae, and Hilary of Poictiers. A theory of Baronius (*ad ann.* 362) that to the letter to Athanasius (which he considers genuine) was originally joined a now lost portion empowering him to convene the council at Alexandria, and appointing Eusebius of Vercellae and Lucifer of Cagliari as papal legates, rests on no ground but the assumption that the bishop of Rome must have taken the lead. In disproof of any such leadership may be adduced a letter from the Italian bishops to the Illyrians, congratulating them on having returned to the true faith (Hilary, *Fragm. XII.*), in which there is no special mention of the bishop of Rome.

Liberius comes next under our notice in the last year of his episcopate, and during the reign of Valentinian and Valens, who, after the death of Julian in 363, and the short reign of his orthodox and tolerant successor Jovian, became, at the beginning of the year 364, emperors of the West and East respectively; of whom Valentinian was a Catholic, Valens an extreme and persecuting Arian. His persecutions extending to the semi-Arians, as well as to the orthodox, caused the former to incline more and more to union with the latter, and to the position that the difference between them was one rather of words than of doctrine. The former (who came about this time to be called Macedonians, from Macedonius, their principal leader, who had been deposed, at the instance of the Anomoeans, from the see of Constantinople, to make room for Eudoxius) now turned to the Western emperor and the Roman bishop for support in their distress, thinking it better to accept their faith than to communicate with Eudoxius. They accordingly sent three bishops, Eustathius of Sebaste, Sylvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabala, as a deputation to Valentinian and Liberius, with instructions to communicate with the church of Rome, and to accept the term "consubstantial." Valentinian being absent on a campaign in Gaul, Liberius alone received them (A.D. 366). At first he rejected their overtures on the ground of their implication in heresy. They replied that they had now repented, and had already acknowledged the Son to be in all things like unto the Father, and that this expression meant the same as "consubstantial." He required a written confession of their faith. They gave him one, in which they refer to the letters brought by them from the Eastern bishops to him and the other Western bishops; anathematise Arius, the Sabellians, Patripassians, Marcionists, Photinians, Marcellianists, and the followers of Paul of Samosata; condemn the creed of Ariminum as entirely repugnant to the Nicene faith; and append the Nicene creed, to which they declare their entire assent. They conclude by saying that if any one had any charge to allege against them, they were willing that it should be heard before such orthodox bishops as Liberius might approve. Liberius now admitted them to communion, and dismissed

them with letters in his own name and that of the other Western bishops to the bishops of the East who had sent the embassy. Having first gone to Sicily, where a synod of bishops accepted the Nicene faith and the letters of Liberius, they thence returned to the East, where an attempt was made to assemble a council at Tarsus for the reception of Nicene orthodoxy, which was however frustrated by the opposition of Eudoxius (Socrat. *H. E.* iv. 11, 12; Sozom. vi. 11).

Liberius died in the autumn of the same year, A.D. 366 (Marcell. and Faust.), having thus had a notable opportunity of atoning by his latest official act for his previous vacillation.

The extant writings of Liberius are the letters which have been referred to above. In addition to the spurious correspondence between him and the Alexandrians that has been spoken of, there is a letter purporting to have been addressed by him to all bishops, which is also undoubtedly spurious. There is also a discourse of his given by St. Ambrose (*De Virginibus*, lib. iii. c. 1) as having been delivered when Marcellina (the sister of Ambrose, to whom he addresses his treatise) made her profession of virginity. The discourse is interesting as containing at its commencement the earliest known allusion to the keeping of the Christmas festival, while the way in which Ambrose introduces it shews the estimation in which Liberius was held, notwithstanding his temporary fall.

The name of Liberius is omitted from the *Martyrologium Romanum*, as revised by Baronius, but appears in the older one attributed to St. Jerome:—"Sept. 23. Romae depositio sancti Liberi episcopi;" also, "May 17. Liberi episcopi." He is commemorated also on the 27th of August in the Greek *Menology*. [J. B—y.]

LIBERIUS (5), fifth bishop of Dax, present at the fifth council of Orleans in 549. (Mansi, ix. 137; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 31; *Gall. Christ.* i. 1039.) [S. A. B.]

LIBERIUS (6), bishop of Cumae; his death and the destitute condition of his church are mentioned by Gregory the Great in 592 in a letter to Benenatus bishop of Misenum. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* ii. indict. x. *Epp.* 25, 45; Migne, lxxvii. 561, 582.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIBERTINUS (1) (LIBERTUS), provost of the monastery of Fundi, in the time of Totila king of the Goths. (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* lib. i. 2 in Migne, lxxvii. 157; Ceillier, xi. 473.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIBERTINUS (2), ex-prefect of Sicily, also called ex-pretor (cf. Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 177). Gregory the Great from 593 to 600 wrote several letters to him (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. 38; lib. ix. indict. ii. 21; lib. x. indict. iii. 31; Migne, lxxvii. 635, 962, 1088). Libertinus appears to have offended Leontius the ex-consul, and Gregory wrote to Leontius to remonstrate with him (*Epist.* lib. vii. indict. xv. 22; lib. x. indict. iii. 51; Migne, lxxvii. 876, 1106). [A. H. D. A.]

LIBERTINUS (3), a bishop in Sardinia, to whom Gregory wrote in 598, and in 602. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. 8; lib. xiii. indict. vi. 4 in Migne, lxxvii. 947, 1257; Matthaeus, *Sard. Sacr.* 116, 132.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIBORIUS (LEPORIUS, LEPORINUS, LIBERIUS), ST., fourth bishop of Le Mans, said to have been buried by St. Martin of Tours in 397, after a rule of forty-nine years. He was commemorated on July 23. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 407; *Gall. Ch.* xiv. 341; and numerous works in Potthast, *Bibl. Hist.* 784.) [R. T. S.]

LIBOSUS, African bishop in Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. iv. A.D. 254, *de Basilide*, Cyp. *Ep.* 67 (omitted by *Morcelli* as) bishop of Vaga (or Vacca) in Prov. Byz. *Sentt. Epp.* 30, Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt.* 3. His memoria was known, "Conf. et Mart. in novis areis positus Libosus." Cod. veron. *l. c.* (another more famous Vaga in Numidia). [E. W. B.]

LIBRANUS ARUNDINETUS has the story of his life related by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Columbae*, ii. 39) with special fulness and with a vivid representation of the manners of the time. He is probably the Libhran called abbat of Ia in the kalendars at March 11. (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 156–163; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 360, c. 39, 384 n.[31], 491 n.[71]; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 378.) [J. G.]

LICENTIUS (1), a native of Tagaste, perhaps a relation of St. Augustine (Poem. l. 137), and son of the Romanianus to whom Augustine dedicated his *Libri c. Academicos* and *De Vera Religione*. He was himself a pupil of St. Augustine, first at Carthage and then in Italy, where he accompanied him when he retired to the Ager Cassiacus to prepare for baptism, A.D. 386. He appears as one of the interlocutors in the *Libri c. Academicos*, *De Ordine*, and *De Beata Vita*, written during that year. (He is also mentioned in some MSS. as the discipulus who argues in the *De Musicâ*, but his name does not occur in the text.) In these dialogues he appears as an industrious, affectionate, enthusiastic, but rather vain pupil, so devoted to poetry and especially to Virgil, that Augustine finds it difficult to attract him to philosophy (*c. Acad.* ii. 4, iii. 1, 4; *De Ord.* i. 2, 3). In the course of the latter dialogue, however, he is quite won over, and admits the superiority of philosophy to the study of the loves of Pyramus and Thisbe, and Venus and Adonis. We do not hear of him from this time till A.D. 395. He seems to have remained in Italy on Augustine's return, and in this year writes, asking him to use his influence in favour of some request which is not specified, and enclosing a poem, in which he begs a copy of St. Augustine's *De Musicâ*. Augustine answers in an anxious strain, begging him to give up the world and devote himself entirely to Christ. At the same time Augustine writes to Paulinus of Nola, commending Licentius to his care (Ep. xxvi. xxvii.). Paulinus in answer (Ep. xxxii.) writes to Romanianus, and in the course of his letter addresses to Licentius an affectionate appeal to obey Augustine, and "as a poet to a poet" renews his appeal in a short elegiac poem, from which it appears that it was the desire of marriage and of political office at Rome which was enthralling Licentius. What effect these letters had is unknown, as Licentius is not mentioned afterwards.

Works.—His only extant work is the poem addressed to Augustine, and is of no permanent interest. In it he says that he has tried in vain to understand Varro's treatise on music, that he longs to have Augustine with him, and would come to him if he was not thinking of marriage; he admits that his life is drifting aimlessly at Rome, asks for Augustine's advice and prayers, and after a praise of the close communion of Christian friends, begs him to send his treatise *De Musicâ*. The poem is fairly correct in prosody; it shews a knowledge of classical writers, as of Virgil (50, 52, 132, 141), Ovid (130), Persius (47, 70), Claudian (98), but it is frigid and ambitious, full of mythological allusions, which are introduced in tasteless confusion with Christian thoughts. It will be found in Augustine's works (*Ep.* xxvi. ed. Benedict. ii. p. 29, ed. Migne, ii. p. 104), and in Fabricius (*Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat.* xi. p. 809); Pithaeus (*Epig.* p. 471); Wernsdorff (*Poet. Lat. Minores*, with Introd. and notes, iv. p. 516). [W. L.]

LICENTIUS (2), bishop of Jactera, Zactera, or Zattara, in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 647), present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411 (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 128). [H. W. P.]

LICERIUS (1) (LIZIER), ST., fifth or sixth bishop of Conserans, according to the lists of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 1226), and Gams (*Series Episc.* 540). The Bollandists, however, following Le Cointe, identify him with Glycerius, the second bishop of this see, who was present at the council of Agde in 506 (*Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 46). A life of him was published by Labbe, and is repeated in the notice of the Bollandists (*ib.* pp. 47–9). It was written or preserved by Bernardus Guido bishop of Lodève, at the end of the 13th century. According to Dom Rivet in the *Hist. Litt. de la France* (vi. 209), it abounds in anachronisms and commonplaces, and is one of the bad productions of the early years of the 10th century. But the more recent editors, adopting the view of the Bollandists, would vindicate it from these charges (p. 693, note). His episcopate lasted forty-four years. He is commemorated Aug. 27. [S. A. B.]

LICERIUS (2), the second recorded bishop of Oleron, the first being Gratus, more than half a century earlier. He was present at the fourth council of Paris, and in 573, at the second council of Mâcon in A.D. 585. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1264; Mansi, ix. 868, 870, 958; Gams, *Series Episc.* 590.) [S. A. B.]

LICERIUS (3), twenty-third archbishop of Arles, consecrated A.D. 586, and died A.D. 588. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 39, ix. 23; *Gall. Christ.* i. 540.) [S. A. B.]

LICERIUS (4), twelfth bishop of Carpentras, present at the council of Châlons, held about A.D. 648. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 299; *Gall. Christ.* i. 898; Mansi, x. 1194.) [S. A. B.]

LICINIANUS (LUCINIANUS), the fourth known bishop of Carthagena, a Latin ecclesiastical writer, cir. 584. Isidore of Seville (*De Script.* cap. 42 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxiii. 1104), calling him Lucinianus, states that he flourished in the reign of Maurice and was reported to have died at Constantinople, poisoned by jealous rivals. His writings, adds Isidore, were various, including numerous epistles, one in particular on the Sacrament of Baptism, and several addressed to the abbat Eutropius, who was afterwards bishop of Valencia [EUTROPIUS (13)]. The one on Baptism may have been an answer to the letter of Eutropius (Isid. *De Scr.* cap. 45), asking him the reason why chrism was administered to infants after baptism. Three epistles of Licinian are extant, one *De Libro Regularum* addressed to pope Gregory the Great; another to Epiphanius the deacon, arguing that angels and human souls are incorporeal; a third to Vincentius bishop of Ivica against the figment of certain epistles of Christ having descended from heaven. The epistle to Gregory was edited by D'Achery in his *Spicilegium* (t. iii. p. 313, ed. 1723). The other two were, says Cave, first edited by cardinal De Aguirre (*Collect. Max. Concil. Hisp.* t. ii. 427). But the epistle to Vincentius was printed as early as 1640 by Ramirez de Prado in his edition of Liutprand's Works (p. 529). Ramirez prints (p. 530) another letter ascribed to Licinianus (but reckoned spurious), addressed to the same Vincentius, as to whether the canonical Epistle of St. James was written by the brother of our Lord or by the son of Zebedee. All the three epistles are to be found in Catalani's edition of Aguirre (t. iii. p. 315, ed. 1753), and in the *Patrologia Latina* of Migne (lxxii. 687). Notices of the author will be found in Cave (i. 540), Ceillier (xi. 428), Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat.* t. iv. p. 274, ed. 1754). [C. H.]

LICINIUS (1), emperor. See the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* and the article CONSTANTINUS I. in this Dictionary; also Görres, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Licinianische Christenverfolgung.*

LICINIUS (2), ninth archbishop of Tours, subscribed the first council of Orleans, in 511, and, after an episcopate of twelve years and a few months, was buried in the church of St. Martin, probably in the year 515. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 31; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 16; Mansi, viii. 356.) [S. A. B.]

LICINIUS (3), bishop of Patara in Lycia, present at the synod held at Constantinople by the patriarch Mennas, A.D. 536 (Mansi, viii. 973). (Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. xxii. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 1039; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 978.) [L. D.]

LICINIUS (4) (LUCINIUS), fourth bishop of Évreux, subscribed the third council of Orleans, in 538, and the fifth, in 549. (Mansi, ix. 23, 137; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 566; Chamart et Sauvage, *Hist. des Évêques d'Évreux*, p. 8.) [S. A. B.]

LICINIUS (5) (LEZIN, LESIN), fifteenth bishop of Angers (A.D. 592–605). His *Life* is narrated by an anonymous author who professes to have derived his information from the disciples of the saint, and his own letters and works. It was published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 678), together with another life by Marbodus (*ibid.* p. 682), who lived in the 12th or end of the 11th century, and has altered the work of his predecessor only to obscure it. For

both lives see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 551–2. He is commemorated Feb. 13, but is mentioned by Ado on the 8th of June. (Tresvaux, *Hist. de l'Église d'Angers*, i. 56 sqq.; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 549; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 675; Ado, *Martyrologium*, vi. Id. Jun., Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 282; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* tom. ii. an. 585, n. lxix. lxxi. an. 585, n. xiv. 590 n. xxxv. 592 n. v. 598 n. iii. 605 n. ii.) [S. A. B.]

LICONTIUS (LEONTIUS), twenty-seventh bishop of Lyons, said to have been consecrated in A.D. 542, and to have sat for two years. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 32.) [S. A. B.]

LIDORIUS (LITHORIUS), Sep. 13, second bishop of Tours and a citizen of that town, A.D. 337 or 340–370 (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* x. 31, 2; see also i. 43; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 61; *Gall. Ch.* xiv. 5.) [R. T. S.]

LIFARDUS (1) (LIPHARDUS, LEIFARDUS, LAIFARDUS, LEOFARDUS), June 3, abbat of Magdunum (Meung on the Loire, below Orleans, *Gall. Chr.* viii. 1513) about 520–550. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Hieron.*, Wandalb., Notker., Flor.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 3 Jun. i. 298; Bulteau, *Hist. de l'Ordre de St. Benoist*, t. i. p. 226.) [C. H.]

LIFARDUS (2) (LIETPHARDUS, LIPHARDUS), reputed archbishop of Canterbury, martyred in Gaul cir. 640, and commemorated at Honnecourt on Feb. 4. His history, as contained in some late *Acta* printed by the Bollandists with comments of Henschen (*Acta SS.* 4 Feb. i. 495), appears to belong to a class of fabrications not uncommon in the 10th century, when the Benedictine revival made relics in great request, and led to their pompous removals from obscure spots. The legend of Lifardus seems to have been made up out of the histories of bishop Liutard, queen Bertha's chaplain at Canterbury, and Caedwalla king of Wessex. [C. H.]

LILIOLUS (1), bishop of Acci (Guadix), subscribed the acts of the conversion council under Recared (A.D. 589). Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2) 21. (Hübner, *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* No. 115; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 33; Juarez, *Historia del Obispada de Guadix y Baga*, 1696, p. 121.) [M. A. W.]

LILIOLUS (2), bishop of Pampelona, A.D. 589, appears among the sixty-eight bishops whose signatures are found appended to the third council of Toledo, and in 592 attended the second council of Saragossa. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262; Sandoval, *Catal. de los obispos de Pamplona*, p. 7.) [M. A. W.]

LIMENIANUS, bishop of Taprura, or Taphrura, a name which probably represents τὰ φρούρια, in Byzacene (Ptol. iv. 3, 10; Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 650); represented at the Carthaginian conference of 411, by Bonifacius bishop of Vallita (*Collat. Carth.* i. 135). [H. W. P.]

LIMENIUS (1), bishop of Vercellae at the council of Aquileia in 381. (Mansi, iii. 599; Ughelli, iv. 761; Cappelletti, xiv. 362, 426.) [C. H.]

LIMENIUS (2), bishop of Settae (Satta, Sitae) in the province of Lydia, present at the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1225; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 879.) [L. D.]

LINGUINUS, stated to have been buried in the church of St. Venerandus at Claremont in Auvergne (*De Eccles. Claromont.* lib. i. cap. 1 [illegible] in Savaron's *Orig. de Clairm.* p. 349). He [illegible] thought to have been the LEGONUS bishop [illegible] Claremont mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*H. F.* i. 39 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxi. 182; cf. [illegible] *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 769). Tillemont (iv. [illegible]) thinks the name may be a corruption of LINIUS. [C. E.]

LINIANUS I. (LINCINUS), bishop of Beneventum (Benevento), probably c. A.D. [illegible] (Sarnelli, *Vescovi di Benevento*, p. 23; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 6; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'It.* iii. 14.) [R. S. G.]

LINIANUS II., bishop of Benevento, c. [illegible] (Cappelletti, iii. 23.) [A. H. D. A.]

LINUS (1), accounted the first bishop of Rome after the apostles, and identified by Irenaeus (iii. 2) with the Linus from whom St. Paul sends greetings to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). The question of the order of succession of the [illegible] earliest bishops of Rome, and of the positions held by the persons named, has been discussed under CLEMENS ROMANUS. With respect to Linus there is no difference of opinion, save in all the lists he comes first in order.

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 13) assigns 12 years to the episcopate of Linus; the Liberian Catalogue [illegible] years 4 months and 12 days, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 67; see Vol. i. p. 554. The Felician Catalogue gives 11 years, 3 months, and 12 days. These dates cannot be accepted as historical, nor can the statements of the last-named catalogue that his father's name was Erculanus, that he died a martyr, that by the precept of St. Peter he ordered women to have their heads covered in church, and that he was buried on the Vatican beside the body of St. Peter on the 24th September. He is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on the 23rd of September as "Pope and martyr, the first after St. Peter." [J. B—r.]

Under the name of Linus are extant two tracts purporting to contain the account of the martyrdom of Peter and of Paul. They were first printed in 1517 by Faber Stapulensis as an appendix to his *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistles*, and were reprinted in 1577 by De La Bigne (*Bibl. Pat. Max.* ii. 67). These Acts are in Latin, but profess to be a translation from a Greek account sent by Linus to the Oriental churches; and that they are with more or less alteration derived from a Greek original need not be doubted. Tischendorf (*Act. Apost. Apoc.* p. xx.) describes a MS. of a Greek martyrdom of Peter at Rome which he saw at Patmos, and the opening sentences which he gives have some names in common with the Acts of Linus. Photius (*Cod.* 114) has described a volume of Gnostic Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul. Of these we have given an account in the article LEUCIUS, a name which we believe to have been especially connected with the Acts of John. On examining these Acts of Linus they are found to have so many features common

with the Leucian Acts that the question arises whether we have not in Linus either a translation of a portion of the collection described by Photius or at least a work for which that collection supplied materials. If we can ever rely on the argument *ex silentio*, we may confidently say that the Leucian Acts did not bear the name of Linus, of which no mention is made by any one who speaks of the Leucian collection. But this name is found only in the title of the Latin Acts, the Acts themselves containing nothing to mark the individuality of the narrator. The name therefore may easily have been prefixed by the person who first published the martyrdoms as a separate story. For Linus does not profess to give a complete account of the acts of the two apostles. He begins by briefly referring to (as if already known to his readers) the contest of St. Peter and Simon Magus, his imprisonments and other sufferings and labours, and then proceeds at once to the closing scenes. It is to be remarked that the stories of the martyrdom of the two apostles are quite unconnected with each other, there being no mention of Paul in the first, nor of Peter in the second. Thus then there is no mention of what is told in other legends of a joint opposition of the two apostles to Simon Magus, and of the provocation thereby of the emperor's anger. The apostles' death is immediately brought about, not by Nero himself, but by his prefect Agrippa, a name, we may well believe, transferred by a chronological blunder from the reign of Augustus to this reign. This name, as well as some others mentioned by pseudo-Linus, occur also in the orthodox Acts of Peter and Paul published by Tischendorf and by Thilo. The alleged cause of Agrippa's animosity exhibits strongly the Encratite character common to Linus and the Leucian Acts. Peter, we are told, by his preaching of chastity had caused a number of matrons to leave the marriage bed of their husbands, who were in consequence infuriated against the apostle. Amongst these is Albinus, a near friend of the emperor, who loses the company of his wife Xandippe, and who seeks revenge from Agrippa, himself a fellow sufferer; for the prefect's four concubines had been induced by Peter to separate themselves from sexual and all other intercourse with him. In Tischendorf's *Acts*, p. 13, it is Agrippa's wife Agrippina who separates from him, and this may have been the older form of the story, for it is not uncommon for Encratite stories of the desertion by a wife of her husband to receive an orthodox recasting in which the woman is not a wife but a concubine. Tischendorf's *Acts* also relate that the emperor Nero himself in like manner loses the company of his wife Livia, converted to chastity by Peter's preaching. The name Livia, like that of Agrippa, is evidently a chronological transposition from the reign of Augustus. This story is recognised in the correspondence between Paul and SENECA (*q. v.*), and it is likely to have furnished an account of the resentment of Nero against Peter more ancient than that which other Acts derive from the conflict with SIMON Magus (*q. v.*).

The intention to destroy Peter is revealed to him by MARCELLUS and other of his disciples, who pressingly entreat him to save himself by withdrawing from Rome. Among those who thus urge him are his jailors, MARTINIANUS and PROCESSUS, who had already received baptism from him, and who represent that the plan to destroy Peter is entirely the prefect's own, and has no sanction from the emperor, who seems to have forgotten all about the apostle. Then follows the well-known story of *Domine quo vadis*. Peter yields to his friends' entreaties, and consents to leave Rome, but at the gate he meets our Lord coming in, who, on being asked whither He is going, replies, to Rome in order to be crucified again. The apostle understands from the divine admonition that it is in his own person his Master is to be crucified, and returns to suffer. In the version of this story as told elsewhere (Tischendorf, *Act. Pet. et Pauli*, p. 36) Peter's departure is not so completely cleared of the imputation of cowardice, and Christ's words to him are made to present a different aspect; namely, as shaming the faint-hearted disciple with the threat that if he shrank from his appointed lot his Master must come to suffer in his stead. We naturally ask, is it really true that this celebrated story is of Gnostic origin? The early date which Zahn assigns to Leucius would make a Leucian origin compatible with the fact that the story is recognised by Origen (*in Joann.* t. xx. 12, II. 222 *Lomm.*); but Origen cites the story as from the Acts of Paul, and if there be no error in the reading, we are led to think that the Acts known to Origen, like those published by Tischendorf, relate the deeds at Rome both of Peter and Paul. Linus goes on to tell of the apprehension of Peter, and lays the scene of the crucifixion at the Naumachia near Nero's obelisk on the mountain. The agreement of the orthodox Acts with this particular is one of several indications that notwithstanding their many differences, they have a common original. Peter requests to be crucified head downwards, desiring out of humility not to be crucified in the same way as his Master. A further reason is given, that in this way his disciples will be better able to hear his words spoken on the cross. And a mystical explanation is given of the inverted position which bears a very Gnostic character. An alleged saying of our Lord is quoted having a strong resemblance to a passage from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, cited by Julius Cassianus (Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 13, p. 553, see also Clem. Rom. II. 12), "Unless ye make the right as the left, the left as the right, the top as the bottom, and the front as the backward, ye shall not know the kingdom of God." It is explained that the inverted position is that in which man is born into the world, right being thus left to him and left right. There seems to be here also a reference to Gnostic accounts of the first creation of man. By the cross Christ places man in his proper upright position. In fact on the whole subject of the mystery of the cross extremely lofty language is used. Linus relates how during Peter's crucifixion God, at the request of the apostle, opened the eyes of his sorrowing disciples, and so turned their grief into joy. For they saw the apostle standing upright at the top of his cross, crowned by angels with roses and lilies, and receiving from our Lord a book, out of which he reads the words which he speaks to his disciples. This story has a good deal of affinity with that told by Leucius of a vision of our Lord during His crucifixion, seen by

St. John on the Mount of Olives. The story of Peter's crucifixion head downwards was contained in the Acts known to Origen, who refers to it in his Commentary on Genesis (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1).

Linus proceeds to relate that Marcellus takes down Peter's body from the cross, bathes it in milk and wine, and embalms it with precious spices; but the same night as he was watching the grave, the apostle appears to him, and bids him let the dead bury their dead, and himself preach the kingdom of God. Nero is represented as enraged with Agrippa on account of his unauthorised crucifixion of Peter, but only because the apostle was thus rescued from the greater torments which he had intended for him. Agrippa is deposed from his prefectship, and comes to a dishonoured end. Nero is about to gratify his vengeance by a bloody persecution of Peter's disciples, but in a fearful vision is so admonished and chastised by the apostle, that he is forced to abandon his intention. So the brethren have peace, and are rejoiced and strengthened by frequent appearances of Peter.

Thus far the first book. The second, which treats of Paul, relates the success of his preaching at Rome, amongst his hearers being the emperor's teacher, who forms a close friendship with him, and when he cannot converse with him corresponds with him by letter [SENECA]. The emperor's attention is called to the matter by a miracle worked by Paul on his favourite cupbearer, Patroclus, of whom a story is told exactly reproducing that which is told of Eutyches in the Acts of the Apostles. Patroclus, on being recalled to life and returning to the emperor, rouses his master's jealousy by professing his allegiance to the eternal king, Jesus Christ, who had restored him to life, and who was to destroy all kingdoms under heaven. Several other of the emperor's servants join him in this profession. Nero has Paul brought before him, and hearing similar threatenings from him, orders his servants to be burned, Paul to be beheaded, and a general search for Christians, who are all to be brought to execution. But this leads to so many victims that the populace, impatient of the slaughter of so many Roman citizens, break into rebellion, and Nero is compelled to withdraw his edict. But Paul being brought before him a second time, Nero breaks into rage again (it is not explained why) and again orders him to be beheaded. This time the execution takes place. On his way the apostle meets a Christian matron, Plautilla, whose veil he borrows in order to bind his eyes with it. She is much mocked by two of Nero's soldiers for giving it. At the place of execution, Paul turns his face to the east, offers a prayer in Hebrew, blesses the brethren, binds his eyes with Plautilla's veil, and presents his neck to the executioner. From his trunk there flows a stream of milk; a circumstance referred to by Ambrose and by Macarius in a work not later than about A.D. 400. A dazzling light makes the soldiers unable to find the veil with which his eyes had been bound, and on their return to the gate, they find that Plautilla has already received it back from Paul, who has visited her accompanied by a band of white-robed angels. The same evening, the doors being shut, Paul appears to the emperor, foretells to him his impending doom, and terrifies him into ordering the release of the prisoners whom he had apprehended. The story ends with an account of the baptism of the three soldiers under whose charge Paul had been, and who, having been converted by him, after his death go by his direction to his grave, where they find Luke and Titus praying, and receive baptism at their hands.

The Acts of Linus have been well studied by Lipsius (*Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage*, pp. 108 sq.), who has carefully collected illustrative references. Thus various coincidences, either with Linus, or with a story derived from the same Gnostic original, are to be found in Chrysostom (*Hom.* 46 *in Act. App.* vol. ix. p. 391, ed. Paris, 1839; *Ado. oppuj. Vitae Monast.* 1, 3, vol. i. p. 59; *Hom.* 10 *in* 2 *Tim.* vol. xi. 781; *Hom.* 16 *ad Antioch.* 5. Pseudo Chrys. *Orat. in Princ. Apost.* vol. viii. 621). And Linus, as we now have it, seems clearly to have been known to Ambrose (*Sermo de basil. non trad. haer. cont. Auxentium,* vol. v. 99. See also the doubtful *Serm.* ii. *ad Pet. et Paul.* v. 138). Lipsius, indeed, infers from the coincidences of the tolerably numerous New Testament citations in Linus with the Vulgate, that our present Latin Linus must be later than Jerome; but he does not seem to have appreciated the conservative character of Jerome's revision, or to have consulted the older versions. We have found no coincidence with the Vulgate which is not equally a coincidence with an older version; and in one case, "relinque mortuos sepelire mortuos suos," the text agrees with the quotations of Ambrose, Jerome's translation being "dimitte." Taking into account what Lipsius has also noted as to the agreement of a Latin Linus with the so-called HEGESIPPUS (2), who, if not Ambrose, was not later than Ambrose (see Vogel, *de Hegesippo*), we think that our Latin Linus cannot be later than the middle of the 4th century. It is a more difficult question what was the date of the Greek original, and how far that original is fairly represented by the Latin translation. We have already said that the so-called Latin Linus in all probability only reproduces the closing chapters of the Gnostic Acts of Peter and Paul; for, not to speak of the conflict at Rome with Simon Magus, there are things which we know to have been related in the Leucian Acts of Peter, which do not appear here. It seems then more likely that whoever wished his account of the martyrdoms of the two apostles to pass as the work of Linus, would re-write and ornament the older story, than that he would copy without alteration a work which might be known to his readers. That our Linus was founded on a Greek original may be pronounced certain; that the work as we have got it is a translation from the Greek we do not venture to say. We conjecture the compiler to have been a Manichaean, but it is to be noted that he is quite orthodox in his views as to the work of creation, the point on which Gnostic speculation was most apt to go astray. He says of our Lord: "Propter hoc in terram descendit qui caelum et terram fecit, et ad hoc factus ipse est homo qui fecit hominem." But the proofs that Lipsius offers, in order to shew that the compiler was post-Nicene, are open to an objection similar to that which we have urged in the case of the quotations from the Latin Bible, namely, that the instances he brings for-

ward can be paralleled by passages in ante-Nicene writers. With regard to the original form of the first Acts of Peter and Paul, there are important points in which we dissent from the views of Lipsius; but in the absence of documentary evidence, controversy on the subject can be brought to no decisive termination. Some of the most important points will be noticed in the articles PETER and SIMON MAGUS. [G. S.]

LINUS (2), bishop of Calaris (Cagliari). His date has been stated as A.D. 201 to 210, but the real period is very uncertain, and his name only is known. (Cossu, *Città di Cagliari*, p. 56; Martini, *Storia Eccles. di Sardegna*, ii. 316; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 48.) [R. S. G.]

LIOBA (LEOBA, LEUBA, LEOBGYTHA, LEOBGID, TRUTHGEBA), Sept. 28, abbess of Bischofsheim, cir. 748–779. She was an English lady, who went out to Germany to assist in the missionary labours of Boniface, to whom, through her mother, she was related. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 28 Sep. vii. 748; Jaffé, *Monum. Mog.* 83; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. of Britt.* xxiv. 4 § 5; Hardy, *Desc. Cat.* i. 485.) [C. H.]

LISMORIENSIS MONACHUS, noticed by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 441), as having written *Conversio Scotorum*, perhaps in the year 530. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 441.) [J. G.]

LITAREDUS (LITHAREDUS), sixth bishop of Séez, subscribed the first council of Orleans, in A.D. 511, as "episcopus Oximensis," Oximum being probably the original seat of this bishopric. (Mansi, viii. 357; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 675.) But a person of the same name was first bishop of St. Pol-de-Léon, in Brittany, according to the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* (xiv. 971). See Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 502, iv. 511, xxxviii. tom. i. 214, 288), and Gams (*Series Episc.* 625). [S. A. B.]

LITHGHEN (LEITHGEN), of Cluainmor, commemorated Jan. 16. Shearman (*Loca Patriciana* ap. *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4th ser. vol. ii. 558–9, iii. 24, 39) regards him as one of the seven presbyters buried at Killeen Cormac, near Dunlavin, co. Wicklow. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 292; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 626.) [J. G.]

LITORIUS (1), bishop of Suaba or Suava, in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dign. Occ.* p. 646); present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Collat. Carth.* cognit. i. 133; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 415, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

LITORIUS (2), bishop of Oca (Burgos), at the eighth council of Toledo (A.D. 653). Florez believes the signature *Citorius*, at the tenth council of Toledo (Dec. 1, 656), to belong to him also. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxvi. 36; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448, iv. 158.) [M. A. W.]

LITTEUS, bishop of Gemellae, a station on the frontier between Numidia and Mauritania. *Sentt.* 82, Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt.* 3; *Ep.* 76; one of the eight confessors with Nemesian. (Usuard. *Mart.* Sept. 10; Tillem. iv. 154, 171, 173.) [E. W. B.]

LITTORIUS (LICTORIUS, also written VICTORIUS), an African bishop, present at the council of Milevis, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

LIUDGERUS (LUDGERUS), **ST.**, first bishop of Münster (Mimigerneford, Mimigardeford—see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 428–9, for this name; the name of Münster is first found about 1040), founder of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr in Westphalia, and also called the "Apostle of the Saxons." His is a name of considerable importance in the annals of the evangelization of Friesland and Western Germany.

Three 9th-century biographies, all more or less valuable, survive of him. The first was written by Altfridus, the 3rd bishop of Münster (m. A.D. 849), at the request of the monks of Werden. Though he had never seen St. Liudger, he drew his information from his nearest relations, his brother and disciple Hildigrimus, bishop of Châlons, his nephew and successor at Münster, Gerfridus, and his sister Herburga, the nun. It was published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 642), then by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iv. 1, 18–35, Paris, 1668–1781), again by Leibnitz from an older and more perfect MS. in the *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (i. 85–100), which last edition with its notes is reproduced in Migne's Patrologia Latina (xcix. 769–796). But the most perfect edition is probably that published by Pertz in the *Monumenta Germaniae* (ii. 403–19). The second was written by an anonymous monk of Werden after 864, and contains some errors and anachronisms. It was first published in 1616, by Brower in the *Sidera Illustrium* (p. 36, Mainz, 1616), then fragments of it by the Bollandists (p. 652), and lastly by Mabillon (*ibid.* 35–61). The third was also written at Werden, probably between 890 and 900, and is less accurate than the second. It is printed in Surius's *de Sanctis Probatis* (Mart. 26, tom. ii. 412–36). Finally fragments of a rhythmical life, composed about 1140, have seen the light (Boll. *ibid.* p. 660). Perhaps the most absolutely trustworthy sources of all are the charters published by Leibnitz (*ibid.* 101–120), Migne (Patr. Lat. xcix. 795–820), Lacomblet (*Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, bd. i. pp. 2–15), and others (see Rettberg, ii. 425–6; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, v. 57–9).

St. Liudger was a Frieslander. His grandfather, Vursingus, driven out of Frisia by duke Ratbodus, had taken refuge with Grimoald, mayor of the palace in Austrasia. His son, Thiatgrimus, was recalled by the tyrant before his death, and when Charles Martel added Frisia to his kingdom, he established Vursingus, who, with his family, had been converted to Christianity in France, near Utrecht as a helper of St. Willibrord. Liudger was a son of Thiatgrimus and Liafburch, and was probably born about 744, as he could remember seeing St. Boniface, white-haired and bowed with age (*Vita S. Gregorii*, § 16, Patr. Lat. xcix. 763), on his last mission to Frisia, which was probably undertaken in 754 or 755 (Rettberg, ii. 426). From the first he manifested a studious disposition, even in his childish games. His parents, at his own desire, placed him with St. Gregory, the administrator of the church of Utrecht, St. Boniface's disciple,

whose school contained many of the future bishops and missionaries of those parts (cf. *Vita S. Gregorii*, § 16, Patr. Lat. 764). Here he diligently studied the Scriptures, and won the love of master and fellow-pupils. He had already laid aside the secular garb, when Gregory sent him and an elder pupil named Sigibodus to York as companions of the Englishman Alubert, whose consecration to the episcopate Gregory desired. Here he was ordained a deacon, and became one of the scholars of Alcuin. A year's sojourn was all that was allowed him on this occasion, but after his return to Utrecht, his ardent entreaties for permission to return and continue his studies conquered at length the reluctance of Gregory and his parents. Alcuin received him warmly, and for three and a half years more watched over his studies. A blood-feud between the English of the province and the Frieslanders, arising out of the death of a count's son in a quarrel with a Frisian trader, compelled Alcuin to insist upon his return to his own country. Reluctantly he yielded, but carried back with him a store of books. On the death of Gregory (A.D. 781), Albricus, his nephew and successor, sent Liudger on his first mission. The scene of it was Deventer, where an Englishman, St. Lebuinus, had established a church, which, upon his death, the Saxons burnt, for the second time. Liudger's task was to rebuild it over the saint's body, and restore the mission. A vision warned him of the true spot, and the church and mission were permanently established. Albricus next sent him with others to destroy the temples of the false gods through Friesland. The shrines yielded considerable treasure, of which the emperor took two-thirds, and gave the remainder to Albricus for the needs of his church. Albricus was now made bishop of Cologne, on which occasion Liudger was ordained a priest, and soon after appointed to the care of the church of Dockum in the Ostergau, where Boniface had met his death. But for three months in the year he was to repair to Trajectum, to take charge of the monastery school there, the other nine months being similarly apportioned between Albricus himself, Adalger, and Thiatbrat. After about seven years his labours in the Ostergau were brought to an abrupt close by an inroad of Saxons under their heathen duke Wutukint or Widukindus, who burnt the churches, expelled the ministers, and forcibly reconverted the Frieslanders to paganism. The death of Albricus happened about the same time. Liudgerus was compelled to flee with the rest. Taking for companions his brother Hildigrimus and his nephew Gerbertus, he made his way to Rome (circ. A.D. 782), and thence to St. Benedict's monastery at Monte Cassino, where he set himself to learn the famous rule, with a view to the government of the monastery which he hoped some day to found, a wish afterwards accomplished at Werden. Here he spent two years and a half, and then went back to his country (A.D. 785). His fame had now come to the ears of Charles, probably through the recommendation of Alcuin (*Vita tertia*, i. 13, Sur. ii. 419), who appointed him as missionary to the Frieslanders, and allotted him five *pagi* to the east of the river Labekus (Lauwers), as the field of his labours. Here he at once set about teaching the new religion and destroying the temples; and, with the emperor's concurrence, even crossed the water to Heligoland. As the bark neared the island, and Liudger stood at the prow, praying and praising God, his companions saw a thick cloud rise from the land and sail away, leaving a serene sky in its wake. Accepting the omen, they urged their course to the shore, overturned the shrines of the island-god, Fosete, and built churches in their place. The converts were baptized in a fountain once before used for that purpose by St. Willibrord, and about which a superstitious awe still lingered.

It was perhaps at this time that St. Liudgerus desired to extend his mission to the Northmen, but could not obtain Charles's consent (see Altfridus, ii. 6, Patr. Lat. xcix. 783). His labours in Friesland were interrupted by another wave of infidelity which swept over the eastern portion of it. The churches were again destroyed, and the priests driven away, but this time less than a year sufficed to restore them. The abbey of Leuse (Lotusa) near Tournay, which Charles granted to him, was probably to serve as a retreat in his difficult position among the Frieslanders (Altfridus, i. 21; cf. Rettberg, ii. 427). The document in Lacomblet (i. No. 26, pp. 14-15), which purports to be a gift to him of this monastery from Charles, is spurious (Rettberg, ii. 428).

St. Liudger had long cherished the desire of founding a monastery. With that view he had made his stay at Monte Cassino, and had obtained relics from the pope at Rome (Altfridus, i. 18, iii. 24, coll. 778, 792). For its endowment he zealously sought donations, which were sometimes made to him, sometimes to the relics (Lacomblet, *ibid.* bd. i. p. 2 sqq.). The place he finally selected for its foundation, and where he had acquired lands by purchase and gift, as early as 793, was on the left bank of the Ruhr, called originally Tiefenbach or Diapanbeci, but afterwards Werden or Werethinum. This name, which first appears in a document of 799 (Lacomblet, *ibid.* No. 11, p. 7), was perhaps, as Rettberg suggests, borrowed from Friesland (ii. 421, cf. Altfridus, ii. 3, col. 781). The spot was at first covered with thick wood, which his disciples despaired of clearing, but a great storm in answer to St. Liudger's prayers made place for his buildings in a single night (iii. 25, col. 792-3). The earliest document which contains his name as abbat is dated March 31, 796 (Lacomblet, *ibid.* No. 7, p. 5), and this was very probably the year of its foundation (Rettberg, ii. 422).

Meanwhile Charles had conquered the Saxons, and selected Liudger for the evangelization of the eastern portion of them, whose chief settlement was Mimigerneford. Here he erected a large monastery as a centre, whence he sent out his emissaries to build churches, to preach and stamp out the still prevalent idol-worship. The want of a bishop to ordain clergy soon made itself felt. Liudger, like his master Gregory, would have had one of his disciples consecrated, but it was manifest that he himself was the man. With difficulty his reluctance was overcome, principally by the arguments of Hildebald, bishop of Cologne, and he became the first bishop of that region (circ. A.D. 805). His see he fixed at Münster, and his diocese contained not only the surrounding country of the East Saxons, now a

part of Westphalia, extending from the Lippe to the middle course of the Ems, but the above-mentioned five cantons of Friesland, which remained attached to Münster till the 16th century, when Philip II. founded a new bishopric in the Netherlands (see Rettberg, ii. 425, for the boundaries of the diocese). How long he had laboured at Münster before he became bishop is not plain, but the assertion of his third biographer that he had ruled there twelve years is certainly incorrect (i. 21, Sur. ii. 422, cf. Rettberg, ii. 428). Of the rest of his actions we only know that he accompanied Charles on several of his expeditions, one of which, through the country of the Hessi, is incidentally mentioned by Altfrid. (iii. 22, col. 791). It was usually supposed that on this journey he baptized on the Ocker and the Elm, and founded the monastery called after him at Helmstädt, to the east of Brunswick (cf. Eckhart, *Franciae Orientalis*, i. 735). But Rettberg has apparently demolished this claim, pointing out that none of the three biographers make mention of it, or know anything of a mission to those parts, and that the earliest mention of such a proceeding occurs in the *Chronicon* of Thietmarus, who died in the year 1008 (iv. 45, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 1277), while the foundation of Helmstädt is just ascribed to him in the 12th-century rhythmical life (Boll. Mart. iii. 636; Pertz, ii. 424). He suggests that Helmstädt may have been a colony from Werden, and this connexion of the two places might well account for the tradition of its being one of his foundations (*Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 479–483).

During the illness which preceded his death St. Liudger relaxed nothing of his labours. On the Sunday, the evening of which saw his end, he had preached at the two churches of Billerbeck and Coasfeld, separated by two hours' journey. His wish had been that he should be buried at Werden, but the people at Münster refused to give up the body, and a decree of Charles was requisite to enable his brother Hildigrimus to carry his remains to Werden, and bury them, in accordance with Liudger's directions, outside the church. The day of his death was March 26, 809.

His feast was established as early as the middle of the 9th century, on March 26. About 1076 the body was raised, and translated to the great altar of the church, which ceremony was also commemorated April 24 (Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, iii. 337–8).

One work only remains of St. Liudger—the biography of his instructor St. Gregory of Utrecht—but we learn from Altfridus that he had also composed a life of Albricus (ii. 6, col. 783). The same passage has generally been supposed to imply that he wrote a continuation of Willibald's biography of St. Boniface (Rettb. i. 333; Ceillier, xii. 218), but Wattenbach believes it to refer only to the supplementary information about St. Boniface contained in his life of Gregory (*Geschichtquellen*, i. 184 n.). For the surviving work see the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 361–2. The pretended letter of St. Liudger published by Surius at the end of the *Acta S. Swiberti* (Mart. i. tom. ii. 29–30), and that of St. Rixfredus (*ibid.* pp. 28–9), to which it purports to be an answer, are allowed to be spurious (*Hist. Litt. ibid.*). The life of St. Gregory is to be found in Migne's Patrologia Latina, xcix. 749–770. [S. A. B.]

LIUDHARDUS (LETARD, LETHARDUS, LETALDUS, LUIDHARDUS), the Frank bishop who attended queen Bertha of Kent when she came to England (Bed. *H. E.* i. 25). According to the Canterbury tradition, preserved by Thorn (ap. Twysden, c. 1767) and Elmham (ed. Hardwick, p. 132), he was bishop of Senlis, but his name does not appear in the received lists of bishops of that see (*Gallia Chr.* x. 1382). He was buried at Canterbury, in the porch of St. Martin (Elmham, p. 132). Nothing is really known about Liudhard beyond the statement of Bede, and it is not certain whether he was alive or dead at the time of Augustine's mission. Among the additions to Bede's *Martyrology* (ed. Smith, p. 341) occurs under Feb. 4, "Ipso die passio S. Liphardi Cantorbeiae archiepiscopi;" this notice has been referred to Liudhard, but it probably belongs to a Flemish saint. The Canterbury obituary contains under Dec. 3, "Obiit piae Memoriae Lotarius Archiepiscopus," but there seems little reason to refer this to Liudhard. On the other hand the Bollandist fathers, following Capgrave (*Acta SS.* Feb. vol. iii. pp. 468–470), place the commemoration of this prelate on Feb. 24. [S.]

LIUTARDUS, bishop of Padua, c. 793. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 489.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIUTHERICUS (LIUDERICUS, LEUTERICH, LUDERICH), fourth bishop of Würzburg, or Herbipolis, between Bernwelf and Egilwald. He was present with Charles the Great as chaplain at Rome at the time of his consecration as emperor, and the see of Würzburg having become vacant he was there appointed to it by Charles, and consecrated by Leo (A.D. 801). In the following year he was present at the council assembled by the emperor at Aix, where the higher clergy were invested with extended judicial functions in their dioceses. About this time, too, Charles committed to him the fourteen churches of the Slavi Winidi settled in Bavaria between the rivers Rednitz, or Regnitz, and Main, which had been established in the time of his predecessor. (See the *diploma* of king Arnulfus in 808, in Eckhart, *Franciae Orientalis*, ii. 711.) According to the *Annales Wirziburgenses* (Pertz, ii. 240) he died at Würzburg Feb. 27, 802, but as the same source states that his episcopate lasted three years and five months, and that Bernwelf, his predecessor, died in 800, there must be an error in the year. Eckhart would place his death in 803; while Gams puts it in 804, and his consecration in 801. (Eckhart, ii. 10–11, 18; Gams, *Series Episc.* 324; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 320–1; Himmelstein, *Reihenfolge der Bischöfe von Würzburg*, pp. 30–32.) [S. A. B.]

LIUTPERT, the young son of Cunipert, king of the Lombards, is included in the list of Lombard kings (700–702). Some light is thrown on this obscure period of Lombard history by the life of St. Bonitus. (Cf. note, p. 171, in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878; Paulus Diaconus, vi. 17–20; *Catalogus Regum Langob.* &c. in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 492.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIUTPRANDUS (1) (the form LUITPRANDUS is often found, but the former according to Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*,

i. 2, 54 n. is the correct spelling), the greatest of the Lombard kings, A.D. 712–744.

Throughout Liutprand's reign the Lombard kingdom kept steadily encroaching upon the remains of the Byzantine dominions in Italy, and this process was much assisted by the alienation between the pope and emperor caused by the Iconoclastic controversy, an alienation of which the Lombard did not fail to take advantage.

From A.D. 726, the date of Leo's first edict, to A.D. 730, Italy was a labyrinth of intrigue, in which the pope, the exarch, Liutprand, the great Lombard feudatories at Spoleto and Benevento, and the people of the territories that still belonged to the empire, were perpetually entering into fresh combinations with and against each other. A sufficient account of this tangled web will be found under GREGORIUS II. (vol. ii. pp. 793–4). It may be remarked that the gift, miscalled the restoration, of Sutrium to the pope by Liutprand in A.D. 728 or 729 was the germ of the Papal State, and that when Liutprand submitted to the pope he threw away what was probably the fairest chance that was to present itself for eleven centuries of uniting the fragments of Italy under Rome their natural head. Had he pushed on and taken Rome, there was a reasonable prospect of his founding a kingdom comprehending at least the greater part of Italy; probably neither the Western empire would have arisen, nor the papal power attained its great development, and the whole course of the history of the world would have been different.

During the next ten years there seems to have been desultory fighting between Liutprand and the imperialists, in which he had the advantage with the exception of a single defeat at Rimini (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 54). The Saracen invasions of Aquitaine and Provence produced an alliance between Charles Martel and Liutprand. The former sent his son Pepin, the future king, when he grew to manhood, to have his hair shorn by Liutprand, an act by which the relation of father and son was established between them, and a Lombard army under Liutprand in person crossed the Alps in A.D. 739, and assisted the Franks to recover Arles, which had been taken by the Saracens.

In A.D. 736, Liutprand being very ill and supposed to be dying, the Lombards made his nephew Hildebrand king. When Liutprand recovered, though much discontented, he associated Hildebrand with himself in the kingdom.

In A.D. 740, Trasemund, the duke of Spoleto, who had previously ceded Gallese to the pope, rebelled against Liutprand. The latter, however, drove him out of Spoleto, making Hilderic duke in his stead. Trasemund took refuge with the pope, and Liutprand plundered the patrimony of St. Peter, and captured four towns belonging to the duchy of Rome, Ameria, Hortae, Polimartium, and Blera. The first three are on the upper Tiber, and gave him the command of the river. In the opinion of Gregorovius (*Rom im Mittelalter*, ii. 279) he did not actually besiege Rome itself or plunder St. Peter's. These events were the cause of Gregory's pathetic appeals to Charles Martel [GREGORIUS III. vol. ii. 797], but Charles does not seem to have been inclined to take any active steps against his ally of the year before. Liutprand returned homewards in August, and in December Trasemund, with the assistance of the Romans, re-entered his duchy, killed Hilderic, and recovered Spoleto and Rieti. The price of the Roman assistance was the restoration of the four towns, but Trasemund hesitated to fulfil his promise. Liutprand, on hearing the news, marched on Spoleto. In the woody country near Fano he was attacked by the enemy, and sustained some loss. Apparently the papal court, finding there was little help to be hoped for from the Franks, and disgusted at Trasemund's breach of his engagement, deemed it best to come to terms with Liutprand. A letter of Gregory's, written six weeks before his death (*Ep.* viii. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxix. 585), is preserved, addressed to the bishops of Lombard Tuscany, in which he requests them to mediate with the king in order to procure the restoration of the towns. Zacharias, who succeeded Gregory early in December A.D. 741, followed the same policy. He sent an embassy to Liutprand, and in consideration of a promise to restore the four towns, the Roman troops in Trasemund's service went over to the enemy. Trasemund surrendered and was obliged to take orders. The state of the duchy of Benevento next demanded the attention of Liutprand [GISULPHUS II., GODESCALCUS]. His settlement of the affairs of that duchy took place between February and September 742.

As he delayed to restore the promised towns, the pope determined to seek an interview with him. He set out from Rome, accompanied by a large body of clergy, to Terni, where Liutprand was. The king sent his officers to escort him, and came himself to meet him at the eighth milestone from Narni. Their solemn meeting took place at the basilica of St. Valentine at Terni. The pope's arguments and the admiration which Liutprand felt for his courage had such an effect upon him that he not only restored the four towns, but also regranted to the Roman see its lands in the Sabine country, as well as Narni, Osimo, Ancona, and some other places, and made peace for twenty years with the duchy of Rome. The pope stayed five days with the king, and returned to Rome by way of the four towns, which were duly delivered to him.

The following year Liutprand once more invaded the exarchate, took Cesena, and threatened to besiege Ravenna. The exarch Eutychius, the archbishop John, and the people of Ravenna itself and the other towns of the Emilia and Pentapolis wrote imploring the pope to hasten to their assistance. The mission of bishop Benedict and Ambrose, the primicerius of the notaries, proving fruitless, the pope resolved to try again what his influence with the king would do. After visiting Ravenna on the way, he entered the Lombard territory at Imola. Though the king refused to receive the persons he had sent before to announce his coming, when he arrived at Pavia, on the eve of St. Peter's day, he asked him to celebrate mass at the festival, and the next day invited him to come to the palace, and at last was induced, though reluctantly, to restore the territory which had formerly belonged to Ravenna, and also two thirds of the territory of Cesena, retaining the remaining third up to the following 1st of June

as a pledge, till his ambassadors should return from Constantinople. The king accompanied the pope as far as the river Po, and sent some of his chief men with him to deliver up the surrendered territory.

In the following January (A.D. 744) Liutprand died, after a reign of thirty-one years and seven months.

The laws of Liutprand, promulgated between A.D. 713 and 724, are given by Muratori (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 1, 2, 51–84).

Paulus Diaconus describes him as a wise, sagacious, and pious ruler, mighty in war though a lover of peace, as chaste and merciful, as constant in his prayers and liberal in his alms, and says that, though unlearned, he was a match for the sagest philosophers. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 17–58 in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xcv. 636–672; Anastasius, *Vitae Gregorii II.*, *Gregorii III.*, *et Zachariae*, in *Patr. Lat.* cxxviii.; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, book iv. ch. 9 & 11; Gregorovius, *Rom im Mittelalter*, book iv. ch. 1, 2.) [F. D.]

LIUTPRANDUS (2), duke of Benevento, c. 751–758. He was in submission to king Aistulph as his ancestors had been to king Liutprand. But at Aistulph's death he commended himself with his people to the pope and the Franks (*Codex Carolinus*, ed. Jaffé, *Ep.* 11, p. 65). He resisted the hostility of the new king Desiderius to Rome in 758, and upon the approach of the king he betook himself to Otranto, where he remained, and on his refusing to yield, Desiderius made his son-in-law, Aregis, duke of Benevento in Liutprand's stead. (*Codex Carolinus*, *Ep.* 17, p. 79; Oelsner, *König Pippin*, excurs. i. p. 442; "Catalogus Regum Langob. et Ducum Benevent." in *Monumenta Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 494.) [A. H. D. A.]

LIUVA, bishop of Braga and Dumium from about 678 A.D. He signs the twelfth and thirteenth councils of Toledo (681, 683) in person, and is represented at the fourteenth council (684) by his two vicars, Bonita and Reccisuidus. The see of Dumium was united to that of Braga during his pontificate, as it had been in the time of his two predecessors, ST. FRUCTUOSUS and LEODEGISIUS (*q. v.*). (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287; *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 155 and xviii. 44.) [PATERNUS.] [M. A. W.]

LIVINUS (1), ST., called the apostle of the Brabant, and a reputed bishop, or archbishop, and martyr. A biography of him remains, purporting to be written by Boniface, but very divergent opinions have existed as to its true authorship and date. It was first published by Serarius at Mainz in 1629, at the end of the letters of St. Boniface of Mainz (*Epistolae S. Bonifacii Martyris*, pp. 233–252), and next in a revised form by Mabillon, in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* (saec. ii. 449–461, Paris, 1669). The former edition was repeated without alteration in Giles's *Patres Eccl. Anglic.* (S. Bonifacius, ii. 117; see pp. 269–270 n.); and lastly, the editions both of Serarius and Mabillon appear in Migne's Patrologia Latina, the former among the works of Boniface (lxxxix. 871–888), the latter by way of preface to Livinus's letter (lxxxvii. 327–344). That it was not written by Boniface of Mainz nearly all critics are agreed. First, the chronology makes it impossible, for the author professes to obtain his information from three disciples of Livinus (prologus) who had accompanied him on a visit to St. Augustine of Canterbury (§ 13). Now the date of the latter's death is at latest 608, while Boniface did not enter Friesland till 716. Secondly, the style, which is full of affectation and obscurity, and teeming with barbarous and Greek terms, and the character of the narrative, which is a tissue of prodigies, and occupied with kings and prelates unknown to history, are equally alien from the genius of Boniface (see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vi. 546–8). As to its epoch there is considerable difference of opinion. Mabillon ascribes it to a Boniface older than the archbishop of Mainz (*ibid.* 449–450), and is apparently followed by Ceillier (*Hist. Gén. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xi. 741–2, xii. 57). On the other hand Ghesquière (*Acta SS. Belgii Selecta* iii. 100) attributes it to the 11th century. Rettberg decides that it cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the 11th century (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 509), and the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, after first ascribing it to the 12th or 13th (iv. 120), finally adjudge it to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century. If we follow the majority we must, therefore, deny it all historical worth, unless we believe with Ghesquière (*ibid.*) that its author founded it upon respectable documents as well as oral tradition, a theory, however, which the character of the work hardly sustains.

Its story in brief is that Livinus was born (apparently in Ireland, cf. Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Ireland*, chap. xvi. vol. ii. 467–473) in the time of Colomagnus (*i.e.* Colman Rimke, A.D. 599–605), rex Scotorum, of noble parents, named Theagines and Agalmia, the latter being a daughter of Ephigenius, king of the Irish. He was baptized by Augustine, bishop of the Angli, and his paternal uncle Menalchius, an archbishop. He was instructed by a priest named Benignus, and retired into the desert with three disciples, where, amongst other employments, he wrote books. At the bidding of a vision he went to England to visit St. Augustine, who ordained him a priest. After a sojourn there of a little more than five years he returned to Ireland, and in time succeeded his uncle, Menalchius, as archbishop in his own country (see Lanigan, *ibid.* as to this pretended archbishopric). After a time he was seized with a desire to preach the gospel in foreign lands; and having entrusted his flock to one Silvanus, he crossed the sea, and came to St. Bavo's monastery at Ghent, where Florebertus was abbat. After a rest of thirty days he set out on a missionary journey through Brachentisia (in Mabillon, but in Serarius Brabantia), and finally established himself at Holtem (now Hauthem, three miles from Ghent), close to which village, at a place called Escha, he suffered martyrdom with great tortures (circ. A.D. 656).

But whatever discredit has fallen upon the biography it was always assumed that a metrical epistle accompanying an epitaph on St. Bavo was the genuine work of St. Livinus, and the biographical facts to be gathered from it absolutely trustworthy. It purports to be written by Livinus while at Hauthem, in answer to a request

from his friend Florebert the abbat for an epitaph on St. Bavo, the latter's predecessor at Ghent, who had died in 650. It draws a moving picture of the fierceness and cruelty of the people amongst whom he was labouring, at whose hands he anticipates a speedy martyrdom, hints at his former rank in his own country, and speaks of his early devotion to poetry. It was first published by Usher in his *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, whence Mabillon adopted it (*ibid.* ii. 404–5). It is also to be found in Ghesquière (*ibid.* pp. 114–116), and Migne (*ibid.* lxxxvii. 345–6). The style of both letter and epitaph are considerably superior to the ordinary verse of that epoch (cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 585). Since, however, Rettberg's criticism on it, this production must be viewed with the greatest suspicion. He points out that not only does the writer clearly foretell his own martyrdom, but also, at the close, prophesies the fall of St. Bavo's monastery, which took place in the 9th century. And although it may be a mere poetic licence, it is noticeable that this carefully wrought poem and epitaph profess to be written while the messenger from the monastery who had come with a gift of provisions for Livinus was impatiently waiting for the answer (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 510). If this criticism is well founded it results that there is no testimony, except vague tradition, that Livinus was ever in Brabant.

The body, or supposed body, of St. Livinus was in the year 842 elevated by Theodoricus, bishop of Cambray, at Hauthem, where it remained till 1007, when, for the sake of safety, it was translated to the church of St. Bavo at Ghent. The account of this ceremony by an anonymous monk of the close of the 11th century is to be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* (saec. vi. 1, 64–70), and was probably composed to be read at the office on the festival of the saint (*Hist. Litt.* viii. 513).

St. Livinus is commemorated Nov. 12, and though omitted from the older martyrologies, is mentioned on that day in some of the *auctaria* to Usuard (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 687–690). The manuscript authorities for him will be found in Hardy, *Desc. Cat.* i. 254–256. [S. A. B.]

LIVINUS (2) (LIVIUS), bishop of Dublin, but probably intended for Molibba bishop of Glendalough (Jan. 8); the confusion of names may have suggested the calling Livinus, patron of Ghent, also bishop of Dublin. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 453; Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* ii. 7; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 303 n.) [J. G.]

LIVINUS (3), fifteenth, or, in Gams's *Series*, seventeenth, bishop of Coutances, perhaps early in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 899; Gams, *Series Episc.* 542.) [S. A. B.]

LIVIUS, a contemporary of St. Hilary of Arles, described by the author of the life of that saint as a distinguished poet and orator. He is reported by the same writer to have admired the preaching of St. Hilary so much that he exclaimed, that St. Augustine, if he had come after him, would have been considered inferior to him (*Vita S. Hilarii*, c. 11, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* l. 1232). St. Hilary died about A.D. 450, so Livius must have flourished in the first half of the 5th century. He may have been the Livius of Narbonne whose splendid house is mentioned by Sidonius (*Carm.* 23 in *Patr. Lat.* lviii. 745), but there is no evidence either proving or disproving the identity of the two persons. (*Hist. Litt. de la Fr.* ii. 408.) [F. D.]

LLECHEU, ST., one of the sons of Brychan, the saint of Llanlecheu in Ewyas, Herefordshire. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 144.) [C. W. B.]

LLECHID, ST., the foundress of Llanllechid in Carnarvonshire. Commemorated on Dec. 2. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 223.) [C. W. B.]

LLEIAN, a daughter of Brychan; supposed to have founded Capel Llanlleian in Carmarthenshire. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 147–8.) [C. W. B.]

LLEMINOD ANGEL, Welsh saint in the 6th century. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 280; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 276.) [J. G.]

LLES ap Coel, British king and saint. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 83; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 276.) [LUCIUS.] [J. G.]

LLEUDDAD. [LAUDATUS.]

LLEWELYN (LLYWELYN), Welsh saint. [GWRNERTH.] (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 261; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 303; Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 590, ii. 431; Stephens, *Lit. of the Kymry*, 85; *Myv. Arch.* i. 24, 162; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 595, giving the reading of the *Bonedd Sant Ynys Prydain*, which is erroneous in the pedigree, and in calling "Gwrnerth, daughter of Llywelyn, his mother." [J. G.]

LLEWYR, reputed bishop of Llandaff or Caer Leon. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 623 n.; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 154.) [J. G.]

LLIBIO, ST., the saint of Llanllibio in Anglesea, was commemorated on Feb. 28. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) He and his brothers became saints after the sea had overwhelmed the plain of Gwyddno in Cardigan Bay. (Rees, 235.) [C. W. B.]

LLONIO LLAWHIR (LLONIAW, LLONYAU), Welsh saint, early in the 6th century. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 25, 46; E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 497, 504, 535–6; Rees, *Cambro.-Brit. Saints*, 597; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 165, 221; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 280.) [J. G.]

LLUDDNEU (LUDNOU), abbat of Bolgros, in the 5th or early in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 155–6, 409–410.) [J. G.]

LLUDDON (LUDON), abbat of Bolgros in the 6th century. He may be the same as LLUDDNEU. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 157, 411.) [J. G.]

LLWCHAIARN, ST., the saint of Llanllwchaiarn in Montgomeryshire, and another church of the same name in Cardiganshire. His day was Jan. 11. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 275.) [C. W. B.]

LLWDHWRF (LUDHUBR, LUDHURB, LWDHWRF), abbat of Docunnus's monastery in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 141, 143, 151, 392, 394, 404.) [J. G.]

LLWNI, ST., the saint of Llanllwni in Carmarthenshire. His day was Aug. 11. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

LLWYDIAN, ST., the saint of Heneglwys "old church" in Anglesea. His day was Nov. 19. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

LLYNAB (LLYUAB, LLUUAB), Welsh saint. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 31 n., 46; E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 499; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 165, 221; R. Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 295.) [J. G.]

LLYR, ST., a virgin saint, to whom Llanllyr in Cardiganshire and Llanyre in Radnorshire were dedicated. Her day was Oct. 21. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 161, 308; and see 169.) [C. W. B.]

LLYR MERINI, Welsh saint. (*Camb. Quart. Mag.* iii. 39; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 296.) [J. G.]

LLYWEL (LONGUIL, LOUIL, LOVIL, LUHIL), Welsh saint, in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 119, 120, 351, 365–6; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 253; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 14, wks. vi. 80, Ind. Chron. A.D. 596.) [J. G.]

LOARN (1) (LOARND, LOARNUS, LOCHARNACH), priest of Achadh-mór and commemorated Aug. 30. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 137, c. 57, 178 n.[116], 267 a; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 507–8; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 229, 433; *Mart. Tall.* ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, pp. xxxiii. 19; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 245, 248.) [J. G.]

LOARN (2), nephew of St. Patrick and bishop at Inreathan, Brettan or Bright, near Downpatrick. (For an account of Bright see Reeves's *Eccl. Ant.* 35, 142.) According to Colgan his feast is Sept. 11, where in *Mart. Doneg.* he is called bishop of Cillchunna, now Kilcooney, in the parish of Ballyclog, bar. Dungannon, co. Tyrone. He is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick.* (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 245, 435; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 717, c. 5, and *Tr. Thaum.* 14, c. 31, 19 n.[54], 39, c. 37, 49 n.[30], 125, c. 52, 169 b, 172 n.[37], 178 n.[116]; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 293 n.; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 330 n. g; Cotton, *Fast. Eccl. Hib.* iii. 195.) [J. G.]

LOARN (3), abbat of Cluain-Iraird, now Clonard, co. Meath, died A.D. 765. (*Ann. Tigh.* eod. an.; *Four Mast.* A.D. 760; *Ann. Ult.* 764; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 192.) [J. G.]

LOCANUS, name of St. Barry. [BARRY.]

LOCHAN, Irish saint, brother of St. Fachtna, bishop of Ross about the 6th century. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 596, c. 7, and *Tr. Thaum.* 363 n.[17]; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 527, Ind. Chron. A.D. 510.) [J. G.]

LOCHEN-MEANN, LOCHENIUS-MENN, surnamed the Wise, abbat of Kildare, is thought also to have been bishop; he died A.D. 696, probably by violence, and may be commemorated on Jan. 12 or June 12. (*Ann. Tig.* A.D. 696, and *Ann. Ult.* 695, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 218, iv. 66; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 694, i. 297; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 219, ii. 639; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 629 a, 665 b; Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* ii. 225.) [J. G.]

LOCHENUS, Irish saint. [MOLAGA.]

LOCHINA, LOCHINIA, Irish saint, virgin, sister of St. Enna of Aran (March 21), and of St. Fainche Garbh of Ros-airthir (Jan. 1) [FAINCHE (2)]. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* i. c. 1, 3 n.[6], 704, c. 1, et al., and *Tr. Thaum.* 184 n.[12]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 2 sq. ii. 443 n.[5].) [J. G.]

LOCHINUS, of Achadh-airaird, Irish saint, disciple of St. Barry at Loch Irce. (Caulfield, *Life of St. Fin Barre*, v.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 607 a, 630 a.) [J. G.]

LOGA, LOGHA (LUGHNA), priest of St. Patrick and his helmsman. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 448, i. 140 n.[u], 141.) [LUGNAT.] [J. G.]

LOGOS, THE WORD; applied by St. John to our Lord (Gospel i. 1, 14; 1 Ep. i. 1; Apoc. xix. 13). There are several passages in the Old Testament where the Word of God, or the Word of the LORD, seems almost represented as a person, *e.g.* Gen. xv. 1, "The Word of the Lord came unto Abram;" 1 Sam. iii. 21, "The Lord revealed Himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the Word of the Lord." In these passages, however, as in many others, the Hebrew דְּבַר יְהוָֹה is translated in the LXX *ῥῆμα Κυρίου*. In the later prophets the same Hebrew is translated *λόγος Κυρίου*. Thus it is in Psalm xxxii. 6, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens fixed;" cvi. 20, "He sent forth His Word and healed them." In the centuries immediately succeeding the Advent, the Israelites were led to personify this Word as they personified the Wisdom of God; and the Chaldee paraphrasts frequently interpolated their *Memra*, *e.g.* "They heard the voice of the Word of the Lord God walking in the garden." One reason for this is to be looked for in an unwillingness to represent, to every reader, the Almighty as holding direct communication with man. Instances of this unwillingness may be seen in the Greek translation of Exodus xxiv. 10, 11, "They saw the place where the God of Israel stood;" "They were seen in the place of God, and did eat and drink."

It cannot be questioned that the use of the word Logos in the Christian Fathers of the Alexandrine schools was most seriously affected by the language of Philo. And on Philo's usage volumes have been written. From him the phrases *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *λόγος προφορικός*, which we frequently meet with in the Alexandrine theologians, passed into their vocabulary, the former being the Word still residing in the mind—the unuttered thought; the latter, the Word uttered. Philo recognised the existence of both in man; it is said (Dorner, *Christology*, i. 339, note N) that Philo did not transfer the distinction to the Divine Logos.

The language of Philo as to the Divine Word is remarkable. He described the Logos as *εἰκὼν Θεοῦ*, as *ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν γένεσιν εἰληφότων, πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς τοῦ τῶν ὄντων πατρός, ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἄγγελος πρεσβύτατος, δι' οὗ ὁ κόσμος κατεσκευάσθη*, even as *δεύτερος Θεός*; but yet it is questioned whether he regarded the Logos as a distinctly Personal Being. Grossman, Dähne, Gfrörer, Ritter, Lücke, held that he regarded Him as a real Hypostasis.

Others consider that Philo merely personified the Word and Wisdom of God. One of the latest writers, Dr. Henry Soulier (*La Doctrine du Logos chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, Turin, 1876), doubts whether Philo ever put the question distinctly before himself. He draws attention to the fact that for years the Alexandrine divines had no definite word in their vocabulary which was recognised as connoting distinct personal existence. Indeed, we may well consider that the ordinary Greek and Latin writers were content to allow the question to be in abeyance, whether the deities generally worshipped were living beings inhabiting tree and stream and sea, or were personifications of the powers and beauties of Nature. Thus the controversies regarding Philo's conceptions of the Logos are sufficient to shew that, at all events, those conceptions were not clearly expressed; and it is probable that this want of clearness of expression was due to the want of decision on his part on the subject.

We pass, then, at once to the clearly defined teaching of St. John. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God: all things were made through Him, and apart from Him was nothing made . . . . And the Word was made Flesh, and tabernacled in us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father." The difference between Philo and the Apostle is immeasurable. We meet with the Logos again in that wondrous passage, Apoc. xix. 13, "Behold, a white horse, and He that sitteth upon it, called Faithful and True, and in righteousness doth He judge and war . . . . having a Name written that no one knoweth save Himself, and clothed in a robe dipped in blood; and His Name has been called the Word of God."

In the Ignatian Epistles we meet with this Name once, or perhaps twice. In the address to the church at Smyrna, the church is described as being "in the blameless Spirit and the Word of God." The temptation is great to regard the Word and Spirit here as designating the two persons of the Trinity. But still this may be questioned; but there can be no doubt of the meaning in the *Epistle to the Magnesians* (c. viii.). The MSS. there read—"The divine prophets lived after [according to] Christ Jesus. For this cause also were they persecuted, though inspired by His grace for the assurance of unbelievers that there is one God, Who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, Who is His eternal Word, not proceeding from silence, Who, in all things, well pleased Him that sent Him." *Not proceeding from silence, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών.* This, as we have said, is the reading of the MSS.; but the ancient Armenian version and Severus of Antioch (made bishop A.D. 513), read *ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*, a reading which Zahn adopts. (See SEVERUS in Zahn's edition, p. 353, or in Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 245.)

In the EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS (§ 7), we have a sufficient proof that at the time when it was written St. John's conception of the Logos was unhesitatingly accepted. "The Almighty, the all-Creator and invisible God Himself from heaven, placed among men the Truth and the Word, Holy and Incomprehensible, and fixed Him in their hearts; not, as some might suppose, as a servant, or a messenger, or a ruler, or as one of those who regulate things of earth, or as one of those to whom have been entrusted the administrations in heaven, but the Maker and Demiurge of the universe, for Whom (ᾧ) He erected the heavens," &c. Nor is JUSTIN MARTYR less clear. Whilst he recognises (as from John i. 9) that the seed of the Logos is planted in every race of men (Apol. ii. 8), he contends also that not only was Socrates taught by the Logos to convince the Greeks; but "barbarians," too, were instructed by the same Logos, "when He had taken form, and was made man, and called Jesus Christ" (Apol. i. 5). In his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 61) he has the following passage: "God hath begotten a Principium before all created things, a kind of Reasonable Power (*δύναμίν τινα λογικήν*) from Himself, which, by the Holy Spirit, is called the Glory of the Lord, and Son, and Wisdom, and Angel, and God, and LORD, and Word, Who calls Himself at one time Captain of the Host." Thus Justin appropriated such texts of the Old Testament as we have quoted, as distinctly referring to the Son of God, as Word or Logos, before His Incarnation.

THEOPHILUS of Antioch seems to have been the first who used the terms of Philo, *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *λόγος προφορικός*, of the Son of God. He insisted that the Father cannot but be illimitable in space; so the Logos assumed the part of the Father in His relations to the world. Before the creation He was in God, His counsellor; as such He was *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*. When God willed to create, He begat this *λόγον* as *προφορικόν*. His teaching was open to the objection that it represented the Son as having no personal existence before God willed to create.

We now come to IRENAEUS. In his writings we have more distinctly expressed than before the opinions of the various sects of the Gnostics on the subject of the Logos. The Name henceforward stands out as the one Name appropriated by all[a] to the Saviour, regarded as divine, as He was before the Incarnation. Opinions varied as to whether He were always Son of God; but that He was Word of God nearly all agreed. It was because of this understood use of the title that Simon Magus, when he claimed to be the Messiah, used the words quoted by Jerome on the passage in Matt. xxiv. 5, "Many will come and say I am Christ:" "Ego sum sermo Dei" (Migne, 26, 183). When some of the Ophites maintained that the serpent was "the Word of God," they accepted the term "Word" as they found it in St. John (Hippolyt. v. 16). In the genealogies of the Valentinians, where Βυθός and Σιγή were the primary Aeons, and Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια the secondary; Λόγος and Ζωή intervened between them and the fourth generation—Man and the Church (Irenaeus, I. 1, and Mansel, p. 170). But Irenaeus contends uniformly that the church teaches, and the rule of truth teaches, that the Almighty God, by His Word, made all things (III. 11, 2); but the Word was made flesh (3); that the Word was one with Jesus and Christ and Saviour and the Only-begotten (IV. Praef. 3). In II. 12, 5, and 13, 2, we find clear indications that the terms *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *λόγος προφορικός* were freely used

[a] With one exception apparently. See below.

in the Valentinian controversies. He maintains (IV. 28, 2) that the Father and His Word are one and the same God, always standing by the human race and from the beginning saving those who are saved. In IV. 6, 7, he explains Matt. xi. 27, "to whom the Son will reveal Him," as including all time, before the Word was manifested and after. Yes, it is the Word Who is Son of God, always co-existing with the Father, Who, from the beginning, reveals the Father to angels and archangels and principalities and powers (II. 30, 9). He Who at the first formed Adam, with Whom the Father spake, "Let us make man after our image and likeness," in these last days manifested Himself to us.

From this time many of the questions regarding the Logos may be said to have been merged in the similar questions relating to the Son of God prior to His Incarnation. Thus we come in contact with the MONARCHIANS, the THEODOTIANS, the SABELLIANS. Tertullian claims that He Whom, because of His lowliness, the Jews presumed to be only a man, shewed Himself by His works to be the Logos of God, that is, the primordial Word, first begotten, associated with Power and Reason, upheld by Spirit, the same Who by a word both did and had done all things (*Lib. Apologet.* c. 21). In his work *Against Praxeas* (c. 5) he explains the introduction of the term into the Christian system. Origen (*Against Celsus*, iii. 41) calls on his adversaries to note that He Whom we consider to have been from the beginning God and Son of God is the *αὐτόλογος*, the *αὐτοσοφία*, the *αὐτοαλήθεια*. In St. John, tom. xxxii. 17, on the words, "Now was the Son of Man glorified," Origen says that he conceived that the glory spoken of does not refer to the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth; for the Word, being in the beginning with God, does not admit of further exaltation; it is the Son of Man who was exalted, in that He was no longer different from the Word, but was the same with Him. (Cf. INCARNATION.)

It is unnecessary for us to follow out these controversies; the questions now are almost identical with those raised in the struggles with Arianism. But as a proof of the continued influence of the school of Philo upon the Christian schools of Alexandria, we may mention that when St. Athanasius (*de Incarnatione et contra Arianos*, § 19; Migne, xxvi. p. 1017–708), said: "The Son is not a second God, but Logos of the one and only God," it seems clear that he had in his mind the words which Philo applied to the Logos in the last quotation we have taken from that author.[b] Renewed attention had been recently drawn to them by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, vii. 13). In the *Exposition of the Faith*, attributed to Athanasius, we meet with two other of Philo's phrases, "We believe . . . also in one only begotten Word, Wisdom, Son, begotten of the Father without beginning and in eternity, *Λόγον δὲ οὐ προφορικόν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθετον*." The exposition repudiates their application to the Word of God.

But ere long the term was dropped out from the Creeds of the church.—We will first give some of the instances in which it is found in symbolic teachings. In the "Preaching" of the Apostolic Constitutions (vi. 11), we read *τὸν Χριστὸν οὐ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀλλὰ Θεόν, λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου*. Victorinus, "Hunc esse manum Dei et verbum Patris ex Deo" (Hahn, p. 11). Gregory of Nazianzus, *πίστευε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν προαιώνιον λόγον* (Hahn, p. 12). So the letters of the synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata spoke of the only "begotten Son as being Wisdom, and Word, and Power of God before [the] ages" (Hahn, 98). The creed adduced at Nicaea by Eusebius ran thus: *καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον*. The last four words were omitted by the council. The omission is significant. Once more in the fourth Lecture of St. Cyril of Jerusalem we have the following: "Believe that of the one God there is one only begotten Son, God, the Word, who was before all ages; the Word, *οὐ προφορικός*, not dispersed in air, nor yet resembling impersonal words, but the Word, the Son, Maker of reasonable beings (*λογικῶν ποιητής*), Word, hearing from the Father, and Himself speaking."

After this the creeds of the church, at least for some little time, avoided the use of the term *Logos*. The reason for the avoidance was probably this. The Apollinarians taught that in the Incarnation the Logos rendered the reasonable human soul unnecessary and in fact excluded it and took its place. But the council of Chalcedon was emboldened to reintroduce the term into its "definition," insisting that the Saviour was truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body, and that in the one Person and the one Hypostasis the two natures met, and that one and the same was Son and only begotten, God, Word. At the second council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, it was considered necessary to anathematize those who did not hold that there were two *γεννήσεις* of the Word of God, or who said that the Word of God who wrought the miracles was one, and the Christ who suffered another. Indeed, there were several anathematisms denounced at this council against various errors on the subject. This is the one instance we have met with where the Logos is spoken of as born of Mary. At the third council of Constantinople, 681, the bishops returned to the older conception that "the Logos" represented the divinity in our Lord, the Body the humanity. "Each *μορφή*, though in union with the other, works its own proper work, the Logos performing that which is the work of the Logos, whilst the body executes the things which are the properties of the body."

Literature.—On Philo and his doctrines, the great authorities are Gfrörer, *Kritische Geschichte der Urchristenthum*; Grossmann, *Quaestiones Philoneae*; Dähne, *Geschichtl. Darstellung der Jüd. alex. Religions Philosophie.* I have referred to Soulier, *La Doctrine du Logos.* On St. John's use of the word the commentaries give much information. The subject is treated in Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures.* Dorner's work on *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ* appears to the writer as the most satisfactory work, for he refers his readers continually to original authorities. The creeds quoted are to be found in Hahn, 2nd edition. [C. A. S.]

[b] It is possible that Arius may have taken the conception from Philo.

LOLLIANUS, an intimate lay friend of Gregory Nazianzen. (Greg. Naz. 182 al. 195.) [HELLADIUS (14).] [E. V.]

LOMAN (1) (LOMMANUS, LUMANUS, LUMMANUS), bishop of Trim, co. Meath; commemorated Feb. 17 and Oct. 11. His legend uniformly connects him with St. Patrick, but its interpreters, led by Lanigan, would assign him to the 7th century as being the "Lomanus episcopus" in the third class of Irish saints given by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 479). The early authorities are Tirechan, Joceline, and Evinus in their *Vitae S. Patricii* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*) and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 362–3) has gathered the material into the form of a memoir at Feb. 17. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 17 Feb. iii. 13 sq.) have a commentarius historicus in five sections upon Loman and Fortchern, bishops of Trim, and Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 372 sq.) treats of him in dealing with St. Patrick, and embodies numerous extracts from *Tirechan's Annotations* in the *Book of Armagh* (which are also collected from Ussher by Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 196); Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* ix. c. 8) translates from Ussher, and gives his date as A.D. 432. In connexion with the Patrician legend, Loman has a well-defined place, though allowance must be made for his late appearance in the *Lives* and for subsequent additions; apart from St. Patrick, he is an unknown later ecclesiastic, to whom is attributed the foundation of the church at Trim. On the whole it appears preferable to acknowledge a Patrician element as a basis of the legend, and to use Lanigan's suggestions to account for the form it has assumed in the hands of St. Patrick's biographers. But at the same time we must remember that we want the extraneous information which would enable us to draw a clear line between the ancient and the more modern in the *Life of St. Loman.*

(Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 5, § 4, ii. c. 14, § 11; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 191, 273, 341; *Mart. Tallaght*, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, pp. xvi. xxxvi. 19, 75; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 111, c. 3, 259, cc. 2, 3, and *Tr. Thaum.* 6 n.[3], 75–6, 106, c. 186, 125, c. 55, 129, cc. 1–3, 196, 216; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 150 sq. 257 sq. 260; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* B. ii. c. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. i. 44.) [J. G.]

LOMAN (2) (LOMMAN), of Lough Gill, co. Sligo, Irish saint; commemorated Feb. 4. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 337, c. 7, 339 n.[33], 363 n.[14], 713, c. 4; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 537–8; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 295 sq., giving also an interesting account of a recent visit to Lough Gill, and of the antiquities on Church Island in it.) [J. G.]

LOMCHU (LOMCHON), of Cill Lomchon in Ulster; commemorated Jan. 9. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 157, c. 41, 186 n.[72], 226 b, 267 b; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 11; *Mart. Tallaght*, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xii.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 151; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 376.) [J. G.]

LONAN (1), of Cluain-tibrinne in Clann-Cheallaigh (*Mart. Doneg.*); commemorated Oct. 24. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 584 n. [14].) [J. G.]

LONAN (2), of Trefoit, now Trivett, in the county of Meath; commemorated Nov. 1. In *Kal. Drumm.* Nov. 1 (*vid.* Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 27), he is called Confessor. (See *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc.* 4 ser. iii. 52–4, for another attempt at identification in Rev John Sanarman's *Loca Patriciana.*) [J. G.]

LONGARADH, LON-GARADH, surnamed Coisfinn (of the white foot), is commemorated Sept. 3, and had his abode in the district of Slieve-Margy, Queen's County. He was celebrated in his day for learning, and in the *Book of Obits C. C. Dublin* (Introd. lxxi. lxxii.), Dr. Todd gives a curious legend about Columcille, Longaradh, and their books. It represents Longaradh as "a doctor in teaching, in history, in laws, and in poetry," but when St. Columba visited him he hid his books, probably unwilling that St. Columba should even copy any of them. For his want of deference to his guest, the latter pronounced a malediction on his books, which should be of use to none after his death; and it is added that on the night of Longaradh's decease all the book-wallets in Ireland (or as others say, in St. Columba's chamber) fell from the walls to the ground, and that his books, though long after extant, were entirely unread. The quatrain attributed thereupon to St. Columba is—

> "Died hath Lon,
> And to Cill Garad—great misfortune!
> 'Tis the destruction of the learning and schools
> Of Ireland's island to its extreme borders."

He must have died before St. Columba in the 6th century, and he is said to have been like, in habits and life, to Augustine. He is probably the same as LON, of Cill Gobhra. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 234 n. 235; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 117, 359; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 565 n.[12]; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 155; Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 70 sq.) [J. G.]

LONGIANUS, a bishop of Armenia or Pontus mentioned by Athanasius in 356 with others of the Catholic party. (*Ep. ad Episc. Aeg.* § 8, in *Pat. Gr.* xxv. 558 A.) [C. H.]

LONGINIANUS, a philosophical heathen, who appears to have been a member of the pontifical college at Rome, to whom St. Augustine wrote to inquire as to the state of his mind in reference to Christianity. Being persuaded that his friend was convinced that God ought to be worshipped, and that a good life is the best foundation of knowledge, he ventures to remind him that this was long ago the doctrine of Scripture (Deut. vi. 5; Lev. xix. 18; Matt. xxii. 40); and to ask him in what manner he thought that God ought to be worshipped, and also what his notion was about Christ, and whether he thought that the way which he had pointed out was the sure way of life. (Aug. *Ep.* 233.)

In reply to these inquiries Longinianus expresses his profound respect for Augustine, and at the same time his difficulty in doing so as being still a pagan (paganus homo). He rejoices that they are so far agreed in their views, which he says are older even than the Jewish or the Christian, long before the time when Libya possessed so good a man as Augustine, of whom he is certain that no one ever sought God more earnestly But so far as he can judge, the way

to God is that which is pursued by any man whose words and deeds are good and well proved, and who is surrounded by the messengers, angels if you will, of God, and whose mind and conduct are purified by the study and observance of the sacred precepts and expiatory rites of antiquity. As to Christ and the Holy Spirit he hesitates to give an opinion; but of one thing he is certain, viz. that for Augustine himself he entertains the greatest reverence, and will be deeply grateful to him to afford him further information. (*Ep.* 234.)

To this letter Augustine replies, rejoicing that the question about Christ is still an open one in his friend's mind, but asking for explanation on the following point:—viz. this, if a man of good life, in company with the inferior deities and protected by them, is able to reach the abode of Supreme Deity, why it should be needful for him to be purified by the rites of which he speaks? If he is pure enough to get there without them, what need has he of them; if not, how can he properly be called pure? (*a*) Does a man live well in order to obtain purification? or (*b*) is he purified by them in order that he may live well? or (*c*) is his mode of life insufficient without them? *i. e.* (*d*) is the reception of them a constituent element of a good life? To these queries Augustine requests his friend to reply, so that he may clearly understand the state of his opinions, and that thus no time may be wasted before entering on the main points of debate. (Aug. *Ep.* 235.)

No further account of the discussion appears in the works of St. Augustine, and we are thus left in ignorance of its result; but there seems to be good ground for believing that the Longinianus here mentioned was the same person as the friend of Mallius Theodorus, whose devotion to philosophy is commended by Claudian; that his name was Flavius Macrobius Longinianus, who at various times filled the offices of *procurator largitionum*, prefect of Rome, A.D. 400, and of Italy, A.D. 406, and who in 408 was murdered by mutinous soldiers at Pavia a few days before Stilicho. (Claudian, *de Mall. Theod. Cons.* 87–112; Zosimus, v. 32; Tillemont, vol. xiii. 272; *Hist. des Emp.* vol. v. 508; Gibbon, cxxx. vol. iv. 60, ed. Smith.) [H. W. P.]

LONGINUS (1), bishop of Ascalon not long before the council of Nicaea, since a letter to him by Alexander patriarch of Alexandria is referred to by Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxix. 4; Le Quien, iii. 597). [J. de S.]

LONGINUS (2), missionary bishop to the Nobadae (Nubians), cir. 568, a Monophysite. (John of Ephesus, *Eccles. Hist.* ed. R. Payne Smith, pp. 276 sq.) [C. H.]

LONGINUS (3), March 15 (Usuard.), Sept. 1 (Adon.), Oct. 16 (Bas. *Menol.*), the traditionary soldier who pierced our Lord's side, subsequently converted by the apostles. His body was alleged to have been found by the Crusaders about A.D. 1098 in the church of St. Peter at Antioch. (See letter to pope Urban II. from the leaders of the expedition, in Baluze, *Miscell.* t. i. p. 415; Tillem. i. 47, 453; Ceillier, xi. 657, xiii. 528; *Mart. Vet. Rom.; Acta SS. Boll.* **Mart.** ii. 384; King's *Christ. Numismatics*, pp. 101, 102.) The name Longinus is found also in the Acts of LINUS as that of a prefect charged by Nero with the execution of Paul. [G. T. S.]

LONGINUS (4), Roman Novatianist. (Cyp. *Ep.* 44, 50.) [MAXIMUS (7).] [E. W. B.]

LONGINUS (5), DIONYSIUS CASSIUS. This celebrated critic and philosopher was born about A.D. 213. His native place is uncertain; there are some grounds for thinking he was born in Syria, in which country his ancestors lived; others suppose that Athens was his birthplace. A passage in Suidas (*s. v.* Φρόντων) may be held to support either hypothesis; for he says that "Phronton, a rhetorician of Emesa" (in Syria), "taught at Athens, and died there at the age of about sixty, and left as his heir the critic Longinus, who was the son of his sister Phrontonis." However this may be, Longinus was, as he himself tells us, a great traveller in his early life, visiting (in company with his parents) many countries, and enjoying the society of many illustrious men. He attended at Alexandria the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neoplatonism, and of Origen (the heathen): he was also acquainted with Plotinus and Amelius. In mature years he is generally said to have established himself at Athens; and certainly he would seem to have lived there for some time (see, besides the passage quoted above from Suidas, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* x. 3, where an interesting account is quoted from Porphyry of a dinner given by Longinus to a body of litterateurs at Athens). But what was the duration of his stay at Athens we do not know. In any case the delivery of lectures, critical and philosophical, was the occupation to which he devoted himself. Of this part of his life a vivid description is given us by Eunapius, in his biography of Porphyry. "Porphyry," says Eunapius, "was a pupil of Longinus, and shortly became an honour to his teacher. Longinus at that time was a kind of living library and walking museum, and as such had been appointed to the post of critical lecturer on the classical writers. . . . . In his native city in Syria, Porphyry had at first been named Malchus, which means a king; he was called Porphyry by Longinus, who converted the appellation so as to indicate that colour which is the royal token in garments. With Longinus then Porphyry received the very highest training, reaching, like his master, the summit of excellence in grammatical knowledge, and also in rhetoric (except in so far as he did not favour this branch), and took the impression of every form of philosophy on his mind. For in all such studies Longinus was far the most eminent of the men of that age. Very many of his books are still commonly read, and all that is read is admired. No unfavourable judgment on any ancient writer was held valid before Longinus had expressed himself thereupon, but his opinion when given was esteemed as absolute." It must be supposed that this high commendation given by Eunapius refers to Longinus as a critic; for the Neoplatonist philosophers, of whom Eunapius was the biographer, were of divergent opinions from Longinus in their own branch. "He is," said Plotinus, "rather a philologist than a philosopher;" and Proclus (and it would appear Porphyry also) assented to the remark

(Proclus *in Platonis Timaeum*, p. 27, B: Porphyr. *Vit. Plot.* p. 116). Longinus, however, was himself of opinion that he could hold his own, even in this subject: "I think," he says, "that I have satisfactorily refuted Basileus the Tyrian" (*i.e.* Porphyry himself), "who left my guidance for that of Plotinus, and has written a treatise to shew that the views of Plotinus about ideas are better than my own." Longinus also wrote a treatise against Plotinus and Amelius. It will be of interest to quote what Porphyry says with reference to this controversy, in his life of Plotinus. "Had I been able," he writes, "to accept the invitation of Longinus, this great critic would certainly not have replied to me as he did, in a treatise which he wrote without exact knowledge of the doctrine he was refuting." It will be seen that the discussion between Longinus and his Neoplatonic contemporaries was carried on with good temper and mutual respect. Porphyry styles Longinus "the greatest critic of our times, who has refuted almost all the opinions of the other contemporary writers;" and at a later period Longinus invited Porphyry to pay him a visit at Palmyra.

It is evident, however, that Longinus was a man of too practical and versatile a mind for a professor of genuine metaphysical philosophy. In spite of the eulogium of Eunapius, he was no bookworm. What exact inducements took him in the latter part of his life to the far East we do not know. Whatever the reasons, he took the occasion of a visit to Syria (probably to Emesa, where his family had lived) to settle himself in a yet more remote region. He became the instructor in Greek literature of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; and not only the literary instructor, but one of her ablest and most valued counsellors. Of the events which followed, and which proved fatal to Longinus, it is impossible now to form an exact or certain judgment. The services of Odenathus, the husband of Zenobia, to the Roman state had been so distinguished, that the senate and Gallienus had allowed him a practically independent rule, and the title of Augustus. After the death of Odenathus, Zenobia claimed a continuance of the same independence, and even, it would appear, sought to extend her power in Asia and Egypt. However that may be, the formation and consolidation of a rival empire on their borders could not long be tolerated by the senate and emperor of Rome. A temporary success attended the arms of Zenobia in the conflict which ensued. But her next adversary was the emperor Aurelian, an able soldier, and one already victorious in the German campaigns. To Aurelian Zenobia, by the advice (we read) of Longinus (Vopisc. Aurelian. 27), addressed a spirited letter; and knowing as we do the degree in which Longinus had brooded over the courageous democracy of Athens and the orators by whom that democracy had been inspired, we may well believe that such a letter was as exalted in tone, as it was, unfortunately, ill-suited to the real interests of Zenobia and her subjects at Palmyra. Zenobia was defeated in two decisive battles: Palmyra was taken by Aurelian; and Zenobia was infirm enough to seek shelter for herself by pleading that she had been misled by her advisers, the foremost of whom was Longinus, and surrendering them to the vengeance of the emperor. The execution of Longinus was immediately ordered; and he met his death with the highest firmness and constancy, consoling and encouraging his companions in misfortune (Zosimus, i. 56). The year of his death was A.D. 273, he being then sixty years of age.

The works of Longinus were very numerous. Probably the most important was a critical treatise called *οἱ φιλόλογοι*, which must have been of very considerable length, since the 21st book of it is quoted. Of the rest, we may note two original philosophical treatises: *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, or "on the principles of things," and *περὶ τέλους*, *i.e.* "de finibus bonorum et malorum;" both these works are referred to, and the autobiographical introduction to the latter work is quoted by Porphyry in his biography of Plotinus. Other of his works were critical and explanatory; the authors most commented on by Longinus are Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes: we may note especially that he discussed the question "whether Homer is a philosopher." His polemical treatises against Plotinus, Porphyry, and Amelius, have been already referred to. (A full list of his lost works, in so far as we know their titles, will be found in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, art. "Longinus.")

Fragments only are preserved to us of the great bulk of the works of Longinus, through the quotations from him by writers of his own or subsequent ages. The only one of his treatises which has reached us in anything like fulness, is that entitled *περὶ ὕψους*, or "on the Sublime." Even of this a good deal is lost, owing to the fact that entire pages have been torn out of the manuscript at Paris, from which all other extant manuscripts of the work were copied. It is a work of very great merit, full of fine observations on the style and substance of the great classical authors.

It will be of interest to refer to the relation of Longinus to Judaïsm and Christianity. He would appear to have had friendly dispositions towards both. The passage in his treatise *περὶ ὕψους* in which he refers to the first chapter of Genesis for an example of the sublime, is well known:

"Thus, moreover, the lawgiver of the Jews, no common man, since he worthily comprehended the divine power, described it; writing at the very beginning of his book of laws, 'God said, Let light be, and it was: let earth be, and it was.'" (*εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο.*)

In a short fragment (no. 1 in Cod. Vat.) which has been preserved to us, Longinus mentions also the Apostle Paul:

"Let it then be laid down, that the culmination of Greek oratory and genius is found in Demosthenes, Lysias, Aeschines, Aristides, Isaeus, Timarchus, Isocrates, the rustic Demosthenes [*i.e.* Dinarchus], Xenophon: in addition to these Paul of Tarsus, whom I even affirm to stand foremost in the teaching of such doctrine as does not admit of proof." (*πρῶτόν φημι προϊστάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτου.*)

The genuineness of this reference has been idly disputed: for what Christian would have limited his commendation of St. Paul in such a manner? And who but a Christian would have had any object in foisting St. Paul in?

The way in which Longinus regarded the moral condition of his own time is too striking for all mention of it to be omitted here. Distinctly he looked upon his age as degenerate, and yet he was wholly unable to suggest a remedy which should not be worse than the disease. The passage in which he most directly deals with this subject is the last chapter of his Essay on the Sublime (xliv.):—

"A certain philosopher," he writes, "very lately made the following remarks to me in conversation:—

"'It is a matter of surprise both to me and others, why, among all the eloquent, persuasive, and ornamental orators or writers of the present day, so few are to be found who may justly claim to be called *sublime*. This dearth of genius is universal throughout the world. Are we then to believe that a democracy is the mother of wits, and the only form of government under which true genius is called into existence and thrives? Liberty, they say, fosters sublime sentiments in the hearts of the people, and is a mighty stimulant to exertion; inspiring men with a desire to excel. . . . But we, from our youth upwards, have been used to regard political subjection as just and natural, and are strictly conservative of old forms and customs, ignorant, alas! of the one true source of sublimity—Freedom' . . .

"To this I replied:—'It is easy, and, moreover, one of man's idiosyncrasies to find fault with the productions of his own times. For my own part, I consider such a dearth of genius as you mention one of the results of a long and universal peace; or rather, perhaps, that war of our passions against our reason, which is gradually leaving us in entire and disgraceful subjection to all that is base and unworthy. It is avarice and debauchery which weigh our spirits down to earth; the two evils which have overrun the globe. Nor is it possible for men who thirst after, I may say *adore* riches, to keep themselves free from such vices as are consequent on the possession of their idol. Wealth and extravagance go ever hand in hand. . . . How then can we, who live in this degenerate age, who long for a friend's death that we may inherit his fortune, who are ever risking our lives for a little gain, and are in fact slaves to money, hope to find any critic, whose mind, uninfected by the vices around him, is fit to give or withhold the immortality of fame? Is it not, therefore, better for us to submit to be governed as we are, than to seek that freedom, which if extended, as it would be, to our passions, must necessarily involve the whole world in the most terrible disorders?'"

The last sentence is truly predicted of what happened at the dissolution of the Roman empire: the nascent organising religious power, then in the world, was all that escaped Longinus's notice.

The editions of the treatise on the Sublime best worth noticing are:—the first, by Fr. Robortello, Basel, 1554, 4to: that of Tollius, 1694, 4to, with notes and Latin translation: Hudson (Oxford, 1710, 8vo, and Edinburgh, 1733, 12mo): Pearce (London, 1724, 4to, in subsequent editions 8vo). J. Toupius edited all the extant works of Longinus, with notes, emendation, and a dissertation by Ruhnken de Vita et Scriptis Longini: three editions of Toupius were printed at Oxford (1778, 1789, and 1806, 8vo). The more modern editions are those of B. Weiske (Leipzig, 1809, 8vo): A. E. Egger, forming vol. i. of the Scriptorum Graecorum Nova collectio (Paris, 1837, 16mo): and Otto Jahn.

There may besides be consulted with respect to Longinus, Spongberg, de Commentario Dionysii Cassii Longini περὶ ὕψους expositio (Upsala, 1835, 4to), and Westermann (Gesch. der Griech. Beredtsamkeit, § 98, notes 1–9). A meritorious translation of the Essay on the Sublime is that by Mr. Herbert A. Giles (London, 1870); from this translation the last extract in this article is taken. [J. R. M.]

LONGINUS (6), a presbyter mentioned by St. Basil in his epistle to Amphilochius, *De Canonibus* (*Ep.* 188, canon x.). [C. H.]

LONGINUS (7), archimandrite of Doliche, who sent a consolatory letter to Theodoret on his having been deposed by the Latrocinium of Ephesus in 449. (Theod. *Ep.* 131.) [E. V.]

LONY, first (but doubtful) bishop of Kildare, according to the *Red Book of Kildare*. (Ware, *Ir. Bps.* "Kildare;" *Journ. Roy. Ir. Hist. and Arch. Assoc.* 4 ser. iii. 52–4; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 71 n. [a].) [J. G.]

LOTHARIUS, tenth bishop of Belluno, 690 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 110, 215). Ughelli (v. 146) places him a century and a half earlier. [C. H.]

LUA (1), Scotch saint, abbat and probably bishop of Lismore in Argyleshire, commemorated in the Scotch and Irish kalendars at June 25. The radical form of the name is Lua, commonly in Irish Lugaidh; by the addition of the honorific prefix *mo* and of the diminutive affix *oc* or *og*, and by Latinising and popular dialectic use, we reach the great variety which the name has in form assumed. Lamluoc is not properly a name, but accidentally arises from the union of the two distinct words lam luoc in *The Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin* (Introd. p. lxv.). His Scotch legend is given in *Brev. Aberdon.* (prop. SS. p. Est. ii. ff. 5–8) in nine lections with antiphon and oratio, calling him Molocus; Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 160) has a notice of Molonachus or Molochus, and Butler (*Lives of the Saints*, June 25) has one of St. Moloc. Dempster, in accordance with the double commemoration at April 16 and June 25 (*Men. Scot.*), has given in his History a memoir of St. Molocus (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. *449), and also of St. Molonathus (*ib.* ii. 455), making them both disciples of St. Brendan and writers of his Acts, but dating the one A.D. 590, and the other A.D. 628. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 25 Jun., vii. 677–80 Append.) have *De S. Moloco seu Molonatho Episcopo in Rossia Scotiae Hodiernae provincia*, with a sylloge praevia, and his Acts taken from the *Brev. Aberd.*

Like so many Scotch saints of the 6th and following centuries, St. Lua was a native of Ireland, being the son of Lonnanus, son of Fintanus, and descended from Conall Gulban, ancestor of St. Columba. He was a contemporary of those who composed the second class of Irish

Saints, and probably laboured some time in Ireland before leaving for Scotland; his Irish church is Kildalkey in the barony of Lune, co. Meath, and his name is found in most of the Irish Annals and Martyrologies. According to the Scotch account he was educated under St. Brendan, but he probably came with St. Columba, and may be the Luguid Mocuthemne, his companion, mentioned by Dr. Reeves (*St. Adamnan*, 246). In the account of his acts there is no little confusion with his greater namesake at Clonfert, as in his being educated under St. Comgall at Bangor, his being connected with Columbanus, his being mentioned by St. Bernard, and his having founded a hundred monasteries. His work in Scotland appears to have been among the Hebrides and along the western coast. Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, &c. i. 121 n. [e]) think he headed a special missionary effort from Ireland. The centre of his work was Lismore, not the town of that name in the county of Waterford, as imagined by Dr. O'Donovan (*Four Mast.* i. 213 n. [r]), and received by others on his authority, but the "Lismor in Albain," as given in the ancient gloss on Aengus the Culdee. In the midst of his labours in Ross he died June 25, 592, and was buried in St. Boniface's church at Rosemarkie (*Four Mast.* A.D. 588; *Ann. Ult.* 591; *Ann. Tigh.* A.D. 592). But the Scotch annalists put his death about A.D. 629 (King, Dempster). His body or relics are also said to have been at Lismore, at a place still known as Portmaluag, where the saint or his relics were first landed, and where the remains of a building said to have been his church are shewn.

His bachul, or pastoral staff, was long preserved in the neighbourhood of Lismore by its hereditary keeper, who was popularly called the "baron of bachul," and had a small holding of land in virtue of his office. But the office having lapsed to the earl of Argyle, the pastoral staff, which was the symbol of office, went with it, and is now preserved in the muniment chamber at Inverary Castle. As figured and described by the late Mr. Cosmo Innes (*Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. p. 162–3) it is a plain blackthorn staff, thirty-four inches in length, with no prepossessing appearance, nothing approaching to the richness of the Quigrich of St. Fillan. (For further references to the bachul of St. Moloch, see *Cat. of Antiq. &c. in Arch. Inst. of Great Brit. and Irel. held in Edinburgh*, 1856, pp. 31–2, Edinb. 1859; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ii. 12 sq. xi. 59; Wilson, *Prehist. Ann. Scot.* 665.)

(Bp. Forbes, *Lives of SS. Nin. and Kent.* 343; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 213 n. [102]; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 188, n. [4] and *Tr. Thaum.* 481 b; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 56, 133 sq. and *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 67, 346; *Book of Obits of Ch. Ch. Dublin*, lxv.; Leslaeus, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.* l. iv. p. 148; Boece, *Scot. Hist.* B. ix. c. 18; *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xxiv. 167, Antiq.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ii. 369; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 159; Martin, *West. Isl. Scot.* 28, 2 ed.; Keith, *Hist. Cat. Scott. Bps.* 377; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 72, 101, 117, 132, 155, 196, 203, 238 for the Scotch kalendars.) [J. G.]

LUA (2) (LUAID, LUANUS, LUGDACH, LUGDAIGH, LUGEUS, LUGHAIDH, LUGIDUS, LUGITH, MOLUA MOLUANUS), abbat of Cluain-fearta-Molua, now Clonfert, Clonfert-mulloe, or Kyle, at the foot of Slieve Bloom, in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's County. He is commemorated Aug. 4, and is regarded as one of the fathers and chief saints of the Irish church. The most popular forms of his name are Lua, Luan, or Luanus, and Molua, the last probably predominating.

The Lives of this saint are given by Fleming (*Collectanea Sacra*, 368 sq.) and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 4 Aug. i. [339], 341–54).

Ware (*Ir. Writ.* i. c. 13) quotes from a *Life of St. Molua or Lugid* of uncertain age, now in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and Colgan had in preparation for April 17 (and Aug. 4) *Vita S. Moluani de Druim Sneachda*, and for Aug. 4 (and April 17) *Vita S. Moluani*, probably the one Life for publication at either day (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 373, 374). Among the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels is a most important volume containing Lives of Irish Saints in the Latin language and written in the 15th century; it contains *Vita S. Lugidi*, f. 94, and *Vita S. Moluae*, f. 202 (*ibid.* iii. 485). (For an account of ancient Lives and MSS. see Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 178–9.) O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 211) has drawn together some particulars from Cuimin of Connor and other ancient Irish sources.

Lua or Mo-Lua of Clonfert belonged to the distinguished family of the Ui-Fidhgeinte in the county of Limerick. His father was Carthar or Carthach, and commonly called or surnamed Coche, but the entry in the *Four Mast.* A.D. 605, is "Molua, *i.e.* Lughaidh Mac hUi-Oiche," which would lead us to think that Coche was a corruption of the family name. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was educated first under St. Finnian at Clonard, and then under St. Comgall at Bangor, co. Down, and was special friend of the principal saints at the close of the 6th century.

In the *Vita S. Maidoci*, cc. 20, 42, 54 (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 210 sq.) he is mentioned with very great reverence and affection, and generally as the soul-friend; even in the 12th century his fame was known at Clairvaux (*Vita S. Malachiae*, c. 5) and hence the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 12 Jul. iii. 236) place among their praetermissi, "S. Luanus abbas, de cujus sanctitate agitur in *Vita S. Malachiae episcopi*," as a separate person. His foundations appear to have all been in the southern half of Ireland, and on leaving Bangor he probably returned to his native district and founded a house at Mount Luachra. But his chief foundation was at Clonfert-mulloe on the borders of Leinster and Munster, in Queen's County. For his monks he is said to have drawn up a monastic rule; this is probably true, as the want was beginning to be keenly felt, and the Benedictine rule had not yet reached to Ireland. His death took place and his remains were deposited in his chief monastery in the beginning of the 7th century, probably A.D. 609 (*Ann. Tigh.* eo. an.; *Four Mast.* A.D. 605; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 608).

The rule was probably his only work, but Bale says he wrote *Ad Britannorum Ecclesias*, lib. i. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 7; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 57 a, 193 a, 405 b, 585, cc. 6, 7, 590, c. 11, 594, c. 31, and *Tr. Thaum.* 88 c, 96, 113 n. [109]; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* i. pt. i.

118 n., ii. 71 n. ², 159, iv. 122; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. pp. x. 53, 178, 541; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 143 n.; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 56; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 171; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 511, Ind. Chron. A.D. 608; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, ii. pt. iii. c. 81, p. 303; O'Reilly, *Ir. Writ.* xli.; Nicolson, *Ir. Hist. Libr.* 47, Lond. 1736.)

Lua founded Drumsneachta, now Drumsnat, in the barony and county of Monaghan, and there was probably compiled the ancient historical work on Ireland called the *Book of Drumsneachta*, which is now apparently lost, and is only known from the frequent allusions made to it as an authority for the remote events in Irish history. (*Misc. Celt. Soc.* 29 n. ⁸; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2nd ser. p. 245.) [J. G.]

LUBENTIUS (LUPENTIUS, Du Saussay), Oct. 13, presbyter in the diocese of Trèves in the reign of Constantius. His tradition, as recorded in his *Acta* and in the lections of the church of Trèves, is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 13 Oct. vi. 200) with commentary by Fonson. (Brower, *Annal. Trevir.* t. i. p. 235, ed. 1670; Tillemont, vii. 250.) [C. H.]

LUCANUS (1), or **LUCIANUS**, Marcionite (LUCANUS, Pseudo-Tert. 18; Philast. 46, and so probably their source, the Syntagma of Hippolytus; Tertull. *De Resur. Carn.* 2; Λουκᾶνος, Orig. *Cont. Cels.* ii. 27; on the other hand, Λουκιανός, Hippol. *Ref.* vii. 37; Epiph. *Haer.* 43). The former is both the better attested form, and also the more likely to have been altered into the other. The Lucianites are reckoned as a sect distinct from the Marcionites, as well by Origen as by Hippolytus and his followers; but the absence of authentic report of any important difference between the doctrine of the two sects leads us to believe that Lucanus did not make any separation from Marcion, but rather that after the latter's death Lucanus was a Marcionite teacher (probably at Rome), whose celebrity caused his followers to be known by his own name rather than by that of the original founder of the sect. It may be that they were so called in contradistinction to the Marcionites of the school of Apelles, who approached more nearly to the orthodox. Origen's language (οἶμαι) implies that he had not any very intimate knowledge of the teaching of Lucanus, the point on which he will not speak positively being whether or not that heretic tampered with the gospels. Epiphanius owns that the sect was extinct in his time, and that he had a difficulty in obtaining accurate information about it. Tertullian alone (*u. s.*) seems to have direct knowledge of the teaching of Lucanus. He accuses him of going beyond other heretics, who merely denied the resurrection of the body, and of maintaining that not even the soul would rise, but some other thing, neither soul nor body. Neander (*Ch. Hist.* ii. 189) interprets this to mean that Lucanus held that the ψυχή would perish and the πνεῦμα alone be immortal; and possibly this may be so, though Tertullian's language would lead us to attribute to Lucanus a theory more peculiar to himself than this would be. Some commentators, who have taken a jest of Tertullian's too literally, have, without good reason, ascribed to this heretic a doctrine of transmigration of souls of men into bodies of brutes. They have however the authority of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 42, p. 330) for regarding this doctrine as one likely to be held by a Marcionite. It has been conjectured that Lucanus was the author of the apocryphal Acts which bore the name of Leucius as their author [LEUCIUS]; and Lardner treats the identification as so certain that he gives but one article to Leucius and Lucanus, mixing up indiscriminately what is told of each. Even however if it were certain that the Acts of Leucius were Marcionite, not Manichaean, and that they are as early as the 2nd century, there is still no ground but the similarity of name for fixing on Lucanus as the author; and it is likely that the name Leucius was but a pseudonym suggested by the name of the author of the genuine Acts of the Apostles. [G. S.]

LUCANUS (2) (LUCIANUS *al.*), Carthaginian acolyte with Amantius. (Cyp. *Ep.* 77, 78, 79.) [E. W. B.]

LUCANUS (3), July 20, second bishop of Brixen (in the Tyrol) before the see became Sabiona (Seben). (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 70; Sinnacher, *Gesch. der Bischöfl. Kirche Säben u. Brixen*, t. i. p. 1.) [C. H.]

LUCAS (1) (LUCIUS), April 22, deacon, martyr in Persia with another deacon Mucius, and Parmenius, Helimenas, and Chrysotelus, priests (Baron. *Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 11). Usuard and *Vet. Rom. Mart.* place the martyrdom at Cordula, *i.e.* Cordyla in Cappadocia, for which Baronius (note, *l.c.*) proposes Corduena, a city near the Tigris. This company of martyrs, with Polychronius bishop of Babylon at their head, is mentioned in the *Acta* of St. Laurence, the period being the reign of Decius. (Surius, *Prob. SS. Hist.* 10 Aug. p. 94, cf. Boll. Aug. 10, 511 A.) [G. T. S.]

LUCAS (2), Feb. 6, deacon of Emesa and martyr, under Numerian according to the Greeks, with Silvanus bishop of Emesa and Mocius a reader (Bas. *Menol.*); but as remarked by Tillemont (iv. 570, v. 108) Eusebius (ix. 6) places the martyrdom of Silvanus under Maximinus. [G. T. S.]

LUCAS (3), bishop of Dyrrachium, the metropolis of Nova Epirus, to whom, among the metropolitans of Illyricum, Leo the Great wrote in Jan. 444, urging them to accept the authority of Anastasius of Thessalonica as his representative (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* v. p. 618). He, among others, wrote a reply highly agreeable to Leo, who writes to them again in Jan. 446 (*Ep.* xiii. p. 677). In 449 he was present at the council of Ephesus, where he assents to the acquittal of Eutyches and the condemnation of St. Flavian and Eusebius (Labbe, *Concilia*, iv. 117 C, 264 C D, 310 D). But he was also present at the orthodox council of Chalcedon in 451 (Labbe, iv. 82 B). There the Illyrian prelate was among those who expressed penitence for their conduct at Ephesus (Labbe, iv. 323 B), and afterwards assented to the condemnation of Dioscorus, and the "Forma" of St. Leo. We have another letter from Leo to Lucas in 457 (*Ep.* cl.) on the subject of the Eutychian violence in Egypt, and in the same year he also received the circular letter

of the emperor Leo on the same subject, to which we have a reply from the bishops of New Epirus, headed by Lucas (Labbe, iv. 973 C). This reply is moderate in tone. In upholding the council of Chalcedon, it describes its doctrinal definition as only "an interpretation of the few syllables" of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan definitions. (Labbe, 974 D; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vii. 343; *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 242.) [C. G.]

LUCAS (4), a heterodox presbyter in the jurisdiction of Eusebius bishop of Thessalonica. (Greg. Mag. lib. x. ind. iii. ep. 42 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii.; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* num. 1321, 1424.) [T. W. D.]

LUCENTIUS (1), bishop, legate of pope Leo the Great to the East (Leo Magn. epp. 83, 85, 86 in *Pat. Lat.* liv.). With Paschasinus bishop of Lilybaeum for a senior colleague he represented Leo at the council of Chalcedon in 451 (ep. 90), and he also brought the *Gesta* of that council to Rome (ep. 101). The records of the council in three places (Mansi, vi. 1046 A, 1081 B, vii. 135 C) describe him as ἐπίσκοπος Ἐρκουλάνων, and as episcopus Esculanensis (and Erculanae) ecclesiae, but in one of the letters (*Ep.* 103) he is designated Asculanus. Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 451, viii.) and others make him bishop of Asculum (Ascoli) in Picenum. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 489; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vii. 680, 793; Ceillier, x. 220, 682; Tillemont, *Mém.* xv. index.) On the opinion of his having been the continuator of Prosper, see Liberat. *Brev.* cap. 2, with Garnier's note, and Tillem. xvi. 733, 734. [C. H.]

LUCENTIUS (2), bishop of Coimbra before the year 561 A.D. He is the first known bishop of the see, which was one of the Lusitanian bishoprics annexed to the province of Gallicia during the Suevian rule, and subsequently restored to Lusitania after the fall of the Suevian kingdom. Lucentius subscribed the Acts of the first and second councils of Braga (A.D. 561, 572). (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 110; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. pp. 619, 630.) [M. A. W.]

LUCHRAIDH is enumerated among the members of St. Patrick's household in a poem of the 11th century preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, f. 44 b. St. Patrick's stonemasons, who built the first damliags or stone churches in Ireland, were Caemhan, Cruithnech, and Luchraidh. (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 141-2 · *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 141 n. [x].) [J. G.]

LUCHTIGERN, LUCHTIGHERNA (LUCTIGERNUS, LUIGHTIGHERN), Irish saint, disciple of St. Ruadhan of Lorha, and abbat of Inistymon, co. Clare. In the *Vita S. Itae* (c. 28), he is found in company with Lasreanus or Laisre of Drumliag, but appears to have been different from Luchern or Luctigern, disciple of St. Comgall at Bangor. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 70, c. 28, 72 n. [28], 590, c. 11, 594 n. [14]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 88-9, iii. 28.) He must have ourished in the 6th century. [J. G.]

LUCIA (1), Dec. 13, virgin and martyr at Syracuse, under the president Paschasius in the Diocletian persecution. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Bedae, Adon., Usuard.; Aldhelm. *Laud. Virginit.* num. xlii.; Bas. *Menol.*; Ceillier, xii. 867; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* p. 620, note ed. A.D. 1713; Tillem. v. 142.) Her acts relate that having early taken a secret vow of celibacy, she rejected a pagan suitor whom her mother Eutychia desired her to marry, and was in consequence denounced to the governor as a Christian. Sentenced to outrage she baffled her persecutors, but under subsequent cruelties she expired in prison. Her intercession is sometimes sought for distemper of the eyes. [LUCIA (6) in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*] [G. T. S.]

LUCIA (2), companion and fellow martyr with St. Ursula in the 5th century. She is, perhaps, "Lucia the Happy," mentioned by Aengus in his Metrical Calendar (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 155), and patron of Capel Bettws Lleicu in Llanddewi Brefi parish, co. Cardigan. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 52, 327; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 169.) [J. G.]

LUCIANISTAE, heretics. (Epiph. *Indic. Haer.* in *Pat. Gr.* xli. 579 and *Haer.* xliii. 1; John of Damascus, *Haer.* cap. 43 in *Pat. Gr.* xciv. 703.) [LUCANUS (1).] [C. H.]

LUCIANUS (1), African bishop, Cyp. *Ep.* 70. (Syn. Carth. *de Bapt. Haer.* 1.) [E. W. B.]

LUCIANUS (2), seventeenth bishop in Conc. Carth. iii. *de Pace*, Cyp. *Ep.* 57; sixth bishop in Conc. Carth. iv. *de Basilide*, Cyp. *Ep.* 70; forty-third Suffrage in *Sentt. Epp.* Conc. Carth. vii. *de Bapt. Haer.* iii. bishop of Rucuma, Prov. Proc. [E. W. B.]

LUCIANUS (3), bishop of Carthage following St. Cyprian, or, according to another reading, following Cyprian's successor Carpophorus (Optat. *Schism. Donat.* i. 19 in *Pat. Lat.* xi.; Morcelli, i. 53). It is stated in a letter of Montanus and others, disciples of Cyprian, that the martyr Flavian [FLAVIANUS (27)] before his suffering designated Lucian (*al. lec.* Lucinus), for the successor of Cyprian (Surius, *Prob. SS. Hist.* 24 Feb. p. 189, num. xiv.; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 262 xxix. xxx.; Tillem. iv. 11, 184, 269). His successor was Mensurius. [C. H.]

LUCIANUS (4), Jan. 8, bishop (or perhaps presbyter) and apostle of Beauvais, said to have come to Gaul with St. Dionysius, and to have been martyred A.D. 290. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 459; *Acta Fabulosa* of Dionys. Areop. §§ 4, 5, 6 in *Acta SS.* 9 Oct. iv. 792; *Gall. Ch.* ix. 694; Tillem. iv. 443, 537, v. 4.) [R. T. S.]

LUCIANUS (5), a Donatist bishop who joined other Donatist bishops in a request to Constantine to grant that a trial of the affair of Caecilianus should be held before Gallic bishops, in order to ensure fairness, A.D. 314. (Opt. i. 22; Aug. *Ep.* 53, 5; 76, 2; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 211, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

LUCIANUS (6) (*al. lec.* LOLLIANUS), bishop of Phellus in Lycia, mentioned by St. Basil in a letter (*Ep.* 218, al. 403). [L. D.]

LUCIANUS (7), one of the Donatist bishops of Rome, perhaps about A.D. 380. (Opt. ii. 4; Tillem. vi. 88.) [H. W. P.]

LUCIANUS (8). Nearly the whole that we know of this famous satirist—the wittiest,

except Aristophanes, of all the extant writers of antiquity—is drawn from his own writings. Born (probably about A.D. 120) at Samosata on the Euphrates, not far from the confines of Cilicia, the son of poor parents, he was in the first instance destined to be a sculptor. Two circumstances contributed to this determination on the part of his parents: one, the skill with which he made little wax images (for making which, he tells us, he was often whipped at school); the other, the fact that he had an uncle who was a statuary of some distinction. But being apprenticed to this uncle, he was unlucky enough at his first trial to break a marble tablet by pressing too hard upon it. Being beaten for this, he ran away, and complained to his parents of the cruelty of his uncle; insinuating at the same time that he had been beaten through envy of his superior merit. His mother took his part, and he was not compelled to follow a distasteful profession. From the piece called *The Dream* (περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου), in which these particulars are stated, it would appear that at this moment he embraced the resolve to follow literature as his occupation. But the difficulties in his way were great. Apparently he did not at this time even speak the Greek language with accuracy; he was poor, friendless, and illclad (δὶς κατηγορούμενος, § 27). In this condition he wandered about Ionia, in part applying himself to advocacy (in which capacity Suidas tells us that he practised at Antioch), but as his success in this branch was not remarkable, he gradually betook himself to the composing and reciting of rhetorical exercises. This he did with continually increasing success as he journeyed westwards. In Greece he became acquainted with some of the most noted persons in that country (as, for instance, Demonax, the philosopher); from thence he crossed over into Italy; and on his sojourn in Gaul, his success reached the highest pitch. But in course of time his rhetorical vein exhausted itself; others, he found, were preferred to himself (δὶς κατηγορ. § 32); and disgusted with a pursuit the artificiality of which was no longer compensated by his success in it, he betook himself to that style of writing—dialogue—on which his permanent fame has rested. This was when he was about forty years old. It must have been about the same time that he returned eastwards again, and settled for a time at Athens (cf. δὶς κατηγορ. *l. c.*); but he was by no means stationary there. We find him at Olympia in A.D. 165, when he saw the extraordinary self-immolation by fire of the sophist Peregrinus. A little later he visited Paphlagonia, where he vehemently attacked, and made a bitter enemy of, the impostor Alexander of Abonoteichos. Of the extraordinary success of this man in deluding the weak and credulous minds of the rude people of those parts, and even the cultivated senators of Rome, Lucian has left us an animated account in his piece entitled *The False Prophet* (ψευδόμαντις). Lucian on one occasion had an interview with him, and stooping down, instead of kissing his hand, as was the custom, bit it severely. Luckily he had a guard of two soldiers with him, sent by his friend the governor of Cappadocia (a proof of Lucian's importance at this time), or he would have fared badly at the hands of the attendants of Alexander. Alexander restrained his anger, and pretended reconciliation, and subsequently even lent Lucian a ship to return home in, but gave secret instructions to the crew to throw him overboard in the course of the voyage. The master of the ship, however, repented, and Lucian was landed at Aegialos, from which place he was conveyed to Amastris in a ship belonging to the ambassadors of king Eupator. He endeavoured to get Alexander punished for this piece of treachery, but the influence of the false prophet was too strong for him. Of Lucian's later years we know but little; he was, however, at last appointed by the emperor (probably Commodus) to a post of honour and emolument in Egypt. For accepting this he was accused by his enemies of servility, and of insincerity in those writings which he had directed against the parasites of the great; he defended himself with good sense and spirit in a pamphlet entitled, ἀπολογία περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων, a "Defence of those who accept Service for Pay." The difference between private and public services was one, indeed, too obvious to be overlooked by any impartial person.

From the burlesque drama entitled *Tragopodagra*, it is no unnatural inference that Lucian suffered from the gout. The cause, manner, and time of his death we are ignorant of. The story handed down (or invented) by Suidas, that he was torn in pieces by dogs for his impiety, bears untrustworthiness on the face of it. Some writers have represented him as an apostate from Christianity; this is, however, very improbable, and rests on no good authority. Lucian was married, and had a son (Eunuchus, § 13); but beyond this we know nothing of his married life. Nor, indeed, do we know much of his personal character in matters of daily life; his writings are by no means free from lasciviousness; it is, however, obvious that he earned a good deal of esteem from his contemporaries. His writings, with all their brilliancy, do not convey the impression of a warm-hearted man; the *Peregrinus* is especially noticeable for the hard unconcern with which he describes alike the self-sacrificing love of the Christians, and the self-sought death, tragic as it certainly was in its main features, of the sophist. For cool common sense, and determination to see everything in its naked reality, apart from the disturbing influences of hope and fear, of enthusiasm and superstition, he has never in any age been surpassed. His character could not, indeed, in the most essential part of it, be better described than in his own words, in the dialogue entitled Ἁλιεύς, or the *Fisherman*: *μισαλάζων εἰμὶ καὶ μισογόης καὶ μισοψευδὴς καὶ μισότυφος καὶ μισῶ πᾶν τὸ τοιουτῶδες εἶδος τῶν μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων· πάνυ δὲ πολλοί εἰσιν.* "I am a hater of imposture, jugglery, lies, and ostentation, and in short of all that rascally sort of men; and there are very many of them" (§ 20). And shortly afterwards, he says very candidly, that there was some danger of his losing his power of esteem and love, for want of opportunities of exercising it; whereas opportunities in the contrary direction were ample and frequent.

For a complete analysis of Lucian's works, the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* should be consulted (art. LUCIAN). Here it must suffice to indicate his relations to the

religious influences of his time; and, above all, to Christianity.

The progress of experience, the leisure of research, had, in the time of Lucian, shattered all real definite belief in the gods of ancient Greece and Rome, in the minds of cultured men. The startling void, which few men could fail to feel at this collapse of all that had been most honoured and reverenced in the simpler and better times of their forefathers, was seldom, however, plainly acknowledged. The vast crowd of deities, which the conflux of so many nations under the protecting shadow of Rome had gathered together, received, collectively and separately, a certain respect from the most incredulous. To the statesman, the gods of Rome were the highest symbol of the power of the imperial city; as such, he required for them external homage, to refuse which might be construed as rebellion against the state. Philosophers feared lest, if the particular acts of special deities were too rudely criticised, the reverence due to the gods in their remote and abstract sanctity might decay. Hence both these classes practically favoured the sway of religious beliefs to which they had themselves ceased to adhere. Meanwhile, the multitude were tossed about from religion to religion, from ceremony to ceremony, from rite to rite, in the vain hope that among so great an assemblage of supernatural powers, some might be found to lead men rightly in the path of safety and of happiness. The urgent need which the mass of men felt for guidance, and the actual deficiency of sound guidance, formed a combination most favourable to the designs of greedy impostors. The Stoic philosophers, it is true, had formed a moral system which was capable of impressing on intellectual minds a remarkable self-restraint, and large elements of virtue. But in hopefulness, the living sap which gives virtue its vitality, the Stoic was grievously deficient; and hence his philosophy was powerless with the multitude, and apt to degenerate into a hypocritical semblance even with its learned professors. In short, though the history of mankind shews eras in which single delusions have prevailed, more fatal in effect than any with which the 2nd century of the Roman empire can be justly charged, there probably was never a time when so great a variety of hypocrisies and false beliefs has prevailed among men.

Upon such a world Lucian turned the glance of a cold penetrating intellect, and expressed what he saw with an audacity that has seldom been paralleled. The ordinary method of his satire on the mythology of Greece and Rome consists in simply exhibiting the current legends as he finds them, stripping off the halo of awe and splendour with which they had habitually been surrounded, and presenting them as bare plain facts to the amused and critical reader. Sometimes his attack is more direct; as in the *Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός*, Jupiter the tragedian, where he plain insinuation is that the general profession of belief in the gods was simply occasioned by the odium and alarm which a contrary assertion would excite. Not so absolutely sweeping in extent, but still more unreserved in the style in which the proceedings of the heathen deities are exposed, is the treatise *περὶ θυσιῶν*, on Sacrifices. As from the *Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός* we may infer Lucian's disbelief in any divine governance of the world, so from the treatise *περὶ πένθους*, on Mourning, we see that he disbelieved in immortality. It must, of course, be remembered, that as the popular and picturesque aspect of these doctrines in his time was full of absurdity, so the philosophic defence of them was certainly inadequate. It does not, however, tell favourably for Lucian's impartiality or depth of mind, when we find him still more bitter in his attacks on the philosophers than in his attacks on the popular mythology. It is true that in his dialogue entitled *'Αλιεύς*, the Fisherman, he represents himself as simply having attacked the degenerate and mock followers of the different sects, and even claims the support of the real chiefs of philosophy, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Chrysippus, in his sarcasms on their pseudo-followers. But the defence will hardly hold: for no one who reads the very amusing satire of Lucian on Pythagoras or Chrysippus can possibly feel his estimate of those philosophers raised by such delineations. Nor can we avoid thinking that there is some overcharging of the picture, when we find Lucian attacking very nearly the entire body of the philosophers of his time (except the Epicureans) on the ground of lucre-loving hypocrisy. His biography of Demonax supplies, perhaps, the single exception to this remark; and one anecdote which he has recorded of that philosopher is both the kindliest and most humane touch to be found in the whole of Lucian, and also notable as shewing that there were some even among the ancients who protested against the cruel gladiatorial shows. "The Athenians," he writes, "having some intention to build an amphitheatre for gladiators in imitation of the Corinthians, he (Demonax) went into the assembly and cried out, 'Before you determine this point, O Athenians, you should destroy the altar of mercy.'"

Lucian is, as Gesner justly observed, *ἠθικώτατος*—a most extensive observer of character; and few satirists have had a wider range or a more subtle wit. But as few, if any, satirists have had a temperament more absolutely devoid of enthusiasm; so few, if any, have been so sweeping, so unlimited in their condemnation of their own age. It is as natural to associate Lucian with the early Christians in the latter respect as it is to contrast him with them in the former. What was Lucian's attitude towards Christianity, which in his age was beginning to be known as no inconsiderable power in all parts of the Roman world?

Three dialogues have to be considered in giving an answer to this question—*'Αλέξανδρος ἢ Ψευδόμαντις*, Alexander, or the False Prophet: *περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς*, concerning the death of Peregrinus; and the Philopatris. Let us dismiss this last in the first instance, as pretty certainly no genuine work of its reputed author. The Philopatris is a distinct attack on Christianity; that is its sole motive; and it shews a knowledge of Christian doctrine so considerable, that were Lucian really its author, the suspicion would not be unnatural (though even then far from a proved certainty) that he had really been at one time a Christian. Nevertheless, of really interesting information respecting the early Christians the Philopatris is almost void; and by whomsoever written it

cannot be considered an important dialogue. The sole point, beyond the barest persiflage, which the writer urges against the Christians, consists in the prophecies of evil which, partly under the influence of dreams and visions, they would appear to have directed against the heathen empire. But since Gesner's dissertation *de Aetate et Auctore Philopatridis*, written in the middle of the last century, there has been a general consent among scholars that the dialogue is spurious. An imitation of Lucian it certainly is, for it abounds in his most peculiar and distinctive terms. But whatever argument for its genuineness might be drawn from this source is counterbalanced by the great inferiority of the dialogue in talent, and especially in dramatic talent. Whereas in Lucian's genuine dialogues, the characters are in every case clearly and sharply defined, here, on the contrary, there is no opposition whatever between the two speakers, Triephon and Critias; both are on the same side, both are absolutely agreed; it is impossible to know which is speaking, except by looking at the head of the speech. Then, too, the Philopatris has an optimistic, a patriotic tone, never found in the real Lucian. The historical allusions in the dialogue are indeterminate. But the strongest argument against the genuineness of the Philopatris is that drawn from the use of the word ἐξισωτής. The word signifies "an officer appointed to equalise the taxes;" and not only is the word unused, and the office in question unmentioned, before the time of Constantine; but we have in Eusebius an account of what appears to be the first appointment by that emperor of such officers, and the reason of the appointment. After the time of Constantine the word (and its Latin equivalent *peraequator*) is used not unfrequently. The argument from the use of this word is due to Gesner, and may be held to be almost decisive on the question. If, then, the dialogue was written after the time of Constantine, it cannot have been written at any other time than in the reign of Julian, and during his Persian expedition. Gesner suggests that it may have been written by that other Lucian who was a friend of Julian; there is nothing to necessitate our thinking so, but there is no impossibility in the supposition. It is worth observing that the MSS. call the Philopatris spurious: *οὗτος ὁ λόγος νοθεύεται τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ*, is written at the termination of it.

The allusions to the Christians by the genuine Lucian must now be referred to. The most sympathetic of these is in the "Alexander, or the False Prophet," where the Christians are joined with the Epicureans (whom Lucian much admired) as persistent and indomitable opponents of that fine specimen of rascality. But a much fuller and more interesting account of the Christians is that contained in the work *On the Death of Peregrinus*. This work (together with the Philopatris) was placed on the Index Expurgatorius, and hence does not appear in the first and second Aldine editions of Lucian (Venice, 1503 and 1522). Yet all that it says about the early Christians is very highly to their credit, except that it attributes to them a too great *εὐήθεια*, a simplicity and guilelessness which rendered them liable to be deceived by worthless pretenders to sanctity. That this charge may have had some foundation cannot be thought to be impossible. It will be worth while to quote the passage (which, it will be seen, contains one or two statements—that about the new Socrates, and the eating forbidden food—which it is difficult to think strictly accurate). Peregrinus Proteus, it should be observed, was a Cynic philosopher who flourished in the reign of the Antonines, and who, after a life of singularly perverted ambition, carried out the fanatical resolve of burning himself publicly at the Olympian games, A.D. 165. (Whether the accounts of his debauchery and parricide related by so bitter an enemy as Lucian are correct must be considered doubtful, especially in the view of the much more favourable view of his character given by Aulus Gellius.) The passage to which we have referred runs as follows in Francklin's translation:—

"About this time it was that he learned the wonderful wisdom of the Christians, being intimately acquainted with many of their priests and scribes. In a very short time he convinced them that they were all boys to him; became their prophet, their leader, grand president, and, in short, all in all to them. He explained and interpreted several of their books, and wrote some himself, insomuch that they looked upon him as their legislator and high priest, nay, almost worshipped him as a god. Their leader, whom they yet adore, was crucified in Palestine for introducing this new sect. Proteus was on this account cast into prison, and this very circumstance was the foundation of all the consequence and reputation which he afterwards gained, and of that glory which he had always been so ambitious of; for when he was in bonds the Christians, considering it as a calamity affecting the common cause, did everything in their power to release him, which when they found impracticable, they paid him all possible deference and respect; old women, widows, and orphans were continually crowding to him; some of the most principal of them even slept with him in the prison, having bribed the keepers for that purpose; there were costly suppers brought in to them; they read their sacred books together, and the noble Peregrinus (for so he was then called) was dignified by them with the title of the New Socrates. Several of the Christian deputies from the cities of Asia came to assist, to plead for, and comfort him. It is incredible with what alacrity these people support and defend the public cause—they spare nothing, in short, to promote it. Peregrinus being made a prisoner on their account, they collected money for him, and he made a very pretty revenue of it. These poor men, it seems, had persuaded themselves that they should be immortal, and live for ever. They despised death, therefore, and offered up their lives a voluntary sacrifice, being taught by their lawgiver that they were all brethren, and that, quitting our Grecian gods, they must worship their own sophist, who was crucified, and live in obedience to his laws. In compliance with them they looked with contempt on all worldly treasures, and held everything in common—a maxim which they had adopted without any reason or foundation. If any cunning impostor, therefore, who knew how to manage matters came amongst them, he soon grew rich by imposing on the credulity of these weak and

foolish men. Peregrinus, however, was set at liberty by the governor of Syria, a man of learning and a lover of philosophy, who withal well knew the folly of the man, and that he would willingly have suffered death for the sake of that glory and reputation which he would have acquired by it. Thinking him, however, not worthy of so honourable an exit, he let him go. . . . Once more, however, he was obliged to fly his country. The Christians were again his resource, and, having entered into their service, he wanted for nothing. Thus he subsisted for some time; but at length, having done something contrary to their laws (I believe it was eating food forbidden amongst them), he was reduced to want, and forced to retract his donation to the city, and to ask for his estate again, and issued a process in the name of the emperor to recover it; but the city sent messages to him commanding him to remain where he was, and be satisfied."

It would seem from the above passage that community of goods, in some degree or other, was practised among the early Christians up to a later date than is, perhaps, generally supposed. Lucian, it will be seen, confirms the general opinion as to the continual liability to persecution in which the Christians of those ages stood. Moreover, though considering them weak and deluded people, he brings no charge of imposture or falsehood against them; this, from an author so prone to bring such charges, is worth notice. In fact, did we know nothing else of the early Christians but what he here records, his account of them would raise our interest in them in a very high degree; even their too great simplicity is not an unloveable trait, though one that deserves note. Lucian, however, evidently looks at them from a distance; he has no special design of attacking them, but as it came in his way to mention them, he employs his keen pen in satirising their distinctive characteristics.

The *editio princeps* of Lucian's work was published at Florence in 1496, fol. The Aldine editions have been mentioned. The best edition is probably that of Hemsterhuis, published at Amsterdam in 1743, 3 vols. 4to. To this are attached notes by numerous commentators besides Hemsterhuis himself, and Gesner's dissertation on the Philopatris is appended to it. W. Dindorf published the text with a Latin version in 1840 (ed. Paris, 8vo). There is an excellent translation of Lucian by Wieland into German (Leipzig, 1788–9, 6 vols. 8vo), and one of great merit into English by Dr. Francklin (sometime Greek professor at Cambridge, and a translator of Sophocles), in 2 vols. 4to, London, 1780, and 4 vols. 8vo, London, 1781. In Dr. Francklin's translation seven of the pieces are omitted, but none of these are of any importance. Other editions and translations of Lucian will be found mentioned in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. [J. R. M.]

LUCIANUS (9), African presbyter, who carried to Cyprian Quintus's letter of inquiry about baptism, which is replied to in Cyp. *Ep.* 71. [E. W. B.]

LUCIANUS (10), Carthaginian confessor. He had prayed at night upon the ground (in terra dormiens) that he might be captured, and so be able to minister in prison to the confessors who had been tortured (floridi). His sufferings in prison were great. He was the inventor of the circular of dispensation. Previously applications had been made to the bishop to examine into cases (*Ep.* 16; compare *Ep.* 27 and MAPPALICUS and SATURNINUS). But Lucian circulated dispensations (gregatim) in the names of PAULUS and AURELIUS (*q. v.* as also CELERINUS), and was even applied to for them from Rome. He granted them without discrimination; only desiring that on the return of peace they should confess before the bishop, thus throwing on him the accumulated *invidia* of rejecting the petitions of penitents and martyrs at once. Cyprian's remonstrance (*Ep.* 27) he answered by issuing a libellus "Universis (lapsis) universorum (confessorum) nomine" (*Ep.* 23). This note and his ungrammatical letter (*Ep.* 22) to Celerinus bear out what Cyprian says, not only of his want of consideration of ecclesiastical order, but of his "want of grounding" and of "experience" in the reading of Scripture (*Dominica lectio*). See LIBELLUS, *Dict. Chr. Ant.* [E. W. B.]

LUCIANUS (11), Oct. 26 (Baron.), Nov. 25 (Assem.), martyr with Marcianus and Florius at Nicomedia in the Decian persecution, A.D. 250. (*Mart. Rom.*; Assem. *Mart. Orient.* ii. 49; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* Ceillier, ii. 120, iii. 344; Tillem. iii. 338.) [G. T. S.]

LUCIANUS (12), Jan. 7 (Usuard.), Oct. 15 (Basil. *Menol.*), priest of Antioch martyred at Nicomedia under Maximinus in 311 or 312. He was born at Samosata about A.D. 240, of respectable and religious parents, whom he lost by death at the age of twelve. He was educated at Edessa under a certain Macarius, a learned expounder of Holy Scripture (Suidas, *s. v.*). After a time Lucianus transferred himself to Antioch, which held a high rank among the schools of the East, and which then, owing to the controversies raised by Paulus of Samosata, was the great centre of theological interest. There most probably he was instructed by Malchion. This Malchion seems to have been the true founder of the celebrated Antiochene school of divines, of whom Lucianus, Chrysostom, Diodorus, Theodoret, and Theodore of Mopsuestia were afterwards some of the most distinguished. During the controversies which ensued upon the deposition of Paulus, Lucianus seems to have fallen under suspicion. Some have thought that he cherished sentiments akin to those of Paulus himself, which were of a Sabellian character, while others think that in opposing Paulus he used expressions akin to Arianism (cf. Newman's *Arians*, p. 7, and cap. i. sec. 5). This latter view is supported by the creed which was presented at the council of Antioch, A.D. 341, purporting to be drawn up by St. Lucian, which is extremely anti-Sabellian. He consequently lived separate from the communion of the three immediate successors of Paulus, Domnus, Timaeus, and Cyrillus. During the episcopate of Cyrillus he was restored to church fellowship, and became in union with Dorotheus the head of the theological school, giving to it the tone of literal, as opposed to allegorical, exposition of Scripture, which it retained till

the time of Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia [DIODORUS, CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORUS, DOROTHEUS]. Lucianus produced, possibly with the help of Dorotheus, a revised version of the Septuagint, which was used, as Jerome tells us, in the churches of Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Antioch, and which met with such universal acceptance that it received the name of the Vulgate (Vulgata, Κοινή), while copies of the Septuagint in general passed under the title of Lucianea (Westcott, *Hist. of Canon*, p. 360). He also wrote some doctrinal treatises, and a commentary on Job. See Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* v. 3–17. Dr. Newman, in *Arians of the Fourth Century*, ascribes the rise of the Arian heresy to the Syrian school of biblical criticism. He says (p. 414), "If evidence be wanted of the connexion of heterodoxy and biblical criticism in that age, it is found in the fact that, not long after their contemporaneous appearance in Syria, they are found combined in the person of Theodore of Heraclea, an able commentator, and an active enemy of St. Athanasius.... It may almost be laid down as an historical fact that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together." (For another view of the Antiochene school, and its doctrine of the person of Christ, see Neander, *H. E.* iv. 108.)

In the school of Lucianus the leaders and supporters of the Arian heresy were trained. Arius himself, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, Leontius of Antioch, Eudoxius, Theognis of Nicaea, Asterius—these men appealed to him as their authority, and adopted from him the party designation of Collucianists (De Broglie, *L'Église et L'Empire*, i. 375). With the lapse of years Lucianus became more conservative, and when the persecution of Diocletian burst upon the church, he encouraged the martyrs to suffer courageously, but escaped himself till Theotecnus was appointed governor of Antioch, when he was betrayed by the Sabellian party, seized and forwarded to Nicomedia to the emperor Maximinus, where, after delivering a speech in defence of the faith, he was starved for many days, tempted with meats offered to idols, and finally put to death in prison, Jan. 7, 311 or 312. His body was buried at Drepana in Bithynia, where his relics were visited by Constantine, who freed the city from taxes, and changed its name to Helenopolis. A fragment of the apology delivered by the martyr has been preserved by Rufinus, and will be found in Routh, *l. c.* Dr. Westcott, *l. c.*, accepts it as genuine.

The question has been raised whether Lucianus the martyr and biblical critic was the same person as Lucianus the excommunicated heretic. Ceillier, Fleury, and De Broglie take one side, Dr. Newman the other. The former contend that neither Eusebius, Jerome, nor Chrysostom mentions his lapse in early life. But as their notices are very brief, and none of them are professed biographies, we cannot depend much upon mere negative evidence. On the other hand we have the positive statements of Alexander bishop of Alexandria (in Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 3, and Philostorg. *H. E.* ii. 14 and 15; see also Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cap. 33), which, together with the fact that the Arian party at Antioch sheltered themselves behind a creed said to have been "written in the hand of Lucian himself, who suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia" (Soz. *H. E.* iii. 5), outweigh the improbability involved in the silence of the other. He may easily have been thirty years in church communion when he died, and with the Christians of the 4th century a martyrdom like his would more than make amends for his early fall.

The creed of Lucianus will be found in Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, ii. 77, Clark's ed.; cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* iii. 5, vi. 12. Bishop Bull maintains the authenticity and orthodoxy of this creed (*Def. of Nic. Creed*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. vi. sec. 5).

(*Mart. Vet. Rom.*; *Mart.*, Adon., Usuard.; Wright's *Syriac. Mart.* Euseb. viii. 13, ix. 6; Chrysost. *Hom.* in Lucian, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* tom. l. p. 520; Gieseler, *H. E.* i. 248; Neander, *H. E.* ii. 498.) In the last will be found the numerous references to Lucianus in St. Jerome's writings. [G. T. S.]

LUCIANUS (13), a Christian chamberlain to Diocletian about A.D. 282–300. A letter ascribed to Theonas, a contemporary bishop of Alexandria, is addressed to him. It is printed with comments by D'Achery (*Spicil.* iii. 297, ed. 1723) and Migne (*Pat. Gr.* x. 1569). He was successful in inducing many officers of the palace to embrace the Christian religion (ep. § 1; Tillem. iv. 579, 582, v. 5, 180). [W. M. S.]

LUCIANUS (14), a deacon of Cirta, associated with Silvanus in the Acts of "tradition," A.D. 303 or 304, for which the latter was condemned by Zenophilus, A.D. 320. (Aug. *Exc. ad Don. Pert.* vol. ix.; App. p. 798; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 178, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

LUCIANUS (15), presbyter of the church of Caphargamala, near Jerusalem, author of a letter on the reputed discovery (A.D. 415) of the relics of St. Stephen. It is printed in Surius (*Prob. SS. Hist.* t. iii. Aug. 3, p. 31), in Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 414 vi.), and in the appendix to the 7th volume of St. Augustine's works, *Patr. Lat.* xli. p. 807, where a preliminary *Admonitio* gives information on the literature of the subject. Lucian is mentioned in Photius (cod. 171). For more about him and the letter see the note of Baronius at Aug. 3 of the *Roman Martyrology*; Ceillier, ix. 327; Tillemont, *Mém.* ii. 9–12, 27; *Dict. Christ. Ant.* STEPHEN. [W. M. S.]

LUCIDUS (1), bishop of Leontium in Sicily, received a letter from Gregory the Great. (*Epist.* lib. iii. indict. vi. 48; Migne, lxxvii. p. 1252.) [A. H. D. A.]

LUCIDUS (2), a Gallic presbyter accused of holding extreme opinions on the questions raised in the Praedestinarian controversies of the 5th century. Among the works of Faustus bishop of Riez is a letter addressed to him on the subject by that prelate, who was probably his diocesan. (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* liii. 683; Mansi, vii. 1008.) [T. W. D.]

LUCIFERUS I., bishop of Calaris (Cagliari), in Sardinia, a confessor whose dogmatic zeal was too intolerant for Athanasius or Jerome, and led him to renounce communion with Catholics of the purest orthodoxy as tainted by compliance with Arianism. The earliest mention of him is in a letter of pope Liberius, addressed to Eusebius of Vercellae. Moved by great anxiety

about the efforts that were then being made (A.D. 354) to procure a condemnation of Athanasius by the Western bishops, Lucifer had come from Sardinia to Rome to consult with Liberius, and had offered to go as an envoy of the bishop of Rome to the emperor Constantius to ask him to summon a council. Liberius accepted the offer, and sent him, accompanied by the priest Pancratius and the deacon Hilarius, on a mission to the emperor. They took with them a letter to Constantius, and another to Eusebius, asking this zealous orthodox bishop to join them on their way and to do what he could to bring anti-Arian influence to bear on the emperor. The council was granted, and met at Milan in A.D. 354. The Arian party, supported by the emperor, was strong in it, and a proposal to condemn Athanasius was immediately brought forward; but it was resisted by Lucifer with such vehemence that the first day's meeting broke up in confusion, and his opponents prevailed on the emperor to confine him in the palace. Some particulars of the subsequent history of this council are to be found in Lucifer's writings, in Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, and in a Life of St. Dionysius of Milan (Bolland. May 25, pp. 46, 47). This life, though probably belonging to a much later date, gives details which have an air of genuineness. It is said that on the second day the people missed Lucifer, and asked where he was. Dionysius replied that he was shut up in the palace, but that Jesus Christ could not be prevented from being there with him. On the third day a letter was brought from Lucifer to Dionysius and Eusebius, and the people asked that it might be read to them. But the Arians raised such a clamour that the letter could not be heard till nightfall. On the fourth day three eunuchs came from the palace to ask what Dionysius and his friends desired of the emperor. They replied that they wished for liberty of discussion with the heretics, and for the restoration of Lucifer to their company. This latter request was granted, and Lucifer was received with joy both by the bishops and by the people.

The subsequent discussions of the council were held in the palace, and Constantius himself appears to have taken part in them. The proceedings were irregular and disorderly, and the end of some personal altercations between Lucifer and the emperor was that Lucifer was sent into exile. His banishment lasted from A.D. 355 to A.D. 361; and the greater part of this time he spent at Eleutheropolis in Palestine, where he was subject to the persecutions of the Arian bishop Eutychius. (See the petition to the emperor of Marcellinus and Justinus, two Luciferian priests, in Sirmond, *Opera Varia*, tom. i. p. 234.) It was during his banishment, and probably at Eleutheropolis, that his successive books or pamphlets on the controversy in which he was engaged were written. The following are the titles of them:—*Pro sancto Athanasio Libri ii.; De Regibus Apostaticis; De non conveniendo cum Haereticis; De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus; Moriendum pro Filio Dei.* Lucifer addresses Constantius in these writings with a remarkable vigour of denunciation. It is evident that he courted persecution, and even martyrdom. He compares the emperor to the worst kings that ever reigned, and makes him out to be more impious than Judas Iscariot. And he sent his vehement invective by a special messenger to Constantius himself. Astonished at this audacity, the emperor ordered Florentius, an officer of his court, to send the book back to Lucifer and ask him if it were really his. The intrepid bishop replied that it was, and sent it back again. Constantius, on his part, must be allowed to have shewn magnanimity in leaving these violent effusions unpunished. There may however have been some additional hardship in the removal of Lucifer from Palestine to the Thebaid, where he remained till the death of Constantius in 361. Hearing of his arrival in Egypt, Athanasius wrote him a letter from Alexandria, full of praise and congratulations, asking him to let him see a copy of his work. After receiving and reading what his champion had written, Athanasius replied, and thanked him in a second letter. In this he is still more laudatory. He tells him that he was called the Elias of the age, that he was truly a Lucifer, who had brought the light of truth and placed it on a candlestick that it might give light to all; that he had proved the words of the Arians to be nothing but phantasy, and had taught that diabolic gnashing of teeth was to be trampled under foot.

Very soon after his accession, A.D. 361, Julian gave permission to the exiled bishops to return to their sees. Lucifer and Eusebius of Vercellae were both in the Thebaid, and Eusebius pressed his friend to come with him to Alexandria, where a council was to be held under the presidency of Athanasius, and where it was especially intended to take measures for the healing of a schism at Antioch. Lucifer, however, preferred to go straight to Antioch, sending two deacons to act for him at the council. Taking a hasty part in the affairs of the much divided church at Antioch, where the Catholic party was itself broken into two sections, the followers of Meletius and the followers of Eustathius, Lucifer ordained Paulinus, the leader of the latter section, as bishop of the church. When Eusebius arrived at Antioch, bringing with him the synodal letter of the council, and prepared to settle matters so as to give a triumph to neither party, he was distressed to find that he had been thus anticipated by the action of Lucifer. Unwilling to come into open collision with his friend, he retired immediately; Lucifer stayed, and declared that he would not hold communion with Eusebius or any who adopted the moderate policy of the Alexandrian council. By this council it had been determined that actual Arians, if they renounced their heresy, should be pardoned, but not invested with ecclesiastical functions; and that those bishops who had merely consented to Arianism under pressure should remain undisturbed. It was this latter concession which offended Lucifer, and he became henceforth the champion of the principle that no one who had yielded to any compromise whatever with Arianism should be allowed to hold an ecclesiastical office. In the ardour of his orthodoxy he separated himself not only from those who had thus yielded, but also from those who consented to the policy which Athanasius put forth in the name of the council of Alexandria (Rufinus, lib. i. cap. 30; Socrates, lib. iii. cap. 11).

After remaining some time at Antioch, Lucifer returned to Sardinia, and continued, it would

seem, to occupy his see. Jerome (*Chron.*) states that he died in the year 371. To what extent he was an actual schismatic remains obscure. St. Ambrose remarks that "he had separated himself from our communion" (*De Excessu Satyri*, 1127, 47); and St. Augustine, "that he fell into the darkness of schism, having lost the light of charity" (*Epist.* 185, n. 47). But there is no mention of any separation other than Lucifer's own repulsion of so many ecclesiastics; and Jerome in his dialogue against the Luciferians (§ 20) calls him *beatus* and *bonus pastor*. (See a quotation from the *Mémoires de Trevoux* in Ceillier, vol. iv. p. 247.)

The titles of Lucifer's controversial pamphlets have already been given. They are marked by a peculiarly bitter and defiant treatment of Constantius, to whom they are addressed. The substance of them consists of appeals to Holy Scripture, and they contain a very large number of quotations from both Testaments. There are many variations from the received text in the passages quoted; but as it seems probable that Lucifer wrote them down from memory, the variations cannot be said to have any critical value. The first printed edition of the writings of Lucifer was that of Jean Tilly, Paris, 1568. They have been printed since in several collections, and will be found in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* tom. xiii. The followers of Lucifer, if they ever formed a distinct organisation, disappeared in a few years. Jerome's dialogue *adv. Luciferianos* purports to be the report of a discussion between an orthodox Christian and a Luciferian. The dialogue was written about 378, seven years after the death of Lucifer. Five or six years later an appeal was made to the emperor by the Luciferian presbyters. [FAUSTINUS (33).]

[J. Ll. D.]

LUCILLA, a lady of Spanish origin, who resided at Carthage, described as very wealthy and of a strong partisan temper, "pecuniosissima et factiosissima." When Caecilianus was archdeacon of Carthage, he reproved her for her conduct respecting a relic. She appears to have become possessed of a bone belonging to the body of a martyr or supposed martyr, to which she paid so superstitious a reverence as to kiss it previously to partaking in the Eucharist, thus shewing, as Optatus expresses it, that she preferred it even to the bread and wine of salvation. This superstition is said to have been not uncommon among the Donatists. Deeply wounded at this rebuke Lucilla sought an opportunity of revenge, for which she had not long to wait. On the death of Mensurius, A.D. 311, Caecilianus was appointed to succeed him in the see of Carthage. As soon as he had taken his seat, a list was presented to him of church plate which during the persecution had been placed under the charge of the Seniors, a body probably of laymen, regarded with respect and probably possessed of some authority in the African church. As in duty bound he called on these persons to restore the articles committed to their charge; but instead of doing this they withdrew from communion with him, together with Botrus and Celestius, disappointed candidates for the episcopal dignity, and Lucilla. When the assembly of Numidian bishops was held at Carthage under the presidency of Secundus bishop of Tigisis, for the purpose of deposing Caecilianus, the influence and, it is said, the money also of Lucilla were used to procure his condemnation and the appointment in his stead of Majorinus, one of her dependants, who had filled the office of reader under Caecilianus. Augustine speaks no doubt of Lucilla when he speaks of a single Donatist household, and that of a woman, sending bishops into Spain. But no more is heard of Lucilla after this time, except in the proceedings of the inquiry before Zenophilus, A.D. 320. (Opt. i. 16, 17, 19; Aug. *En. in Ps. xxxvi.* 19, 20; *Ep.* 43, 17; *c. Parm.* i. 5; *c. Cresc.* iii. 32, 33; *c. Petil.* ii. 247; *de Unit. Eccl.* 6, 46, 73; Bruns. *Conc. Cod. Afr. Eccl.* 91, i. 180; Gesta apud Zenoph. ap. Aug. *Opp.* vol. ix. p. 799; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 168–182, ed. Oberthür; Bingham, ii. 19, vol. i. p. 277.)

The bribery appears to have been effected by diversion of some money which Lucilla professed to have given for the poor, but which the bishops or others of the faction divided among themselves (diviserunt inter se). The sum given by Lucilla and divided was 400 folles, besides 100 to Purpurius and twenty which Silvanus received from Victor as the price of ordination. Now the follis was either a coin in bronze, of very small value (φολίς a scale of a reptile) worth a little more than a halfpenny, or a sum of gold or silver, perhaps in very small coins, for we read of the money being contained in boxes (cophini). If it were of silver, which seems probable, and if we adopt the account given by Epiphanius in a much disputed passage, the value would be 250 denarii = £7 16*s.* 3*d.*, or according to Waddington = £1 0*s.* 10*d.* The number of bishops who met at Carthage to condemn Caecilianus and elect Majorinus was about seventy (Aug. *Brev. C. U.* 26; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 178, 179, 182). The reader may therefore calculate for himself the sums which each of these Simonists received, and may draw conclusions accordingly which it is not necessary to suggest. On the value of the follis see Hesychius (φολίς). (Aug. *Serm.* 390; *Civ. D.* xxii. 8, and notes on both places by Benedictine editor; *Cod. Theodos.* xiv. 4, 3; Mommsen, *das Edict Diocletians*, p. 56; Ael. Lampridius, Heliogab. 22, and note by Salmasius; Hoffmann, *Lex.* Follis; Baronius, who makes the sum much greater, vol. iv. pp. 235, 236; Smith, *Dict. of Ant.* p. 1241; Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, p. 3.) [H. W. P.]

LUCILLUS (1), a deacon of Hippo Regius. (Aug. *Ep.* 84, *Serm.* 167, 3; Tillemont, vol. xiii. p. 251, note 22.) [H. W. P.]

LUCILLUS (2), bishop of Castellum Sinitense in Numidia, c. A.D. 426. (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8, § 11.) [R. S. G.]

LUCILLUS (3), bishop of Melita (Malta), who in 592 received a letter from Gregory the Great advising him to take care that his clergy paid proper dues for their lands in Africa. He was in 599 solemnly deposed for some crime, which is not stated, by Gregory's orders in a letter to John bishop of Syracuse. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 44 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxvii.; lib. ix. indict. ii. 63; lib. x. indict. iii. 1.) Pirro (*Sic. Sacr.* ii. 904) and Cappelletti (xxi. 650) make him the 4th of the received

bishops of Malta, between Constantine and Trajan. [A. H. D. A.]

LUCINIUS, a wealthy Spaniard of Baetica in the end of the 4th century. He was a man of influence and learning. He opposed the Zoroastrian opinions, which had been introduced into Spain from Africa by Marcus and propagated by Priscillian, Agape, and others (Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 3, ed. Vall.). In conformity with the ascetic ideas of his time, he had made a vow of continency with his wife Theodora (Jerome, *Ep.* lxxi. 2, ed. Vall.). He was also a diligent student of Scripture. Both these tendencies brought him into relations with St. Jerome, who was then living at Bethlehem. He proposed to visit him, perhaps even to take up his abode in his monastery. In the year 397 he sent several scribes to Bethlehem to copy the scriptural works of Jerome; and they returned in Lent 398, having fulfilled their task and bringing with them a letter from Jerome (71), in which he describes the works which had been copied out and thanks him for presents which he had sent, and answers questions of Lucinius about fasting on Saturdays and about the daily partaking of the Eucharist. Lucinius died in the following year, and Jerome wrote a letter of consolation to the widowed Theodora (75), in which he speaks of the Christian virtues and zeal of her husband, and of the great liberality shewed by him to the churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem. [W. H. F.]

LUCIUS (1) I., bishop of Rome, after Cornelius, probably from June 25, A.D. 253, to March 5, 254, or thereabouts, during eight months and ten days. These are the dates arrived at by Lipsius (*Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*) after elaborate examination of conflicting data. He rejects the date commonly assigned to the death of Cornelius, viz. Sept. 14, 252, as not supported by the earliest catalogues, and inconsistent with other facts. The dates for Lucius are arrived at from a combination of the data of the Liberian Catalogue with the conclusions drawn from the letters of Cyprian. The Liberian Catalogue is, indeed, evidently in error in giving three years, eight months, and ten days as the duration of the episcopate of Lucius, and Valerianus III. and Gallienus II. (A.D. 255) as the consuls of the year of his decease; the same consuls being given in the same catalogue for the year of the death of his successor. He must have died before the year 255, since there is a letter of St. Cyprian to his successor Stephen, shewn by its contents to have been written before the controversy about heretical baptism had begun, the first Carthaginian synod on which subject cannot have been later than the aforesaid year. The Felician Catalogue follows the Liberian in assigning three years to the reign of Lucius, though differing as to the months and days. But it may be gathered from the contemporary letters of St. Cyprian that it was of much shorter duration. Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 2) seems to be nearer the truth in limiting it to about eight months. According to Lipsius the exigencies of the case are met if we reject the years of the Liberian Catalogue as an interpolation, and retain the eight months and ten days as the real duration of the reign of Lucius, taking it to have begun and ended at the dates given above.

The Decian persecution having, after an interval, been renewed against the Christians by Gallus, under which Cornelius had died in banishment at Centumcellae, Lucius, elected in his place at Rome, was himself almost immediately banished. His banishment, however, was of very short duration; for Cyprian, as aforesaid, in his one extant letter addressed to him, while alluding to his election as recent, congratulates him also on his return (*Ep.* 61). A large number of Roman exiles for the faith appear from this letter to have returned to Rome with Lucius. Both their banishment and their return are regarded as signs of divine favour; the former on the ground that they, rather than the adherents of Novatian, were thus shewn to be the objects of the devil's animosity: he had not cared to attack those who were his own already. Cyprian had previously pressed this point in writing to Cornelius. Their return he likens to the saving of the three children from the fiery furnace, and that of Lucius himself to the coming of John the Baptist, heralding that of Christ. Though the letter goes on to say that he had perhaps been recalled to suffer actual martyrdom openly in the midst of his flock, there is no sufficient evidence that his death, which occurred, as shewn above, so soon afterwards, was due to persecution. It is true that Cyprian, in a letter to his successor Stephen (*Ep.* 68), calls both him and Cornelius "blessed martyrs;" but he probably uses the word in the more general sense that includes confessors. For, though the Felician and later editions of the *Liber Pontificalis* say he was beheaded for the faith, the earlier Liberian Catalogue mentions his death only; and it is in the Liberian *Depositio episcoporum*, not *martyrum*, that his name is found. No further events of importance, after his banishment and return, marked his short reign. With regard to the then burning question of the reception of the *lapsi*, on which the schism of Novatian had begun under his predecessor Cornelius (NOVATIANUS, CORNELIUS, CYPRIANUS), he continued the lenient view which Cornelius, in accord with St. Cyprian of Carthage, had maintained (Cypr. *Ep.* 68). He is said in the Felician Catalogue to have been a Roman by birth, "ex patre purpureo," and to have ordained that the bishop should go about accompanied by two presbyters and three deacons. Anastasius describes him as a Tuscan, "de civitate Luca, ex patre Lucino," and says he was beheaded by Valerian. The Roman Martyrology gives the same account of his death, celebrating him as a saint and martyr on March 4. In common with the Felician, and other editions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, it rightly assigns the cemetery of Callistus as his place of burial, where De Rossi has discovered, in the Papal crypt, fragments of a slab bearing the inscription ΛΟΥΚΙC. Six decreta, addressed to the churches of Gaul and Spain, are assigned to him by the Pseudo-Isidore, and three others by Gratian; all undoubtedly spurious. [J. B—y.]

LUCIUS (2), bishop of Castra Galba (? in Numidia, *Morcelli*); seventeenth Suffrage in *Sentt. Epp.* Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. vii. *de Bapt. Haer.* iii. [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (3) (LEUCIUS), bishop of Thebeste in Numidia. *Sentt.* 34, Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. *de*

Bapt. 3, same as the Lucius of *Ep.* 76, 77; one of the nine martyr bishops of that synod who suffered at Sigua. [NEMESIANUS.] The place of his interment was observed, "Lucius conf. et mart. in Fausti positus," cod. Veron. in *Sentt. Epp.* [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (4), African bishop, in Syn. iv. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Basil.* A.D. 254, Cyp. *Ep.* 67; possibly the bishop of Membrasa on the Bagradas, about forty-four miles from Carthage; a confessor according to later MSS. Suffrage 62 in Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. vii. [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (5), bishop of Ausafa (? in Prov. Proc.) Suff. 73 Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. vii. [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (6), African bishop, Cyp. *Ep.* 70 title. He may be either of the two last. [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (7), bishop of Antinoë on the right bank of the Nile. (Athanas. *Apol. contra Arianos*, in *Patrol. Gr.* xxv. 376; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 593.) [J. de S.]

LUCIUS (8), bishop of Verona, at the council of Sardica in 343 (Hilar. *Frag.* ii. in *Pat. Lat.* x. 642; Mansi, iii. 38, 42, 47). But a doubt arises as to whether the true form of the name is not Lucillus, for Athanasius in his *Apology to Constantius* states (§ 3, p. 235, in *Pat. Gr.* xxv. 599) that in an interview he had with Constans he was accompanied by Lucillus of Verona. Moreover in his catalogue of the bishops who subscribed the decrees of Sardica (*Apol. c. Ar.* § 50) he names Lucillus. Biancolini (*Vescovi di Verona*, p. 19) adopts the form Lucillus; Tillemont (viii. 90, 91, 94, 683) Lucillus or Lucius; Cappelletti (x. 744, 813) Lucius; Ughelli (v. 693) Lucidus. [C. H.]

LUCIUS (9), bishop of Samosata, appointed by the Arians in place of Eunomius, who had retired cir. 375. (Theodoret, *Hist.* iv. 13, in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxii. 1152; Le Quien, ii. 933; Tillem. vi. 593; Ceillier, v. 4.) [W. M. S.]

LUCIUS (10), bishop of Hadrianople in Thrace, persecuted to death by the Arian party in the reign of Constantius, somewhere about A.D. 335, as Tillemont judges (vi. 280). He succeeded Eutropius in the see (Athanas. *Apol. de Fug.* 3). Very soon after his succession, as Tillemont (303, 307, 339) thinks, he was banished from his see loaded with chains, and he was one of those recalled upon the death of Constantine, A.D. 337. Socrates (ii. 15) and Sozomen (iii. 8) mention him among the Catholic bishops who, driven from their sees by the Eusebians, went to Rome to obtain help from Julius. This would be about 340 (Till. vi. 307, 752). The Roman council under Julius in 342 absolved Lucius and decreed his restitution, sending him back to the East with letters to that effect; but it seems that the decree was resisted by the Eusebians, and Lucius in 343 appealed to the council of Sardica. His name occurs among those present there (Mansi, iii. 38, 42, 47). In accordance with the decision of this council the emperor Constantius ordered Lucius to be restored (Soc. ii. 233). The Eusebian party at Philippopolis in 343 asserted in their synodal letter (Mansi, iii. 130 c) that Lucius had cast the sacramental elements consecrated by them to the dogs. So provoked were they by the persistency and vigour of his attacks that they more than once caused him to be sent into exile bound with iron fetters and frequently to be loaded with chains; he was thus fettered in prison when he died (Ath. *Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* 19; Id. *Fug.* 3; Soc. ii. 26; Theod. ii. 12, al. 15). The date of his death is probably A.D. 348 (Tillem. vi. 764). The *Roman Martyrology* commemorates him on Feb. 11. For other notices of Lucius see Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Feb. ii. 519; Baron. ann. 342 xlvii., 348 iii.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1172; Tillem. vii. 272, 276, viii. 684, 688. [C. H.]

LUCIUS (11), the third Arian intruded into the see of Alexandria, was an Alexandrian by birth, and had been ordained presbyter by George [GEORGIUS (4)]. After the murder of that prelate he seems to have been regarded as head of the Arians of Alexandria; but Socrates's statement (iii. 4), that he was at that time ordained bishop, is corrected by Sozomen (vi. 5), and earlier authorities. At the accession of Jovian, according to the *Chronicon Acephalum* a Maffeian Fragment, four leading Arian bishops put him forward to address the new emperor at Antioch, with a view to diverting his favour from Athanasius. Records of these interviews are annexed to Athanasius's epistle to Jovian, and appear to have been read by Sozomen, who summarises the complaints urged against the great hero of orthodoxy. The records are vivid and graphic. Lucius, Bernicianus, and other Arians, presented themselves to Jovian at one of the city gates when he was riding into the country. He asked their business. They said they were "Christians from Alexandria," and wanted a bishop. He answered, "I have ordered your former bishop, Athanasius, to be put in possession." They rejoined that Athanasius had for years been under accusation and sentence of banishment. A soldier interrupted them by telling the emperor that they were the "refuse" of "that unhallowed George." Jovian spurred his horse and rode away, but they obtained access to him again, presented regular memorials, asked to have any one rather than Athanasius as their bishop—in vain. Some of the people took hold of Lucius and led him before the emperor. "See, my lord, who it is that they wanted to make bishop." Lucius, unabashed, requested a personal hearing. Jovian vented his impatience in an imprecation of somewhat heathenish form against the ship that had brought him from Alexandria, and then finally broke off the conference. Lucius does not reappear until 367, when, having been consecrated, says Tillemont (vi. 582), "either at Antioch, or at some other place out of Egypt," he attempted to possess himself of the bishopric, and entered Alexandria by night on the 26th of Thoth (Sept. 23), and "remained in a small house" next the precinct of the cathedral. In the morning he went to the house where his mother still lived, but the news of his presence excited general indignation; the people assembled and beset the house. The prefect Latianus and the dux Trajanus sent officers to expel him, who reported that to do so publicly would imperil his life, whereupon Tatianus and Trajanus, with a large force, went

to the house, and brought him out at 1 P. M. on Sept. 24. The whole population, "Christians, Pagans, and men of all religions," followed the escort with vehement outcries, "Take him out of the city!" Trajanus found it expedient to lodge him in his own house, and to keep up a third guard. Next day he was delivered to the soldiers to be conducted out of Egypt. (*Chron. Praevium* and *Acephalum.*) This second failure, and its humiliating and alarming circumstances, were doubtless vindictively remembered by Lucius, when at last his hour of triumph came in the summer of 373. Athanasius had died on May 2, and had been succeeded by Peter; but the prefect Palladius had attacked the church, and Peter was either imprisoned or went into hiding. Euzoius, the old Arian bishop of Antioch, easily obtained from Valens an order to instal Lucius. Accordingly, Lucius appeared in Alexandria, escorted, as Peter said in his encyclical letter (Theod. iv. 25), not by monks and clergy and laity, but by Euzoius, and the imperial treasurer Magnus, at the head of a large body of soldiers; while the Pagan populace intimated their friendly feeling towards the Arian bishop by hailing him as one who did not worship the Son of God, and who must have been sent to Alexandria by the favour of Serapis. Lucius, on his part, surrounded himself by Pagan guards, and caused some of the orthodox to be beaten, others to be imprisoned, or exiled, or pillaged, for refusing his communion, these severities being actually carried out by Magnus and Palladius, as representing the secular power. Gregory of Nazianzus calls him a second Arius, and lays to his charge the sacrileges and barbarities of the new Arian persecution (*Orat.* xxv. 12, 13). He took an active personal part in the attack on the monks of Egypt; finding them immovably attached to the Nicene faith, he advised that their chief "abbats," the two Macarii, should be banished to a little Pagan island; but when the holy men converted its inhabitants the Alexandrian people made a vehement demonstration against Lucius, and he "thought it prudent" to send back the exiles to their cells (Neale, *Hist. Alex.* i. 203). The impression produced by Lucius's conduct appears in the bold words of the hermit Moses, who, being sent to Alexandria to be consecrated as bishop of the Saracens, positively refused to allow Lucius to lay his hands upon him. According to Sozomen (vi. 38) Lucius replied with unexpected gentleness, "Do not judge of me before you know what my creed is." "Your creed," rejoined Moses, "is proved to be un-Christian by your deeds of violence against the servants of God," adding, according to Socrates (iv. 36), that he spoke, not on hearsay, but of what he had seen "with his own eyes." But Socrates goes beyond other authorities by introducing a reference to cases of persons "delivered to the fire" by Lucius. Theodoret (iv. 23) makes the answer of Moses less terse in its severity. When the Arian supremacy came to an end at the death of Valens, in 378, Lucius was finally ejected, and repaired to Constantinople, but the Arians of Alexandria still regarded him as their bishop (Socr. v. 3). He lived for a time at Constantinople, and contributed to the Arian force which gave such trouble to Gregory of Nazianzus during his residence in the capital, as bishop of the few Catholics, from the beginning of 379. In the November of 380 the Arian bishop Demophilus was expelled, and Lucius went with him. Theodoret (iv. 21) confounds Lucius with another Arian prelate of that name, also a persecutor who usurped the see of Samosata. (Tillemont, vi. 593.) [W. B.]

LUCIUS (12), a bishop of an unnamed see, who had espoused the cause of Chrysostom. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 85.) [E. V.]

LUCIUS (13), bishop of Reggio in Abruzzo, mentioned by Gregory the Great in 593 as the predecessor of bishop Boniface. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. ep. 44 in Migne, lxxvii. 639.) [A. H. D. A.]

LUCIUS (14), Roman martyr. On witnessing a trial before the city prefect Urbicus, in which a man was sentenced to death on whose moral character no imputation was cast, merely because he acknowledged himself to be a Christian, Lucius expostulated with Urbicus on the injustice and unreasonableness of such a proceeding; was thereupon asked whether he were not a Christian himself, and on his confessing was at once himself ordered to execution (Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 2). He is commemorated by Usuard, Ado, and Vet. *Rom. Mart.* on Oct. 19. [G. S.]

LUCIUS (15), African martyr, who addressed St. Cyprian during the persecution (Cypr. ep. 78). Ruinart (*Acta Sinc.* p. 233, note 32) has no doubt that this is the Lucius or Leucius who with St. Cyprian was soon afterwards seen in a dream or vision by Montanus, another of the African martyrs of this period. [C. H.]

LUCIUS (16) (LLEIRWG, LLES, LLEUFER-MAWR, LLEURWG), king and confessor, first Christian king in Britain. In the pages of William of Malmesbury (*Ant. Glast.* ii.), and more especially of Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Brit. Hist.* iv. v.), besides later writers, king Lucius is assigned a most important place in the Christianising of Britain.

I. As represented by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose narrative has made the deepest impression on popular history, Lucius was descended from Brutus, the founder and first king of Britain, and succeeded his father Coillus, son of Meirig or Marius, on the British throne. He followed the example of his father in seeking and securing the friendship of the Romans. The fame of the Christian miracles inspired him with such love for the true faith, that he petitioned pope Eleutherus for teachers, and on the arrival of the two most holy doctors, Faganus and Duvanus, he received baptism along with multitudes from all countries. When the missionaries had almost extinguished paganism in the island, they dedicated the heathen temples to the service of God, and filled them with congregations of Christians; they fully organized the church, making the flamens into bishops, and the arch-flamens into archbishops, and constituting three metropolitans with twenty-eight suffragan bishops. Lucius largely endowed the church, and, rejoicing in the progress of the gospel, died at Gloucester A.D. 156, but without leaving issue to succeed him. Malmesbury says he died and was buried at Glastonbury (Baronius, *Ann.*

A.D. 183; Cressy, *Church Hist. Brit.* iii. iv. at great length and diffuseness; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 26, 65, 306, 309, but much shorter).

Here there is evidently much that will not fit in with authentic history, such as the one ruler in Britain in the 2nd century, and his independence of the Roman power, the hierarchy of flamens and arch-flamens, the metropolitanships at London, York, and Caerleon, the diocesan organization, and Geoffrey's appeal to Gildas as his authority. Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* v. cc. iii. sq.) mentions two coins, a gold and a silver, supposed to belong to the mint of king Lucius, and quotes the letter which pope Eleutherus is said to have returned to his application; the former of the two coins is preserved in the British Museum, and the letter, which is entirely upon the Roman laws and the principles of government, is given by Spelman (*Concil.* i. 31), and Wilkins (*Concil.* iv. app. 703), and translated by Collier (*Eccl. Hist. Gr. Brit. B.* i. cent. ii. 14). But to the legend thus far in progress under Geoffrey later authors added many details. On the one hand Lucius became a benefactor to the church and to the schools, especially about London, Cambridge, Canterbury, Winchester, and Glastonbury. On the other hand, his zeal was not confined to Britain; he abdicated the throne and became a priest, travelled through France and Germany, in company with his sister Emerita, and, after passing through many hardships and dangers, reached at last the Rhaetian Alps, where Chur, the capital of the Grisons, became the centre of his missionary labours. Lucius became bishop of Chur, and in the year 201 suffered martyrdom in the castle of Martiola. But in all this there is probably much confusion with a continental teacher of the same name (Ussher, *ut supra*, Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* B. i. cent. 2; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* iv. 16).

II. Parallel to the preceding, but never drawn out into such minute details, is the legend as it appears in the Welsh Triads and genealogies, which are of very uncertain date and authority. Lleirwg, Lleurwg, or Lles, also named or surnamed Lleufer-Mawr ("the great luminary," as all the names express the idea of brightness, corresponding to the Latin Lucius), son of Coel ap Cyllin ap Caradog or Caractacus ap Bran, was a Welsh chieftain of Gwent and Morganwg in the south of Wales. Two of the Triads (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 63, 68) state that he founded the church of Llandaff, which was the first in the island of Britain, and endowed it with lands and privileges, giving the same also to all those persons who first embraced the gospel. To this the Silurian *Achau y Saint* adds that, having conceived a desire to embrace the Christian faith, he had applied for teachers at Rome, and that pope Eleutherus sent him four holy men named Dyfan, Ffagan, Medwy, and Elfan. According to others, the messengers sent by Lucius were Elfan and Medwy, whom the pope made severally bishop and teacher (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 65, 310), and the Roman emissaries were Dyfan and Ffagan (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 4). Attesting the apparent truth of this tradition, there are three foundations in Glamorganshire, Llanfedwy, Merthyr Dyfan, and St. Fagan's, and one in Monmouthshire, Llanlleirwg, now St. Mellon's, near Cardiff. But this Welsh account supposes only a very small area evangelized through Leirwg, and reduces the legend to a mere outline, shewing no acquaintance with a national tradition. The Welsh Triads would place the event about the middle of the 2nd century. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, c. 4; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 276; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 309 n.; Lady Ch. Guest, *Mabinogion*, ii. 130; Stephens, *Lit. Cymr.* 69.)

III. In tracing the rise and growth of the legend there is comparatively little difficulty. Gildas makes no allusion to it. The earliest English author who notices it is Bede (*Chron.* A.D. 180). "Lucius Britanniae rex, missâ ad Eleutherium Romae episcopum epistolâ, ut Christianus efficiatur, impetrat;" and again (*Eccl. Hist.* i. c. 4), "Cum Eleutherus vir sanctus pontificatui Romanae ecclesiae praeesset, misit ad eum Lucius Brittaniarum rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur: et mox effectum piae postulationis consecutus est, susceptamque fidem Brittani usque in tempora Diocletiani principis inviolatam integramque quietâ in pace servabant" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 86, 111, 284). About the same period (by some placed in the 7th century, by others in the 9th), Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* c. 18) shews the Cambrian influence: "A.D. 164. Lucius Britannicus rex cum universis regulis totius Britanniae baptismum suscepit, missa legatione ab imperatoribus Romanorum, et a papa Romano Evaristo: Lucius agnomine Lever-maur, id est, 'magni splendoris,' propter fidem quae in ejus tempore venit" (*M. H. B.* i. 60, 82). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 167, simply quotes from Bede's history, but calls the pope Eleutherius. Ethelwerd (*Chron.* c. 1), in the 10th century, gives Eleutherius the initiative in carrying Christianity to Lucius (*M. H. B.* i. 501), and Henry of Huntingdon (*Hist. Angl.* lib. i.), in the 12th century, quotes from Bede (*M. H. B.* i. 700).

The source from which Bede received the name of Lucius, and his connexion with Eleutherus, is shewn by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs (*Counc. &c.* i. 25) to have been a later interpolated form of the *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum* (ap. Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 April, i. p. xxiii. *Catalogi Veteres Antiquorum Pontificum*). The original *Catalogue*, written shortly after A.D. 353, gives only the name and length of the pontificate by the Roman consulships, but the interpolated copy (made c. A.D. 530) adds to the *Vita S. Eleutheri* "Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniae Rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum." Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs conclude: "It would seem, therefore, that the bare story of the conversion of a British prince (*temp. Eleutheri*) originated in Rome during the 5th or 6th centuries, almost 300 or more years after the date assigned to the story itself; that Bede in the 8th century introduced it into England, and that by the 9th century it had grown into the conversion of the whole of Britain; while the full-fledged fiction, connecting it specially with Wales and with Glastonbury, and entering into details, grew up between centuries 9 and 12."

Of the dates assigned to king Lucius there is an extreme variety, Ussher enumerating twenty-three from A.D. 137 to A.D. 190, and placing it in his own *Ind. Chron.* in A.D. 176, Nennius (as above) in A.D. 164, and Bede (*Chron.*) in A.D. 180, and again (*Eccl. Hist.*) in A.D. 156. But

the chronology is in hopeless confusion. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 1–26, give an exhaustive treatment of the question; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* cc. iii.–vi., enters minutely into the legend of Lucius, accepting his existence as a fact, as has generally been done by other authors. His festival is usually Dec. 3 in both the home and foreign kalendars. [J. G.]

LUCIUS (17), Cyp. *Ep.* 24; lapsed; confessed afterwards and was banished. [FELIX (228).] [E. W. B.]

LUCIUS (18), Oct. 4, priest of Alexandria in the 3rd century. (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. ii. 329; Tillem. iv. 249.) [C. H.]

LUCIUS (19), one of nine excommunicated deacons of the Arian party mentioned by Alexander bishop of Alexandria before the council of Nicaea (Theod. *H. E.* i. 3 fin.). He was one of those who signed the letter of Arius addressed to Alexander. (Epiph. *Haer.* lxix. 8; Tillem. vi. 246, 256.) [C. H.]

LUCIUS (20), presbyter of Rome, sent by pope Liberius with two others, Paulus and Helianus, to Athanasius. (Hilar. *Frag.* v. in *Pat. Lat.* x. 679; Tillem. viii. 139.) [C. H.]

LUCIUS (21), a deacon, one of the solitaries of Syria to whom Basil sent letters A.D. 376. (Basil. *Epist.* 256 al. 200.) [E. V.]

LUCIUS (22), a prominent Donatist mentioned by Augustine with Gaius or Garus (*Serm.* 42, § 3), and with Gaius and Parmenianus (*Serm.* 158, § 3). [C. H.]

LUCIUS (23), archdeacon of Pelusium, addressed by Isidore of Pelusium. (Isid. *Epp.* lib. i. ep. 29, lib. iv. 188.) [C. H.]

LUCIUS (24), a solitary at Ennatus or Nonus near Alexandria. (*Vitae Patr.* ed. Rosw. lib. v. libell. 7, § 7, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxiv. 893; Coteler. *Mon. Gr.* i. 460, 520, 522; Tillem. xii. 370–372.) [C. H.]

LUCIUS (25), archdeacon, author of an account of the translation, cir. 556, of the relics of St. Stephen the protomartyr from Constantinople to Rome published by Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* t. iv. p. 285). Ceillier (xi. 811) assigns him to the 7th or 8th century. [C. H.]

LUCULLUS, Donatist bishop of Hospita in Numidia in 411. (*Coll. Carth.* i. 133; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 415, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

LUDOWANUS, ST., the patron saint of Ludgvan, near Penzance, in Cornwall. He was probably Irish. The parish feast is on the nearest Sunday to Jan. 25. W. C. Borlase, however (*The Age of the Saints*, 1878, p. 89), suggests that the name may be a corruption of Lan Dwynwen. Now St. Dwynwen's day in Wales is Jan. 25, and Ludgvan feast is on the nearest Sunday to that day, and this makes the identification probable. [C. W. B.]

LUGAIDUS (LATHIR), monk of St. Columba at Iona (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col.* i. 22, ii. 5, 38). Dr. Reeves (*S. Adamnan*, 51, 111, 155) thinks that "lathir" is probably the Irish laidir "fortis." Colgan (*Acta SS.* 452–3) in his confused article upon St. Lugadius, abbat of Cluainfinchuil or Cluain-fiacul, accepts Lugaidus Lathir as one with that saint, but again (*Tr. Thaum.* 377 n.[67], 491 n.[76]) identifies him with Lugaidus of Tirdachraebh (Jan. 31), and Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, *Works*, vi. 527, A.D. 591) says he is the same as the Lugadius whom Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* ii. 432) makes founder of Rathlin monastery. [J. G.]

LUGBEUS MOCUMIN (LUGNEUS MOCUMIN), friend and disciple of St. Columba at Iona, and in old age praepositus or prior of the monastery on the island Elena, now Eilean Naomh or Nave island, near Isla. Dr. Reeves follows Colgan in supposing that Lugbeus and Lugneus were brothers, but there is nothing in the text to shew or suggest it. (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 43, 53, 56, 77, 127, 141; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum. pass.*) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (1) (LUGADIUS), Irish saint, commemorated Nov. 2. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 295; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 169, c. 2, 173 n.[8], and *Tr. Thaum.* 131, c. 12, 171 n.[41]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 441, 443–4, but very sceptically.) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (2) (LUGADIUS), Irish saint, commemorated March 24. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 487, c. 9 n.[4], 491 n.[74], 502 a.) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (3) (LUGADIUS), Irish saint, commemorated April 17. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 105; *Mart. Tall.* ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxi., but in some confusion; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 780, cc. 1, 2, and *Tr. Thaum.* 86, c. 93, 113 n.[104], 130, c. 9, 226 a; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 344; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 466.) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (4) (LUGADIUS, LUGAIDH), bishop of Connor, co. Antrim, died A.D. 537 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 179). Dr. Reeves (*Eccl. Ant.* 239) corrects the date to A.D. 543. (Cotton, *Fast. Eccl. Hib.* iii. 246.) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (5) (LUGADIUS, LUGHIDIUS, LUGUDIUS, LUGUDUS), son of Tailchan, of the monastery of Cluain-Finnchoil (Cloni-finchoil). He was the "quidam homo sanctus, senex Christi miles, justus et sapiens," said by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col.* iii. 23) to have had a vision on the night when St. Columba died. (O'Hanlon, iii. 91, 93; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 527, *Ind. Chron.* A.D. 580; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 193 a, 449 a, 606 a, and *Tr. Thaum.* 330, c. 36, 370, c. 23, n. [16], 483 n. [66], 491 n. [76].) [J. G.]

LUGHAIDH (6) (LUGADIUS, LUGAIDUS), Irish saint, commemorated Jan. 31. He is descended from Laeghaire, the monarch of Ireland in St. Patrick's time (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 173); or he is descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages (*Mart. Doneg.*), and thus a relative of St. Columba. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 377 n. [67], 491 n. [76]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 607–8; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 33; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 153, 173; *Mart. Tall.* Jan. 31, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, pp. xiv. 20, having the entry "Lug tire da craebh. i. mac Eachaich.") [J. G.]

LUGHAIR (Laeghaire, Lugar, Lugarius, Luguir), Lobhar, the leper, or infirm, Irish saint, commemorated May 11 in the Irish kalendars. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 211; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 125.) [J. G.]

LUGIDUS, Irish bishop, who ordained to the priesthood St. Coemgen and St. Comgall in the 6th century; he may have been at Connor. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 44, 62, 65.) [J. G.]

LUGNAT, LUGNA, LUGNAD, LUGNAED, LUGNATHAN, LUGNAUS (Loga, Logha, Lughnat, Lughnath), seventh son of Restitutus the Longobard, and Liamhain, sister of St. Patrick [Liamhain]. He accompanied St. Patrick to Ireland in A.D. 432 (Ussher), and, as a priest, had his work in meditation and prayer in the west of Connaught; in *Four Mast.* (by O'Donovan, A.D. 448, i. 140, n. [a], 141) he is called Cruimther Loga, Logha or Lughna, St. Patrick's luamaire, helmsman or pilot, and in the Irish kalendars is Lughnat of Loch Measca or Mask, where he is still regarded as one of the patron saints of Carra. His holy well, which is called Tobar-Lugna in MacFirbis's poem in the *Book of Lecan*, and now Toberloona, lies beside his old church, which is traditionally said to have been the third church built in Ireland. The church and its churchyard are in the demesne of Ballywalter, close to Cartoon Deer Park in the parish of Robeen, bar. Kilmaine, co. Mayo. But a still more interesting relic is found in Lough Corrib. In the centre of the Lough, midway between Oughterard and Cong, is the small island of Inchaguile, anciently Inis-an-Ghoill-chraibhthigh, "the island of the devout stranger." Of the two little old churches whose remains are found on the island, the older is called Templepatrick, and its architecture, as described and illustrated by Dr. Petrie (*Round Towers of Ireland*, 164 sq.), proves it to belong to the age of St. Patrick, or the 5th century. At a little distance in front of this church Dr. Petrie sketched from an upright pillar of dark limestone what he believes to be undoubtedly the oldest Roman letter inscription ever discovered in Ireland, and certainly not later than the 6th century; the letters, deeply cut and well preserved, are figured by him and read, LIE LUGNAEDON MACC LMENUEH, "the stone of Lugnaedon (or Lugnaed), son of Limenueh." There appears to be no reason for doubt but that this is the monument and inscription of St. Lughnath, Lugnat of Lugnad, nephew of St. Patrick, and son of Liamhain or Liemania, here called Limenueh, and that St. Lughnath was the devout stranger who has given the designation to the island, having probably been one of the Franks who received from their master, St. Patrick (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 136, c. 50), suitable places for quietness and retirement in this very quarter. (Petrie, *ib.* 164–168, very full and important; *Geneal. Hy Fiachrach*, by O'Donovan, 200; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 364–366; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 90–91, 3rd ed.; O'Donovan, *Irish Grammar*, li. lii. introd; O'Flaherty, *Iar-Connaught*, by Hardiman, 187, add. note H, but suggesting a different identification for the "devout stranger;" *Journ. Kilken. Arch. Soc.* ii. 179–180; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 383; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 259, c. 3, 262 n. [18], 716–718, and *Tr. Thaum* 226 sq., 231 a, 226 a, 383 n. [17].) [J. G.]

LUICELL, LUICHELL (Lucella), virgin, Irish saint, daughter of Leinin, and venerated on March 6. [Brigida (3).] (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 196; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 69; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4th ser. iii. 287 n.) [J. G.]

LUICRIDH (Luchradius, Luchraidh), of Cill-luicridh (or Corcolig, *Ann. Tig.*), abbat of Clonmacnoise, died A.D. 753 (*Ann. Tig.*) and is commemorated on April 29. (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 752, and *Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 740, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. pt. i. 251, pt. ii. 21, iv. 95; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 748, i. 351; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 113.) [J. G.]

LUIDO (Liudo, Lato), fifth in the list of bishops of Spires. He is one of the bishops of Bavaria and Alemannia to whom pope Gregory wrote a letter, ascribed to the year 738, commending to them St. Boniface, and bidding them not fail to attend at the council he was about to assemble (*Epist.* iv. Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 580; *Gall. Christ.* v. 716; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 641). [S. A. B.]

LUIGHBHE (Lugeus), Irish saint, commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* on Jan. 14. [J. G.]

LUIGIDA, Meic Coelboth, Irish saint, abbat of Clonfert. (*Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 558, ap. O'Conor, *Rer. Hist. Scrip.* ii. pt. ii. 7.) [J. G.]

LULLA (1), an abbat of the diocese of Winchester who attended the council of Clovesho in 803 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546; Kemble, *C. D.* 1024). The name appears as that of an ealdorman in Abingdon and Glastonbury charters of the same period; *e.g.* Kemble, *C. D.* 178, 180. [S.]

LULLA (2), priest of the diocese of Lichfield, who attended the council of Clovesho in 803. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546; Kemble, *C. D.* 1024.) [S.]

LULLINGC, a priest of the diocese of Rochester who attended the council of Clovesho in 803 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547; Kemble, *C. D.* 1024). The name appears in questionable charters: *e.g.* Kemble, *C. D.* 158, 174, 985. [S.]

LULLO (Lul), an East Anglian abbat, who visited Alcuin, and reported to him the good conversation of the bishops Alheard and Tidferth, some time between 798 and 804 (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 740; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 552). On his return he brought a letter from Alcuin to the ealdorman Heardbert, of whom he had heard from Lullo (*Mon. Alc.* p. 741). At the council of Clovesho in 803, Lullo appears as an abbat of the diocese of Dunwich, in company with bishop Tidferth. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547.) [S.]

LULLUS, bishop or archbishop of Mainz, successor of St. Boniface, 755–786.

Lullus was a native of England, a West Saxon by birth, probably noble, and, as is asserted by a biographer, a kinsman of St. Boniface. The names of his parents are not preserved, but Othlon, the biographer of Boniface (Jaffé, *Mon. Mog.* p. 490), mentions that Chunihilt (Gun-

hild), a lady who followed Boniface into Germany, was aunt, on the mother's side, to Lullus. Chunihilt, with her daughter Berthgith, settled as "magistrae" in Thuringia. Two letters of a lady named Berthgith are among the letters of Boniface and Lullus, both addressed to a brother named Balthard (*ib.* pp. 312, 313); possibly they were written by the daughter of Chunihilt after her mother's death, in which case Balthard also would be a cousin of Lullus. It is difficult to argue as to any distinct relationship from the language of early letters in which the line is not clearly drawn between spiritual and carnal kindred. There is, however, one letter which seems to refer to the family affairs of Lullus. It is addressed to the abbess Cuneburga, by Denehart, Lullus, and Burghard, and mentions the death of their father, mother, and other relations, in a way that seems to shew that they were brothers (*Mon. Mog.* pp. 109, 110). Lullus also asks that two boys, Beiloc and Man, whom he and his father had freed, sent to Rome, and commended to his uncle there, may be sent to him in Germany. Burghard is identified by Jaffé with the bishop of Würzburg of that name, who was an Englishman, but who is not elsewhere noticed as a kinsman of Lullus. The uncle at Rome is, by Mabillon, conjecturally identified with Theophylacias, the archdeacon (*Ep.* 78), who certainly regarded Lullus with great affection; but this also is incapable of proof. If Cuneburga, the abbess to whom the former letter is addressed, was the abbess of Wimburne, an additional link is provided which connects Lullus with Wessex. He seems also to have been related to Kynehard bishop of Winchester (*Mon. Mog.* p. 269).

He was brought up in the monastery of Malmesbury, under an abbat named Eaba, who used, as we learn from another letter (*Ep.* 133; *Mon. Mog.* p. 300), to distinguish him by the name "Lytel." According to his biographer he entered the monastery at the age of seven, and left England soon after he was ordained deacon. As his first appearance in the service of St. Boniface is conjecturally placed about the year 732, it must be inferred that his education at Malmesbury was in progress during the second and third decades of the century.

Whatever may have been the truth in these matters, there is no doubt that Lullus was attracted to Germany both by family connexion with Chunihilt, and by the report of the successes of Boniface as a missionary. He was welcomed by the great prelate, and in due time became his archdeacon. Some few of his letters still extant belong to this period of his career. In one (*Ep.* 75; *Mon. Mog.* p. 214) he writes to Eadburga abbess of Minster, asking her prayers, and sending presents by the bearer, Ceola; in another (*Ep.* 76; *ib.* 214, 215) he addresses Dealwin, once his master, now his brother, to the same purpose. He adds the name of Denewald, "our brother," as his messenger, and asks for the works of St. Aldhelm to be sent to him. Here we may, without rashness, infer that Dealwin was a monk or priest at Malmesbury. A third letter (*Ep.* 77), belonging to the same period, is addressed by the priest Ingalice to Lullus, thanking him for gifts, and returning by the messenger, Aldred, four knives, a pen-case, and a towel (mappa). This, likewise, was, as is probable, written at Malmesbury. A fourth letter, written by archdeacon Theophylacias to Boniface (*Ep.* 78, p. 216), contains a warm encomium on Lullus, who is called archdeacon, and described as in constant attendance on the archbishop. The writer also calls Lullus his companion and brother, words scarcely compatible with the relation of uncle and nephew. If, as seems probable, the letter was written on the occasion of a visit paid by Lullus to Rome, it may be referred to the year 751, in which Lullus visited the pope on an errand from Boniface. Before that mission, however, he had been ordained priest. In a letter addressed to Leobgith or Lioba, afterwards abbess of Bischoffsheim (*Ep.* 97, p. 245), the date of which is difficult to fix, Lullus calls himself "exiguus, servus autem domni Bonifacii discipulorum," a description which might imply that he was either deacon or bishop. Lioba was an English woman educated at Wimburne under abbess Tetta, who, according to her biographer Rudolf, was sister to the king of Wessex (Mab. *Acta SS.* saec. iii. p. i. p. 223).

In 751 Lullus was sent to Rome by Boniface to consult pope Zachary confidentially on certain subjects to be discussed by word of mouth as well as by letters. The pope, whose answer is dated Nov. 4, 751, mentions some of the questions that Lullus had put to him, especially the number and place of the crossings to be made in the canon of the mass. The pope had marked them in their several places in a roll which Lullus had presented and sent back to Boniface (*Epp.* 79, 80). In another letter of the same date Zachary fixes Mainz as the seat of Boniface's metropolitan jurisdiction (*Ep.* 81, p. 226). It must have been on this visit that Lullus formed the acquaintance of Bregwin, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who many years later wrote to remind him of their old intercourse (*Ep.* 113, p. 277). Another correspondent of Boniface, Benedict bishop of Nomentum, likewise mentions Lullus as the bearer of letters at this time (*Ep.* 83, p. 230). Lullus appears as a counsellor of Boniface in his contest with Adelbert (*Mon. Mog.* p. 474).

After several years' experience of the good qualities of Lullus Boniface determined to take measures to secure him as his successor, and for this end probably it was that he consecrated him as a "chorepiscopus," if that is the right reading of the letter in which he recommends him to Pipin (*Ep.* 85, p. 232); Mabillon, however, read "coepiscopus" (*Acta SS.* l. c. p. 357). In pursuit of this object he employed also the good offices of Fulrad abbat of St. Denys. The petition to Pipin is that Lullus might be appointed as preacher and teacher of both priests and people, so that, after the departure of his master, the sheep of the flock might not be dispersed, and the nations living near the march of the pagans might not lose the law of Christ. The petition was granted, and Boniface, when he left his see to go on the mission in which he was crowned with martyrdom, had the satisfaction of seeing Lullus in charge of the church of Mainz. Among other matters with which he especially charged him, the welfare of his English coadjutors was strongly commended to his care; in particular the abbess Lioba. In his company he travelled through Thuringia, introducing him to his flock (*Mon. Mog.* p. 477). The

completion of the buildings at Fulda was also urged upon him, and at Fulda the archbishop, who knew that his days were short, wished to be buried (*V. S. Liobae*, Mab. *Acta SS.* saec. iii. pt. 2, p. 231; Willibald, *V. S. Bonif.* ib. p. 20; *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 462). Lullus, at the time of the death of Boniface, was in attendance on the king, and immediately gave orders that the body should be taken to Fulda, where, after some delay caused by the wish to bury the great missionary at Utrecht or at Mainz, he finally rested. The account of this event, given by St. Eigil in the life of Sturmi, represents Lullus as opposing the removal until he was warned in a vision to forbear (Mab. *Acta SS.* saec. iii. pt. 2 p. 252).

According to the majority of authorities Lullus entered without any difficulty on the succession to Boniface. One author, however, the continuator of Bede (*M. H. B.* p. 288), asserts that a certain Redger was consecrated archbishop in St. Boniface's place by pope Stephen. As Redger is otherwise unknown, it has generally been argued that the continuator was mistaken. This is of course quite possible, but the authority of this writer is on every ground so great that it cannot be hastily set aside. It is certain that Lullus did not receive the pall at least before 775, and probably not at all, nor was usually denominated archbishop; and it was at a later period of his life brought into question whether he had been validly consecrated. It seems, therefore, by no means improbable that Lullus's consecration as "chorepiscopus" by Boniface might not at Rome be regarded as a full qualification for the succession, although when the pope found him well supported by Pipin he may have determined to let the matter rest. It is, however, on the whole most probable that the person here called Redger was Rutgang or Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, to whom pope Stephen in 754 sent a pall and gave the title of archbishop, having already, according to one of the biographers of Boniface, consecrated him in spite of remonstrance and a quarrel which was only appeased by the personal interference of Pipin (*Mon. Mog.* 478; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* no. 1771).

However this may have been, in England, where Lullus was better known and remembered than Boniface himself, he was immediately recognised as successor to the saint, and letters poured in upon him from the ecclesiastics of his native land, condoling with him on the loss of his master. In particular archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury wrote, telling him that the day of Boniface's martyrdom should be observed as a holy day in the English church, and exhorting him to try to rival his achievements (*Ep.* 108; *Mon. Mog.* pp. 261 sq.). Milred bishop of Worcester also wrote a letter of consolation (*Ep.* 109; *ib.* p. 267). Kynehard bishop of Winchester wrote to him on his promotion (*Ep.* 110, p. 268), thanking him for letters received, reminding him of their relationship, and of their ancient and common friendship with Boniface and the bishops Daniel and Hunfrith, Kynehard's predecessors; the bishop further sends presents, asks for an arrangement for mutual intercession, and requests the loan of learned books, both theological and secular, especially on medicine. A letter of Lullus addressed to Gregory abbat of Utrecht, belonging to this period of his life, is preserved; it contains an exhortation to piety and self-denial, and a warning against clerical luxury and finery. Lullus had intended to visit the abbat, but had been prevented by manifold troubles (*Ep.* 111, pp. 270–274).

This letter seems to indicate that the writer had not yet overcome the first difficulty of his administration. It shews, however, that he was intent on the task, which his biographer specially remarks, of visiting the churches of his great diocese. He made at the beginning of his episcopate a thorough visitation of his churches, and, as a result of the proceedings, became daily more religious and self-denying (V. Lull. ap. Surium, *Acta SS.* tom. v. fo. 297).

But few particulars of the administration of Lullus have been preserved; we know, however, that during the life of Pipin he enjoyed the royal confidence. In 764 Pipin addressed to him a letter directing litanies to be celebrated by way of thanksgiving for the recovery of the land after famine (Baluze, *Capit.* i. 133; *Mon. Mog.* p. 281; Pertz, *Leges*, i. 32). In 765 he was present at a council or synod at Attigny (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 30; Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 1702). From some of the Mainz letters we discover that study formed no small part of his employments, and that he continued to have much correspondence with England. Archbishop Bregwin of Canterbury (*Ep.* 113; *Mon. Mog.* 277) negotiated with him through a messenger named Hildebert, grieving that the troubles in both England and Gaul had hindered more frequent intercourse, sending presents, and recording the day of the commemoration of abbess Bugga. Eardulf bishop of Rochester, and Eardulf king of Kent, wrote, proposing mutual prayers (*Ep.* 120, p. 285), and Kynehard, of Winchester, acknowledged and made a return for small presents (*Ep.* 121, p. 287). Two or three only of the extant letters concern domestic events. In one of these Lullus writes to the pope against the intrusive priests Willefrith and Enraed, who had been introduced into his diocese without his permission, and had alienated the serfs and other property of churches (*Ep.* 114, pp. 279, 280). In another he orders Denehard and others to hold processions and fasts to avert a plague of rain (*Ep.* 116, p. 281).

This part, however, of Lullus's episcopate was signalised by his quarrel with Sturmi abbat of Fulda, a contest in which personal jealousy was probably mingled with the zeal which the two holy men felt for their own rights and jurisdictions. According to the biography of Sturmi they had already had an altercation about the burial of St. Boniface, but the true cause of their great quarrel is unknown. Lullus is said to have prompted three false brethren to lay before Pipin heavy charges against the abbat. Sturmi was sent into exile for two years in or about the year 764. After the period of exile he returned to Fulda, and was reconciled with Lullus, but relieved from obedience to him by a papal grant of immunity (*V. Sturmii*, Mab. *Acta SS.* saec. iii. pt. 2, pp. 254, 255).

In 768 Pipin died; Lullus seems to have retained with Charles neither more nor less influence than he had had with his father. He was on friendly terms with him without being one

of his chief advisers. This somewhat cool relation, which must have lasted for eighteen years, seems to imply that there may have been grounds of dislike between the king and the bishop, who certainly was not without enemies. If this was the case, we may identify Lullus with an unnamed bishop, a disciple of St. Boniface, to whom Charles addressed a somewhat severe letter of advice. The bishop under rebuke had devoted himself to the edification of his people, but had neglected the education of the clergy, and required a strong admonition as to the necessity of literary studies (*Epistolae Carolinae*, ed. Jaffé, *Ep.* 16, pp. 369, 370). This, however, is scarcely consistent with what we know of the personal habits of Lullus, and the many signs of literary interest which occur in his letters, and do not decrease in number as he grows older. At the beginning of Charles's reign we find him in correspondence with Guthbert abbat of Wearmouth and Ethelbert or Coena, archbishop of York, borrowing the works of Bede, and lending books on cosmography (*Epp.* 122, 123, 124, 125, pp. 288–292). Among other correspondents at this period were Botwin abbat of Ripon, Cynewulf king of Wessex, Alhred and Osgeofu, king and queen of Northumbria, all desiring mutual prayers and exchanging presents (*Epp.* 119, 129, 134, 138). The king and queen of Northumbria likewise ask him to use his influence to preserve for them peace and friendship with Charles. Megingoz bishop of Würzburg, and a priest named Wigbert, seem to be the chief of his German correspondents.

One part of his official work, on which some few particulars are preserved by the hagiographers, was the dedication of churches, or attendance on great ceremonies of translations of relics. Thus in 774 he was present at the consecration of the church at Lorsch (Pertz, xxi. 348). He took part in the translation of St. Goar (Mab. *Acta SS.* saec. ii. p. 276), of St. Ferrutius (*ib.* iii. pt. 2, p. 361), and St. Wigbert (saec. iii. pt. 1, p. 630), abbat of Fritzlar, who was removed a few years before Lullus's death to his favourite foundation at Hersfeld. Lambert of Hersfeld (A.D. 777) mentions the dedication of a church at Ordorff, by Lullus, in honour of St. Peter.

Lullus does not seem to have maintained the same close correspondence with the popes that Boniface had set on foot. But one letter addressed to the Roman pontiff occurs in the whole collection of his letters, that on the intrusive priests Willefrith and Enraed; and it is altogether uncertain to which pope it was addressed. It has been already observed that he had never received the pall, or exercised, so far as we know, any archiepiscopal functions. The churches which St. Boniface had founded remained nominally subject to Mainz as the metropolitan see, but the system of the episcopate was not developed by Lullus, and the records of the existing sees are too scanty to allow us to determine what hand he had in ordaining the prelates who filled them. Of the more ancient sees of Germany, Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Speier, and Utrecht had been, as part of the mission field of Boniface, subjected to his jurisdiction by pope Zachary; but Boniface's activity as legate had been shewn in regions far distant from his immediate province, and Lullus laid no claim to such a position. We find him then on terms of equality, rather than of superiority, with Megingoz bishop of Würzburg (753–785), and Witta or Albinus of Buraburg (d. 786), who, of all the German bishops, were in closest intercourse with him. Albinus, like Willibald of Eichstaedt, was an Englishman, and both were old disciples of Boniface. The appointment of Willehad to the new see of Bremen in 787 may have taken place before the death of Lullus, but his consecration was performed in the year following, and the charter in which Charles mentions Lullus as advising the appointment does not call him archbishop, but bishop. He died before the measures taken by Charles for the strengthening of the church organisation had limited the extent of the metropolitan authority of Mainz, or recognised the rival archiepiscopate of Cologne.

Under these circumstances it is reasonable to suppose that Lullus was little known at Rome; it is only by a conjecture of the conciliar writers that he is brought to a Roman council in 769 (Labbe, vi. 1721), and this obscurity, rather than any direct hostility, may account for the extraordinary measure taken by Adrian I., who, about the year 775, when Lullus had been at least twenty years a bishop, issued a commission to Tilpin, the archbishop of Rheims, in conjunction with two other bishops, Viomadus of Trier and another named Possessor, missi of Charles, to examine into the faith, manners, and ordination of Lullus. The pope had heard something on the question of orders, which led him to make the enquiry; if, however, the result was satisfactory, he was prepared to confirm the orders, and to send, according to custom, the pall, and establish Lullus as archbishop in the church of Mainz (Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 1791; Mansi, xii. 844). It is clear from this that doubts had been thrown on the validity of the appointment by which Lullus had been placed in the see of Boniface, and the delay in demanding the pall had operated in a way that suggested a question as to the title which he might have to receive it. The result of the enquiry is not stated; we are not told whether or no Lullus received the pall from Adrian, and as he is not formally called archbishop, we may presume that he did not. On the other hand, as he continued until his death in possession of the see, we may infer that no flaw could be found in his orders.

In the absence of any evidence that Lullus took an active part in developing the work that Boniface had begun in the line of mission work and church organisation, it is not surprising to find that he was a monastic founder and patron of some eminence. The monastery of Hersfeld recognised him as its chief benefactor. The foundation of the house is placed by Lambert, its own historian, as early as 736; Sturmi had lived there as a hermit during the early part of his career. According to the biographer of Lullus, he had received the ground on which the monastery was built from St. Boniface, after it had been cleared by Sturmi. Lullus devoted himself to the building of the church, which he dedicated to St. Simon and St. Thaddaeus, and to which he was divinely directed to translate the remains of St. Wigbert of Fritzlar. It is quite possible, if this story be true, that the rivalry between Hersfeld and Fulda infected the two patrons, and was the cause of the enmity between Lullus and Sturmi (Mab. *AA. SS.* saec. iii. pl. ii. p. 363; Pertz, *Scriptores*, v. pp. 137, 139, 140). Hers-

feld was the place where he chose to be buried. His biographer gives the following account of his death. Having very definite warning that his end was near, although he was without bodily ailment, he sent for his friend and countryman, Witta or Albinus, bishop of Buraburg, and directed him to say mass in his presence. Albinus complied, and expired in the act of saying the final words. Lullus had the body of Albinus placed in a boat and carried on the Rhine to Hostod, whence it was brought by land to Hersfeld. He there buried his friend, and then fell sick and died on Oct. 16, 786 (Mab. *l. c.* p. 363; *v.* Lulli ap. Surium, v. 297). Sixty years after his grave was opened, and his remains found untouched by decay. On the occasion the foot of a bystander was crushed by the gravestone, but in the following night healed by the miraculous influence of the saint. He was again translated in the year 1040.

The year of his death has been doubted, as his name appears in the business of the appointment of Willehad to the see of Bremen in 787, and some later authorities, Marianus Scotus in particular, mention it under that year. But the overwhelming weight of ancient authority is in favour of the year 786. (See the several *Annales*, in Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. pp. 33, 116, 298, 350.)

The question whether Lullus was or was not a Benedictine may be explored in the Elogium of Mabillon (*l. c.* pp. 355–363). Whether he was or was not an archbishop is another question of minor importance. Mabillon, however, gives, from *Antiquitates Fuldenses*, lib. 8, c. 11, a grant in which, with the title of archbishop, he gives land in Thuringia to Fulda. If this is genuine, it will shew that Lullus, at least on occasion, claimed the dignity.

The Life of Lullus, which was known to Mabillon as the work of "anonymus Gemmelacensis," has not been printed, but a good deal of it is known by the extracts which he gives, and by the abstract which Surius drew from the Mainz breviary, derived from the same source. Mabillon does not speak of it with much respect, charging the writer with running into commonplaces and fables. The chief source of information about him is the collection of letters which were published by Serarius, Würdtwein, and Giles, as the letters of St. Boniface, and far more fully and critically by Jaffé, in the *Monumenta Moguntina*. The later Mainz writers, Serarius in his *Moguntiacarum Rerum Libri Tres*, and Johannes in the *Scriptores Rerum Moguntinarum*; the Bollandist fathers, *AA. SS.* Oct. tom. vii. 2, pp. 1083 sq., and Mabillon in the Elogium cited above, have done little more than collect the biographical notices which occur in the letters and in the biographies of St. Lioba, Sturmi, Boniface, and Wigbert. [S.]

LUMINOSUS, abbat of the monastery of SS. Andrew and Thomas at Rimini. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. 41–42; Migne, lxxvii. 578.) [A. H. D. A.]

LUNAPEIUS, Welsh saint, disciple of St. Dubricius, and companion of St. Teilo on his return from Armorica (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 14, wks. vi. 80, Ind. Chron. A.D. 596; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 351). He was probably raised to the episcopate by St. Teilo, and stationed in the ancient kingdom of Ergyng, in the south-west of Herefordshire. Rees supposes that he is the same as Junabui, founder of Llandinabo [JUNABUI]. (*Ib.* 409, 410, 624; Godwin, *De Praesul. Angl.* 622, in his list of prelates at Llandaff; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 156.) [J. G.]

LUPELLUS, disciple and biographer of St. Frodobertus abbat of Cella (Moutier-la-Celle), near Troyes, who died about 673. His work, which is described as written with considerable brevity, is lost, but was used by Ado for the fuller life which he composed of the same saint. (Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 634, § 21, Paris, 1669; Ceillier, xii. 886; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 632–3.) [S. A. B.]

LUPENTIUS (popularly LOUVENT), saint and martyr, abbat of the church of St. Privatus at Javouls, the original seat of the Mende bishopric (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 36; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 584 n. v. tom. ii. 254–5). Queen Brunechilde summoned him to Metz to answer the charge of speaking evil against her, made, as was said, by Innocentius count of Javouls (afterwards bishop of Rodez, *ibid.* cap. 37). On enquiry the accusation was not substantiated, and Lupentius was permitted to depart. But on his way home on the river Aisne the count attacked and slew him.

Lupentius is commemorated Oct. 22 at Châlons-sur-Marne and Mende, at the former city from immemorial antiquity. (See the *Auctaria* ad Usuardum, Oct. 22, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 607–610.) Much legend has grown up round the name, as may be seen from two lives published by the Bollandists which serve only to obscure the authentic narrative (*Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 610, 612). His death probably happened between 584 and 593. The body was translated from the place of its burial to the city of Châlons-sur-Marne. (Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, Oct. 22, tom. vii. 344.) [S. A. B.]

LUPERTIANUS, bishop of Arezzo (Ughelli, i. 410; Cappelletti, xviii.), was engaged in 714 and 715 in a controversy with Adeodatus bishop of Siena as to the jurisdiction over fifteen baptisteries and two monasteries (Troya, *Codice Diplomatico*, part ?, pp. 158, 182, 185, 212, 222). The controversy is alluded to by pope Stephen III. in a letter to Stabilis bishop of Arezzo in 752. (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* p. 189. See Von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Civilprozess des gemeinen Rechts*, Beilage ii. *Der Diöcesanstreit von Siena und Arezzo*, pp. 537–549.) [A. H. D. A.]

LUPIANUS, confessor in the 4th century, said to have been baptised by Hilary of Poictiers, to have died a few days afterwards, "in albis," and to have been buried in the vicus Ratiatensis. (Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 54; cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Jul. i. 32, 13 Jan. i. 798 E.) [C. H.]

LUPICINUS (1) (LUPICIANUS). Epiphanius (*Haer.* 80, p. 1068) states that a general named Lupicianus put several Euphemites to death because they gave their heathen rites too close a resemblance to the Christian worship. Tillemont is no doubt right (viii. p. 528) in identifying this Lupicianus with the Lupicinus who was consul with Jovian in 367 and who had been appointed master of the horse by that emperor,

and had been entrusted by him with the defence of the eastern provinces (Ann. *Marcell.* xxvi. 5). We have then in the incident recorded a specimen of the manner in which some Christians used the power which reverted to them on the death of Julian. Ammianus describes Lupicinus as haughty, avaricious, and cruel. Through these vices he was the cause, in 377, of the revolt of the Goths which led to his himself sustaining a defeat, and which ultimately proved fatal to the emperor Valens. Tillemont is of opinion (*Empereurs*, v. 694) that the Lupicinus who commanded in Britain in 359 and who on his return was banished by Julian, is different from him who was promoted by Jovian, but his reasons do not convince us. [G. S.]

LUPICINUS (2), bishop of Appiaria on the Danube, one of the three delegates sent by Chrysostom to answer Theophilus of Alexandria, A.D. 403. (Chrysost. *Innocentio Epist.* § 2, Pallad. *Dial.* cap. 8, in *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. 28, lii. 531; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1225.) [L. D.]

LUPICINUS (3), a priest or bishop of Stridon in Dalmatia, the birth-place of St. Jerome. From the intimations in Jerome's letters (6, 7, ed. Vall.) we gather that he was a Spaniard, and that (probably from the same causes which in later times produced the conflicts between the regular and the secular clergy) he discouraged the rising monasticism with which Jerome was identified. Jerome describes his native town, under the ministry of Lupicinus, as sunk in worldliness, and with his usual vehemence speaks of Lupicinus as a foolish man, an ignorant pilot, a blind leader of the blind. A bitter controversy sprang up between them, which was probably one cause which made Jerome live so little at Stridon; but Thierry's account (St. Jerome, vol. i. p. 53) of a persecution, in which Jerome was driven from his native place, is based on a misunderstanding. Lupicinus continued to be the priest or bishop of Stridon while Jerome was in the desert, 374, and may have witnessed, and possibly died in, the destruction of Stridon by the Goths in 377. [W. H. F.]

LUPICINUS (4), a bishop in the African province of Mauritania Caesariensis, who was deposed from his bishopric and excluded from communion for some offence before he had had a fair trial. He appealed to Rome, and Leo the Great, at his often-repeated request, restored him to communion till his case had been tried, and wrote on the subject to the bishops of the province in Aug. 446. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* xii. 668, Migne.) [C. G.]

LUPICINUS (5), a magister officiorum, to whom Theodoret wrote entreating him not to give credence to the slanderous statements circulated against him. (Theod. *Epist.* 90; Tillem. xv. 586, 299, 300.) [E. V.]

LUPICINUS (6), abbat of the monastery of St. Claudius (afterwards known as the monastery of St. Eugendus and the monasterium Condatiscense) in Mount Jura, cir. 480. He was the brother and successor of Romanus the founder, and was followed by Minausius. His life is narrated by Gregory of Tours (*Vit. Pat.* cap. 1), and after him by the Bollandists (Mart. iii. 263) and Tillemont (xv. 72, xvi. 142). He was likewise abbat of Lauconne, a monastery built for him by his brother (Boll. 28 Feb. iii. 742). He is mentioned by Usuard (Mar. 21) as an abbat in the territory of Lyons. [C. H.]

LUPITA (LUPAID, LUPAIT, LUPEIT), Irish saint, sister of St. Patrick, and said to have been carried into Ireland at the same time as her brother, but she to Louth and he to Dal-araidhe in the north. According to Aengus the Culdee, in his *Tract on the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland*, Lupita had seven children, who were saints, but Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 225 6, c. 4) thinks that, as to this, Lupita stands in place of Liamhain [LIAMHAIN], and that she herself was a virgin. She lived at one time at Druimcheo, on the west of Brileith (now Slieve Golry, co. Longford), and also at Ardagh with her nephew, bishop Mel, when Joceline (*Vit. S. Patr.* c. 102), followed by the *Tripart. Life* (ii. c. 29), tells an absurd story of their connexion (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 89, 1.) She appears to have died at Na Fearta, to the east of Armagh, where she was buried, and a monastery for women raised on the spot to her honour. Her death for unchastity is said to have taken place under most unusual circumstances at the hands of St. Patrick (Colgan, ib. 163, c. 76, 187 n.[103]), and her body was supposed to be found in the last century in a place close to the wall of Armagh (Reeves, *Anc. Ch. Armagh*, 8, 10, 50–51). Her feast is usually Sept. 27, but her name is not found in the kalendars, and Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 179) places it on Oct. 10. She is Lupait, one of St. Patrick's embroiderers in *Four Mast.* (A.D. 448). The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 27 Sept. vii. 353) have "Lupita S. Patricii soror" among their praetermissi, and promise any additional information on Oct. 10, but none had been found. Ussher's dates are of no value, and uncertainty pervades the whole subject. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 380–1; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* pass. and *Acta SS.* 259 sq. 716 sq.; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 125, 314 n.[139], 405 n.[114]; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 352, 354, 361; Stewart, *Armagh*, 75 sq.; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 523 n.[b]; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 168.) [J. G.]

LUPULIANUS, a friend, at whose request Jerome wrote his work on Hebrew names, A.D. 388. (Praef. in *Lib. de Nom. Heb.* in *Hieron. Opp.* t. iii. 1, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

LUPUS (1), a Cilician bishop mentioned by Athanasius in 356 with others of the Catholic party. (*Ep. ad Episc. Aeg.* § 8, in *Pat. Gr.* xxv. 558 A; Tillem. vi. 640.) [C. H.]

LUPUS (2) (ST LOUP), 8th bishop of Troyes, one of the most distinguished prelates of his time. He was born at Tullum Leucorum (Toul) of a noble family, and was brought up in the house of his uncle. Married to Pimeniola, sister of St. Hilary of Arles, he separated from his wife, after seven years of wedlock, by mutual consent, that both might devote themselves to a stricter religion. He followed Hilary to Lerins, which at that time was flourishing under St. Honoratus, and was in his turn followed thither by his brother Vincentius, who was probably the well-known writer of that name. After a year spent at Lerins, he car-

braced the monastic life, and coming to Matisco (Macon) to sell his property, he was there prevailed upon to accept the bishopric of Troyes, 426. As a bishop he still lived a life of monastic hardship. In a synod at Troyes he was chosen to go with St. Germanus to Britain, whence envoys had come asking aid against the Pelagians [GERMANUS]. In 453 he was enabled to preserve his city from an assault by Attila. In 453 we have a letter from him written in concert with EUPONIUS, and answering certain important questions concerning the marriage of persons in holy orders. During one portion of his episcopate he spent four years in ascetic retirement. He congratulated Sidonius Apollinaris on his elevation to the episcopate, and we have several letters of that writer which commend St. Lupus in the most laudatory terms (vi. 1, 4, 9; vii. 14; ix. 13). He died at the age of ninety-six, after an episcopate of fifty-two years, on July 29, 479. Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Confess.* 67) relates a miraculous death inflicted on a man who attempted to seize by force a slave who had taken sanctuary at the tomb of St. Lupus. He was commemorated on July 29. (*Mart.* Usuard.; Ceillier, *Ant. Sac.* x. 356; Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 25 seqq.; *Gall. Ch.* xii. 485; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 72; Cave, i. 411; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 60–62; Tillem. iv. 513, xii. 675, xiv. 153, 154, xv. index, xvi. index.) [R. T. S.]

LUPUS (3) I. (LOUP or LEU), 19th archbishop of Sens, circ. A.D. 609–623. A biography of a very legendary character is extant, which the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* would attribute to the close of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century, but believe that the author had access to trustworthy sources (iv. 191–2). It was apparently known to Usuard (*Martyrologium*, Sept. 1, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 423), and may be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. 1, 255–264. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 7; Boll. *ibid.* pp. 253–4.) [S. A. B.]

LUPUS (4), poet and rhetorician of France in the 5th century. Our knowledge of him is mainly, if not entirely, derived from a long letter addressed to him by his friend Sidonius Apollinaris, in answer to one of his which is lost (*Epist.* viii. 11, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 603). From its playful opening we gather that he was born at Périgueux, and had married at Agen, which towns are represented as contending for his possession, and between which he divided his favours by teaching rhetoric in both (Patr. Lat. col. 603–4). He possessed a large library, and was devoted to the study of mathematics (col. 608). In his letter he had asked Sidonius for one of his old poems. The answer contains one formerly addressed to Lampridius, the poet and rhetorician (col. 604–606), who had just been murdered by his slaves. This event fixes the date of the epistle in 479. The remainder of the letter is chiefly occupied with a criticism of Lampridius's character and works (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 583–585; Ceillier, x. 393–394; Tillem. xvi. 271, 755). There is extant a letter of Ruricius, afterwards bishop of Limoges, addressed to a Lupus, whose eloquence the writer extols (Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii. 75–76). The author of the *Histoire Littéraire* is inclined to identifying him with the subject of this article (p. 585). [S. A. B.]

LURACH DUANAIRE, Irish saint, son of Cuana, descended from Colla Uais, monarch of Ireland (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 223, c. 4, 367 a); his mother is said to have been Darerca, sister of St. Patrick (*Ib.* 717, c. 5; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 53). He was perhaps bishop, lived at Doire-lurain, now Derryloran, on the borders of Londonderry and Tyrone, and commemorated Feb. 17; but the dedications of Luran, son of Conan, June 2, and of Luran bishop of Doire-lurain, Oct. 29, may also belong to him. Why he was called Duanaire "of the Poems," is unknown. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 223, c. 4. 367 a) places him among those belonging to the family of St. Maidoc of Ferns, and among the saints resting at Trim, but his Acts are not extant. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 604, 616.)

Before the see became settled at Derry, there were bishops at Ardstraw, co. Tyrone, and then at Maghera, co. Londonderry; the latter place, formerly called Rath-Luraigh and Machaire-Rath, earlier Rath-Murbhuilg, and more extensively Machaire-Ratha-Luraigh, is dedicated to St. Lurach, popularly St. Loury or St. Lowry, and his grave and well are still shewn. If St. Lurach lived where the old church of Derryloran now stands, near Cookstown, co. Tyrone, his relics and dedication had probably been removed to the neighbouring Maghera, in order to increase the honour due to the place when bishops came to live there, and got the title of "Episcopi Rathlurienses;" the feasts at June 2 and Oct. 29 may mark such a translation. (Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* iii. 307; *County Londonderry*, 21, Ord. Survey; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 27, 241; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 3; Ware, *Irish Bishops*, "Derry;" Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 139, 3rd ed.) [J. G.]

LUSCIUS, a name, real or fictitious, given by Jerome to one of his detractors, who had accused him of plagiarism (Praef. in *Lib. Heb. Quaest. in Gen.*). Jerome compares him to the Luscius Lanuvinus against whose accusation of peculation Terence defended himself in the prologue to the Andria. Luscius is not to be identified with Rufinus, since the book of Hebrew Questions was written in 388 when Jerome was still a friend to Rufinus, and (as the preface shews) a champion of Origen. (Hieron. *Opp.* t. iii. 301, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

LYCOMEDES, legendary disciple of the apostle John. The apocryphal Acts which bore the name of Leucius related that John accused Lycomedes of relapsing into idolatry because he had at his house the picture of a man before which he burned lights, and to which he paid other honours. Lycomedes protested that he could worship no God but one, but declared that he thought it right to honour men from whom he had received benefits, and that this was the likeness of his greatest benefactor, the apostle John himself. The apostle, who had never seen his own face, at first could not believe that it was he who was represented, but, on a mirror being brought, owned the likeness, but said that Lycomedes had done ill. This story was read at the second council of Nicaea (Act. v. Mansi, xiii. 167) as an argument on the

Iconoclastic side, and was rejected by the synod as heretical. [LEUCIUS.] [G. S.]

LYONS, MARTYRS OF, June 2. Ado calls them Martyres Athanacenses from the name of the place Athanacus, where they suffered. The seventeenth year of Marcus Aurelius, whom Eusebius calls Antoninus Verus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14, compared with preface to lib. v.), was marked by an outburst of persecution in Gaul, where the churches of Lyons and Vienne specially suffered. (On the possibility of such local persecutions even under friendly emperors, see F. Görres, *Die Toleranzedicte des Kais. Gallienus* in *Jahrb. Prot. Theolog.* 1877, pp. 607–608.) The story of the persecution is contained in the epistle of these churches to the Christians of Asia and Phrygia, as recorded in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1–4. The number of martyrs was forty-eight (Ado). The following are the only names recorded by the historian, but then it must be remembered that we possess only extracts from the epistle, the full list having been given in the original document which Eusebius transcribed into his lost "Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms" (*H. E.* v. 4); Vettius Epagathus, Maturus, Attalus, a native of Pergamus, and a pillar and foundation "of the church of that place" (*στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα*, cf. 1 Tim. iii. 15). Blandina, a female slave, Sanctus, born at Vienne, but deacon of the church at Lyons; Biblias, a woman; Pothinus, or Fotimus, the aged bishop [FOTIMUS]; Alexander, a physician; Ponticus and Alcibiades. In Ado's *Mart.*, however, we have the whole list, which seems a clear indication that in his time at least the Eusebian "Collection of ancient Martyrdoms" was still extant. The omitted names are Zacharias, a presbyter, Macarius, Silvius, Primus, Ulpius, Vitalis Cominus, Octuber, Philuminus, Geminus, Julia, Albina, Grata, Rogata, Aemilia, Potamia, Pompeia, Rhodana, Quartia, Materna, Helpes, Amnas, Aristaeus, Cornelius, Zosimus, Titus, Julius, Zoticus, Apollonius, Germinianus, Julia, Ausonia, Aemilia, Jamnica, Pompeia, Domna, Justa, Trophima, and Antonia. He classes them according to the kind of martyrdom they endured. The story of their sufferings is a very lengthened one. In contravention of the established principles of Roman law that a slave's testimony against his master could not be accepted (Gieseler, *H. E.* t. i. p. 132), their domestics were forced to charge the Christians of Lyons with the feasts of Thyestes and the incests of Oedipus, and other unnatural crimes. The martyrs were then racked, scourged, cast to the beasts, roasted in an iron chair, and finally those who were Roman citizens were beheaded according to the express command of Caesar, unless they renounced the faith, when they were dismissed. Finally the bodies were burned, and the ashes flung into the Rhone, in order, as the heathen said, "that they might not have any hope of rising again, in the belief of which they have introduced a new and strange religion, and contemn the most dreadful punishments, and are prepared to meet death even with joy. Now we shall see whether they will rise again, and whether their God is able to help them, and rescue them out of our hands." The particulars of the individual martyrdoms will be found in connexion with each name as given above. The main interest of the narrative for our time is its theological aspect. Its early date (A.D. 177) is acknowledged. (Luthardt, *Authorship of St. John's Gospel*, p. 48, ed. Clark; cf. Scholten, *Die aeltest. Zeugnisse betreff. die Schrift. des N. T.* pp. 110, 111.) We have therefore in it an authentic witness to the views and doctrines of the Christian church in Gaul, in Rome, and in Asia Minor, in the last half of the 2nd century, since the constant correspondence and communication between them (shewn by the instance of Attalus above) prove that there must have been practical unity of doctrine among these churches. A difference on a point of ritual like the paschal controversy served but a few years later to break up this unity (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23, 24). The author of *Supernatural Religion* (t. ii. c. ix. s. 4), criticising this epistle, and endeavouring to obviate the force of a plain quotation therein from St. Luke as an evidence for the existence and use of that gospel, proceeds then to make the further statement: "No writing of the new Testament is directly referred to in this epistle." As this writer ranges over a very wide field of patristic literature in his volumes we suppose he had not time to read the epistle very carefully. The following are some ot its references to and quotations from the New Testament, which must strike any careful reader. In the beginning of the epistle Rom. viii. 18 is accurately quoted, and there are, more or less direct, references to, or quotations, more or less accurately, from the following passages:—Matt. xxii. 11; Luke i. 6; John xvi. 2, xix. 34; Acts vii. 60; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Phil. ii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Heb. xi. 35; 1 Pet. v. 6; Rev. i. 5, xix. 4, 9; and finally Rev. xxii. 11, which is quoted thus: *ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ*. We possess in Euseb. (v. 4) an extract from another epistle of the martyrs commending Irenaeus to Eleutherus bishop of Rome, while in the previous chapter he tells us they wrote to the same, and to the Christians in Asia and Phrygia, about Montanus and his followers, but to what effect is not certainly known [MONTANISM] (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Usuard.; Till. iii. 1; Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.*; Dodwell, *Diss. Cyprian.* xi. 36, supports A.D. 167 as the true date of this persecution; Wieseler, *Die Christenverfolg. der Cäsaren*, pp. 19, 68, 94, Gütersloh, 1878). Renan in his *Marc-Aurèle* (p. 329) identifies the execution of the martyrs with the meeting of the general assembly of the Gallic nations, which met annually in the month of August for the celebration of the worship of Augustus; a ceremonial with which the martyrdom of Polycarp in Asia Minor would also seem to have been associated. He also endeavours (p. 331) to identify the very localities of the martyrdoms (cf. *Rev. Critiq.* 12 Juillet, 1879; Aug. Bernard, *Le Temple d'August*). [G. T. S.]

NOTE.

For Martyrs and Confessors whose names fall under subsequent Letters, except where they are of special historic importance, the reader is referred to the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," in which, especially after the Letter L, they are fully enumerated, and references given to the Calendars and Martyrologies in which they occur.

M

MAARES, one of twenty-two bishops known to Sozomen as having suffered martyrdom in Persia during the reign of Sapor II. (Soz. ii. 13; Tillem. vii. 90.) [G. T. S.]

MABAN, an eminent singer, who, having been trained in Kent by the successors of the Roman mission there, was invited by bishop Acca into his diocese of Hexham, where he remained twelve years instructing the bishop and his clergy (se suosque) in church music. (Bed. *H.E.* v. 20.) [C. H.]

MABENA, ST., a daughter of Brychan, gives name to the parish of St. Mabyn near Wadebridge in Cornwall; where the parish fair is on or about 15th February. The parish of Mabe near Falmouth is called Landmabo in 1297, and perhaps refers to another name. [C. W. B.]

MABON (1), ST., presumed to have been the founder of Rhiwfabon or Ruabon in Denbighshire. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 261.) [C. W. B.]

MABON (2), ST., the old, the brother of St. Teilo. Llanfabon near Llandaff is dedicated to him. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 71, 99, 111, 251; Williams, *Dict. of Eminent Welshmen.*) [C. W. B.]

MACARIA, Valentinian aeon, the last of the decad. (Iren. i. 1.) [G. S.]

MACARIOTES, Valentinian aeon, one of the dodecad. (Iren. i. 1.) [G. S.]

MACARIUS (1) I., bishop of Jerusalem, the thirty-ninth from the Apostles, Hermon being his predecessor. His accession is placed by Tillemont in 311 or 312. He is extolled by all the orthodox writers for the purity of his faith and the virtues which adorned his life. In the list of defenders of the faith given by Athanasius (*Orat. I. adv. Arian.* p. 291), he refers to Macarius as exhibiting "the honest and simple style of apostolical men." A letter addressed to him, among other orthodox bishops, by Alexander of Alexandria, is mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxix. 4, p. 730). He attended the council of Nicaea in 325 (Soz. i. 17; Theod. *H. E.* i. 15). That the seventh Nicene canon determining the subordination of the see of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) to that of Caesarea "discloses a slight passage of arms" between him and Eusebius, in which Macarius endeavoured to assert the priority obtained for his see by Juvenal a hundred and twenty years afterwards (De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, ii. 56; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 193), is a brilliant guess without historical authority. It deserves notice that Macarius signs fourth, next to the legates, in apparent violation of this canon (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 51, 76, 84, 101). But as Beveridge has remarked (Hefele, *Christian Councils*, Eng. transl. vol. i. p. 407) two other bishops of Palestine who were certainly the inferiors of the metropolitan of Caesarea, signed before Eusebius. It was during his episcopate, A.D. 326 or 327, that Helena paid her celebrated visit to Jerusalem, which resulted in the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and, perhaps, though, as has been shewn in another article, this is very doubtful, in the so-called "Invention of the True Cross" [HELENA, Vol. II. p. 883 ff.]. According to the later form of the legend it was at the suggestion of Macarius that on the discovery of the three crosses the one on which our Lord had suffered was identified by their being applied successively to a lady suffering from a mortal sickness, who, after the others had failed to produce any effect, at the touch of the true cross was immediately cured (Socr. *H. E.* i. 17; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 1; Theod. *H. E.* i. 18; Rufin. *H. E.* i. 78; Paulin. Nolan. Ep. 31 [11]; see Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 36, Clark's transl.). Macarius was commissioned by the emperor Constantine, A.D. 326, to take the necessary steps for the erection of a basilica on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. The emperor's letter is given by Eusebius (*de Vita Const.* iii. 29–32), Socrates (*H. E.* i. 9), and Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 17). Constantine subsequently (c. 330 A.D.) wrote to Macarius with the other bishops of Palestine with regard to the profanation of the sacred terebinth of Mamre by idolatrous rites. He desires that the pagan altar may be overthrown, the idols burnt, and a basilica erected on the spot (Euseb. *u. s.* 52, 53). The emperor also presented Macarius with a vestment of gold tissue for the administration of the sacrament of baptism, as a token of honour to the church of Jerusalem. The subsequent sale of this robe to an actor was one of the charges brought against Cyril by Acacius (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 27). The date of the death of Macarius is not accurately known. It is placed by Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 20) between the deposition of Eustathius, A.D. 331, and the council of Tyre, A.D. 335. He is commemorated in the Western church on March 10. Singularly enough, his name does not appear in the Menaea of the Eastern church. He was succeeded by Maximus. [E. V.]

MACARIUS (2) II., bishop of Jerusalem, appointed in succession to Peter A.D. 544. His appointment was not confirmed by Justinian, by whom, on its being represented that he entertained Origenist tenets, his election was annulled, and Eustochius, oeconomus of the church of Alexandria, residing at Constantinople, was appointed to the see (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 37). In 563, according to Victor Tunnunensis (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxviii. 962 A), Eustochius was deposed, and Macarius, having previously anathematized Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus, was restored to his see (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 39). Moschus gives an anecdote of a blind Arabian monk of the monastery of St. Theodosius, near Jerusalem, who scrupled to communicate with Macarius (*Prat. Spirituale*, c. 96). He held the see, according to Evagrius, until Tiberius was made Caesar, *i.e.* till after A.D. 574 (*ibid.* v. 16). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 235; Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sab.* no. 90.) [E. V.]

MACARIUS (3) I., second bishop of Anicium (Le Puy), between Georgius and Marcellinus. (*Gall. Chr.* ii. 688.) [GEORGIUS (6).] [S. A. B.]

MACARIUS (4), an Egyptian bishop at the council of Tyre in 335. (Athanas. *Apol. c. Ar* cap. 79; Mansi, ii. 1143.) [C. H.]

MACARIUS (5) (ARIUS, Ἄρειος), bishop of Petra in Palestine, who with Asterius, an Arabian bishop, forsook the Eusebian party and went over to the Catholics at the council of Sardica in 343 (Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 48; Id. *Hist. Ar. ad Monach.* cap. 15; Theodor. *H.E.* ii. 8; Tillem. *Mem.* viii. 98, 99; Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 100). In the second passage of Athanasius the name is Arius, as also in the list of those who accepted the decrees of Sardica (*Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 50; Mansi, iii. 39, 42). Macarius and Asterius were banished by the emperor Constantius, through the intrigues of the Eusebians, into the interior of Libya, where they were contumeliously treated (*Hist. Ar.* cap. 18; Tillem. vi. 340). In this place Arius is again the name of the bishop, and here alone in Athanasius is his see mentioned. Besides the famous Arabian town of Petra in Palestina Tertia, to which Asterius is assigned (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 723), there was another in Palestina Prima, which is believed to have been the see of Macarius (*ib.* 667). Wiltsch (*Handbook*, i. 222) places it east of Sichem. The two Petrae in connection with these two bishops are fully discussed by Reland (in his *Palestina Illustrata*, pp. 210, 926), and by Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* iii. 663, 721). [C. H.]

MACARIUS (6), one of the Eastern semi-Arian bishops at the council of Seleucia in 359. (Hilar. *Frag.* x. in *Pat. Lat.* x. 705.) [C. H.]

MACARIUS (7), bishop at the synod of Alexandria in 362. (Athanas. *Tom. ad Antioch.* in *Opp.* t. ii. p. 615; Mansi, iii. 346.) [C. H.]

MACARIUS (8), bishop of Magnesia, by whom, at the synod of the Oak in 403, the charges against Heraclides bishop of Ephesus were brought forward (Phot. cod. 59; Le Quien, i. 698; Tillem. xi. 166); *vid.* the following article, *s. f.* [E. V.]

MACARIUS (9) MAGNES, a writer of the end of the 4th century. Some 400 years after, his name had sunk into almost complete oblivion, when in the course of the image controversy, a passage from his writings was produced on the iconoclastic side. Nicephorus, then or afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, had never heard of Macarius, and it was only after long search and labour that he was able to procure a copy of the work whence the extract had been taken. His account of it will be found, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, i. 305. He evidently knows no more of the author than he could learn from the book itself. The words Macarius Magnes may be understood as both proper names, or else may be translated either as the blessed Magnes, or as Macarius the Magnesian. Nicephorus understood Macarius as a proper name, and so he found it understood in the title of the extract which he discusses; but concerning Magnes he will not undertake to say whether it is a proper name or a geographical term. He concludes that Macarius had been a bishop, both because the title described the author as ἱεράρχης, and also because the very ancient MS. from which his information was derived contained a portrait of the author in a sacerdotal dress. He dates Macarius as 300 years later than the "Divine and Apostolic preaching;" but this he would have gathered from two passages in the work. In one, a heathen objector asserts that our Lord's prediction "Many shall come saying I am Christ" had been falsified, seeing 300 years had passed since, and none such had come, unless we should so count Apollonius of Tyana: in the other passage the objector similarly comments on the disappointment of Paul's expectation that he should "be alive and remain" to the coming of our Lord, 300 years having passed without his ever having been caught up to meet his Lord in the air. We further learn that the work of Macarius was called *Apocritica*, that it was addressed to a friend of his named Theosthenes, and that it contained objections of a heathen of the school of Aristotle, together with replies by Macarius. Nicephorus finds that the extract produced by the Iconoclasts had been unfairly garbled, so as to misrepresent the real views of Macarius, the context shewing that he had only heathen idolatry in view, and that his words have no reference to the lawfulness of the use of images among Christians. But however free from error Macarius may be on this point, Nicephorus has no favourable opinion of him on the whole, thinking that he discerns in passages of his writings, Manichaean, Arian, or Nestorian tendencies, but especially because he finds him agreeing with "the impious and senseless Origen" as to the non-eternity of future punishment. After Nicephorus, Macarius again sank into obscurity, but not so complete as before; some very few extracts from his writings being to be found in MSS. of the succeeding centuries. It was near the end of the 16th century that he became again the subject of controversy, the Jesuit Turrianus, who had found a copy of the *Apocritica* in St. Mark's Library at Venice, adducing passages from it, which bore on the Eucharistic controversy, and on that concerning the relation of faith and works, and claiming for the author the antiquity of the sub-apostolic age. His Protestant opponents naturally refused to bow to an authority of which they had never heard before, and freely imputed fraud to the discoverer. Turrianus did not publish the MS. himself, and when it was sought for with a view to publication it had disappeared from St. Mark's Library. A like fate befel another work of Macarius, one on Genesis, which was found in the Ottoboni Library, and of which a transcript was made and sent to Boivin, who was in charge of the Royal Library at Paris. This work was not published, and now neither MS. nor transcript is to be found. Boivin's papers however had been seen by Magnus Crusius, who, in 1737, 1745, published dissertations on Macarius Magnes which may be read in Migne (*Pat. Gr.* vol. x.). At length in 1867 there was found at Athens what there is good reason to believe was the same copy as was read by Turrianus at Venice, and which afterwards, by theft or otherwise, found its way to Greece. This was prepared for publication by Blondel, a member of the French school at Athens, and on his premature death was actually published by his friend Paul Foucart (Paris, 1876). Shortly after, Duchesne, who had been a member of the same school, published a dissertation on Macarius (Paris, 1877), to which he added the text of all the fragments now attainable of Macarius's homilies on Genesis. The *Apocritica* consisted of five books: of these we have only the third complete: the Athenian MS.

already mentioned has also the second and fourth books, but the second mutilated by the loss of six chapters at the beginning, and the fourth somewhat mutilated at the end. The first and fifth books are altogether lost, except a short fragment of the first, preserved in a quotation by Nicephorus. Enough remains of the work to shew that it purports to contain a report of a *viva voce* discussion between the author and a Grecian philosopher. In form it is perhaps unique. It is not a mere dialogue like that known under the name of Adamantius, or the Eranistes of Theodoret; nor does it, like these, proceed in the Platonic method of short questions and answers; neither again does it, like Cicero's philosophic dialogues, contain a long speech on one side replied to by another continued discourse on the other side. But each speech of the heathen objector is in fact made up of some half-dozen short speeches, each dealing with a different objection, the objections often having no connexion with each other. To these objections Macarius severally replies, and then follow a few lines of narrative introducing a new set of objections. The arrangement would have been more convenient if each objection had been immediately followed by its answer. We need not doubt that we have preserved for us in this book a unique specimen of genuine heathen objections of the 4th century. The blows against Christianity are dealt with such hearty goodwill, and with so little restraint of language, that a Christian would certainly have regarded it as blasphemous to invent such an attack on his religion, and we have only to wonder that he did not scruple to write it down. Such scruples were certainly felt by copyists; and probably nothing but the revival of attention to this work in the image controversy saved it from the fate which befel not only the work of Porphyry, but also the works of all who formally replied to him. That Macarius did not invent the objections to which he replies may also be inferred from the fact that he sometimes misses the point of them, and that his answers to them are often very unsatisfactory. There is also a clear difference in point of style between the language of the objector and that of the respondent. On these grounds it has been inferred that Macarius reproduces the language as well as the substance of the arguments of a heathen, and then arises the question, "Are we to take it as literal fact that the dialogue records a real *viva voce* discussion between Macarius and a heathen objector, or are the heathen objections transcribed from a published work against Christianity, and if so, whose?"

The earliest Christian apologists have to defend their religion against men who have a very vague knowledge of it. Their business is to refute such accusations as that the eating of infants' flesh or promiscuous sexual intercourse took place at the Christian meetings. Justin Martyr quotes the Gospels as addressing men who would not be likely to know what the word Gospel meant. When we come somewhat later we find Celsus exhibiting some knowledge, but still only a superficial knowledge, of the Christian writings. But towards the close of the 3rd century a systematic attack was made on our religion by its most formidable adversary, Porphyry, founded on a careful study of our sacred books. It has been already said that this attack was felt to be so malignant and dangerous, that not only it but all the systematic answers to it have perished. The few scattered notices of it which remain enable us to see that three or four of the Macarian objections have been at least ultimately derived from Porphyry. There is no appearance that they are verbally copied from him; and, as has been stated, the Macarian objector places himself 300 years after Paul's death, which, with every allowance for round numbers, is too late for Porphyry. On the other hand, with one or two exceptions to be mentioned afterwards, there is scarcely any resemblance between the objections in Macarius and what we know of those of the emperor Julian. Great part of these last is directed against the Old Testament, but those of Macarius almost exclusively against the New; and the Macarian objections are not attacks of a general nature on the Christian scheme, but rather attempts to find error or self-contradiction in particular texts, as, for instance, how could Jesus say in one place, "Me ye have not always," in another, "I am with you always even to the end of the world." The word Galileans, too, with which Julian loved to insult the Christians, is not found in the objections of Macarius. Intermediate in time between Porphyry and Julian was Hierocles [HIEROCLES (2)], and Duchesne ably advocates the view that the discussion in Macarius is fictitious, and that his book contains a literal transcript of parts of the lost work of Hierocles. We are ourselves inclined to believe that while no doubt Macarius or the heathen philosophers whom he encountered drew the substance of their arguments, and even in some cases their language, from previously published heathen writings, yet on the whole the wording is Macarius's own. The little pieces of narrative interspersed in the dialogue shew that the lost introduction must have contained in still greater detail a description of the circumstances of an actual dialogue. In one place a particular description is given of the winter season at which the discussion is said to have taken place. The literary morality of the time would not forbid the incorporation of some matter from previous treatises. But it would be inconsistent to copy all the heathen speeches verbally from a well-known work. Christian phrases occasionally slip from the mouth of the objector. Thus he speaks of "the Scriptures" (p. 198), of the Apostle, meaning Paul (p. 198). The language in which more than once (see p. 102) he speaks of the prerogatives of Peter is more that of a Christian than of a heathen: neither would a heathen be likely to be scandalized by Peter's carrying a wife about with him. Again, one so well informed as the objector on Christian matters could scarcely be quite ignorant of their eucharistic doctrine, and therefore it seems to us that the objection which merely expresses a rhetorical horror of literally eating flesh and drinking blood has not a genuine ring. But the personality of Macarius most plainly shews itself in one objection. In the story of the Gadarene demoniac Macarius solves the difficulty that Matthew speaks of two, Mark only of one, by the remark that Matthew speaks not of two men but of two demons, the chief captains no doubt of the "legion" mentioned by St. Mark. This seems to be founded on the fact that Matthew (viii. 31) makes the demons the

speakers; and it does not appear that he read δαίμονας instead of δαιμονιζομένους in ver. 28, yet his opponent anticipates this point, and speaks of Jesus as met not by two demoniacs but by two demons. We conclude that however much of materials and even of language Macarius may have drawn from heathen sources, his materials have been worked up by himself. The difference of style which has been noticed may be accounted for by the fact that Macarius did not bestow so much fine writing on the speeches of his opponent as on his own, in consequence of which the absence of rhetorical amplifications gives to the former speeches a force and liveliness which commends them more to the taste of our age. We give now a few specimens of the objections with Macarius's solutions, merely warning the reader that a certain injustice is done to Macarius in the selection, since it is precisely when his replies are what we should count bad that they are most tempting for quotation, and we do not care to copy his answers when they are exactly such as might be made by an apologist of the present day.

Ob. Jesus told His disciples "Fear not them who can kill the body," yet when danger was threatening Himself, He prayed in an agony that the suffering might pass away. His words on that occasion are not worthy of a Son of God, nor even of a wise man who despises death.

Sol. We must look below the surface, and see what it was our Lord really feared, when He prayed. The devil had seen so many proofs of His divinity that he dared not assault Him again, and so there was danger that that Passion which was to be the salvation of the world should never take place. He dissembles therefore and pretends to fear death, and by thus deceiving the devil hastened the hour of his assault; for when He prayed that His cup might pass, what He really desired was that it should come more speedily. He thus caught the devil by baiting the hook of His divinity with the worm of His humanity, as it is written in Ps. xxii., "I am a worm, and no man," and in Job xli., "Thou shalt draw out the dragon with a hook." The doctrine that the devil was thus deceived in his assaults on our Lord is taught by many of the Fathers, as, for instance, by Gregory Nyssen. So again Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage in Job just referred to, uses language strikingly like that of Macarius; but the source whence Macarius and the rest really drew was Origen's commentary on the 22nd Psalm, where the singular explanation is given which Macarius has borrowed. There is another instance of his use of the same commentary. Augustine has taken from Ambrose an explanation of the words "worship his footstool," proceeding by the steps: the earth, we are told, is God's footstool; man's body was made from earth: Christ assumed man's body: therefore it is our Lord's body which we are commanded to worship. When we find this explanation also in Macarius (iv. 16), being sure that he and Ambrose could not have borrowed one from the other, we know that both must have drawn from a common source; and this source plainly was Origen's commentary on the passage in question, of which, though only brief notes have been preserved, yet the fuller statements of those who have borrowed from him make his meaning clear. (See also *Hom.* v. *in Isai.* xiii. 266, Lomm.)

Ob. How can Jesus say "Moses wrote of me," when nothing at all of the writings of Moses has been preserved. All were burnt with the temple, and what we have under the name of Moses was written 1180 years after his death by Ezra and his company.

Sol. When Ezra rewrote the books of Moses, he restored them with perfect accuracy as they had been before: for it was the same Spirit who taught them both.

Ob. In the story of the Gadarene demoniac, Matthew says that there were two demons, Mark does not scruple extravagantly to multiply the number, telling that when they were asked their name they answered "Legion," because they were many: and that they entered into 2000 swine. How could there be in Judea so many animals of a kind which the nation abominated? How could so many be drowned in what was really, not as the evangelist calls it a sea, but a small lake? If the story be true, how can Christ be justified for listening to the prayer of noxious demons, and instead of sending them to the abyss, permitting them to work further mischief? It is no work of mercy to relieve some at the expense of others. The case is as if a king, being unable to drive barbarians out of his country altogether, sent them from place to place, relieving one set of subjects and abandoning others to the enemy. If Christ made such a confession of inability to give complete deliverance, who can trust Him as a Saviour?

Sol. It was not out of ignorance[a] that our Lord asked the demons their name, but that He might extort from their mouths the confession how deep had been their fall. They had been a legion once; they were so no longer now. Burned up by the flame of the Lord's presence, eager to cool themselves in the waters, yet, as immaterial spirits, unable to do so without some material vehicle, they try to move our Lord's compassion by reminding him how they had been once one of those "legions of angels" who did Him service. Now they have to ask as a favour to be permitted to enter these filthy beasts: for even that they dared not do without His leave. If He had sent them into the abyss, this degradation of theirs would not have been made manifest: for they would simply have disappeared, and no one could have known that they had not gone off to work evil in some distant land.

The swine did not belong to the Jews, but to their Roman masters, of whom many were living in that country.

The objection that the name sea is improperly given to a lake is answered, not here, but in reply to the objection that it was incredible that the disciples could take till the fourth watch of the night to cross a little lake which a small boat could easily cross in two hours. This objection came from Porphyry (see Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*).

Ob. "If they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them." If this be so, candidates for bishoprics ought to be tested by offering them a cup of poison. If they do not venture to drink, they ought to own that they do not really

[a] Here and elsewhere, through some carelessness of composition, Macarius answers an objection which his opponent has not made.

believe the words of Jesus; and as for the cures which it is said in the same context that they who believe shall be able to effect, as well as to remove mountains, it follows that at the present day not only none of ordinary Christians is a believer, but also none among the bishops or presbyters.

Macarius argues that Christ's words are not to be understood literally. Working cures is no test of faith: for such are often performed by unbelievers or atheists. It is not to be supposed Christ intended His disciples to do what He never did Himself, and He never moved a literal mountain. What he meant by mountains was demons, and we have an instance in Jer. li. 25 of the metaphorical use of this word mountain. Here we have another coincidence with Ambrose (in Ps. 36, 35; Migne, i. 1000), both no doubt being indebted to Origen.

It appears here that the Gospel of St. Mark, as read by the objector and by Macarius, contained the disputed verses at the end. The same appears from another place where mention is made that out of Mary Magdalen had been cast seven devils (see Orig. *Adv. Cels.* ii. 55). Two other of Macarius's readings may be mentioned. In Mark xv. 34, he reads, as does D, *ὠνείδισας* instead of *ἐγκατέλιπες* (p. 21); in John xii. 31, he notes that some copies have *κάτω* instead of *ἔξω* (p. 37). Two objections are founded on passages in the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Macarius declines to offer the plea that that book is to be rejected, because the passages in question are also in substance to be found in the Old Testament. It therefore does not decisively appear what Macarius himself thought of that book. He speaks of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews as the Apostle, no doubt intending Paul. He appears to have used the Second Epistle of Peter (see p. 180). The phrase "the canon of the New Testament" occurs p. 168.

We must not fail to include among our specimens the passages which have been appealed to in later controversies. And first with respect to polytheism and idolatry the heathen champion argues: You maintain the monarchy of God: now we do not call a shepherd a monarch though he rules over many; we give that title to an emperor such as Hadrian, ruling over many *of the same species as himself.* If, then, God be a monarch, it must be that there are other subordinate gods over whom He rules. And so yourselves acknowledge, for you ascribe the same kind of attributes to those whom you call angels as we do to those whom we call gods, so that it is a mere question of words; just as the Romans call Minerva her whom the Greeks call Athene. There are several passages in your own Scriptures where the name of gods is given to angels or to beings other than the Supreme. A king is not jealous when proper honour is paid to his officers, and we cannot think that the Supreme is more small-minded. As for the use of images, none of us supposes wood or stone to be God, or thinks that if a piece be broken off an image, the power of the Deity represented is diminished. It was by way of reminder that the ancients set up temples and images that those who come to them might think of God and make prayers according to their needs. You do not imagine a picture of your friend to be your friend; you keep it merely to remind you of him, and to do him honour. Our sacrifices are not intended to confer benefit on the Deity, but to shew the love and gratitude of the worshipper. We make our images of Deity in human form because that is the most beautiful form we know. If any Greek is so weak-minded as to think that Deity does dwell in an image, it is a less absurd belief than yours, that Deity came to inhabit a virgin's womb, a place full of blood and other impurities. Christians imitate our temples by building very large houses for their religious meetings, though they might pray in their private houses, since the Lord no doubt could hear their prayers offered anywhere.

From this last sentence we gather that though the Christians at the time were so prosperous as to build large churches, they had not yet begun to ornament them with pictures or statues, else this would certainly have been urged by the heathen apologist. We may reasonably infer also that Christians had not yet found it necessary to use in defence of any practice of their own, arguments exactly the same as those which Macarius here puts into the mouth of a heathen. We have not space to give the answers of Macarius, though some of them are clever enough. For instance, it will have been observed that with regard to our Lord's birth as well as to His death the church made her boast of what her adversaries had counted her reproach, and that her "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb" bids defiance to a common heathen objection. Macarius's answer is, If it was no shame to Him to have created the Virgin's womb, it was no shame to inhabit it. What would you think of an architect who built a house that he was ashamed to live in? On the subject of image worship he confines himself to shewing that the fact that angels had appeared in human form does not warrant us in so representing them, or in honouring them in any other way than by imitating their life. But it must be mentioned that in replying to the first of the heathen points, Macarius uses language, surprising under the Empire, which conveys the idea that it is but violence and injustice when one man rules over his equals, and that the only just monarchy is when one rules over beings of inferior nature to himself.

On the eucharistic controversy, it was courageous of Turrianus to produce Macarius as a witness on the Romanist side, since we are obliged to give him largely the benefit of the *disciplina arcani* in order to save his line of defence from the charge of Zuinglianism. The heathen sets forth with much rhetoric the revolting character of a command to eat human flesh, and says in conclusion that even if an allegorical meaning is intended, it ought not to have been presented under so shocking an image. Macarius answers: It is in truth not so shocking to drink blood, for this is done by every infant. For what is its mother's milk but blood? The difference of colour proves no real difference; the white snow is in truth the same as the dark water of the fountain. And in the womb, on what is the child nourished but from its mother's flesh and blood? Christ gave power to those who receive Him to become the children of God, and whence shall these children be nourished but from the flesh and blood of the

mother who bore them? This is no other than the wisdom of God who "has prepared a table" for her children, pouring from her breasts, namely the two Testaments, abundant food for them. Christ is the same as wisdom, and the flesh and blood of wisdom are the words of the Old and New Testaments, which we ought carefully to eat and well digest, that we may draw from them not temporal life but eternal. But in the last times giving bread and the cup to His apostles He said, "This is my body and my blood." Learn the mystery of this: it is from earth that we all have had our being. It is by the flesh and blood of the earth, that is to say, by the dry and liquid food that comes from earth, that we are nourished, the earth itself sustaining no loss or injury. Now it was the Only-begotten who in the beginning made the earth, and who framed man, taking him from earth, who taking a body from man became incarnate. The bread and wine then are not the figures of Christ's body and blood, as some dull of understanding have said, but really His body and blood. For His body comes from earth, and bread and wine come from earth, and He is the maker of it. If Abraham or any other righteous man had dared to say, "My flesh is meat indeed," or "This is my body," it would have been false, for that could not be his the substance of which was the creation of another. Common bread, however, though it be the flesh of the earth, gives but a short-lived benefit to those who eat it, since without the divine Spirit its virtue soon expires. But that bread which has been tilled in the blessed land of Christ, being united with the power of the Holy Spirit, by the mere taste makes the man immortal by uniting him with the body of Christ. For as the tablet on which a teacher writes receives a power thereby which is communicated to the learner and unites him to his teacher, so the body and blood, that is the bread and wine, receiving the immortality of the undefiled divinity, communicate it to the recipient. Thus the Saviour's body though eaten is not destroyed, but he who eats receives increase of heavenly powers, but that which is eaten remains unconsumed. With this passage ought to be compared what Macarius says (p. 208) of the change made in the water of baptism by the invocation of the Saviour's name.

We have been obliged to omit many interesting points even in the examples selected, but enough has been quoted to exhibit the allegorical style of interpretation which Macarius used. It would be easy to add other examples, as, for instance, the clouds by which Paul expected to be caught up mean angels (p. 174); the three measures of meal (Matt. xiii.) mean time, past, present, and future; the thong (shoe-latchet) which could not be loosed is the tie between our Lord's humanity and divinity (p. 93);[b] the four watches of the night (Matt. xiv. 25) mean the ages of the patriarchs, of the law, of the prophets, and of Christ. Similarly in Elijah's vision the strong wind was the patriarchal dispensation which swept away the worship of idols; the earthquake was the law of Moses, at the giving of which the mountains leaped like rams; the fire was the word of prophecy (Jer. xx. 9); the still small voice was the message of Gabriel to Mary. As other specimens of his Old Testament interpretation we may mention that he finds the crucifixion prophesied in the words (Deut. xxviii. 66), "Thy life shall hang," and the nail-marks, in Hab. iii. 4, "He had horns coming out of his hand."[c] It is plain that Macarius is to be classed as belonging to the Alexandrian school of allegorical interpretation, as might be expected from the great use which he makes of Origen, not to the Syrian literal school (see DIODORUS, Vol. I. p. 838). Alexandria might also be suggested by the fact that Macarius has some tincture of scientific knowledge. He admires extremely (p. 179) the skill of geometers in being able to find a square equal in area to a triangle; he knows the astronomical labours of Aratus, and is aware that in the discussion of celestial problems the earth is treated as a point. On the other hand many indications point to the East as the abode of Macarius. He measures distances by parasangs (p. 138); when speaking (p. 7) of the diversities which exist among the population of a great city, Antioch is the example which he chooses. In the same context, speaking of the ascetic life, he gives the examples not of the celebrated solitaries of Egypt, but those of the East. In a short list of heretics the Syrian Bardesanes finds a place. The woman healed of an issue of blood is said to have been Berenice, queen of Edessa, a notion likely to have been derived from a local tradition. In a question of language which became the subject of much dispute in the East he sides with those who speak of *τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν οὐσίᾳ μιᾷ*.

It has been mentioned that Macarius places himself 300 years after the death of Paul, and the question remains, with what allowance for round numbers we are to understand this statement. Several of the illustrations employed (see pp. 169, 170, 57, 208, 225, 41) tempt us to imagine historical allusions, yet baffle us by their vagueness. The most distinct is the contrast which he draws (p. 178) between the former state of things and the present, where having contrasted former wars with present peace, he says, an inhuman tyrant did torment the world, now it is comforted by royal humanity. This might suggest a time shortly after the accession of Constantine, or the inhuman tyrant might be Julian, or Macarius may be referring to times not immediately preceding his own. We must place Macarius before Julian if it be quite certain that his work contained no reference to that emperor's

[b] The language of Macarius here ought to have saved him from the charge of Nestorianism brought against him by Nicephorus. For if he has gone wrong it is in the opposite direction. In explaining our Lord's words on the cross to the penitent robber, he rejects the punctuation "I say unto thee to-day," and makes His presence in Paradise to be only a result of the omnipresence of His Divinity. See also his docetic account of our Lord's hunger, p. 69.

[c] Macarius, however, is not entitled to the credit of inventing either of these interpretations. The first is in Irenaeus, iv. 10, v. 18. For its adoption by later writers see the note of Feuardentius, in Harvey, ii. v. 74. The second is in St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 33 (see also Cyprian *Test adv. Jud.* 21), but no doubt came from the East.

assault on Christianity. But considering that some of the work of Macarius has been lost, and that comparatively little of the work of Julian has been preserved, we could not safely assert such a negative; and not to speak of a point which Macarius and Julian might independently have derived from Porphyry, one Macarian objection has a striking coincidence with Julian. It is founded on St. Paul's words (1 Cor. 11), "Such were some of you, but ye were washed, ye were sanctified." The objector says, "Look what the word 'such' refers to: they had been guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, theft, sodomy, and a number of other abominable crimes; and having done all these, merely by being baptized and calling on the name of Christ, they are freed from all their guilt more easily than a snake casts his slough. Who, then, would not venture on any wickedness intolerable or unspeakable if he knew he had only to believe and be baptized, and then get pardon from Him who shall judge the quick and the dead? This is sheer encouragement to sin; it overturns all discipline and all law, it obliterates all distinction between right and wrong, it teaches the impious man to feel no terror, if by merely being baptized he can clear off ten thousand iniquities." Julian (Cyr. Alex. *Cont. Jul.* vii.) makes quite similar use of the same words of Paul. He details in the same way what is indicated by the word "such," and goes on, "You see they were 'such,' but they had been sanctified and washed, having been cleansed by water, which it seems penetrates even to the soul. And baptism, which cannot heal leprosy, nor gout, nor dysentery, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adulteries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul." It seems to us that the coincidence here is more than accidental. The text too, Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile the gods," which is used by the Macarian defender of polytheism in a passage already cited, is employed in the same way by Julian. Julian too, like Macarius, places himself (Cyr. Alex. *Cont. Jul.* vi.) 300 years after Christ. We have noted (Vol. II. p. 119) a coincidence between Macarius and Epiphanius. It is not merely that both give nearly the same list of countries where Encratites were to be found, but both give to these heretics the epithet κεκαυμένοι, introducing, however, the name in different ways. It seems to us that the introduction in Macarius (p. 151) is the more forced, and therefore that he may be supposed the borrower. Besides, it is intelligible that Macarius, who shews no interest in heresiology, might have dipped into Epiphanius, and borrowing from him once, not found occasion to use him again. But if we give an early date to Macarius, and suppose Epiphanius to have known his book, we cannot explain why so zealous an enumerator of heretics should not have taken from Macarius the name of Dositheus the Cilician, and of Droserius the founder of a sect of Droserians. We read nowhere else of this Droserius; it is probably only a chance agreement that this is the name of the Valentinian interlocutor in the dialogue of ADAMANTIUS. Macarius does not mention Valentinus in his life of heretics; and he employs "Demiurgus" as his ordinary name for the Creator, without any apparent knowledge of the heretical use of the word. On these grounds we place Macarius at the very end of the 4th century. The reign of Julian must have given a great impulse to assaults by heathen philosophers on Christianity, and the need of replying to them would naturally be felt by Macarius, as it was somewhat later by Cyril of Alexandria. Now Crusius pointed out, and the suggestion has been adopted by Möller (Schürer, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1877, p. 521), that at the Synod of the Oak in 403, one of the accusers of Heracleidas of Ephesus was a Macarius bishop of Magnesia, who was probably the same as our Macarius. This identification seems to us highly probable. It is not a weighty objection that one of the charges brought against Heracleidas was Origenism, while Macarius, as we have seen, was largely indebted to Origen. He even adopts his interpretation of the "coats of skins" (see CASSIANUS, Vol. I. p. 413), which was one of the points reckoned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 64) among the errors of Origen. But Macarius had other grounds of hostility to Heracleidas, and we have no knowledge that his own admiration of Origen was such as to induce him to incur the charge of heresy for his sake, or to refrain from bringing the charge of Origenism against an opponent. Judging from their methods of Scripture interpretation we might have pronounced Epiphanius more of an Origenist than Chrysostom. We are willing then to recognize our author in the Magnesian Macarius who sufficiently satisfies the conditions of time and place.

Duchesne conjectures that Macarius may probably have visited Rome. Of the heroes of the Eastern church he names only Polycarp, telling of him a story found elsewhere. Of Westerns he names Irenaeus of Lyons, Fabian of Rome, and Cyprian of Carthage. He has the story told in the Latin Abdias (Fabric. *Cod. Ap. N. T.* p. 455), of the flow of milk instead of blood from the trunk of the decapitated Paul (p. 182). The duration of Peter's episcopate is made only of a few months (p. 102).

[G. S.]

MACARIUS (10), patriarch of Antioch, during the Saracen domination, succeeded Georgius towards the beginning of the latter half of the 7th century. The chronology and the succession of prelates at this period is very uncertain. According to Eutychius of Alexandria (*Annal.* Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cxi. 1114) Georgius died at Constantinople c. 651 A.D., and was followed by Macarius. Le Quien, however, ignores Georgius altogether, and makes Macarius the immediate successor of Macedonius (*Or. Christ.* ii. 742) [GEORGIUS (12)]. Macarius, like his two predecessors, was a staunch Monothelite. Antioch and the whole of the province under the metropolitical sway of that see being in the hands of the unbelievers, the office of patriarch was a mere nominal honour, corresponding to that of the bishops of the church of Rome, "in partibus infidelium." Macarius and the two bishops before him were presbyters of the church of Constantinople, where they were appointed and ordained, and in which city they continued to reside, never even visiting Antioch.

Macarius is only known to us from the determined, and we may say heroic, stand made by him in defence of the doctrine of the single Will

in the sixth oecumenical council, held at Constantinople A.D. 680–681.

Constantine Pogonatus having been greatly troubled by the severance of the Eastern and Western churches, and being honestly anxious to bring them together again under one creed, made inquiry (as we learn from his epistle to pope Donus, A.D. 678) of the two chief patriarchs, Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch, as to the cause of the unhappy division (Labbe, *Concil.* vi. 593 sq.). Those prelates replied that it was due to the introduction of novel modes of speaking of divine mysteries, either through ignorance or unrestrained curiosity, and that since the commencement of these controversies there had been no general assembly of Christian bishops to define the truth. An oecumenical council was the only remedy for these disorders. The emperor, therefore, resolved to summon a council at Constantinople, and wrote to Donus, announcing his intention, and requesting him to send delegates from Rome and representatives of the Western bishops—"serviceable and moderate men," furnished with the books and documents necessary for the purpose,—to consult with Theodore and Macarius, and come to a decision on the question that was separating them. Donus died before the letter reached Rome, and it was received by his successor Agatho, who at once complied with the emperor's request. Georgius, who had meanwhile succeeded Theodore (A.D. 678) as patriarch of Constantinople, and Macarius were commanded to summon the Eastern bishops and metropolitans to the council, which commenced its proceedings Nov. 7, 680 A.D. The place of meeting was a hall in the Imperial palace, called, from its domed roof, *Trullus*. In the first session, the papal legates, having denounced the theological terms introduced by the Monothelites as novelties, required the clergy of Constantinople to give an account of their introduction (Labbe, vi. 609). Macarius and his disciple, or rather as he is termed in pope Leo II.'s letter, "his master" (Labbe, vi. 1117), the monk Stephen, supported by his other bishops, denied that they were novelties (*ibid.* 612). They had learnt them from the oecumenical councils and approved Fathers, specially naming pope Honorius, and they were prepared to prove their assertions. The emperor called upon them to make their statements good, by producing and verifying their authorities. The dispute centred round the denial of the existence of any but a single Divine will in Christ, and the phrase *θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια*, invented by the pseudo-Dionysius (*Epist. ad Caium Monachum*, 3, 4), denoting an operation in which God and man jointly, and as it were confusedly, acted, which was the keyword of the controversy. Three sessions were taken up with reading dogmatic documents from the Acts of the Councils, and the writings of the Fathers, and on the fifth and sixth sessions (Dec. 7, 680 A.D., and Feb. 12, 681 A.D.) testimonies were exhibited by Macarius and Stephen confirmatory of there being but one will in Christ, which is also that of the Father and of the Holy Ghost. These passages were pronounced to be spurious and garbled. To prevent their being tampered with, the rolls containing the extracts were commanded to be sealed up and committed to the proper officers, while authentic copies of the works cited were ordered to be brought from the patriarchal library for the purpose of comparison. In the seventh session, Feb. 13, the papal legates produced their counter testimonies from the Fathers, demonstrating two wills and operations in Christ; with passages from the writings of heretics at variance with this doctrine. These also were ordered to be sealed up like those of Macarius. The eighth session, March 7 (Labbe, 729 sq.), was the most important as far as Macarius was concerned, and decided his fate. The passages adduced by Agatho and his synod presented by the papal legates in favour of two wills and two operations in Christ having been examined and proved authentic,—"the royal convert having," in Gibbon's words, "converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of the bishops,"—the doctrine of the two wills was at once accepted by Georgius of Constantinople, together with nearly all the members of the council. Macarius was then called upon to declare his faith, and to state whether he accepted the letters of Agatho which had been recited. Undismayed by the rapidly-increasing solitariness of his position, Macarius persisted in a distinct denial of "two wills and two operations in the economy of the Incarnation," asserting "one single will and one theandric operation" (Labbe, 739), that "as the mind moves the body, so in Christ the Divine Will moved the humanity, the humanity being in every respect the dependent or passive organ of the Divine Nature" (Dorner, *Person of Christ*, div. ii. vol. i. p. 187, Clark's transl., where see a fuller account of Macarius's teaching). This bold declaration was followed by the desertion of five of his own suffragans. Macarius then delivered a precise oral statement of his faith on the controverted points, and being called upon by the emperor to furnish it in a documentary form, he presented a lengthy "Ecthesis," or Profession of Faith (Labbe, vi. 743–752; Mansi, x. 991 sq.). This document, although it was orthodox in the main, was explicit in its assertion of the single will. By the emperor's desire the passages adduced by Macarius in support of his tenets were compared with the originals, and found to be mutilated and garbled, and where correctly cited, misapplied. On being confronted with the genuine passages, he boldly acknowledged that he had purposely mutilated them, and defended his right to do so. The question was then solemnly put to him by the emperor, whether he would admit two natural wills and two natural operations in Christ? This in the most vehement terms he repudiated, declaring that he would never accept it, even if he were torn limb from limb or cast into the sea (Labbe, 751). On this the council rose and vociferously denounced him as "a new Dioscorus," and pronounced an anathema and a sentence of degradation. This was immediately carried out. He was stript of his pall by Basil, a bishop of Crete (Anastas. *Agathon.* § 145), and, with his presbyter Stephen, deposed as a contumacious heretic.

At the twelfth session, March 22, the emperor's officials put the inquiry in his name whether it would be possible for Macarius to be reinstated in event of his recanting his errors. This suggestion was vehemently negatived by the council, who recapitulated Macarius's crimes

to prove that such a thought could not be entertained. They called on the emperor to banish him; to which the suffragans and clergy dependent on the see of Antioch added their petition that the emperor would appoint a new patriarch in his room (Labbe, 937). The emperor made no difficulty in granting these requests. Theophanes was nominated to the patriarchate, and Macarius and the other condemned Monothelites, Stephen, Anastasius, Leontinus, Polychronius, and Epiphanius, were sent in exile to Rome, as the place where they were most likely to be converted from their errors. Anastasius and Leontius satisfied the expectations of their banishers and abjured their former creed, but Macarius "resisted alike all theological arguments, and all the more worldly temptations of reinstatement in the dignity and honours of his see" (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* ii. 139). Leo II. having succeeded Agatho on the papal throne, A.D. 683, Constantine addressed a letter to him, stating fully the case of the ill-named Macarius, ὁ μὴ μακάριος, informing him that it was at the urgent request of the members of the council that he and the others who had persisted in their open and contumacious resistance to the doctrine of the two wills had been despatched to the papal see, and that not until frequent warnings and exhortations had been used, and every way of conversion pointed out without effect (Labbe, vi. 1099 sq.). Leo's reply is not sparing of condemnation of Macarius, "the deceitful rogue" (ἀπατεῶνα), and Stephen, "his disciple, or, as he might be more truly called, his master" (*ib.* 1117). Benedict, who succeeded Leo the next year (684 A.D.), during his short pontificate laboured hard for Macarius's conversion. He assigned him a term of six weeks, during which he sent his chaplain Boniface daily to exhort him to repent of his errors. Macarius, however, remained deaf to all such exhortations; and we may take for granted that he died as he had lived, a consistent Monothelite. From this point history loses sight of him (Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre xl. p. 72, A.D. 685).

The only literary productions of Macarius extant are the "Ecthesis" already spoken of, and fragments of certain homilies or treatises; one addressed to a certain Lucas, an African monk, who had written to him as to the heresy of the Maximians, a public address (λόγος προσφωνητικός) to the emperor, and another, portions of which are found in the Acts of the sixth council. (Labbe, vi. 901–906.) [E. V.]

MACARIUS (11), deacon of Alexandria, who when at Constantinople wrote to inform Alexander bishop of Thessalonica of the iniquity of John Arcaph in spreading the false reports of the death of Arsenius (Athan. *Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 66). Tillemont (viii. 28, 64) thinks he may be the priest Macarius who was at Constantinople in 336 when Arius died. [MACARIUS (13).] [C. H.]

MACARIUS (12), presbyter of Athanasius. Early in his episcopate, perhaps in 329 or 330 (if his consecration was on June 8, 328, as according to Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 4), Athanasius was on a visitation in Mareotis, where he was informed that a layman named Ischyras was exercising priestly functions. Macarius was sent to summon the offender before the archbishop, but Ischyras being ill, his father was requested to restrain him from the offence. Ischyras on his recovery fled to the Meletians, who invented the accusation that Macarius, acting under the orders of Athanasius, had forced the chapel of Ischyras, overthrown his altar, broken the chalice, and burnt the sacred books (Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* cap. 63; Soc. i. 27; Hilar. Pict. *Fragm.* ii. § 18). Macarius is next found at the imperial court at Nicomedia, where he was on a mission with another priest, Alypius, when three Meletian clergy, Ision, Eudaemon, Callinicus, brought their accusation against Athanasius in reference to the linen vestments. Macarius and his companion were opportunely able to refute the calumny (Soc. i. 27; Soz. ii. 22). This may have been late in 330 or early in 331; Pagi's date 328 appears to be too early. Macarius and the three Meletians were still there when Athanasius arrived on a summons from Constantine, and while the Meletians brought against the archbishop the fresh charge of supplying money to Philumenus, Macarius was charged with the breaking of the chalice. This event also belongs to 331 [ATHANASIUS, vol. i. p. 184] (Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 13). The charge was easily disproved. Macarius is again found assisting Athanasius in his troubles when the archbishop was charged with the murder of Arsenius. As soon as this man had been found alive and John Arcaph had confessed the fraud, Macarius was sent to Constantinople to inform Constantine of the collapse of the whole calumny (Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* capp. 65, 66). Macarius is afterwards found at the council of Tyre in 335, where all the charges against Athanasius were investigated. He was dragged before the council in chains, and when the commission was sent by the council to Mareotis to investigate the affair of the chalice, which was still insisted on, Macarius was not allowed to accompany it, but was left in custody at Tyre. (Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* capp. 71, 72, 73; Mansi, ii. 1126, 1128, B, C; Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 14–23; Tillem. viii. 19–23.) See the following article. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (13), a presbyter at Constantinople in 336, who informed Athanasius of the death of Arius in that year. He was present in the church uniting with Alexander the bishop of Constantinople, while the latter was praying, on the day before Arius intended to present himself and demand to be received into communion. The bishop's prayer, that either Arius or himself might be taken from the world, is recorded at length in the letter of Athanasius to Serapion (capp. 2, 3; Tillem. vii. 36). Socrates (i. 37) states that Alexander, when he offered that prayer, was shut up alone in the church of Irene. Tillemont (viii. 64) thinks that this Macarius may have been identical with either MACARIUS (11) or (12). See also Baron. *A.E.* ann. 336, xi. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (14), a presbyter who with the deacons Martyrius and Hesychius came on a mission from the Eusebians in 339 to pope Julius to obtain his consent that Pistus should be placed in the see of Alexandria in the room of Athanasius. On hearing that envoys from Athanasius were on their way to Rome to oppose

this plot, Macarius, though ill, quitted the city by night to save himself from disgrace. (Athan. *Apol. c. Ar.* capp. 22, 24; Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 46; Tillem. vii. 269.) [C. H.]

MACARIUS (15), superior of the monastery of Pachnum in Thebais Secunda, succeeding the abbat Surus, mentioned in the Life of Pachomius (§ 78 in Boll. *Acta SS.* in Mai. 326 and p. 48* E at the end of the volume), the date being A.D. 349 according to Tillemont (viii. 574). See remarks in Till. vii. 481, 759. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (16), monk of Pisper, a disciple of Antony. Tillemont (viii. 574, 575) in his account of various saints of this name reckons Macarius of Pisper as the earliest. Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* capp. 25, 26), on the authority of the presbyter Cronius, who had visited the spot, describes Pisper as the locality of the monastery of St. Antony, which was by the Nile and on the mountain of St. Antony. The purpose of the monastery was to accommodate Antony's disciples, and those who came from distant parts to see him, his custom being to visit it for their benefit every five, ten, or twenty days. Macarius was in charge of it, and together with Amathas ministered to the saint during the last fifteen years of his life, which would be cir. 341–356, commencing when Antony was about ninety. See also Rufinus, *H. E.* ii. 8; Jerom. *Vit. Paul.* proleg. § 1, § 12; Athan. *Vit. Ant.* § 91. All that can be discovered as to Macarius of Pisper will be found in the discussions of Bolland on St. Antony (*Acta SS.* 17 Jan. ii. 11, § vi.) and on Macarius of Egypt (15 Jan. i. 1005, § i.). Tillemont's references to him will be found in his *Mém.* vii. 117, 118, 122, 132, 139, 140. At viii. 808 he remarks on the impossibility of his being identified with Macarius of Alexandria (*vid.* following art.). Ceillier (v. 599) notices that Possinus attributes to him the fifteen homilies which are printed as those of Macarius of Egypt. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (17). There were two hermits or monks of this name, both of the 4th century, both living in Egypt, whose characters and deeds are almost indistinguishable. The elder is called the Egyptian, the younger the Alexandrine, from having been born, the one in Alexandria itself, the other in some other part of Egypt. One of them (it is not quite certain which) is said to have been the disciple of Antony, and the master of Evagrius (q. v.), and one of them is said to have lived in the Thebaid. Jerome speaks of Rufinus (*Ep.* iii. 2, ed. Vall. A.D. 374) as "being at Nitria, and having reached the abode of Macarius." Yet Rufinus, who had lived six years in Alexandria and the adjoining monasteries, describes the residence of Macarius (*Hist. Mon.* 29)—which he names Scithium, and which he says was a day and a half's journey from the monasteries of Nitria—from the accounts of others rather than as an eye-witness. Rufinus, however, seems to have seen them both (*Apol. Ruf.* ii. 12). The stories about them are of a legendary character.

The name Macarius, like a double star, shines as a central light in the monkish history, and is enshrined alike in the Roman martyrologies and in the legends of the Greek church. Macarius is a favourite saint in Russia.

(Rufinus, *Hist. Mon.* 28, 29, and *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 4, 8; Palladius, 19, 20; Sozom. iii. 13; Socrates, iv. 18; Gennad. *d. V. Ill.* 11; *Martyrolog. Rom.* Jan. 5 and 15.) [W. H. F.]

MACARIUS (18), presbyter and president of a ptochotrophium at Alexandria. He reached the age of one hundred years, and lived into the time of Palladius (*Laus. Hist.* cap. 6). This Macarius is mentioned by Cassian (*Collat.* xiv. cap. 4), who calls him a man of remarkable kindness and patience, but designates the hospital a xenodochium. Cassian's commentator Alardus Gazaeus identifies this Macarius with the eminent Macarius of Alexandria [MACARIUS (17)], but Tillemont (viii. 575) distinguishes them. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (19), homicide and solitary in Egypt about the end of the 4th century. Palladius is the first to relate his story (*Laus. Hist.* cap. 17), which is again told by Sozomen (vi. 29), and after him by Cassiodorus (*Hist. Tripart.* viii. 1) and Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xi. 35). Sozomen calls him presbyter of Cellia, a desert spot seventy stadia from Nitria (l. c. and note of Valesius). See also Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 508. Tillemont (x. 418) thinks he retired into the desert about the year 364. [C. H.]

MACARIUS (20). He and his two sisters, Cornelia and Emerita, were Christians at Rome, A.D. 250, during the persecution of Decius; are mentioned in the letter of CELERINUS (Cyp. *Epp.* 21) and re-saluted as confessors by Lucian (*Ep.* 22) *from Carthage*, together with Calpurnius and Maria, Sabina, *Spesina*, *Januaria*, *Dativa*, *Donata* (the last four by their names apparently Carthaginian), as well as *Saturus*, Bassianus (clerics), *Uranius*, Alexius, Quintanus, Colonica, Alexius (*bis*), *Gaetulicus*. The italicised names are all familiar Carthaginian names: hence others of the group were possibly Carthaginian refugees belonging to the sixty-five mentioned in *Ep.* 21. This is no doubt the same Macarius who was one of the comrades of MAXIMUS both in Novatianising and in recanting. Fell makes him a bishop in his index, but he was a layman. *Ep.* 49: "Maximum presbyterum locum suum agnoscere . . . *caeteros* recepimus." [E. W. B.]

MACARIUS (21), a Roman officer, but whether a military man is not clear. He was a Christian, and was sent by the emperor Constans, together with Paulus, about A.D. 348, on the service of relieving the distress of the Christians in Africa, of providing ornaments for their churches, and in general of restoring peace in the country, disturbed by religious dissension, though this was not named in the commission. His proceedings did not prove acceptable to the Donatists, with whom there ensued a violent conflict, the blame of which they laid on Macarius. Affecting to identify the cause of their ecclesiastical opponents with his measures, they reproached the Catholics with the name of Macarians. He was also accused by the Donatists of acting the part of a bishop, of addressing the people in church, and even of celebrating the Eucharist, whereas they said he ought to have been excommunicated himself. He was also, together with his colleague, accused of an ab-

tempt to place an idol on a Christian altar, but of this no evidence whatever exists, and Morcelli thinks that it was only a display of the imperial standard, the Labarum. His conduct in all these respects is defended both by Augustine and Optatus, both of whom shew that what took place had no bearing on the theological question at issue between the two parties, but that the commissioners acted only as carrying out the imperial orders; and Augustine, replying to the taunt of the Donatists—that the Catholics belonged to the party of Macarius—and taking advantage after his manner of the form of this name, μακάριος, admits willingly that they did truly belong to the Macarian party. (Aug. c. *Petil.* ii. 39, 92; 92, 202, 208; iii. 25, 29; c. *Cresc.* iii. 49; *Ep.* 23, 29; 44; 93, 43; *Com. in Joann.* Tr. xi. c. 3, 15; *Opt.* iii. 3, 4, 8, 12; vii. 6; *Mon. Vet. Don.* 27, p. 227, ed. Oberthür; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. pp. 109–115; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* vii. 247, 251.) [H. W. P.]

MACARIUS (22) (other readings being MACRINUS and MACHRINUS), a Christian layman to whom, in association with a friend named John, Basil wrote a consolatory letter, probably belonging to the time of Julian, A.D. 362. (Basil, *Epist.* 18 [211].) [E. V.]

MACARIUS (23) (MACHARIUS), a distinguished Roman nobleman to whom Paulinus bishop of Nola, c. A.D. 409, wrote a long letter earnestly interceding with him on behalf of one Secundinianus (Paulin. Nol. ep. 49, in *Patr. Lat.* lxi. 399). This Macarius has been thought identical with the exvicarius mentioned by Palladius c. 419 (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 123); with the Macarius to whom Augustine wrote a consolatory letter on the death of his wife (ep. 259 al. 125); and also with the Macarius described by Gennadius (*De Script. Eccl.* c. 28, and Miraeus in loc.; Rosweyd's note 197 on Paulinus in *Pat. Lat.* lxi. 848; *Vit. Rufin.* lib. ii. capp. 1, 2, in *Patrol.* xxi. 115; Tillemont, *Mem.* xii. 203, xiv. 43, 133). [T. W. D.]

MACARIUS (24), a Christian of Rome in the end of the 4th century, who composed a work on divine providence in opposition to the heathen notions of fate and astrology. Being in some hesitation on account of the difficulties of the subject, he dreamed that he saw a ship entering the port, which brought relief to his doubts. He interpreted this dream of Rufinus, who just at that time arrived in Rome from Palestine, A.D. 397. He sought him out and asked what light he could give from the Greek writers, in answer to which Rufinus translated for him a eulogy on Origen by the martyr Pamphilus (said by Jerome to be really by Eusebius), and then, when Macarius urged him further, Origen's book named Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, the publication of which gave rise to a violent controversy, and to the well-known *Apologies* of Rufinus and Jerome (Ruf. *Apol.* i. 11). Jerome alludes to him by the pseudonym Ὄλβιος, and says "Tunc discipulus Ὄλβιος, vere nominis sui si in talem magistrum non impegisset." (Ep. 127, *Ad Principium*, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

MACEDONIUS (1), the second known bishop of Mopsuestia, Theodore being the first. His name is found among the Nicene fathers of 325 (Mansi, ii. 694, 699), his see being written corruptly in the second list, but there is some doubt as to the authenticity of his name in either (Tillem. vi. 640, 806) and he is ever afterwards found among the prominent Eusebians (Tillem. viii. 16). He and Maris of Chalcedon in particular are usually associated. In 335 he was one of the commission of enquiry sent by the council of Tyre to Mareotis (Athan. *Apol. c. Ar.* §§ 13, 72; Mansi, ii. 1125 D; Till. viii. 35, 42, 49). In 341 he was at the dedication council of Antioch and joined in the epistle to Julius bishop of Rome, in whose reply his name is mentioned (*Apol. c. Ar.* 20; Mansi, ii. 1308; Till. vi. 312). In 343 he and the four surviving commissioners of 335 were at the council of Sardica, as stated in the synodal letter of the Eusebians (Mansi, iii. 133 A; Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 92, n. 3), and he was one of the seceding synod of Philippopolis (Mansi, iii. 138; Till. viii. 95, 686), but his see is given corruptly in the subscriptions. The synodal epistle of this assembly informs us of another fact in the history of Macedonius (here styled "episcopus et confessor a Mopso"), namely, that he burnt the magical books of the Dacian bishop Paulinus (Hilar. *Fragm.* iii. in *Pat. Lat.* x. 674 C; Mansi, iii. 137 A; Till. vii. 32). In 344 he was deputed with Eudoxius, Martyrius, and others, to take the macrostich creed of the Antiochian synod into Italy (Ath. *De Synod.* 26; Soc. ii. 19; Phot. cod. 257 in *Pat. Gr.* civ. 126 D; Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 181). A letter of Liberius bishop of Rome states that Macedonius was present, along with the bishops Demophilus, Eudoxius, Martyrius, at a council of Milan (cir. 345, Hefel. ii. 189; Till. vi. 331), when they all four angrily quitted the assembly on being asked to condemn the opinion of Arius (Hilar. *Frag.* v. § 4 in *Pat. Lat.* x. 684 B; Hefel. ii. 189). Macedonius is recognised for the last time in 351, among those who drew up the first formula of Sirmium (Hilar. *Frag.* vi. § 7; Hefel. ii. 193; Till. vi. 351). In 360 the bishop of Mopsuestia is Auxentius (Tillem. vi. 491; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 889). See also Tillemont's remarks at xii. 438, xiv. 568. [C. H.]

MACEDONIUS (2), bishop of Constantinople. Alexander bishop of Constantinople is reported, when dying (A.D. 336), to have left it to the electors to choose as his successor one of two men. "If you desire," he said, "one competent to teach and of eminent piety, choose Paul"—a man whom he had himself ordained presbyter—"but," he continued, "if you will be content with one possessed of a venerable aspect and of an outward show only of sanctity, then appoint the aged Macedonius who has long been a deacon among you" (Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 6). The story is repeated by Sozomen (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 3), but without the sarcasm. Macedonius is described not as a hypocrite, but as one "conversant with public affairs, able to confer with rulers, and in these respects more qualified than Paul." So far as after events help to decide between these descriptions, Macedonius was far more of a man of the world than a religious hypocrite.

At the time of the bishop's death party feeling ran high. The orthodox followers of Alexander

at once supported Paul, the Arians rallied round Macedonius; and the former was ordained bishop. He did not hold his bishopric long. The emperor Constantius came to Constantinople, convened a synod of Arian bishops, banished Paul, and, to the disappointment of Macedonius, translated Eusebius of Nicomedia to the vacant see (A.D. 338). Eusebius lived only long enough to see the council of Antioch (A.D. 341) depose Athanasius, and to request pope Julius himself to examine and judge the decrees against the orthodox bishop of Alexandria. His death was the signal for the renewal of hostilities between the partisans of Paul and Macedonius. Paul returned, and was introduced into the *Irene* church of Constantinople; Arian bishops immediately ordained Macedonius in the church dedicated to St. Paul. So violent did the tumult become that Constantius sent his general Hermogenes to eject Paul for a second time. His soldiers were met with open resistance; the general himself was killed, and his body dragged through the city. Constantius at once left Antioch, and punished the people of Constantinople by depriving them of half their daily allowance of corn. Paul was expelled; and Macedonius was severely blamed for the part he had taken in these disturbances, and for the irregularity he had condoned in allowing himself to be ordained without the imperial sanction; but practically the Arians triumphed. Macedonius's ordination, if not ratified, was not dissolved, and he was permitted to officiate in the church in which he had been consecrated.

Paul went to Rome, and, together with Athanasius and other orthodox bishops expelled from their sees, asked restoration at the hands of Rome. Julius reinstated them, and sent them back to their sees with letters rebuking those who had deposed them. Paul resumed his episcopal functions only to be once more ejected. Philip the prefect executed the fresh orders of the emperor in hurrying Paul into exile to Thessalonica, and in reinstating Macedonius. The latter act was not carried out without bloodshed. Macedonius appeared seated with the prefect in his chariot and accompanied by a military guard. On reaching the church, the crowd was so great that there was no room for Philip and Macedonius to pass up. The soldiers construed the impossibility of moving into obstinate resistance, and with their swords hewed a passage to the altar. "After such distinguished achievements," says Socrates (ii. 16), "Macedonius was seated in the episcopal chair by the prefect rather than by the ecclesiastical canon, as if he had not been the author of any calamity, but was altogether guiltless of what had been perpetrated."

Macedonius held the see for about six years, while letters and delegates, the pope and the emperors, synods and counter-synods, were debating and disputing the treatment of Paul and Athanasius. In A.D. 349 the alternative of war offered to Constantius by Constans emperor of the West if he did not respect the decisions of Julius of Rome and of the council of Sardica in favour of Paul, induced Constantius to reinstate him; and Macedonius had to retire to a private church. It was only for a short time. The murder of Constans (A.D. 350) placed the East under the sole control of Constantius. Paul was at once sent into exile, and—according to the statement of Socrates—strangled at Cucusus in Cappadocia. Imperial edicts followed, which permitted the Arians to consider and proclaim themselves the dominant faction in the church.

Macedonius is said to have signalled his return to power by acts which, if truly reported, brand him as a cruel bigot. It was perhaps natural that he should promote to ecclesiastical honours in the cities and provinces adjacent to Constantinople the men who had sided with and supported him. Among these was Marathonius, a man whom he had ordained deacon, and who had shewn great activity in founding monasteries, and Eleusius. The latter became bishop of Cyzicus, the former of Nicomedia. But it was an act of fanatical zeal to force by violence and torture the acceptance of Arian views. The Novatians, whose views were not altogether those of the Catholic church, suffered perhaps even more fearfully than the orthodox, and some of them were stung into a desperate resistance. The ecclesiastical historians recount with pleasure the act of the Novatians in Constantinople, who bodily removed the materials of their church to a distant suburb of the city; and they record the heroism of the sect at Mantinium in Paphlagonia who, armed with hooks and hatchets, dared to face and conquer the imperial soldiers sent to expel them from their home. "The exploits of Macedonius," says Socrates (ii. 38), "on behalf of Christianity, consisted of murders, battles, incarcerations, and civil wars."

The odium generated by such acts had already detached him from imperial favour; an act of presumption finally lost it to him (A.D. 358). The sepulchre containing the relics of Constantine the Great was in danger of falling to pieces, and Macedonius determined to remove them. The question was made a party one. The orthodox assailed as sacrilege "the disinterment of the supporter of the Nicene faith," the Macedonians pleaded the necessities of structural repair. When the remains were conveyed to the church of Acacius the Martyr, the excited populace met in the church and churchyard; a carnage ensued so frightful that the place was filled with blood and slaughtered bodies. The news reached Constantius, and his anger was great against Macedonius as the cause of the slaughter; but it was even greater because he had dared to remove the body of Constantine without consulting him.

The violence of the bishop's proceedings and the umbrage he had given to the emperor, combined in bringing about the fall of Macedonius. When he presented himself at the council of Seleucia (A.D. 359), it was ruled that being under accusation it was not proper for him to remain (Socrates, ii. 40). His opponents, Acacius, Eudoxius, and others, followed him to Constantinople, and, availing themselves of the emperor's indignation, deposed him (A.D. 360) on the ground of cruelty and canonical irregularities. Macedonius retired to one of the suburbs of the city, and died there.

It was in his retirement that he is said to have elaborated the views with which his name is connected [HOLY GHOST, p. 121]. His doctrine was embraced by Eleusius, Marathonius, and others; and the last named brought so much

zeal to the cause that not unfrequently the upholders of these views were better known as Marathonians. Their grave, ascetic manners, coupled with a pleasing and persuasive eloquence, secured many followers not only in Constantinople, but also in Thrace, Bithynia, and the provinces of the Hellespont. Under the emperor Julian they were strong enough to declare in synod at Zele in Pontus their separation from the Arians on the one hand, and the orthodox on the other. In A.D. 374 pope Damasus, and in A.D. 381 the council of Constantinople condemned their views, and they gradually ceased to exist as a distinctive sect. For authorities, consult the scattered notices in Socrates, Sozomen; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i.; the usual Church histories and the reff. under HOLY GHOST. [J. M. F.]

MACEDONIUS (3) II., patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 495. For an account of his election see EUPHEMIUS (4). Macedonius had been brought up in pious asceticism by his uncle, the patriarch Gennadius. He had even gone so far as to castrate himself. The innocence of his life and the purity of his faith had attracted to him the regard of the empress Ariadne, and of the principal dignitaries of the court. It was apparently at their instance, in order to make the deposition of Euphemius less odious, that Macedonius had been chosen to be his successor. Macedonius within a year or two (the date is uncertain) assembled a council, in which he confirmed in writing that of Chalcedon, and openly professed, as he always did, his adhesion to the orthodox faith. In 507 Elias patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been unwilling to sanction the deposition of Euphemius, united himself in communion with Macedonius. Anastasius employed all means to oblige Macedonius to declare against the council of Chalcedon. His efforts were useless. Flattery and threats were alike unavailing. An assassin named Eucolus was even hired to take away his life. The patriarch avoided the blow, and ordered a fixed amount of provisions to be given monthly to the criminal. The people of Constantinople had no less zeal than their patriarch for the council of Chalcedon, and this was pushed more than once to the point of sedition. To prevent unfavourable consequences, Anastasius ordered the prefect of the city to follow in the processions, and to be present in the assemblies of the church. In 510 the emperor made a new effort to make Macedonius condemn the council of Chalcedon. Macedonius replied that he would do nothing without an oecumenical council, at which the bishop of great Rome should preside. Anastasius, annoyed at this answer, and irritated because Macedonius would never give him back the engagement which he had made at his coronation to maintain the faith of the church and the authority of the council of Chalcedon, sought means to drive him from his chair. He sent him sometimes the Eutychian monks and clergy, sometimes the magistrates of the city, to load him in public with outrage and insult. This conduct caused such a tumult amongst the citizens, that the emperor was obliged to shut himself up in his palace and to have vessels moored hard by in case he should be obliged to take to flight. However, he sent messengers to beg Macedonius to come and speak with him, although he had vowed that he would never see him again. Macedonius went to the palace, and reproached him with the sufferings which his persecutions caused the church. Anastasius pretended to be willing to change in this respect, but at the same time he made a third attempt to tamper with the orthodoxy of the patriarch. One of his instruments for this purpose was Xenaïas, a Eutychian bishop. He demanded of Macedonius a declaration of his faith in writing; Macedonius addressed a memorandum to the emperor in which he insisted that he knew no other faith than that of the Fathers of Nicæa and Constantinople, and that he anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who admitted two Sons or two Christs, or who divided the two natures. This document had an unexpected effect on the monks of Constantinople. They were so offended because he had made no mention of Ephesus and Chalcedon that they separated from his communion. To disabuse them of this misunderstanding, the patriarch went to the monastery of St. Dalmatius, made the monks an address in which he accounted for his conduct, and announced that he held as heretics all who refused to receive him; after which he administered to them holy communion.

Xenaïas, seeing the failure of his first attempt, procured two infamous wretches, who, in an attainder brought before Marinus prefect of the city and Cellor master of the offices, accused Macedonius of an abominable crime, avowing themselves his accomplices. On this accusation Anastasius ordered Cellor to enter the episcopal residence and to arrest the archbishop. Macedonius vigorously protested his innocence, and it was easy for him to prove that a eunuch could not have committed the crime of which he was accused. They then charged him with Nestorianism, and with having falsified a passage in an epistle of St. Paul, in support of that sect. At last the emperor commanded him to send him by the hands of the master of the offices the authentic copy of the Acts of the council of Chalcedon signed with the autographs of the bishops. Macedonius refused, sealed it up, and hid it under the altar of the great church. On this refusal, Anastasius had him carried off by night and taken to Chalcedon, to be conducted thence to Eucaïta in Pontus, the place of the exile of his predecessor. To prevent the consequences which sorrow for the expulsion of their patriarch might excite amongst the citizens, the emperor caused Timothy, presbyter and treasurer of the church of Constantinople, a man said to be without honour or religion, to take possession of the see the very next day. Then, to give some semblance of formality to the proceeding, he assembled a council, in which the accusers of Macedonius were at once witnesses and judges, and they condemned him, in his absence, to be deposed. He had not got farther than Claudiopolis in Pontus, when some bishops and a presbyter of Cyzicus overtook him, with the object of announcing his deposition. As soon as he saw them, he asked them whether they received the council of Chalcedon. As they would not explain themselves on that point he added: "If Sabbatianists and Macedonianists pretend to depose me, is that a ground why I should consider myself deposed?" The bishops, confounded at

his words, retired without accomplishing their object. Macedonius continued his journey to Eucaïta. In 515 pope Hormisdas worked for the restitution of Macedonius, whom he considered unjustly deposed; it had been a stipulation in the treaty of peace between Vitalian and Anastasius that the patriarch and all the deposed bishops should be restored to their sees. But Anastasius never kept his promises, and Macedonius died in exile. His death occurred not at Eucaïta, but at Gangra, where he had retired for fear of the Huns, who ravaged all Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus. He died about 517, and the event was said to be followed by a number of miracles. (Theod. Lect. ii. 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi.; Mansi, viii. 186, 198; Vict. Tun. *Chron.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 948; Evagr. III. xxxi. xxxii. in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi. 2661; Theoph. *Chron.* 120, 121, 122, 123, 128, 130, 132; Liberat. vii. in *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 982.) [W. M. S.]

MACEDONIUS (4), patriarch of Antioch. After a long vacancy of the see of Antioch, which was then in the hands of the Mohammedans, Macedonius was appointed and consecrated patriarch by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 640 (Eutych. Alexandr. *Annal.* p. 270). Like Sergius, Macedonius was a determined Monothelite. After his appointment, he continued to reside at Constantinople, and never once visited his see. At the Lateran council of 649 A.D., summoned by pope Martin to check the rising Monothelite heresy, Macedonius was condemned and deposed, both for heresy and for his uncanonical ordination. Striking evidence of the zealous activity for the maintenance of the orthodox faith shewn by the ill-fated Martin—who six years later, A.D. 655, "expiated his audacity in daring to resist the will of the emperor on an abstruse theological point" (Gibbon), by a long imprisonment attended with every form of indignity, ending in his death at Cherson—is afforded by his letter to John bishop of Philadelphia, one of many sent to the Frankish kings, to Spain, Africa, and even to Britain—(*Ep.* 5, Labbe, vi. 20–26; Baron. ann. 649), in which he appointed him his legate in the East to supersede the heretical patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. We learn from the protest of Macarius of Antioch in the sixth general council (Labbe, vi. 749) that Macedonius was present at the synod summoned by Peter patriarch of Constantinople, and joined in the condemnation of Maximus. He must, therefore, have held his see till after 655 A.D. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 740.) [E. V.]

MACEDONIUS (5), vicar of Africa A.D. 414, charged with the duty of enforcing the imperial decrees against the recusant Donatists. Augustine and some of the African bishops had written to him a letter, of which Bonifacius, probably bishop of Cataqua, was the bearer (Morcelli, i. 181), to intercede on behalf of these people. Macedonius at once granted the request, but desired to be favoured with the reasons for which the church thought fit to intercede on behalf of offenders who appeared to be incorrigible. He requested at the same time that Augustine would send him the books which he had promised to send, viz. the first three books of his work *De Civitate Dei* (Aug. *Ep.* 152). Augustine replied at length, and the correspondence continued, Augustine exhorting Macedonius to continue the course of piety he is already following (*Epp.* 153–155; Possid. *Vit. Aug.* c. 20; Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii. art. 241, 242; Ceillier, vol. ix. pp. 134–138). [H. W. P.]

MACEDONIUS (6), a Christian of Hippo Regius, from whom Augustine borrowed seventeen solidi [a] (*Ep.* 268). [FASCIUS.] [H. W. P.]

MACEDONIUS (7), Jan. 24, surnamed CRITOPHAGUS, priest and solitary near Antioch and well known in Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. He is one of the worthies of Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* (cap. 13 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 1399). He lived to a great age. Tillemont (xii. 487, 681) examines his chronology, fixing his birth at about 330 and his desert life cir. 360–430. Some time after 381 (Tillem. x. 533) Flavian bishop of Antioch induced him to accept ordination to the priesthood. Macedonius by his counsels did much to rescue the citizens of Antioch from their peril at the time of the sedition about the statues in 387. Theodoret makes fresh mention of this circumstance elsewhere (*E. H.* v. 19 al. 20). Chrysostom also refers to it (*Hom.* 17 § 1), but without naming Macedonius. [C. H.]

MACHAEUS, Roman Novatianist, see MAXIMUS (7) the Novatianist. (Cyp. *Ep.* 44, 50.) [E. W. B.]

MACHUTA, a virgin martyr mentioned in the life of St. Tathan (*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, 261–2). A virgin martyr, Maches, daughter of Gwynllyw, gave name in the 6th century to Llanfaches in Monmouthshire (R. Rees, 233). A pagan Saxon mendicant is said to have stabbed her with a knife. How early did any Saxons reach this district? [C. W. B.]

MAC LAISIR (Cotton, *Fast.* iii. 5), bishop and abbat of Armagh, A.D. 610–623. His feast is Sept. 12 (*M. Doneg.*). He is often regarded as the Terenannus bishop of Armagh, whom archbishop Laurentius attracted to Canterbury and converted to the Catholic Easter (Ussher, *Syll. Ep.* vii.); but Haddan and Stubbs (*Counc.* iii. 61) think it most improbable. [J. G.]

MACLIAVUS, bishop of Vannes, brother of Chanao count of Brittany. Chanao in A.D. 553 murdered three of his brothers, but the fourth, Macliavus, was hidden by count Conaber, and then protected by his bishopric. On Chanao's death he seized the countship, resumed his married life, and held the countship with his bishopric, in spite of excommunication by the Breton bishops, until he was himself assassinated before A.D. 577. (Gregory of Tours, iv. 4; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 75.) [C. W. B.]

MACLOVIUS, ST., or Machutus, son of Derwela, a sister of Amwn Ddu, became bishop of Aleth in Brittany, now called from him St. Malo (R. Rees, 256). His life was compiled in

[a] Seventeen solidi = £15 14s. 1½d. (Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.* p. 1241.). In the Article on FASCIUS the amounts are by a mistake given respectively as 15 and £17 19s. 1½d., and the ref. to *Dict.* as p. 1240 instead of p. 1241.

the 12th century by Baldric bishop of Dole (Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, i. 217–22). A previous life, by Sigebert of Gembloux, written between 1076 and 1099, is in Surius, *Vit. SS.* 15th Nov. p. 349, and see the life in the Bibliotheca Floriacensis, 1605, pp. 485–515.

[C. W. B.]

MACNISI, founder and first bishop of Connor, co. Antrim (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. 3, i. 662–6). A.D. 514 appears the most probable for his death, and Sept. 3 is his feast. (Reeves, *Eccl. Ann.* 95 sq., 237 sq.; Cotton, *Fast.* iii. 245–6; Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 140, 147, 267.)

[J. G.]

MAC RIAGAIL, bishop, and abbat of Birr, died A.D. 722, identified by O'Conor (*Ep. Nun.* 211, 231) with the writer of the *Book of Mac Regol* or Codex Rushworthianus, a copy of the Four Gospels in Latin, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version, in the Bodleian Library. (Wanleius, *Cat.* 81–2.) [J. G.]

MACRINA (1), THE ELDER, the paternal grandmother of Basil and Gregory Nyssen, a resident at and probably a native of Neocaesarea in Pontus. Both Macrina and her husband, of whose name we are ignorant, were Christians, and of a very high order of piety. Macrina had been trained on the precepts of the celebrated bishop of Neocaesarea, Gregory Thaumaturgus, by some who had been his hearers. Baronius in his Martyrology (Jan. 14) erroneously speaks of her having been instructed by Gregory himself, which is negatived by the dates, and is at variance with Basil's own description of her religiously storing up the holy man's words which had been preserved by memory and come down to her, ὅσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀκολουθίᾳ μνήμης διασωθέντα (Basil. *Epist.* 204 [75] § 6). Both Macrina and her husband were sufferers in the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. To save their lives they left their home with a slender equipment and escaped to one of the hill forests of Pontus, where they are said to have lived in safe retirement for seven years. It is no cause for surprise that in the exaltation of feeling natural at such a time, ordinary events assumed a marvellous character, and that the stags which from time to time provided the family with food in straits of hunger were regarded as sent by miracle (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 20 pp. 319–321). On the cessation of the persecution, A.D. 311, Macrina and her husband returned to Neocaesarea. On the renewal of the persecution they appear to have been again sufferers. Their goods were confiscated and Macrina and her husband obtained the right to be reckoned among the confessors of the faith (Greg. Nyss. *de Vit. S. Macr.* tom. ii. pp. 178, 191). In due time their son Basil married Emmelia, and became the father of a numerous family of ten children, of whom the eldest bore her grandmother's name Macrina, and the second that of his father Basil. This boy, who afterwards became the celebrated bishop of Caesarea known as Basil the Great, was brought up from his infancy by his grandmother Macrina, at her country house at Annesi, to which she seems to have retired after her husband's death (Basil. *Epist.* 204 [75] § 6; 223 [79] § 3). Her death cannot be placed before 340 A.D. [E. V.]

MACRINA (2), THE YOUNGER, the elder sister of Basil the Great and Gregory Nyssen, born c. 327 A.D. Macrina was the eldest child of her parents Basil and Emmelia, and by her position in the family, and still more by her force of character, high intellectual gifts, and earnest piety, she proved the well-spring of good to the whole household, and so contributed largely to form the characters of her brothers. To her brother Basil in particular she was ever a wise and loving counsellor. [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA, GREGORIUS (15), NAUCRATIUS, PETRUS OF SEBASTE.] Basil was born in or about the year 329 A.D., and we cannot be far wrong in placing Macrina's birth about 327 A.D. She received the name of Macrina from her paternal grandmother [MACRINA (1)], and by this she was commonly known. But in obedience to a dream her mother had had shortly before her child's birth, she was given the second name of Thecla, as a title of consecration in honour of the celebrated virgin martyr of that name (Greg. Nyssen, *de Vit. S. Macrinae*, ii. p. 178). Macrina was very carefully educated by her mother Emmelia, who was more anxious that her child should be familiar with the sacred writers than with the heathen poets. Under her mother's instructions she committed to memory the moral and ethical portion of the books of Solomon, as well as the whole of the Psalter. Of the last she was so completely mistress, according to their then ecclesiastical arrangement, before she attained her twelfth year, that at each hour of the day she was ready with the Psalm belonging to it (*ib.* 179). As she grew into womanhood her personal beauty, in which, according to her brother Gregory's statement, she surpassed all of her age and country, and her large fortune, attracted many suitors. Of these her father Basil selected a young advocate, of good birth and position. Macrina's influence at once began to make itself felt. The young man, that he might be the more worthy of such a bride, devoted himself with redoubled earnestness to his legal studies, and was gaining reputation as an advocate when he was cut off by a premature death. Having been affianced to him by her father, and their marriage having been only prevented by his decease, Macrina regarded herself as still his wife in the eye of God, and affirming that marriage was an act that could no more be repeated than birth or death, and that her betrothed husband was still living, though in a distant land, and that the resurrection would reunite them, she resolutely refused to listen to any further proposals of marriage (*ib.* 180). After her father's death, which occurred c. 349, she devoted herself entirely to the care of her widowed mother, the bringing up of her infant brother Peter, and the supervision of the interests of her family. Emmelia was left burdened with a large and extensive property, and the maintenance of and provision for nine children. Of the greater part of this load Macrina relieved her. Chiefly through her wise management, her four sisters formed satisfactory marriages, after which we hear no more of them. The family estates being spread through three different provinces, the demands for taxes and other state payments to be made to

three governors and their officials would have caused considerable harassment to the widow but for her daughter's resolve to undertake the whole of the difficult business herself. Macrina was also her mother's exclusive personal attendant, being better to her, her brother says, than many maidservants. She often made and baked the bread, and prepared her mother's other food, with her own hands (*ib.* p. 181). Their residence at this time, or soon afterwards, was on the paternal estate near the village of Annesi, Ἄννησοι, on the banks of the Iris, near Neocaesarea, which Macrina never left, and where she subsequently established the religious community of which she was the head. About 355 A.D. Basil returned from Athens elated with his university successes, and full of hopes of a grand career as an advocate and rhetorician, looking down with contempt from his intellectual eminence on men of rank and official station. Macrina reduced the young man's self-conceit and infused into him the disregard of all earthly wealth and distinctions, and the enthusiastic love for an ascetic life of perfect poverty, which ruled in her own breast (*ib.* 181). The brother and sister planted themselves on different portions of their paternal estate on opposite banks of the Iris. The premature death of her brother Naucratius, the most dearly loved of all her brothers, on a hunting expedition, 357 A.D., strengthened her resolution to separate altogether from this world and its pursuits, and under the influence of the same sorrow, she persuaded her mother also, who was nearly brokenhearted at her loss, to embrace the ascetic life. The nucleus of the sisterhood was formed by their female servants and slaves. Devout women, some of high rank, soon gathered round them, while the birth and high connections of Macrina and her mother attracted the daughters of the most aristocratic families in Pontus and Cappadocia to the community (*ib.* 184, 186). Among its members were a widow of high rank and wealth, named Vestiana, and a virgin named Lampadia, who is described as the chief of the band (*ib.* 197). Macrina took with her to her retreat her youngest brother Peter, who was "all in all to his mother and sister, labouring with them towards the attainment of the angelical life" (*ib.* 186). The elevation of her brother Basil to the see of Caesarea, 370 A.D., filled his relations with joy, and became a stimulus to a higher pitch of asceticism and separation from the world. It was probably the next year, 371 A.D., that Peter, who had barely attained the canonical age, was ordained presbyter by his distinguished brother (*ib.* 187). Two years later, 373 A.D., Emmelia died between her two children Macrina and Peter, holding their hands, and offering them to God with her dying breath, as the first-fruits and tenths of her womb, and was buried by them in her husband's grave at the chapel of the "Forty Martyrs." Macrina sustained her third great sorrow in the death of her brother Basil, whom she had long regarded with the highest degree of reverential affection, January 1, 379 A.D. Her grief had an injurious effect upon her health, already much enfeebled by her austerities. Nine months after Basil's death, her brother Gregory Nyssen, on his return from the council of Antioch, paid her a visit. Owing to his banishment under Valens and his other trials and persecutions for the faith, it was eight or nine years since the brother and sister had met, and they were looking forward to the interview with the keenest anxiety. Gregory's arrival was one of disappointment. He had missed his brother Peter, who had started four days before to meet him by another road; Macrina was hopelessly ill of fever. After evensong in the nunnery chapel, he went to his sister's chamber, where he found the aged invalid with her medical adviser by her side, parched with fever and drenched with cold sweats, stretched on a couple of planks on the ground, the wood barely covered with a bit of sackcloth. One of the planks was a little sloped to raise her head and shoulders. The pallet was carefully arranged to face the east. On her brother's approach she made a vain effort to rise to do him honour as a bishop; Gregory prevented her, and had her placed on her bed (*ib.* 189). His narrative of what followed is very pathetic. With great self-command Macrina, ἡ μεγάλη, as he delights to call her, restrained her groans, checked her asthmatic pantings, and putting on a cheerful countenance endeavoured to divert him from the present sorrow by inquiries after relatives and common friends and other ordinary topics. At last she ventured to speak of Basil's death. On this Gregory completely broke down. She, in spite of her own grief, comforted him, and when her consolations proved unavailing, rebuked him for sorrowing like those who had no hope for one who had fallen asleep in Christ. Gregory defended himself by the common topics of the preciousness of life. Macrina, forgetting her pain, rebuked him for the doubt, and bid him argue out the point with her. After a somewhat prolix controversy, Macrina, as though under divine inspiration—*καθάπερ θεοφορουμένη τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*—her words pouring out without stay, like water from a fountain (*ib.* 189), delivered the long discourse on the resurrection and immortality of the soul which Gregory has recorded — more probably in his own than his dying sister's words — in the "*De Anima ac Resurrectione Dialogus*," entitled *τὰ Μακρίνια* (*Opp.* tom. iii. pp. 181–260). On the conclusion of this remarkable discourse (in which the purificatory nature of the fire of hell is unmistakably set forth, being caused by the separation of the evil from the good in each man, the anguish being in exact proportion to the rootedness of the sinful habits,—*μέτρον τῆς ἀλγηδόνης ἡ τῆς κακίας ἐν ἑκάστῳ ποσότης ἐστίν*, p. 227), noticing that her brother was weary she sent him to rest awhile in an arbour in the garden. Towards the close of the same day, he revisited her bedside. She began a thankful review of her past life, recounting God's mercies to her; "she had never been compelled to refuse any who asked of her, nor to ask of others herself" (*ib.* 191, 192). Gregory beginning to talk of his labours for the church and his sufferings under Valens, she checked him, reminding him that he owed all he had been enabled to do to the education he had received from his parents and to their prayers. On the following morning she employed her little remaining strength in consoling, raising, and instructing her brother. Gregory records her words as long as they were audible. At

last her voice failed, and it was only by the motion of her lips, and her outspread hands—διαστολὴ τῶν χειρῶν—that she was known to be praying. She signed her eyes, mouth, and breast with the cross. Dusk came on; lights were brought in; Macrina immediately attempted to chant the ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία—but "silently with her hands and with her heart." She once more signed herself on the face with the cross; gave a deep sigh, and finished her life and her prayers together (*ib.* 195). Round her neck was found an iron cross, and a ring containing a particle of the true cross (*ib.* 198). She was buried by her brother in the grave of her parents in the chapel of the "Forty Martyrs" already mentioned, about a mile from her monastery. Gregory was assisted in carrying the bier by Araxius, the bishop of the diocese (probably Ibora), and two of the leading clergy. After her death many miracles said to have been performed by her were reported to Gregory (*ib.* 199, 202–204). Macrina is commemorated both in the Menaea of the Greek Church, and in the Roman Calendar on the 19th of July. (Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* ix. 564–573.) [E. V.]

MACRINUS, bishop of Jamnia, one of the Palestinian bishops whom Alexander bishop of Alexandria in his encyclical letter warned against Arius (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxix. 4; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 587). Three bishops of this name were present at the council of Nicaea in 325, viz. of Jamnia, of Eleutheropolis in Palestine, and of Helenopolis. See Mansi, ii. 693, 698; but the two lists shew several discrepancies as to the names of sees, especially in the case of the Palestinian bishops. [C. H.]

MACROBIUS (1), fourth Donatist bishop of Rome, said by Optatus to have been contemporary with Siricius, A.D. 384–398 (*Opt.* ii. 3, 4). He is said by Gennadius to have been originally a Catholic, and to have written an exhortation to Christian confessors and virgins in Africa during a time of persecution. But there was no general persecution of Christians later than A.D. 362, and thus, if Gennadius be correct, the Christians in question may have been such as suffered, or were in danger of suffering, during the period of Arian ascendency under Constantius, A.D. 355–361, or during the Donatist revival under Julian A.D. 362, 363. If so, Macrobius must have changed sides later than this latter date, and accepted the episcopate among his new allies. But Gennadius may have been mistaken, and the so-called Catholics have been really Donatists. In this case the author of the exhortation may have been the writer of the piece called the "Passion of Isaac and Maximian," A.D. 349, and who thirty-six years later became Donatist bishop of Rome. But the exhortation itself is lost, and all argument founded upon it must be little more than mere conjecture. (Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 87, 710, note xxi.; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* ii. pp. 222, 249, 251; Ceillier, v. 106.) [MONTENSES.] [H. W. P.]

MACROBIUS (2), Donatist bishop of Hippo Regius, having succeeded Proculeianus, about A.D. 405 or 406. When he entered the town to take possession of his see, he was attended by a mob of shouting Circumcellions, of whose conduct he approved so little, that he afterwards addressed to them, through an interpreter, a rebuke so severe, that they left him in an uproar of indignation (Aug. *Ep.* 108. 14). Rusticianus, or Rusticanus, a Catholic subdeacon, having grossly misconducted himself, and been punished by his presbyter with excommunication, seceded to the Donatist party, and was about to be rebaptized, under the sanction of Macrobius, and advanced to the office of deacon in the Donatist community. Hearing of this, and believing Macrobius to be, as the circumstance above-mentioned seemed to shew, a man of temperate and peaceable disposition, Augustine wrote to him to remonstrate on the gross irregularity. At first Macrobius refused to receive the bearers of the letter, but afterwards, in replying to its appeal, declared that having been only lately appointed to the see he felt bound to follow the practice of his predecessor. To this Augustine replied in a second letter, in which he went over the chief grounds of his general argument against the Donatists. Macrobius appears to have paid no attention to this appeal, and on a later occasion to have made use of the Circumcellions in forcing open Donatist churches, closed by order of Honorius, and to have rebaptized one Donatus who had been concerned in the murder of a Catholic presbyter. He also appeared at the Carthaginian Conference as Donatist bishop of Hippo Regius, A.D. 411. (Aug. *Epp.* 106, 108, 111, 139; *de Rustic.* 5; Carth. Conf. i. 138, 201 in *M. V. D.* p. 451, ed. Oberthür; Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii. 976; Ribbeck, *Aug. und Don.* pp. 512, 514.) [H. W. P.]

MADERN, ST., saint of the parish in which Penzance in Cornwall is situated. William of Worcester (126) says, "Sanctus Mortanus martir est in parochia Sancti Mortani, distat ultra villam Pensans per 4 miliaria super littus maris." The well of the saint was famous for its cures down to bishop Joseph Hall's time, who has recorded one of them in his book called *The Great Mystery of Godliness*, p. 169. Some would identify this saint with St. Maternus (*Acta Sanctorum*, 18th July, iv. 364–70), others with St. Paternus bishop of Vannes (*Acta Sanctorum*, 15th April, ii. 379–82). St. Madern's bed is mentioned, which resembles St. Patrick's bed and that of St. Aidus (in which St. Molling suffered so much [*Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, 573]); and he was more probably one of the many Irish saints who settled in the west of Cornwall; but see also MADRUN. [C. W. B.]

MADOG, ST., son of Gildas, the founder of Llanfadog in Wales in the sixth century. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 257.) [C. W. B.]

MAEDHOG. [MAIDOC.]

MAELOG, son of Caw and brother of Gildas. The Fleury life of Gildas says that he left his father and came to Lyuhes in the district of Elmail, where he built a monastery, in which he rested in peace, illustrious for his virtues and miracles. This refers to Llowes in Elfael, Radnorshire. Several churches called Llandyfaelog were founded by him (R. Rees, 230–1). His day was 31st Dec., but there was also a Meilig, son of Caw, commemorated 14th Nov.,

and a cross in the parish of Llowes is called Croes Veilig, Meilig's Cross. Maelog was a disciple of St. Cybi. (*Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, 496, 498.) [C. W. B.]

MAELRUAIN, MAOLRUAIN (MELRUAN, MOELRUAN, MOLRUAN), abbat of Tallaght, co. Dublin, called "bishop and soldier of Christ" in *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 791. (For his pedigree, see Colgan, *Acta SS.* 741 c. 3.) Of his acts up to the founding of the monastery at Tallaght we know nothing; his later work is only known in connexion with St. Aengus the Culdee, who came to Tallaght while Maelruain was abbat. On ground given him by Donnchadh king of Leinster, Maelruain built his church about A.D. 769, and dedicated it to Michael the Archangel (O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 364); connected with this was a famous monastery over which Maelruain presided till his death in A.D. 792 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 787). He may have been bishop as well as abbat, and is often so called. His feast is July 7, and his name is still held in special veneration at Tallaght. He was associated with St. Aengus in compiling the *Martyrologium Aengussii filii Hua-oblenii, et Moelruanii*, better known as the *Martyrologium Tamlachtense*, or *Martyrology of Tallaght*, from the place of its compilation; but additions were made to it after the death of the compilers, the names of both being inserted. The oldest copy of this work is in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and a compilation or catalogue of Irish saints from it is published by Dr. Kelly in his *Calendar of Irish Saints*, 1857 (Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* iii. 232 sq.; O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 353, 362 sq.; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. p. xii. sq.). A copy of his Rule (Riagail na Celed nDe O Moelruain cecinit) is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac* or Speckled Book, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and given with full translation and illustrations by Reeves (*British Culdees*, 84 sq.). It is an Irish tract in prose, more a canonical than a monastic rule, and analogous to Chrodegang of Metz's *Regula Canonicorum* [CHRODEGANG]. In his account of the extant Irish monastic rules, O'Curry (*Lect. Ir. MS.* 375) thus summarises Maelruain's: "It contains a minute series of rules for the regulation of the lives of the Celidhé Dé, their prayers, their preachings, their conversations, their confessions, their communions, their ablutions, their fastings, their abstinences, their relaxations, their sleep, their celebration of the mass, and so forth." (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 254–5, 358; O'Hanlon, *St. Aengus the Culdee*, pass.) [COLIDEI, *Dict. Christ. Ant.* i. 402.] [J. G.]

MAELRUBHA, MALRUBA, MALRUBIUS, abbat of Bangor, co. Down, and patron of Applecross, &c., in Scotland. Little can be added to the learned and accurate article upon *Saint Maelrubha: his history and churches*, by Dean Reeves (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* iii. 258–296), who gives forty forms of his name, and twenty-one dedications in Scotland. He was the most popular saint of the north of Scotland. Like so many other saints of the period, he has had both an Irish and a Scotch tradition, with scarcely a point in common beyond the places of origin and burial, feast and date being changed. He was born A.D. 642, and educated at the monastery founded by St. Comgall at Bangor, where he became abbat. When twenty-nine years of age, he withdrew to Scotland (*Ann. Tig.* A.D. 671), and after two years founded Apurcrossan, where he ruled, but still in connection with Bangor, for fifty-one years, and died April 21, 722, at the age of eighty years. The Scotch legend (in *Brev. Aberd.* Prop. SS. p. Est. ff. 89–91) represents him as a martyr, slain at Urquhart by a body of Norwegians, and buried at Apurcrossan, which received special honour and privilege on that account. His feast is Aug. 27, and the date, given by King and accepted by Dempster, A.D. 1024. To account for these divergences Dean Reeves attributes something to invention, something to the incorporation of another saint's legend, and something to confusion with St. Ruffus of Capua, whose feast is Aug. 27, and whose name partially coincides with that of Malrubius. Maelrubha's chief dedications are in Ross-shire, the Hebrides, Sutherlandshire, Argyllshire, Morayshire, Banffshire, Forfarshire, and Fifeshire; Dempster (*H. E. Scot.* ii. 440*) foists upon him two works. (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 382, 442; Grub, *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. 99; Reeves, *St. Adamn.* 138 et al.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* iv. 251, giving Dr. Mitchell's article upon St. Malruvius, his remains, and the uses made of his churches in cases of lunacy; *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. ii. 402–3.) [J. G.]

MAELRYS, ST., a cousin of Cadfan, and the patron of Llanfaelrys, a chapel under Aberdaron in Carnarvonshire. His day is 1st January. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 222.) [C. W. B.]

MAENNA, MAONNA, MAENU (MAINUS, -NIUS, MOEN, -NA, -NIUS, -NNA, -NNIUS, MOINNE, MO-ODNA, MOUNE, MUINNI, MUNNE, -I), bishop of Clonfert, co. Longford, commemorated Feb. 26, is given a memoir by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 413). He died A.D. 571. (For speculations on his identity, see O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* ii. 706 sq.; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* ii. 30, 36; Cotton, *Fast.* iv. 158, 160.) He was a Briton, disciple of St. Brendan, who resigned Clonfert in his favour; but much is doubtful. [J. G.]

MAETHLU, ST., the founder of Llanfaethlu in Anglesey. His day is 26th December. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 270.) [C. W. B.]

MAGLOCUNUS (MAELGWN), son of Caswallawn, and king of Gwynedd or North Wales in 517. He is mentioned in several lives of the saints [see v. KEBI], since he favoured the college of Bangor and that of Caergybi or Holyhead in Anglesey. He is said to have resided at Dyganwy on the eastern bank of the Conway, and to have died about 550 in the adjoining church of Llanrhos, where he had shut himself up, to escape the Yellow Pestilence, and to be buried in Ynys Seiriol or Priestholm (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 44, 52, 121, 146, 159). Gildas in his epistle inveighs against Maelgwn as "insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita," and says that he killed the king his uncle, and married his brother's wife. The Lives of St. Cadoc and St. Padarn mention his frequently ravaging South Wales. (*Lives of Cambro-British Saints*; in p. 605 his wife is said to have been Sanans, daughter of Brychan.) [C. W. B.]

MAGLORIUS, ST., the successor of St. Sampson in the bishopric of Dole in Brittany. His parents were Umbrafel, a brother of Amwn Ddu, and Afrella, a sister of Anna; he was therefore doubly related to his predecessor, whom he accompanied to Brittany, after having been brought up together with him in the school of Iltutus (R. Rees, 256). A legendary life of him was compiled by Baldric of Anjou, also bishop of Dole, in the 12th century (*Acta Sanctorum*, 24 Oct. x. pp. 782-93). He is said to have died in Jersey 14th Oct. 575, and the hymn sung on All Saints' day, Caelo quos eadem gloria consecrat, has been attributed to him. (Williams, *Dict. of Eminent Welshmen*, 313.) [C. W. B.]

MAGNENIANUS, a count, who wrote to Basil A.D. 374, requesting him to send him a written statement of his views as to the faith. (Basil. *Epist.* 175 [410].) [MAGNINIANUS.] [E. V.]

MAGNENTIUS, FLAVIUS POPILIUS, emperor, 350-353. It seems dubious and immaterial whether Magnentius was born in one of the German colonies settled in Gaul by Maximian, or a prisoner of Constantius Chlorus, as is stated by Julian (*orat.* i. p. 42, 5, ed. 1875). Zonaras says πατρὸς γεγένητο Βρεττανοῦ. He rose under Constantius to the rank of count; and Constans gave him the command of the Jovian and Herculian legions embodied by Diocletian and Maximian I. In this position, and at Autun in 349-50, he associated himself with Marcellinus, count or chancellor of the imperial exchequer; and on January 18th, 350, at a feast given by the latter, he retired, reappeared in imperial robes or armour, and was proclaimed emperor instead of Constans, then absent on a hunting expedition. Constans fled, but was murdered at Helena or Elve at the foot of the W. Pyrenees. Gaul and all the Western Empire, including Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, submitted to the new emperor. Vetranio proclaimed himself emperor [VETRANIO] in Illyria; and NEPOTIANUS, nephew of Constantine, attempted to do so at Rome. He was overcome and slain by Marcellinus, now Magnentius's Magister Officiorum; and Vetranio, after recognising Magnentius, found all his soldiers attach themselves to Constantius, and willingly submitted to him. Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 26) says that the general confusion of affairs now encouraged the enemies of Athanasius to accuse him to Constantius; and Athanasius indignantly disclaims any correspondence or connection with Magnentius, in the apology to Constantius; some false charge of the kind may have been made (Migne, Athan. vol. i. p. 603 sq.). It is clear that in destroying Constans, the usurper deprived Athanasius of a friend, who might have been his effective protector in the Western church.

Magnentius at first proposed to recognise Constantius as chief Augustus, if he received the same title, with the hand of his sister Constantia. Constantius refused, and seems for a time to have detained his ambassadors, of whom Marcellinus was one; but as the latter was known to have perished or been lost in the battle of Mursa, it cannot have been for long. [See CONSTANTIUS, VETRANIO, GALLUS, DECENTIUS, for operations eastward and westward.] The armies met in Pannonia. Magnentius obtained some advantages, which induced Constantius to offer him the transalpine provinces. This he refused, and on September 28, A.D. 351, the battle of Mursa on the Drave was fought, at which 54,000 men perished on both sides; and which deprived Magnentius of nearly all his provinces excepting Gaul. He seems to have made a successful stand near Pavia; but the imperial fleet secured Italy and Spain, he was again defeated in the Cottian Alps, and Treves revolted in his rear against Decentius, his brother or cousin, now Caesar. His last centre of operations was Lyons, and he fell upon his sword in August 353. Zonaras says he previously murdered his mother, and left his brother Desiderius for dead, but that the latter recovered of his wounds and submitted to Constantius (xiii. 9). As his mother seems to have been one of the warlike prophetesses of Germany, it may be unnecessary to impute a superfluous crime to him (Zosimus, lib. ii. ch. 41-54). He seems to have been at one time a skilful and brave officer, with a fine person, ready eloquence, and other good qualities, while under command. As an emperor, he shewed the vices of both Roman and barbarian. His cruelty, rapacity, and sensuality were outrageous; the two first, indeed, were necessary to his position as an usurper. Julian inveighs bitterly against his exactions and oppressive edicts; and the loss of trained soldiers in the battle of Mursa was irreparable to Rome. Even his personal courage is disputed in Victor's Epitome. He professed Christianity; or he no more thought it necessary to repudiate it than to practise its rules of life. His coins, however, as Tillemont says (*Hist. des Emp.* iv. p. 354), prove his profession: and he employed bishops in his negotiations with Constantius (Athanas. *Apol. ad Constant.* in *Opp.* t. i. p. 606). But his usurpation was the first of an unbroken career of crimes, which his physical and intellectual advantages only exaggerated, and Athanasius's somewhat pithy summary of him (*ibid.* 603) as τὸν διάβολον Μαγνέντιον is confirmed after their fashion by both Zosimus and Julian. [R. St. J. T.]

MAGNERICUS, ST., July 25, twenty-sixth bishop of Trèves, between St. Nicetius and Gundericus in the latter half of the 6th century. He was elected to the episcopate about the year 566, and appears from the history of Gregory of Tours, whose friend he was, to have occupied a prominent position in Austrasia (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 12, ix. 10; cf. GUNTRAMNUS BOSO). He died about 596 (*Gest. Trev.* Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cliv. 1148). There is extant an ode in his honour by Venantius Fortunatus, praising his virtue, diligence in the government of his diocese, courtesy and generosity to the poor and the stranger. It may be found in Hontheim, *Hist. Treverensis*, p. 52; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 383, and in the collection of Fortunatus's works in Migne's *Patrologia* (*Misc.* iii. 13; *Patr. Lat.* lxxxviii. 137).

The Bollandists publish a digressive biography of him by Eberwinus abbat of St. Martin's at Treves (pp. 183-192), written, according to Rettberg, about 975 (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 464-5). [S. A. B.]

MAGNES [MACARIUS (9)] named by Germanus patriarch of Constantinople in his *De Haeresibus et Synodis* (§ 7 in Mai, *Spicil. Rom.* vii. 11 and *Patr. Graec.* xcviii. 45) among those who took part in the council held at Antioch A.D. 265, against Paul of Samosata, calling him Ἱεροσολύμων Μάγνης τις ἱερεύς. The synodical letter of the council (Mansi, i. 1092, 1096) does not name him. He may have been, as Cave infers, in attendance on his bishop Hymenaeus. Mai supposes Magnes an error for Hymenaeus. (Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer*, tom. ii. p. 50, ed. Colon. Agrip. 1608; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* lib. v. c. i. § 32, Art. 12; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 135.) [E. V.]

MAGNINIANUS, a friend and correspondent of Basil. (Basil. *Epist.* 325 [381].) The Benedictine annotator gives reasons for not identifying him with MAGNENIANUS. [E. V.]

MAGNOBODUS (popularly MAIMBOEUF or MAIMBEU), commemorated Oct. 16, 17th bishop of Angers between Chaidulfus and Niulphus according to the Angers catalogue, early in the 7th century. His date may be fixed from his own work, the Life of St. Maurilius, an earlier bishop of Angers, in the preface to which he declares that he composed it in the 10th year of his consecration and the 36th year of the reign of king Clotaire, *i.e.* the second of the name (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 72). This would give the year 609 or 610 for the commencement of his episcopate at Angers. Two biographies of him are extant, one by an anonymous author, supposed to be a contemporary, which is to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 2, p. 940, and Migne, *Patr. Lat.* clxxi. 1548, the other by Marbodus, bishop of Rennes early in the 12th century, differing but little from the former. It was published by Beaugendre, and is to be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat. ibid.* 1547–62 (cf. also Boll. *ibid. Comm. Praev.*). It is perhaps doubtful whether much credibility belongs to either. His parents were of high rank in Anjou. He was abbat of the Monasterium Colonetense, the history and even site of which are now unknown, before he was consecrated to the see. He died on the 16th of October, according to some in 654 (*Hist. Litt.* iii. 574; Tresvaux, *Hist. de l'Eglise d'Angers*, i. 72), according to others in 660 (Boll. *ibid.* p. 940).

His life of St. Maurilius, who died more than two centuries before he wrote, purports to be founded on earlier records (v. prologus). It was retouched in the 12th century, and prefaced by a forged letter from Gregory of Tours to Germanus of Paris ascribing its authorship to Fortunatus and its correction to Gregory (*Hist. Litt.* iii. 574–5). See also *Gall. Chr.* xiv. 550; Tillem. x. 784. [S. A. B.]

MAGNULFUS, 9th bishop of Toulouse, between St. Germerius and Willegiselus in the latter half of the 6th century (*Gall. Chr.* xiii. 7). During his episcopate the pretender Gundovald approached Toulouse with a strong force and summoned the bishop to surrender the city. Magnulfus, who, it appears, had suffered in a former rebellion, counselled the citizens to resist and declare for king Guntram. The approaching army however proved too formidable to be withstood, and was admitted to the city. But the bishop did not conceal his opinions, and after suffering blows and other personal indignities at the hands of Gundovald's generals, was driven into exile and his property forfeited (A.D. 584 or 585). His see was promised to Sagittarius bishop of Gap (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 27, 28). But it seems that after the death of Gundovald and the fall of his party, Magnulfus was restored to his diocese. He was represented by a deputy at the council of Mâcon, held in 585 (Mansi, *Sacr. Conc.* ix. 958). There is extant an ode addressed by Venantius Fortunatus to a Magnulfus, brother of Lupus, who, it is suggested in a note to Bouquet's *Recueil*, may be identical with this bishop of Toulouse (ii. 516). [S. A. B.]

MAGNUS (1), bishop, an old friend of Chrysostom, who wrote to him from Cucusus in 404. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 26.) [E. V.]

MAGNUS (2) (MAGNO), 40th archbishop of Sens, between Ragembertus and Hieremias, was consecrated at Rome by Leo III. in 801 while attendant upon Charles the Great during his visit to the Holy See (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 15). He was one of that group of eminent ecclesiastics whom the emperor admitted to his confidence and employed on services of state (cf. *Hist. Litt.* iv. 426). The year following his consecration he was appointed, with Count Godefridus, missus dominicus for the districts of Orleans, Troyes, Langres, Besançon, and Autun (Bouquet, *Recueil*, v. 661). He received Charles's circular letter on the subject of baptism, which he forwarded to his suffragans, among whom was Theodulfus of Orleans. The treatise of the latter, *De ordine Baptismi*, was dedicated to Magnus, and may be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cv. 223–40. Magnus's own response to the emperor is also extant, having been published by Martene in his *de Rit. Eccl.* tom. i. from a MS. of the abbey of St. Aubin of Angers, more than 700 years old, under the title *Libellus de mysterio baptismatis*. It is reproduced by Migne (*ibid.* cii. 981–4). Magnus died in 818 (*Chron. S. Petri Vivi Senon.* Bouquet, *ibid.* 236). The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* publish *literae formatae*, directed by Ebroinus archbishop of Bourges to Magnus in 810 with reference to a priest named Dodobertus (*Instrumenta*, ii. 2, also to be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxix. 1389). His name is also mentioned in the untrustworthy Life of St. Severinus of Agaunum (St. Maurice) as the bishop at whose bidding the anonymous author undertook his work (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 547). Besides the above-mentioned treatise on baptism (for an account of which see Ceillier, xii. 250–1), Magnus was the author of some *notae juris*, or as he calls them in a dedicatory couplet to Charles, juris σημεῖα, which consist of a key to the abbreviations used in Roman jurisprudence. It was first published at Lyons in 1566, and may be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cii. 984–94. For the numerous intermediate editions see Ceillier, *ibid.* [S. A. B.]

MAGNUS (3), African Christian to whom Cyprian addresses (as his son, i.e. as a layman), in Ep. 69, an elaborate reply to two questions on the validity of (1) Novatianist and other

schismatical, and (2) clinical baptism. The latter question he resolves with a sarcastic good sense which must have disposed for the time of the question. But to the first he answers in the narrow exclusive sense which separated the whole African church for some time from the unity of Western practice. This letter is Cyprian's first utterance on the subject, and is full of mystical and interesting interpretation of Scripture. [E. W. B.]

MAGNUS (4), a Roman orator in the end of the 4th century, a friend of Jerome and Rufinus. He had been the means of recalling to his duty a young man named Sebesius, who had been unfaithful to Jerome. Both Magnus and Sebesius had written to Jerome, who replies with affection and gratitude. Magnus had however (as Jerome supposed at the instigation of Rufinus, who was then in Rome) asked a question, which appeared to Jerome an insidious one—why he in his writings constantly quoted heathen authors. This leads Jerome in his answer to shew that the Scriptural writers did this; and he gives a list of forty-four esteemed Christian writers who made use of heathen books. He compares heathen learning to the captive woman in Deuteronomy, who, when her nails were pared and her head shorn, might become the wife of a faithful Israelite. Jerome shews that he believes the question to have really been asked by Rufinus, to whom he gives the name of Calpurnius Lanuvinus. (Jerome, *Ep.* 70, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

MAGNUS (5) ANTONINUS, a presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople, one of the orthodox abbats opposed to Eutyches and his party (Theod. *Epist.* 129). If the superscription of the letter is to be relied on, which is seriously questioned by the Ballerini, Magnus was one of the orthodox abbats addressed together with Faustus and others by Leo the Great in a synodical letter, Oct. 15, 449 A.D., exhorting them to steadfastness in the faith. (Leo. Magn. *Epist.* 51 [47].) [E. V.]

MAGUS, a literary friend of Alcuin, who in his epistles mentions him thrice under this name (Jaffé, *Monum. Alcuin.* pp. 526, 528, 675), once as Magus Adalbertus (*ib.* 750) and once as Aedilberctus (*ib.* 442). The epistles belong to the years between 798 and 804 (*epp.* 55, 76, 77, 89, 116, ed. Froben.). Magus was then under Arno archbishop of Salzburg, to whom Alcuin warmly commends him for advancement. He was afterwards ninth abbat of Ferraria (Ferrières-en-Gâtinais) in the diocese of Sens, a monastery over which Alcuin himself had presided. Adalbert was his name as abbat (*Gall. Chr.* xii. 158), and he is called a disciple of his predecessor Siculf, who was himself a disciple and the successor of Alcuin. [C. H.]

MAHOMET. [MUHÁMMAD.]

MAIDOC, ST., *i.e.* Aeddan Foeddog, St. Aidus, whose life is given in the *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, 232–50 (and see p. 340, 395, 436). He was the son of Sedia (Sethneus) and Eithne, of Connaught, and a contemporary of St. David, in whose school he learnt to read the Scriptures. The life is very late and legendary, but contains notices of some old customs, *e.g.* deciding what route to adopt by the direction in which two sticks dropt; "and the sticks fell to the ground, one northwards and the other southwards, that they might understand that Molassus should go south to the island of Boum, but Aidus to the right into Leinster." It is also mentioned that the saint came into contact with the Saxons, whom the Britons defeated with his aid. Traces of him remain in Pembrokeshire, as he is the reputed founder of Llanhuadain or Llawhaden, and the churches of Nolton and West Haroldston are ascribed to him under the name of Madog (R. Rees, 227). He is called the first bishop of Ferns, and his festival was 31st January, but the life speaks of "11 Kal. mart." as his feast day. See too *Liber Landavensis*, 337, and the life in *Acta Sanctorum*, 31st Jan. ii. p. 1112–20, and in a shorter form in Capgrave. These and similar lives may have been compiled in the 12th century. J. A. Turretin observes in his Orationes, no. vi. p. 162 (Geneva, 1737), "plusquam probabile sit quod a Valerio, Veronensium episcopo et cardinali, suo de Rhetorica Christiana libro, memoriae proditum est, plerasque illas martyrum vitas, quae hodie venditantur, ab adolescentibus, in coenobiis, declamationum loco compositas, postmodum in coenobiorum bibliothecis repertas, pro genuinis habitas esse." [C. W. B.]

MAIGHNENN (MAGNEN, MAGNEANDUS), abbat, perhaps also bishop, of Kilmainham, near Dublin, was son of Aedh, of the race of the Colla-dacrioch (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 584, 713, for his pedigree). He was a great friend of St. Furseus of Perrone, and flourished about the beginning of the 7th century. His feast is Dec. 18. Lives are mentioned by O'Curry (*Lect. Man. Anc. Ir.* i. p. ccxl.) and Todd (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 223). [J. G.]

MAILDUF, the eponymous saint and probable founder of the monastic society at Malmesbury. Mailduf is mentioned by Bede in his account of St. Aldhelm, who was abbat of the monastery, "quod Maildufi urbem nuncupant" (*H. E.* v. 18); a correspondent of Lullus speaks of the monastery as being "in Maldubia civitate;" a form which comes even nearer than the form Maildufus to the written form of the Irish name Mael-dubh, pronounced Mailduf. That the founder of Malmesbury was a Scot or Irishman appears further to be proved by a letter written to Aldhelm by a Scottish pupil, who distinctly asserts that Aldhelm himself had been educated by a man of his own race (*Mon. Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 34, 300). So much is learned from the age immediately following that in which Mailduf is supposed to have lived. The name of Maeldubh is common to many Irish saints, none of whom, however, can, in time or recorded history, be brought near enough to our Mailduf to be identified with him. Later historians and biographers of St. Aldhelm have added a good deal which may or may not be genuine. According to a history of Malmesbury, cited by Leland, and ascribed to William of Malmesbury himself, but not now forthcoming, Mailduf was a hermit who lived near the castle at Bladon or Bladow, called in Saxon Ingelborne castle, which had been built by Dunwallo Mulmutius, not far from the

royal residence at Brokenborough. Maildufobtained from the people of the castle leave to build a hut, in which he set up a school, which grew into a convent. Of this school and convent Aldhelm was a pupil. After exhausting the stores which Maildufpossessed, he went to Canterbury to sit at the feet of Theodore and Adrian, and, when he returned to Malmesbury, he became a monk. Maildufl ived for fourteen years after Aldhelm received the tonsure, and died whilst Leutherius was bishop of Winchester (*Mon. Angl.* i. 257). This account, as may be inferred from the mention of Dumwallo Mulmutius, cannot be much earlier than the middle of the 12th century, and contains particulars not adduced by William of Malmesbury in either of his larger works. Abbat Faricius, in his life of St. Aldhelm, does not refer to Maildufpersonally. We thus come to the authentic works of the Malmesbury historian, who, in the *Gesta Pontificum*, represents Aldhelm as receiving his monastic habit in the ancient city, which, as he learned from the writings of king Alfred, was called Mailduberi. There, a certain Meldum or Meildulf, by nation a Scot, by erudition a philosopher, by profession a monk, a voluntary exile from his native land, had spent a hermit's life, and taught a school for a subsistence. The school had grown into a convent, and Maildufwas recognised in a privilege granted by pope Sergius to Aldhelm, as the founder (W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. v. §§ 189, 221). A small basilica erected by Maildufhad been in existence a few years before William wrote (*ib.* § 197).

Maildufwas buried in the great church at Malmesbury, from which his bones were turned out by the Norman abbat appointed by the Conqueror (*ib.* § 265).

Maildufis otherwise unknown, but his existence, proved by the mention of him by Bede and Aldhelm's correspondents, shews that he formed a link in the long thin chain of traditionary Irish teachers who helped the conversion of southern England in the 7th century, and connected the half Irish church of central England with the Welsh border, Glastonbury, and Cornwall. Aldhelm, the pupil of the Scotic Mailduf, carries the Roman Easter to Devonshire and Cornwall, just as Wilfrid, the pupil of the Scotic monks of Ripon, carries it into the Northumbrian kingdom. [S.]

MAILOCUS, bishop of Britonia in the diocese of Lugo, before 572. His signature occurs among those of the 2nd council of Braga held in that year under the presidency of ST. MARTIN of Braga. The see of Britonia appears here for the first time. The town was situated almost due north of Lugo, and is now represented by the scattered mountain village of Santa Maria de Bretoña. The last appearance of the see is in 698. After the Saracen conquest, it, together with the ancient see of Dumium, was merged in the modern bishopric of Mondoñedo. On the confusion of the appellations *Britoniensis* and *Laniobrensis*, see Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xviii. 16; Gams, *Series Episcoporum* 50. See also *Esp. Sagr.* l. c. p. 1–9, 13; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.* ii. 99. [M. A. W.]

MAJORIANUS, JULIUS VALERIUS, declared emperor of the West April 1, 457 A.D., at Columellae, six miles from Ravenna. Tillemont argues, however (*Emp.* vi. 634), that he did not become emperor till some months later. Majorian apparently remained at Ravenna till November A.D. 458, the year of his consulship, which was marked by a series of remarkable laws, which may be found among the 'Novels' at the end of the Theodosian Code. An outline of these laws is given by Gibbon; the seventh is the only one that calls for more detailed notice here. Its purpose was to lighten the burdens of the *curiales*, and also to check the modes by which persons belonging to that order tried to evade their responsibilities. Among other provisions with this object, it was enacted that a *curialis* who had taken orders to avoid the duties of his position, if below the rank of a deacon, should be at once reduced to his original status, while, if he had been ordained deacon, priest, or bishop, he was declared incapable of alienating his property. By the sixth law, which was intended to encourage marriage, nuns were forbidden to take the veil before attaining the age of forty. If a girl were compelled by her parents to devote herself to perpetual virginity, she was to be at liberty to marry, if at her parents' death she was under forty, the age before which it was illegal to take the veil. The whole of this law, with the exception of the restrictions on the testamentary power of widows, was repealed by Majorian's successor, Severus. It is remarkable that in the Catalogue of the Popes given by the Bollandists (*AA. SS.* Apr. i. 33) it is stated that Leo the Great forbade a woman taking the veil till she had attained the age of sixty, or according to a various reading forty, and that the nineteenth canon of the council of Agde (Mansi, viii. 328), following the law of Majorian, forbids a nun taking the veil before the age of forty.

On his arrival at Lyons on a subsequent occasion, before the close of A.D. 458, he was greeted by Sidonius with a long panegyric (*Carm.* v.), and thence probably proceeded to Arles, where he promulgated a law, *De Adulteriis*, on April 17, A.D. 459. At Arles on March 28, A.D. 460, he issued a law by which he declared ordinations against the will of the person ordained to be null, subjected an archdeacon who had taken part in such an ordination to a penalty of ten pounds of gold to be received by the informer, and referred a bishop guilty of the same offence to the judgment of the apostolic see. By the same law parents who compelled a son to take orders against his will were punished by forfeiting to him a third part of their property.

The romantic story of his visit in disguise to Carthage and the destruction of his fleet are narrated under GENSERIC. Genseric, however, concluded peace with Majorian, who appears to have retreated from Spain to Gaul, where he stayed till the spring or summer of A.D. 461. On his return to Italy, Ricimer, jealous of the reputation and influence he had acquired, excited a mutiny in the army against him at Tortona, forced him to abdicate on the 2nd of August, and five days afterwards caused him to be assassinated on the banks of the river Ira.

In the next century the notice of Ennodius (*Carmina*, ii. 125 in *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. 359) was attracted by his humble tomb, unworthy of the man who was considered by Procopius (*De Bello*

Vandalico, i. 7) to have surpassed in every excellence all his predecessors, and whose character is summed up by him in the words, "that he was gentle to his subjects, and terrible to his enemies." [F. D.]

MAJORINUS, a man who, being a reader in the church of Carthage at the time that Caecilian was archdeacon, and filling some domestic office in the household of Lucilla [LUCILLA], was through her influence chosen by the party opposed to Caecilian as a rival bishop in the see, an act which Augustine and Optatus denounce as one of rebellion, and of setting up altar against altar, and which was no doubt one of the first steps which tended directly to establish the schism on a definite basis, A.D. 311. During his lifetime the party which had thus put him forward were called by his name, the party of Majorinus, but although he exercised episcopal functions, he does not appear to have possessed any special influence, and the party afterwards became called by the name of Donatus. One of his ordainers was Silvanus, Donatist bishop of Cirta, whose guilt as a "traditor" was afterwards established at the enquiry before Zenophilus. Majorinus died about A.D. 315 [DONATISM, Vol. I. p. 882]. (Aug. *Ep.* 43; 3, 16; 89; *c. Parm.* iii. 11, 18; *c. Cresc.* ii. 3; iii. 30, 32; iv. 9; *de Haeres.* 69; Opt. i. 10, 14, 15, 19; *Mon. Vet. Don.* iv. ed. Oberthür; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 15, 19, 24, 699, 700.) [H. W. P.]

MALALAS, JOANNES, historian. The name Malalas has been variously spelled. Bentley, in his letter to Mill, wrote and defended Malelas; Hody, Selden, and Cave, Malala and Malela; Isaac Voss (*Lib. Var. Observ.*) Mallela; Joh. Tzetz., Meleles; and Dindorf, the latest editor, in his Bonn edition, Malalas, which is the usual form. The history of John of Antioch, surnamed Malalas, holds a celebrated place in English literary history. It was the only contribution made by English scholarship to Byzantine history till the publication by Canon Cureton of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus. But its fame rests primarily upon the fact that its publication rendered Bentley's scholarship and critical skill known to the public and made his name European. The *Chronographia* of Malalas was never printed till the end of the 17th century. It existed in one codex alone, which was found at Oxford among the MSS. of Francis Barocci in the Bodleian library. About 1640 it attracted the notice of several scholars, Ussher, Gregory, Selden. Ussher used the MS. in preparing his edition of the Ignatian epistles, A.D. 1644; Selden quotes it in his treatise *De Jure Naturali* (lib. v. cap. vi.); and Gregory, who was a man of great learning, was preparing an edition of it when his work was terminated by death in 1646. To Gregory is due the credit of discovering the name of the author. The Oxford MS. is deficient at the beginning and at the end. Gregory, however, in perusing the work lit upon a passage concerning the statue erected at Paneas by the woman with the bloody flux, which he found quoted by John Damascene in his Orat. iii. *pro Imagg.* as from Malalas. He also found this work quoted in Tzetz. *Chiliad.* v. 29, 30, under the name of Meleles; references which enabled him to identify his anonymous codex. The work of Gregory was next taken up by Chilmead, another Oxford scholar of that day. He translated it into Latin, and wrote notes upon it, but was expelled by the parliamentary visitors, A.D. 1648, before he could publish it. The MS. remained in that state till 1690. It was, indeed, consulted by many scholars in the interval. Pagi in his *Crit. Hist. Chron. in Annal. Baron.* Ann. 107, quotes it on the authority of Bishop Lloyd, and remarks that Bishop Fell of Oxford entertained the idea of publishing it, but refrained upon finding it full of puerile stories. Pagi published the first volume of his work in 1689, and the very next year the curators of the Sheldon press committed Malalas to the press with Chilmead's notes and version under the immediate superintendence of Dr. Mill. When partly printed they applied to Dr. Hody, requesting him to write the *Prolegomena*. Mill, about the end of 1690, shewed Bentley the leaves of the *Chronographia*, as they passed through the press, requesting him to write an appendix, which resulted in the famous letter of Bentley to Mill. In June 1691, the Chronicle appeared, with Bentley's letter as an appendix. This edition is a moderately thick octavo volume; first stands a note by Hody on the spelling of the chronicler's surname; then his *Prolegomena* filling sixty-four pages; the Greek text follows with Chilmead's Latin version in parallel columns and footnotes, and the last ninety-eight pages are occupied by Bentley's dissertation. This edition has been reprinted at Venice in 1733; in the Bonn *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzant.* A.D. 1831; and in t. xcvii. of Migne's *Pat. Graec.* Bentley's letter is a wonderful performance. It will be found analysed in Jebb's *Bentley*, pp. 12–16. Malalas often quotes the classical poets, plays, &c., which are lost. Bentley takes his quotations, amends and explains them. The Chronicle often cites the Attic dramatists. This gives Bentley occasion to lay down the true laws of anapaestic metre. Malalas often defaces proper names. Bentley restores them. Thus the chronicler says that the earliest dramatists were Themis, Minos, and Auleas. Bentley shews that he meant Thespis, Ion of Chios, and Aeschylus. The letter ends with some remarks on the form of the name Malalas, Hody having found fault with Bentley for adding the final *s*, which no scholar had previously used. The student curious in the matter of literary controversies must be referred for further information on this subject to Hody's *Prolegomena*, Bentley's letter to Mill, Bishop Monk's *Life of Bentley*, pp. 19–26, to the correspondence between Bentley and Dr. Bernard in the *Museum Criticum*, t. ii. pp. 538–554, as well as to Professor Jebb's book above quoted.

John, surnamed Malalas, *i.e.* rhetor or orator, in the church of Antioch, must be distinguished from another chronographer, John of Antioch, whose fragments were published at Paris, in 1634, by H. Valesius, and in modern times in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* t. iv. p. 535. Of his personal history we know nothing. The time even when he flourished has given occasion to much controversy. Hody in his *Prolegomena*, (see xvi.–xxvii.) assigns him, mainly on the ground of style, to the 9th century, while all other writers place him in the 7th century. Cave

fixes his date at A.D. 601, pointing out that the Oxford MS. terminates at the thirty-fifth year of Justinian, and is deficient in a very few pages. He concludes, therefore, that the author lived during or soon after that period. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* t. iv. p. 536, places him about A.D. 700. Modern criticism prefers the earlier to the later date, cf. Hesychii Miles. *Onomatolog.* ed. Johan. Flach, Lips. 1882; Proleg. p. xii. note 4; Mommsen in *Hermes*, vi. 381. The Chronicle is divided into eighteen books, of which the first and the beginning of the second is wanting in the Oxford MS., a defect which Chilmead supplied out of the Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus, a writer of the 9th or 10th century. The printed book, therefore, begins with the creation, while the MS. begins in the midst of the fabulous line of Egyptian kings, with the death of Vulcan and the succession of his son Sol. The first nine books deal with the history of the world before the Incarnation; the last nine with subsequent history. It is the earlier part of his work which furnished Bentley with the greater portion of his materials. Its value, indeed, consists in this, that the writer, though very credulous and uncritical, copied many a precious fragment which would be otherwise lost. Thus, to omit all poetic fragments, of which Bentley sufficiently treats, Malalas gives us copious extracts from the ancient writer Palaephatus, which we no longer find in the work περὶ ἀπίστων now extant under that name. (Cf. Fabric. Biblioth. Graec. ed. Harles. t. i. p. 186; t. vii. p. 447; Flach's Hesych. Miles. *Onomatolog.* pp. 158, 159; art. on Palaephatus in *Dict. of Classical Biography.*) As to his historical untrustworthiness on matters of Roman history particularly, Hody in his *Prolegomena* (sec. xxxvi.) gives ample proofs. Thus, to take but a few instances, Malalas calls Sallust and Cicero the wisest of the Roman poets, makes Julius Caesar seize and kill Pompey in Egypt, and represents Claudius Caesar as founding "Urbem Brettaniam," not far from the ocean. The last nine books of his Chronicle deal with the history of the Roman empire and of the Christian church. Like the former portion it is of value simply because the writer was a diligent collector, and evidently had access to the archives of the city and church of Antioch. Like all other chroniclers of his time he made abundant use of the chronicles of Eusebius, Africanus, and similar works, a list of which, and of all the writers quoted by him, will be found in Fabricius (vii. 447). The latter part of the Chronicle is interesting for many details concerning the personal appearances of the Roman emperors, the various buildings with which they adorned Antioch, and similar information. It also represents the state of Christian tradition at Antioch about A.D. 600. Thus we are told by Malalas that it was the second bishop of Antioch, Evodius, who fixed upon the believers the title of Christians. [EVODIUS (1).] He preserves (lib. xi.) a tradition that St. John manifested himself to the church of Ephesus till the second year of Trajan and then disappeared, after which no one knew what became of him. He alone gives the letter of the president Tiberianus to the emperor Trajan concerning a persecution of the Christians in Palestine, which, however, Dodwell (*de Paucit. MM.* sec. xxiii.) rejects as resting solely on John Malalas, "auctore fabulosissimo:" cf Neander, *H. E.* i. 138, Bohn's ed. In Malalas, too (lib. xi. p. 276), we find a very curious story concerning Trajan's persecution at Antioch. After arresting St. Ignatius, five Christian virgins were brought before him, when the emperor asked them—"Trusting in what hope, do you offer yourselves to death?" "We indeed being put to death by you will rise again in the same bodies unto eternal life," replied they. Whereupon Trajan ordered them to be burned to death, their ashes mingled with molten brass, and the mixture made into basins for use in the public baths, which he had just then built for the citizens of Antioch. As soon, however, as these basins were placed in the baths, every bather was seized with sudden vertigo, whereupon the emperor ordered them to be removed and five statues of the virgins to be made from the same brass, saying, "Lo! I and not their God have raised up these women." These statues, Malalas says, were still visible in his own time. This story may represent a true tradition, being very similar to the circumstances of two other 2nd century martyrdoms: the answer of the women being like to that of Justin Martyr, recorded in his *Martyrium*, and the misconception of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection to that which led the Pagans at Vienne and Lyons to scatter the ashes of the martyrs in the Rhone, "that they might not have any hope of rising again" (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1). See also for a very important article on Malalas *Hermes*, t. vi. p. 323–383, where Mommsen publishes some hitherto unknown fragments of this writer out of the Escurial and other libraries. Cf. also for important articles *Hermes*, t. iv. pp. 230, 235, 356; Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur römisch. Kaisergeschichte*, t. i. pp. 154, 178–180; for Von Gutschmid's critical estimate of the value and sources of Malalas's history, and specially its importance for the chronology of Trajan's reign and the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, cf. also iii. 373; Zahn's *Ignatius von Antioch*, pp. 66; Harnack's *Griechischen Apologeten* (1882) p. 291. [G. T. S.]

MALCHION, a presbyter of Antioch in the reigns of Claudius and Aurelian, conspicuous by the prominent part taken by him in the deposition of the bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, in the year 272. He was famed as a rhetorician and was a learned man well acquainted with heathen writers, from whom he was accustomed to make quotations (Jerome, *Ep.* lxx. 4), and held, while a presbyter of the church, the office of president of the faculty of rhetoric (σοφιστοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατριβῆς προεστώς, Euseb. vii. 29). The bishop having announced or implied doctrines concerning the nature of Christ which appeared to Malchion and most of his co-presbyters to be identical with the heresy of Artemon, he engaged him in a public discussion, which was taken down by short-hand writers and published. He compelled Paul unwillingly to unveil his opinions, and exhibited him to the assembly as a heretic. A great council of bishops and presbyters having then been called together, and having passed condemnation upon Paul, Malchion was chosen to write the letter in which he was denounced as a heretic and a criminal to the

bishops of Rome and Alexandria, and through them to the world. The letter and the report of the discussion were known in the 4th and 5th century by Eusebius and Jerome, the latter of whom enrolled Malchion in his list of illustrious church-writers, while the former cites at length the principal portions of the condemning letter. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 29, 30; Jerome, *de V. Ill.* c. 71.) [W. H. F.]

MALCHUS (1), one of the earliest hermits in Syria, who in extreme old age was seen by Jerome in 374 and told him the story of his life, which was written down by Jerome sixteen years afterwards. He was born at Nisibis near Edessa, and was the only son of a proprietor of that district. He fled from his parents when they importuned him to marry, and joined one of the monastic establishments in the desert of Chalcis. As life advanced he desired to revisit his home, and proposed, if his father were dead, to divide the property between the poor and the monastery, keeping, however, one-third for himself. He persevered in this resolution—though the abbat declared that it was no better than the sow returning to her wallowing in the mire—and set out on his homeward journey. The caravan was surprised by Arabs, and he was made a slave, and set to feed his master's flocks. This, however, he took as a part of his ascetic service; he worked faithfully, and everything prospered in his hands. But a new trial was before him. His master required him to marry a woman who was his companion in slavery. Malchus pretended to comply, but he secretly told the woman that he would rather die by his own hand than break his vow of continency. He found that she was of the same mind, and indeed that she had a husband living. They agreed therefore, though living separately, to pass as man and wife. But, after a time, being reminded, by contemplating a swarm of ants, of the blessings of social life, they resolved to fly and escaped to the Roman settlements in Mesopotamia, where they gave themselves up to Sabinianus, who, as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus (B. xviii. c. 4), was sent there as governor by the emperor Constans (A.D. 359). Finding that the abbat of his monastery was dead, Malchus chose Antioch as his residence, and took up his abode in the neighbouring hamlet of Maronia, his reputed wife living with the virgins near. Maronia came by inheritance to Evagrius, afterwards bishop of Antioch, in whose company Jerome came from Italy in 374; and the story of the aged hermit confirmed Jerome in his desire for the life in the desert, on which he entered in the following year. (Jerome, *Vita Malchi*, *Opp.* vol. ii. 41, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

MALCHUS (2), a layman to whom Chrysostom wrote a very beautiful and touching letter consoling him and his wife on the death of their daughter, which he calls a temporary departure, ἀποδημία. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 71.) [E. V.]

MALCHUS (3), a Byzantine historian of probably the commencement of the sixth century. His great work was entitled, Βυζαντιακά. Photius (*Cod.* 78) speaks of it as containing seven books, commencing with the death of the emperor Leo I. (A.D. 474) and concluding with that of the emperor Nepos (A.D. 480), but adds that the first book mentions several books having been previously written by the author, and that the last promises others if his life should be spared. He also says that Malchus was a sophist of great distinction, and a native of Philadelphia, probably meaning the city of that name east of the Jordan, the ancient Rabbah. Suidas (*s. v.* Μάλχος) calls him a Byzantine sophist, and speaks of his history as extending from the reign of Constantine I. to that of Anastasius I. (A.D. 491), and these statements are repeated by Eudocia (Ἰωνιά, ap. Villoison, *Anecdot. Gr.* i. 300). The inference would be that the work was published in parts and at different times, and that while Photius had only seen a portion of it, these later writers had seen the whole.

Among the events for our knowledge of which we are indebted to Malchus, is the burning of the great library at Constantinople during the usurpation of Basiliscus (475–477) when 120,000 volumes were consumed. Although he is occasionally inaccurate, his character as a historian deservedly stands high. Suidas very frequently quotes from him, and the *Byzantiaca* is one of the works from which the Ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρέσβεων, compiled by order of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, were selected (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cxiii. 755–791). Photius pronounces him to have been a Christian (*u. s.*). Niebuhr has printed the remains of Malchus in his edition of the *Excerpta de Legationibus* (*Corp. Scr. Hist. Byzant.* ed. Bonn. p. vi.) and a still more complete collection was published by Mueller in 1851 (*Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iv. 112–132). [T. W. D.]

MALCHUS (4), bishop of Dalminium, the capital of Dalmatia, and rector of the patrimony of the Roman see in Dalmatia, known from the letters of pope Gregory the Great. In 591 Gregory requests him to see that certain differences between Stephen bishop of Scodra and George prefect of Italy are judicially determined (lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 38; Jaffé, *R. P.*, num. 742). In 592 Malchus is summoned by Gregory to Rome to account for his administration (lib. ii. ind. x. epp. 20, 46; Jaffé, 812, 833). In 593 a faction under the influence of Malchus intruded Maximus into the vacant see of Salona (Joan. Diac. *Vit. Greg.* iv. 9 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxv. 177). This greatly displeased Gregory, who deprived Malchus of his rectorate (lib. iii. ind. xi. epp. 22, 47; Jaffé, 862, 887). Malchus, having arrived at Rome in obedience to the summons, died at the house of the notary Boniface, by whom he was being entertained. Maximus on hearing of his death complained to the emperor Maurice that Malchus had been put to death while in custody at Rome; whereupon Gregory in 594 directed Sabinianus, his representative at Constantinople, to explain the facts of the case to Maurice (lib. iv. ind. xii. ep. 47; Jaffé, 968). Cf. Baron. *A. E.* ann. 591 ix., 595 lxv.; Farlati, iv. 170. [T. W. D.]

MAMAS (1) (Μάμας, MAMMES in the Latin martyrologies), commemorated on Sept. 2 by the Greeks (Basil. *Menol.*, *Cal. Byzant.*, Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 268) and on Aug. 17 by the Latins (*Mart.* Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.*, *Hieron.*, *Rom.*); a shepherd martyred at Caesarea in Cap-

padocia cir. 274 in the persecution of Aurelian. In the 4th century when Basil wrote the homily *On St. Mamas* (hom. 23 in *Pat. Gr.* xxxi. 589) the martyr's memory was fresh at Caesarea and the feast popular. No facts as to St. Mamas are furnished by this homily, and scarcely anything seems known. The brief account in the *Basilian Menology* is very legendary. Gregory Nazianzen at the close of his oration *In Novam Dominicam* (or. 44 al. 43 § 12 in *Pat. Gr.* xxxvi. 620) mentions St. Mamas. In a story of Sozomen (v. 2) about Julian and Gallus, in their early days at Caesarea, undertaking between them to erect a church above the tomb of St. Mamas, it is related how Gallus's share of the task continually prospered while Julian's was ever ruinous. Gregory Nazianzen in the first of his orations against Julian (or. 4 § 25 in *Pat. Gr.* xxxv. 552) introduces the same story without the name of Mamas. The *Mart. Hieron.* calls Mamas a monk. Daniel (*u. s.*) has a statement making him of Gangra and deriving his name from the exclamation 'Mama' which he uttered to his mother after having been dumb five years from his birth. Ado makes Alexander the name of the governor under whom he suffered. The identity, feast-days, relics, of St. Mamas are fully discussed by Pinius (Boll. *Acta SS.* 17 Aug. iii. 423), and at p. 432 he examines the question whether this St. Mamas is the St. Mammes whose relics were at Jerusalem in the story of queen Radegund (Surius, *Prob. SS. Hist.* Aug. 13, p. 122 § 13; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 79 c). St. Mamas has been treated of by Tillemont (iv. 358, 686), Ceillier (iii. 398, v. 240), Dupin (i. 248 ed. 1722). See also Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS.* pp. 1068, 1132. [C. H.]

MAMAS (2), archimandrite of a Eutychian brotherhood dwelling around Eleutheropolis in Palestine. It was from him that Severus, afterwards bishop of Antioch, first received the Eutychian opinions, and he subsequently accompanied Severus to Constantinople, where in the presence of the emperor Anastasius he openly declaimed against the orthodox faith. Mamas afterwards came under the influence of Sabas, who induced him to visit Jerusalem, communicate with the patriarch Elias, and embrace the Catholic doctrine (Cyril. Scythop. *Vit. Sab.* cap. 55 in Coteler. *Eccl. Gr. Mon.* iii. 306, ed. 1686). He is briefly noticed as the teacher of Severus by Liberatus Diaconus (*Breviar.* cap. 19) and Evagrius (*H. E.* iii. 32 and note of Valesius). See also Tillem. vi. 715, 716; Ceill. x. 106; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 512 xxix. [C. H.]

MAMERTUS (1), ST., commemorated May 11, eighteenth bishop of Vienne and the founder of the Rogation Fasts in the Western church. He was elder brother of Claudian the poet, whom he ordained priest, and who is said to have assisted him in his episcopal labours (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* iv. 11, Pat. Lat. lviii. 515). The year 463 marks the first authentic information about him. The see of Die had been included by pope Leo in the province of Arles, but Mamertus, apparently in an overbearing manner, had consecrated a bishop of it. Gundeuchus, or Gundioc, king of the Burgundians, complained to pope Hilary, who took up the matter warmly. On Oct. 10, 463, he wrote to Leontius, the metropolitan whose jurisdiction had been invaded, bidding him summon a council to enquire into the matter. This was followed by another letter addressed to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne and the Alps, strongly reprobating such practices, and a third written Feb. 24, 464, and addressed to various prelates, solemnly warning Mamertus, and ordering the appointment at Die to be submitted to Leontius for confirmation (Hil. *Epp.* ix., x., xi., Pat. Lat. lviii. 27-8; Ceillier, x. 338, 715). The council, which was attended by twenty bishops, was probably held at Arles (Mansi, vii. 951). It seems, however, that Die remained under the jurisdiction of Vienne. Mamertus was still alive at the death of his brother in A.D. 473 or 474 (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* iv. 11, Pat. Lat. lviii. 515), but how long he survived him is unknown.

Though not the inventor of Rogations or Litanies, Mamertus was, there can be no doubt, the founder of the Rogation Days. Litanies of the kind were, on the evidence of Basil, in use in the East, and on that of Sidonius, in the West, as hope or fear prompted, but it was undoubtedly Mamertus who first systematised them on the three days preceding Ascension Day. "Indixit populis jejunium, instituit orandi modum, edendi seriem erogandi hilarem dispensationem" (Greg. Tur.). The story of their institution has been given by his contemporary Sidonius, by Avitus, Gregory of Tours, and others. Vienne, in what year is uncertain, but before A.D. 474, had been terrified by portents and calamities. To atone for the sins of which these calamities were thought to be the penalties, Mamertus, with the joyful assent of the citizens, ordained a three days' fast, with processions and an ordered service of prayer and song, which, for greater labour, was to take place outside the city. Its successful issue ensured its permanence, and from Vienne it spread all over France and the West. Already in A.D. 470 or 474 Sidonius had established these services at Clermont and was looking to them as his chief hope in the threatened invasion of the Goths. In A.D. 511 the first council of Orleans recognised them and directed their continuance (Mansi, viii. 355). For accounts of this institution see the homily printed under the name of Eusebius of Emesa in La Bigne, *Max. Bibl.* vi. 645, but ascribed to Mamertus himself; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* v. 14; vii. 1, in Pat. Lat. lviii. 514, 563; Avitus, *Homilia*, Boll. *Acta SS.* 631-2, Pat. Lat. lix. 289-94; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 34; Sigeb. Gemblac. *Chronicon*, an. 468; Alcuinus, ix. 23, in Pat. Lat. ci. 1225; Bar. an. 475, xiii. seqq.; Mabillon, *De Lit. Gallic.* ii. 152 seqq. in Pat. Lat. lxxii. 203; *Hist. Litt.* ii. 480 seqq.; Dupin, *Eccl. Writers*, i. 513, Dublin, 1722; Ceillier, x. 346; Bingham, *Antiquities*, iv. 281 seqq., 1855; Smith, DICT. CHRIST. ANT. art. *Rogation Days*; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 15.

No *writings* of Mamertus survive, unless the homily on these litanies among the works of Eusebius of Emesa, and the following one on the Repentance of the Ninevites are to be ascribed to him from internal evidence. (La Bigne, ibid., cf. *Hist. Litt.* ibid. 483.) [S. A. B.]

MAMERTUS (2), CLAUDIANUS ECDICIUS, a learned writer of the last half of the

5th century, forming one of the literary school of which Sidonius Apollinaris is the best-known member. He was a native of Gaul, and brother of the more famous Mamertus archbishop of Vienne. Trained from his earliest years for the monastic life, he was educated in all the stores of Greek, Roman, and Christian literature. During his brother's archbishopric he worked as a presbyter in Vienne, and served so effectually as his right hand, that some writers have represented him as a "bishop" under his brother. This however seems the result of a misinterpretation (cf. Sirmondi, i. p. 539). As presbyter he was specially useful in training the clergy, organizing the services of the church, and arranging the order of Psalms and Lessons for the year, and perhaps we may attribute to his influence the regular use of Litanies upon Rogation days, which was established by his brother. But he was no less eminent for intellectual than for practical power. If we may trust the reading in Gennadius, cap. 67, Salvianus dedicated to him a volume of letters and a treatise on Ecclesiastes. And when about the year 470 Faustus bishop of Riez published anonymously a treatise asserting the corporeality of the soul, Sidonius and other friends applied to Mamertus as the person best qualified to answer it, and the *De Statu Animae* was the result. Sidonius also mentions with warm praise a hymn that he had written, and represents him as a great centre of intellectual discussion, "hominum aevi, loci, populi sui ingeniosissimus," full of learning, eager for argument, patient with those who could not understand, and at the same time, in his work as a priest, thoughtful for all, open-handed, humble, not letting his benevolence be known, the adviser and helper of his brother in all diocesan matters. He died about 474 A.D. and his epitaph, composed by Sidonius, is the chief source of information about his life. (Sidon. Apollin. *Ep.* iv. 2, 3, 11, v. 2; Gennadius, *de Scrip. Ill.* cap. 67 (?) and 83; and the Preface to his own work, *De Statu Animae*.)

Works.—(i.) *Epistolae.* Two letters of his have been preserved. The first, addressed to Sidonius, is a good-humoured complaint that he never hears from him, with a threat that he will inflict letters upon him until he answers. It is preserved in the correspondence of Sidonius (iv. 2, 3), with the answer of the latter, in which he lavishes every possible form of praise on the *De Statu Animae*, declaring that it combines the excellences of all previous philosophers and orators, whether pagan or Christian. He also speaks with equal warmth of some hymn which Mamertus had written.

The other letter is addressed to a rhetorician, Sapaudus. It contains an interesting account of the decay of classical study at the time, praises the exception to this decay which Sapaudus shews in his declamations, and exhorts him to prefer the old classical writers to modern innovators. This was first published by Baluze, *Miscell.* vi. 535. It is to be found with the other in Gallandi and Migne (*ubi infra*).

(ii.) *De Statu Animae.* The occasion of this book has been described above. The date is fixed by the title given to Sidonius, "C. Sollio, *Praefectorio*," i.e. after 467, when he was praefectus urbi, and before 472, when he was made bishop. It consists of a Preface and Epilogue addressed to Sidonius, and the body of the treatise in three books. In the preface the writer gives an outline of his subject. In lib. i. after a vigorous protest against anonymous writing (cap. 2) he examines the question philosophically, and argues that the soul is incorporeal because made in God's image, and not to be classified under the categories of place and quantity. In lib. ii. he appeals to authority, Greek, Roman, and Christian. In lib. iii. he deals with certain objections which had been urged by his opponent. A convenient summary of the whole is given in iii. 14.

The lavish praise of Sidonius upon the work will be found in his letters iv. 3, v. 2, and modern estimates of its value in Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, cap. vi.; Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, ii. 2 · and a full analysis in Ceillier, x. cap. 18.

(iii.) *Poems.* Sidonius (*ubi supra*) mentions with special praise a hymn by Claudian, but he does not give its name. One scholiast says that it was the well-known "Pange lingua gloriosi," and one MS. of Gennadius (*ubi supra*) states that that hymn was written by Claudian. It is however ordinarily found ascribed to Fortunatus (v. Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.* iii. p. 285, iv. p. 68).

Fabricius has also attributed to him an hexameter poem of 165 lines, "contra vanos poetas ad collegam," which was found in a Paris MS. without the name of the author. It is addressed to some relation who had distinguished himself in his youth by writing poetry on heathen subjects. The author exhorts him to choose Christian subjects, as they will bring him fame and true life. He shews how the accounts of the creation by Moses and St. John give to human life its true dignity and eternity, and how the narratives of the miracles of the Old and New Testament shew that all nature is under the control of its Maker. The poem is written in a fluent style, with fairly correct prosody, and shews a knowledge of classical authors. This would be what we should expect from Claudian, but as we have no certainly genuine poems to compare it with, the authorship must remain doubtful.

Possibly also there are to be assigned to him a few smaller poems found among the works of the heathen poet, Claudian, viz. two short hexameter poems entitled Laus Christi and Carmen Paschale, some short epigrammatic praises of the paradox of the Incarnation, an elegiac account of Christ's miracles, an elegiac appeal to a friend not to criticise his verses too severely, and two short Greek hexameter addresses to Christ, Εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα and Εἰς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν.

The works will be found in Migne, vol. liii.: Bibl. Vet. Patr. Lugd. 1677, vi. p. 1050; ed. Gallandi, x. p. 417. The poems in Fabricius, *Poet. Christ.* p. 777. The *De Statu Animae* has been separately edited, notably by Peter Mosellanus, Basil, 1504; Barth, Cycneae, 1655.

[W. L.]

MAMMAEA or **MAMAEA, JULIA,** the daughter of Julia Moesa, and niece of Julia Domna the wife of the emperor Septimius Severus. She played for a short time a conspicuous part in Roman history, not without some interesting points of contact with that of the Christian church. By her marriage with the Syrian Gessius Marcianus she became the

mother of Alexander Severus, and soon afterwards was left a widow. With her mother and her sister Soaemias, the mother of ELAGABALUS, she went, at the command of MACRINUS after the death of CARACALLA, to reside at Emesa. On the election of her nephew as emperor, she went with him and her son Alexander, then thirteen years old, to Rome, and it speaks well both for her prudence and her goodness, that she continued to secure the life of her son from the jealous suspicions of the tyrant, and to preserve him from the fathomless impurity which ran riot in the imperial court. There are, as will be seen, sufficient reasons for assigning this watchfulness to, at least, the indirect influence of Christian life and teaching. Possibly, as in the life of Nero, there may have been disciples of the new faith among the slaves of Caesar's household, whom she learnt to respect and imitate. On the death of Elagabalus, A.D. 222, and the election of her son by the Praetorian Guard, she rose naturally to a position of great influence. The leanings, whatever they may have been, to the Christian society, which have been already hinted at, were shewn more distinctly when she was with the emperor at Antioch, and hearing that Origen, already famous as a preacher, was at Caesarea, she invited him to visit them with the honour of a military escort, welcomed him with all honour, and listened attentively to him as he unfolded to her the excellence of the faith of Christ (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 21). It does not appear that she ever made a definite profession of belief, and her religion, though it won from Eusebius (*l. c.*) the epithets of θεοσεβεστάτη and εὐλαβής, and from Jerome (*de Script. Eccles.* c. 54) that of "*religiosa*," was probably of the syncretistic type prevalent at the time, which shewed itself, in its better form, in Alexander's adoption of Christian rules of action, and in his placing a bust of Christ, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana, in his private oratory (Lamprid. *Vit. Sev.* c. 29, 43), and in its worst, when Elagabalus wished to build a temple on the Capitol in which Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Romans were to unite in worshipping the Deity whose name he had adopted. It was, perhaps, natural that both mother and son should, in consequence of these tendencies, come under the lash of Julian, who sneers at the childish unwisdom of the latter in submitting his own will to Mammaea's, and gratifying her greed of gain (*De Caesarr.* p. 315), and represents him as weakly bemoaning his disaster. It remains only to add that she shared her son's fate when the troops rose against him and murdered him in Gaul, and that her last moments were embittered by her son's reproaches for the pride and avarice which had involved them in a common ruin (Gibbon, c. vi. and vii. and authorities cited in the text).

[E. H. P.]

MANACCUS, ST. (MANCUS), to whom the parish of Lanlivery in Cornwall is dedicated in conjunction with St. Dunstan. The two were also coupled together in a chapel at Lanreath, though the main church is dedicated to St. Sancredus. William of Worcester (114) says, "S. Mancus episcopus jacet in ecclesia Lanretho prope villam de Fowey, ejus festum agitur die Jovis proxime ante festum Pentacosten." Mancus was probably Irish. The name of the parish of Manaccan, on the other hand, probably refers to the *monks* of Glasney who held it, and the feast day is on the nearest Sunday to 14th October. St. Dunstan's day is 19th May, and the union of the two names probably shews the growth of English influence in Cornwall under Edgar.

[C. W. B.]

MANCHANUS, of Lemanghan, King's Co., has the little known about him much obscured by the number of homonymous saints and the variations in ancient authors. On Tuaimn Eire, granted to him by Diarmaid son of Aedh, about A.D. 649, he built his house, and the place retains his name, "Manchan's grey land." He died of the plague, A.D. 664, which carried off so many other saints, and his feast is Jan. 24. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 410 sq.; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4th ser. iii. 134–50 for a learned article by Dr. Graves on "The Church and Shrine of S. Manchán.") O'Reilly (*Ir. Writ.* xlvi.) ascribes to him a book entitled *The Wonders of Scripture*; but Dr. Reeves (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 514 sq.) shews that this treatise *De Mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae*, ll. iii., included among the works of St. Augustine of Hippo (*Opp.* t. iii. App., ed. 1680), was written by Augustin, an Irish monk of the 7th century.

[J. G.]

MANES (called also MANI among Oriental writers, Μανιχαῖος and MANICHAEUS among Greeks and Latins; cf. a learned note on this name in Fabric. *Bib. Graec.* lib. v. cap. I. in t. vii. p. 310, ed. Harl.). In this article will be found the life of Manes, the exposition of his system in that on the Manicheans. The facts of his history can only be ascertained with some difficulty. The lives indeed of all ancient heretics have suffered much from the misrepresentations of their opponents. In the case of Manes there is the additional difficulty, that we have two opposing, even contradictory accounts in the Western and Eastern traditions. The Western story is derived from the Acts of Archelaus bishop of Caschar [ARCHELAUS]; the Eastern from the Persian and Arabian historians. The earliest authentic notice we have of Manes is that of Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 31), where he is described "as a barbarian in life, both in speech and conduct, who attempted to form himself into a Christ, and then also proclaimed himself to be the very Paraclete and the Holy Spirit. Then as if he were Christ, he selected twelve disciples, the partners of his new religion, and after patching together false and ungodly doctrines, collected from a thousand heresies long since extinct, he swept them off like a deadly poison, from Persia, upon this part of the world." The Western tradition derives itself wholly from the *Acta Archelai*, which were forged by some romancing Greek between the years 330 and 340 A.D., as we first find them quoted by Cyrill. Hieros. *Catech.* vi., written A.D. 348–350. This we conclude because Eusebius in his history, published A.D. 326–330, knows nothing of them. If genuine, it is scarcely possible that Eusebius, living but a few miles from Jerusalem and with all the imperial resources at his back, could have been ignorant of a dispute which must have made such a noise

all over Syria and Mesopotamia [ARCHELAUS]. According to these Acts Manes had been preceded in his heresy by Scythianus, who lived in apostolic times, and by Terebinthus. For their history we must refer to the articles on these names. Scythianus originally lived in Egypt. Thence he moved with Terebinthus into Judaea, whence after his death the latter went into Babylonia. Terebinthus according to Socrates, i. 22, Scythianus according to Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius, wrote four books, which were published under the names of the Gospel, the Treasure, the Chapters, and the Mysteries. After the death of Terebinthus these books came into the possession of a widow with whom he lived. She purchased a boy of the age of seven named Cubricus, Corbicus, or Corbicius (Cyrill. Hieros., Epiph.), Urbicus (Aug. *de Haer.* ed. Ben. c. 46), to whom at her death she left all her property and these books, whence he derived his system. He took the name of Manes, and at sixty years of age began his work by choosing three disciples, Thomas, Addas, and Hermas, to whom he delivered the books he had inherited after he had enlarged them with a quantity of puerile stories. He sent Thomas into Egypt, Addas into Scythia, and retained Hermas with himself. Offering to cure the king's son, and failing, he was cast into prison, where he studied the Scriptures, from which he derived the idea of the Paraclete, a title which he assumed. With the aid of his disciples who had returned, he corrupted his guards and fled to a residence named Arabion, whence he went to Caschar to hold a disputation with Archelaus the bishop. After his defeat by the latter he fled back to Arabion, breaking his journey at a town called Diodoris to preach his errors, whereupon the local priest Diodorus wrote to Archelaus, who despatched to him an epistle refuting his views. Upon his arrival at Arabion he was seized by the king's officers, carried into Persia, flayed alive, his skin being stuffed and hung over the gate of the capital, and his flesh given to the birds. Such was Manes' history, according to the Acts of Archelaus. The bishop claims two disciples of Manes as his authorities, viz. Turbo and Sisinnius, the former of whom abandoned Manicheism for Christianity after the dispute. Sisinnius was the successor of Manes in the leadership of the sect, and could not therefore have given the alleged evidence, but it is not necessary to go farther into this story, which Beausobre, in his History of Manicheism, has shewn to be utterly false (liv. I. ch. xii. xiii.).

A very different story is told by the Syrian, Persian, and Arab historians and chroniclers known to Beausobre. It is however one upon which he places much more reliance than upon the Western tradition (Part. i. liv. ii. ch. i.–iv.). It runs thus: Manes was born about 240 A.D. He was descended from a Magian family. He was well educated in Greek, music, mathematics, geography, astronomy, painting, medicine, and in the Scriptures. Being very zealous for the faith, he was ordained priest while yet young, but becoming a heretic he went to the court of Sapor, whom he proselytized to his views, about A.D. 267. He retained his hold over him for a short time only, for as soon as he opened his views more fully the king resolved to put him to death. In fact a real revival of Zoroastrian doctrine had taken place under his reign, and as soon as Manes disclosed his full plan it was seen to involve the overthrow of the national religion. He then fled into Turkestan, where he gained many disciples. He there used his talents to adorn a temple with paintings, and hiding himself in a cave for twelve months produced his Gospel in a book embellished with beautiful figures. Armed with this he returned to Persia, and presented it to king Hormizdas, who protected him and embraced his views. This king dying within two years, he was succeeded by Varanes I. A.D. 273, who was at first favourable to Manes. The national priesthood however, becoming alarmed at the power of his sect, challenged him to a disputation in presence of the king, after which he was condemned to die as a heretic. According to some he was crucified, according to others cut in two or flayed alive (Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 283; Renaudot, *Hist. Pat. Alex.* pp. 40–49; Eutych. *Annal. Alex.* t. i. p. 387; Hotting. *Hist. Orient.* i. 3). Varanes instituted a general persecution of the Manicheans after his death. Eutychius (*l. c.*) reports a savage jest of his on this subject. He put to death two hundred Manicheans, and caused them to be buried with their heads down and their feet projecting over ground. He then boasted he had a garden planted with men instead of trees. The persecution was so severe that the adherents of the sect fled into all the neighbouring lands—India, China, Turkestan, &c. This persecution was raised on the pretext that the multiplication of the sect was hostile to the human race through their opposition to marriage (Asseman. *Bib. Or.* iii. 220).

II. Since Beausobre's time the sources of Oriental knowledge have been much enlarged. We shall now present brief abstracts of the story of Manes as told by modern research which ever inclines, as Neumann fifty years ago noted in the preface to his translation of the Armenian historian Elisaeus, to lay more and more stress upon the concordant testimony of the Persian, Arabic, and Armenian historians, as opposed to the Byzantines, about the affairs of Western Asia. The publications of the Oriental Translation Fund, such as the Chronicles of Tabari, Makrisi, Masaudi, have thrown much light on this subject. Then again we now possess a history of Manes, his life and doctrine written at Bagdad by a Mohammedan annalist Muhammad ben Ishak, commonly called an-Nadîm, about A.D. 987, a period when literature flourished brilliantly there as well as in those remoter cities of Central Asia, with which we now associate the idea of deepest barbarism. (Cf. Ousely's *Biog. Notices of Persian Poets*, p. 56; Vambery's *Hist. of Bokhara*, p. 138.) It was analysed two centuries ago by Hottingerus in his *Hist. Orient.* i. 3, and is quoted from his MS. by Beausobre in t. i. p. 206, but he never seems to have seen the work itself. It was translated for the first time into German by Hammer Purgstall in 1840 in Bd. xc. der Wiener Jahrbücher, pp. 10–26, and was first published as a monograph with a translation and elaborate commentary by G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1862, under the title of *Mani, seine Lehre u. seine Schriften.* According to it Manes was the son of a certain Babylonian named Futtak (a name which may perhaps be identified with that of Patecius [Πατέκιος], Phatecius, or

Patricius in the formula for the abjuration of this heresy in Cotelerius or Tollius). His mother's name was Meis, or according to others Utâchim or Mar Marjam, the Oriental shape for the Hebrew Miriam or Mary, pp. 83, 117–119 (Κάροσσα according to Tollius, *Insig.* p. 144). His father was originally from Persia, but removed to Babylon, where Manes was born. One day his father heard in a temple a voice saying, "Eat no flesh, drink no wine, and abstain from women," whereupon he founded the sect of the Mugtasila or the Washers, identical with the Sabians of the Marshes between the Tigris and Euphrates, found near Bassora to the present day. (Cf. Renan's Nabath. Agriculture, pref. p. vi. Eng. trans.; Chwolsohn's, *Die Ssabier*, i. 112; Flügel, 83, 132–135.) In this sect Manes was brought up, being instructed in all the knowledge of his time. At twelve years old an angel announced to him that when older he should abandon that sect. At twenty-four the same angel appeared again, and summoned him to found Manicheism in words which strikingly re-echo our Lord's call to St. Paul: "Hail, Manes, from me and from the Lord which has sent me to thee and chosen thee for his work. Now he commands thee to proclaim the glad tidings of the truth which comes from him, and to bestow thereon thy whole zeal." Manes, according to one tradition, Flügel, *l. c.* p. 84, entered on his office the day that Sapor, son of Artaxerxes, succeeded to the throne, Sunday, April 1, 238, as Flügel determines by a lengthened calculation (pp. 146–149). According to another (p. 85) Manes appeared in the second year of the emperor Gallus, A.D. 252 (pp. 150–162). Manes claimed to be the Paraclete promised by Christ, and derived his dogmas from Persian and Christian sources. Before Manes met Sapor he travelled for forty years through various countries. Upon his return he invited Firuz, the brother of Sapor and son of Artaxerxes, to accept his doctrines. By his means he was introduced to Sapor, who shewed him great respect, though he had previously intended to slay him. He promised him reformation of his own life and freedom to his adherents to preach their views. Already the sect had spread into India, China, and Turkestan. Manes was put to death by Varanes I. A.D. 272–276, and his body, cut in two, was suspended a part over each gate of the city Dschundîsâbûr, pp. 99, 329–334. Manes was deformed in his legs according to Flügel, pp. 83, 100. The latest version of his history which research has brought to light will be found in Albîrûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by E. Sachau, and published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1879. It is one of the most important Oriental documents which has seen the light of late years, and well deserves the praise which the learned editor lavishes upon it in his introduction. In many particulars it strikingly confirms the narrative of an-Nadîm given by Flügel; both of them being indeed probably derived from Manichean sources. Albîrûnî was a native of Khiva, A.D. 973–1048, in which neighbourhood he lived and wrote. This work proves him to have possessed vast literary resources no longer available to us, but some of which may yet be found in Central Asia. (Cf. art. by Thomas on *Recent Pehlvi Decipherments* in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* 1871, p. 417.) An interesting coincidence may here be noted. Almost all the narratives represent Sapor as converted to Manicheism for a time. (Cf. Masaudi, t. ii. cap. xxiv. p. 164.) Mr. Thomas in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* 1868, pp. 310–341, in an art. on *Sassanian Inscriptions*, discusses the Hájiábád inscription, wherein, as he maintains, Sapor in A.D. 261 proclaims his adhesion to the debased Christianity of Manes. (Cf. however for a reply completely traversing Mr. Thomas's ground an art. by Mr. E. M. West in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* 1870, p. 376, and for reply by Thomas, *l. c.* 1871, p. 416. This question, however, can only be decided by experts in the Pehlvi language.) It would not be right to pass from this point without noting that Chwolsohn in his *Die Ssabier*, t. i. pp. 123–136, severely criticises the narrative published by Flügel while accepting it to a large degree. At the same time he is inclined to attach much more importance than most writers to the Western tradition. He regards Scythianus and Terebinthus as historical characters, identifying Scythianus with Elkesai (cf. for opposite view Baur's *Manich. Religions-syst.* pp. 462–464). He grounds his theory on a statement of Suidas, *s. v.* Νέρβας, that Manicheism arose under Nerva, who recalled St. John from Patmos. It demands, however, not only an arbitrary rectification of the text of Suidas, but also extravagant chronological assumptions. As to the position which Manes claimed for himself, Beausobre maintains that he did not purport to be the Paraclete, but merely a simple man, the agent or messenger of the Paraclete (t. i. pp. 255–268). On the other hand, the Fathers generally, as Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 31, August. pass. and Albîrûnî, p. 190, testify to the highest claims on his part. However, it is a point almost impossible to decide. The writings of Manes were very numerous. From Albîrûnî's work, we learn that some of them were in existence so late as the eleventh century. They were written by him in Persian and Syriac, and, according to Muhammad ben Ishak, in a character peculiar to the Manicheans, derived from the ordinary Persian and Syriac. Of this alphabet Flügel in his commentary, p. 167, gives a copy. It contained more letters than the Syriac, and was chiefly used by the Manicheans of Samarkhand and Transoxania, where the Marcionites who still existed there in the 10th century used a similar character. The names of his books, according to Beausobre, are his Gospel; his Treasure of Life (θησαυρὸς ζωῆς), from which Fabricius distinguishes the Little Treasure (μικρὸς θησαυρός); Book of Chapters (κεφαλαίων βίβλιον); Treatise about the Faith (λόγος περὶ πίστεως), which Beausobre (t. i. p. 427) believes identical with his Mysteries (μυστήρια, Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 14), of which too he gives an analysis, with which the very different one by Muhammad ben Ishak in Flügel, p. 102, should be compared; Book about the Giants (τῶν γιγάντων πραγματεία), which was known in Syriac at the court of Bagdad so late as the 9th century (*Jour. Asiat.* Mar. 1835, p. 260). According to Epiphanius he also wrote treatises on Astronomy, Astrology, and Magic. In the formula for the abjuration of Manicheism preserved by Timoth. C. P. Tollii *Insig.* p. 142, two other works are mentioned, a Collection of his Epistles (τῶν

ἐπιστολῶν δμάς) and his Memoirs (βίβ. τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων). The former may have contained his Fundamental Epistle, to which Augustine replies in his treatise *Cont. Epist. Fundamenti.* This last seems to have been specially popular in Africa. In Fabric. *Bib. Graec.* lib. v. cap. i. will be found a collection of fragments from his epistles and a list of his works. In the *Acta Archelai* and in Epiphanius will be found a letter purporting to be from Manes to Marcellus. It may be a genuine fragment. Albîrûnî mentions a work of Manes known to his followers in Central Asia under the name of Shâbûrkân, which he describes as their religious code, noting it with great respect as "a book favoured by God with a long duration." In it Manes spoke of the coming of the prophet, referring apparently to himself, and giving details of his life. It was composed in Turkestan, and presented to the Persian king after his return. Beausobre speculates upon its contents, but says that he can find no fragment of it in either the Greek or Latin fathers. In Albîrûnî there are several fragments of it. They bear out Beausobre's surmise that it was not a gospel in our sense of the word or record of the life of Christ, but a book of religious Meditations or pretended Revelations. The following extract from it found in Albîrûnî, p. 190, is quite in character with the religious eclecticism which might find favour with a king distracted with the din of religious controversy. "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messenger of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zaradûscht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age, through me, Mani, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia." On p. 191 of Albîrûnî's work we find a list of his works as known to him, viz. Shâbûrkân, Book of Giants, Treasure of Life, Book of Books, and many treatises. On p. 27 again, speaking of the gospels published by the followers of Marcion and Bardesanes, he mentions "The Gospel of the Seventy" as used by the Manicheans, but attributes it to one Balamis, not to Manes. There is one point which seems to identify the book Shâbûrkân with the Book of Mysteries already mentioned. Albîrûnî describes the former as arranged according to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, being the precise account of the Book of Mysteries given by Epiphanius in *Haer.* lxvi. 13. In Flügel's book we find the Book of Mysteries described by the Bagdad historian, and placed at the head of six Syriac works attributed to him. He divides it however only into eighteen chapters, as follows:—First, Concerning the followers of Bardesanes (cf. Flüg. *l. c.* p. 160). Then two chapters, one about Hystaspes and the other about a certain Ja 'Kûl, of whom is nothing known. The fourth treats of the Son of the poor widow whom the Jews crucified, when his docetic views appear. The fifth sets forth the testimony of Jesus against the Jews. The sixth the testimony (to Manicheism) of a certain Jamûn after his victories (over self). The seventh and eighth chapters deal with the doctrines of spirits, the seven and the four. The ninth deals with the Paths (to life). The tenth set forth Adam's witness to Jesus (cf. Flügel, *l. c.* p. 91; Renan, *sur Apocal. d'Adam* in *Jour. Asiat.* Nov.–Dec. 1853, p. 431–34). The eleventh deals with the corruption of religion. The twelfth treats of the doctrines of the followers of Bardesanes about the soul and the body; the thirteenth of the controversy with these last about the life of the soul; the fourteenth about the three destructions; the fifteenth about the preservation of the world; the sixteenth about the three days; the seventeenth about the prophets; the eighteenth about the resurrection. Dionysius of Telmachar, a Syrian historian of the 8th century, mentions "books which are found in the Cavern of the Treasures of hidden mysteries, or the conversation of Adam the father of our race with his son Seth." This was evidently a book of the same family, if not identical with the work of Manes (Renan, *l. c.* pp. 435, 455, 460). (Cf. Norberg's *Codex Nasaraeus* and Kaempfer, *Amoen. Exotic.* p. 439 sqq.) This teaching about Adam enters into every form of Manicheism and kindred heresies (cf. Albîrûnî, p. 190), being probably derived from the weird speculations of the Babylonian Jews, to whom Manes was otherwise so hostile, and who then were at the very height of their intellectual activity (cf. Jost's *Judenthum*, t. ii. pp. 127–183; Kuenen's *Rel. of Israel*, iii. 297, Eng. trans.; Renan, *Nab. Agric.* p. 91, et *pass.*). The most powerful though most subtle influences are however often derived from our foes. We have already mentioned the leading authorities for the facts of his life. The additional authorities noted in the article MANICHEANS may also be consulted, specially Baur's work. For the English reader requiring a clear and full statement of the facts as known to his time, the narrative of Lardner in his *Credibility* may be commended, but the facts of the case cannot be ascertained without consulting those modern authorities we have quoted. Compare also Aug. Ant. Georgii *Alphab. Tibetanum*, pp. 267–293, 390–401 and *passim*, and his *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, Praef. note on pp. cci.–ccvi. His views published in the middle of the last century correspond with the Oriental traditions, and completely anticipate the view taken by Baur as expounded in the article MANICHEANS. [G. T. S.]

MANICHEANS (Μανιχαῖοι, Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi., where they are also called Ἀκουανῖται, from Ἀκούας, one of their leaders, who carried the heresy from Mesopotamia to Eleutheropolis).

In a previous article we have discussed the personal history of Manes. It is now our duty to treat of the origin, principles, cultus, literature, and history of the sect called after him; subjects which we shall treat as concisely as possible; begging the reader always to remember that we are dealing not so much with the history of a definite sect as of a vast indefinite spiritual and intellectual movement, which makes itself felt more or less in the development of every thinking mind; and which, from its very vastness, eludes, or at least renders very difficult, definite historical treatment. 1. *Origin and principles of Manicheism.* For the fountain of the Manichean heresy we must turn to India. This point has been the subject of an elaborate memoir by

Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, Tübingen, 1831, pp. 433–451, a view which has been largely confirmed by the investigations of later scholars. Our space however will not permit us to enter upon this question. We can only refer the student to Baur's work, where he will find satisfactory evidence proving that elements derived both from Buddhism and from Zoroastrism are found in the Manichean system. One of the latest enquirers has indeed recognised the influence of the *Zend-Avesta* and Zoroastrism upon Manicheism: cf. Darmesteter's *Zend-Avesta* in *Sacred Books of the East*, t. iv. Introd. p. xxxvii. We need scarcely say that a thorough exposition of this system, which has filled the two large works of Beausobre and Baur's volume of 500 pp., would surpass the limits of such an article as this. We can only refer the student to these works, or the English reader to an exhaustive discussion of the subject contained in Neander's *Church Hist.*, Bohn's ed., t. ii. pp. 157–195. We shall now content ourselves with sketching the leading principles of the sect. Manes probably at first merely desired to blend Christianity and Zoroastrism together. From these two sources he could borrow on the one hand the Christian elements we find in his system, while from Zoroastrism he took his Dualism, which consisted of two independent principles absolutely opposed to each other, with their opposite creations; on the one side God (Ahura-Mazda), the original good from whom nothing but good can proceed; on the other side original evil (Angro-Mainyus), whose essence is wild, self-conflicting tumult, matter, darkness, a world full of smoke and vapour. The powers of darkness were contending in wild rage with one another, when in their blind struggle they approached so near to the realm of light that a gleam from that hitherto unknown kingdom reached them for the first time, whereupon they strove to force their way into it. The good God, in order to guard His boundaries, produced the Aeon Mother of Life, by whom the first or spiritual man was produced, together with the five elements, wind, light, water, fire, and matter, to carry on the struggle; which however are not identical with the actual elements, but are the elements of the higher world, of which the mundane and actual elements are a copy framed by the Prince of Darkness, a view we find worked out by the Cathari of the 12th cent. (Gieseler, *H. E.* iii. 452).[a] The primitive man is worsted in the conflict by the spirits of darkness, who take from him some of his armour, which is his soul (ψυχή). In his danger he prays to the Light-King, who sends him the Spirit of life, who rescues him and raises him once more to the Light-Kingdom. But meanwhile the Powers of Darkness had succeeded in swallowing part of the luminous essence of the primeval heavenly man, which they proceeded to shut up in material bodies, as in a prison. At the same time this very violence is the means of their destruction. The Divine Spirit is only enclosed in the material prisons for a time, and with a view to final deliverance. To illustrate this Manes used a parable. A shepherd sees a wild beast about to rush into the midst of his flock. He digs a pit and casts into it a kid; the beast springs into the pit to devour his prey, but cannot extricate himself. The shepherd however delivers the kid and leaves the lion to perish (*Disp. c. Archel.* c. 25; Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. c. 44). The Spirit of life at once began his preparations for purifying the souls which had been mixed up with the kingdom of darkness. That part of the soul which had not been affected by matter he placed in the sun and moon, whence it might send forth its influence to release and draw back towards itself, through the refining processes of vegetable and animal life, kindred souls diffused through all nature; for the sun and moon play as important a part in the Manichean as they do in the Persian, Indian, and Mithraic systems (C. B. Stark, *Zwei Mithraeen*, Heidelberg, 1864, p. 43). In order to prevent this gradual despiritualisation the powers of darkness resolve to produce a being in whom the soul of nature, which was ever striving after liberty, might be securely imprisoned. This is man as he is now shaped after the image of the primitive man with whom they originally waged war. He was formed by the prince of darkness, and embraces in himself the elements of both worlds, the soul springing from the Light-Kingdom, the body from that of darkness. The powers of darkness now perceive that the light-nature by concentrating itself in man has become powerful. They therefore seek to attach him by every possible enticement to the lower world. Here comes in the Manichean story of the Fall, which is similar to that of the Ophites. The Powers of Darkness invited man to partake of all the trees of Paradise, forbidding only the tree of Knowledge. But an angel of light, or Christ Himself, the Spirit of the Sun, counteracted their artifices in the shape of the serpent, the parts of the Biblical narrative being thus reversed, God's share being ascribed to the devil and vice versâ. Their standpoint with respect to the Fall determined their attitude towards the whole Old Testament, which they rejected as the work of the evil principle; while again their theory about the creation of the material part of man determined their view of the Incarnation, which they of course regarded as wholly docetic; if a material body was a prison and a burden to the spirit of man, Christ could scarcely voluntarily imprison His divine Spirit in the same. "Moreover, the Son, when He came for man's salvation, assumed a human appearance, so that He appeared to men as if He were a man, and men thought He had been born" (Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 49). This docetic view of the Incarnation of course destroyed the reality equally of His life, His death, resurrection and ascension, and

[a] As to the creation of the visible world according to the system of Manes the critics differ; Beausobre (ii. 358–362) maintains that he ascribed it to the powers of the kingdom of Light; Neander (*H. E.* ii. 175) to the power of darkness. Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. c. 64) clearly states the latter. The Manicheans there are represented as quoting John viii. 44 thus: ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ· ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ψεύστης ἦν. Whence they conclude that the Devil's Father was the maker of the visible world. But it is impossible to reconcile all the discrepancies in Manes' system, made up as it is of so many diverse elements. Epiphanius constantly twits him with his contradictions. It certainly seems more consistent with his fundamental idea to ascribe the visible creation to the evil than to the good principle.

in fact struck at the root of all historical Christianity, so that we find at last some of the later Manicheans maintaining a distinction between the mundane or the historical Christ, who was a bad man, and the spiritual Christ, who was a divine deliverer (Gieseler, *H. E.* iii. 407, note [28]). At the same time they attached a mystical signification to orthodox language about our Lord, whereby they could use it to deceive the unwary. Thus they could speak of a suffering son of man hanging on every tree—of a Christ crucified in every soul and suffering in matter. They gave their own interpretation to the symbols of the suffering Son of Man in the Lord's Supper (cf. Petrus Sic. *Hist. Man.* in Bigne's *Bib. PP.* xvi. 760). We have already noted that Manicheism contains also elements drawn from Buddhism. A thorough exposition of the relations between these two systems will be found in Baur, *l. c.* pp. 433–451, where he points out Buddhist influence on the Manichean doctrines as to the opposition between matter and spirit, upon the creation and end of the world, and upon moral questions. The most striking points of contact between these two systems are metempsychosis (Baur, *l. c.* p. 440), and the stress laid upon gnosis. The former is the outer way, whereby souls can return thither whence they have descended. The latter is the inner and highest way (cf. Colebrooke's *Essays*, ii. 382, 389, for the universal influence of this view in India). In both the Manichean and the Buddhist system asceticism again was the practical result of the opposition between matter and spirit; the more matter could be crushed, the nearer the spirit came to its original source (cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthum.* iii. 408–415).

2. *Organization.*—Perhaps, however, it is on the practical organization of the system that Buddhist influence is most clearly seen. Manicheism differed from Gnosticism, in that the latter did not wish to alter anything in the constitution of the existing church. It desired only to add to the Confession of Faith for the ψυχικοί a secret doctrine for the πνευματικοί. Manes, on the other hand, as the paraclete set up a new church instead of the old, which had been corrupted by Jewish traditions, from whose power not even the apostles were free. In the church of the Manicheans the gradations were similar to those among the Buddhists (cf. H. H. Wilson's *opp.* t. ii. p. 360, *Essay on Buddha and Buddhism*). There was first the great body consisting of the auditores, from whom a less strict course of life was demanded, and one of whose leading duties was to supply the other and higher class, the Elect or Perfect, with food and other necessaries. From these last an ascetic life was demanded. They should possess no property, were bound to a celibate and contemplative life, abstaining from all strong drinks and animal food. They should hurt no living thing, from a religious reverence for the divine life diffused through all nature. They should therefore refrain not only from taking life, but even from pulling up a herb or plucking fruits or flowers (Aug. *cont. Faust.* v. 6, vi. 4). Thus Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. c. 28) tells us that when their followers presented one of the Elect with food, he first addressed it thus: "I have neither reaped nor ground, nor pressed nor cast thee into the oven. All these things another has done, and brought thee to me. I am free from all fault." Upon which he said to his disciple "I have prayed for thee," and let him go (cf. Von Wegnern, *de Manich. Indulgent.* p. 69 sq.) The most superficial study of the system on this point discloses its essential Pantheism, a tendency which it manifestly draws from Buddhism (Hodgson, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1835, p. 295; Matter, *Hist. du Gnostic.* t. ii. 357), and which we shall see developing itself further in the course of our history. St. Augustine indeed noted this very point in his reply to Faustus, ii. 5, xii. 13; cf. Aug. Epp. 165, 166, cap. iii. sec. 7; Ep. 74 ad Deuterium Episcop.; Toll. *Insig.* p. 137; Muratorii *Anecd. Ambros. Biblioth.* ii. 112. Manes derived from Christianity another element of his system. Manes claimed to be the paraclete promised by Christ. He therefore, after Christ's example, chose twelve apostles, in whom the government of the sect was placed. At the head of the twelve there was a thirteenth, representing Manes and presiding over all (Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 97, 298, 316; Baur, *l. c.* p. 305); subordinate to these there were seventy-two bishops, under whom were presbyters, deacons, and travelling missionaries, a constitution which lasted to the 13th century, and possibly may not be yet quite extinct.

3. *Cultus.*—The Manicheans had their own peculiar rites, though their mystical interpretation of language enabled them to hold the highest position in the Christian ministry, as in an-Nadim's time, A.D. 987, it enabled them to conform externally to the Mahometan system (Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 107, 404–408). Thus Eutychius, Pat. Alex. *Annal.* t. i. p. 515 (cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* p. 101), tells us how Timotheus, Pat. Alex., discovered the Manicheans among the Egyptian bishops at the council of Constantinople by permitting the bishops and monks to eat flesh on Sundays, which of course the Manicheans would not do. The worship of the Manicheans consisted in prayers and hymns. They had neither temples, altars, incense, nor images. They fasted on Sunday. They regarded Easter but lightly, as a festival which in their system had no meaning. They observed Pentecost, but not Christmas or Epiphany. Their great festival was that of Bema, held in the month of March in memory of their founder's death. On that occasion an empty chair or pulpit, richly upholstered, was placed in their Assembly, as a symbol of his presence, while one of his works, probably his *Fundamental Epistle*, was read, together with the records of his martyrdom (cf. Aug. *Reply to Fund. Epist.* c. viii.; *Cont. Faust.* xviii. 5). As to their sacraments, and first as to baptism, the authorities vary much. Beausobre, t. ii. *liv.* ix. ch. vi., maintains strongly that they baptized even infants, and that in the name of the Trinity. On the other hand Augustine, *de Haer.* cap. xlvi.; *Cont. Ep. Pelag.* lib. ii. and in other places cited by Beausobre, *l. c.* p. 714 note; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* opp. t. i. col. 831, Migne's *P. G.* t. cxxi., expressly assert that they rejected baptism with water; and Timotheus C. P. in his *Form. Recep. Haer.* classes them among those heretics who must receive baptism on joining the church, a rule which seems to have prevailed from the 4th century (Beveridge, *Cod. Canon. Eccles. Primit.* lib. ii. cap. 12; S. Bas. *Ep.* clxxxviii.),

Certainly the practice of the Manicheans in the 12th century would support this latter view, as they then substituted their Consolamentum or laying on of hands—which they called the baptism of the Holy Ghost—for water baptism, which they scorned (cf. Gieseler, *H. E.* iii. 397, 410 note). If the Manicheans admitted baptism with water, it would seem to be inconsistent with their fundamental principle of the essentially evil nature of matter (cf. Tertull. *Cont. Marcion.* i. 23). But at the same time we cannot expect perfect consistency in their system, as in another respect they seem to have retained from the Zoroastrian system an exaggerated reverence for water, in common with other similar sects (as the Sampsaeans, Epiph. *Haer.* liii. cf. Philast. *Haer.* xcvi.; Aug. *Haer.* lxxv.; Praedest. *Haer.* lxxv.), which led them to forbid the use of it for purposes of cleanliness, and to order the disgusting practice noticed in the following exsecration from the *Formul. Recept. Manich.* in Toll. *Insig. Itin. Ital.* p. 141:—"Exsecror eos qui propriâ sese urinâ inquinant, nec, ut sordes suae aquâ abluantur, sustinent, ne, ut inquiunt, aqua polluatur" (cf. Epiph. lxvi. 28); a custom which they plainly derived from the Persians, as is proved by the Zoroastrian proclamation to the Armenians of the 5th century, contained in Elisaeus, *Hist. of Vartan*, ed. Neumann, pp. 27, 94, where a similar practice is mentioned by the Zoroastrians themselves as a proof of orthodoxy. The same fundamental idea still prevails among the Ansairees and Yezedees (Lyde's *Asian Mystery*, 293; Badger's *Nestorians*, i. 117). Beausobre defends them against this and all other similar charges; but in an-Nadîm's narrative, as given by Flügel, which was most probably derived from Manichean sources, this reverence for water is laid down as one of the essential principles of the sect (Flügel's *Mani*, p. 95). As to their Eucharist there is the same diversity of testimony, and a similar accusation of filthy practices. They celebrated the communion, but substituted water for wine, the use of which they abhorred [HYDROPARASTATAE]. About the disgusting ceremonial of Ischas, which Cyril. Hier. (*Cat.* vi.), Augustine (*Haer.* xlvi.), and Pope Leo I. (*ser. v. De Jejun. x. Mens.*) accuse them of adding to their communion, see Beausobre, liv. ix. ch. 7–9 in t. ii. pp. 720–762. As to the nature of it the following extract from Aug. *l. c. sup.*, must suffice: "Coguntur electi eorum veluti Eucharistiam conspersam semine humano sumere." With this may be compared the similar but even more horrible narrative about the Gnostic sacraments in *Pistis Sophia*, ed. Petermann, p. 241; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7; Epiph. *Haer.* xxvi. cap. 4; cf. J. de Hammer's *Mém. sur deux Coffrets Gnostiques du Moyen Age*, p. 23, Paris, 1832, and his *Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum* in *Mines de l'Orient*, t. vi. p. 22; in both which, from a study of the monuments, he proves the truth of those accusations which have been often attributed to the imaginations of the orthodox. In connexion with their ritual we may notice their magic. All the authorities agree as to their pretensions on this point. Magic was in fact common to all Eastern heresies, and was derived partly from heathenism, partly from Judaism (Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, iii. x.–xxviii.). Epiphanius indeed (*Haer.* lxvi. 3) traces Manichean magic back to Egyptian and Indian sources. Theurgical practices were, however, a common feature of the religious movements of the 3rd and 4th century.

4. *Apocryphal Literature.*—Manicheism has been the prolific parent of false Gospels. On this subject we must refer to the articles on LEUCIUS (1), GOSPELS APOCRYPHAL, and MANES. Here we may however remark that the work of forgery is due not so much to Manes as to his followers. This is evident at once when Epiphanius's treatise upon Manicheism is contrasted with Augustine's Reply to Faustus. Epiphanius uses simply the early *Acta Archelai*, which represent Manicheism in its early stage. In it Manes rejects indeed the Old Testament, but accepts the New; and Epiphanius proves the falsehood of his views by quotations from all the Gospels alike. But Augustine discusses the system as it had been developed by a century and a half of controversy. Thus we find Faustus rejecting St. Matthew (lib. xvii. 1), accusing Christians of falsifying all the Gospels (*Cont. Faust.* lib. ii., xvi.–xviii., xxxiii. 3, cf. Aug. *Ep.* lxxxii. sec. 6; Beausobre, *l. c.* Part ii. liv. i. cap. 5), and appealing to apocryphal fables under the name of the Apostles; whereof Augustine gives us a specimen in a story about St. Thomas cursing and thereby killing a man who struck him (*Cont. Faust.* xxii. 79). The names of these books are mentioned by Faustus (lib. xxx. cap. 4) as the Gospels of Peter, Andrew, Thomas; the Form of making Virgins left by St. John, and the story of Paul and Thecla. (On the apocrypha of Manicheism, cf. Titus Bostr. iii.; Philast. *de Haer.* lxxxviii.; Epiph. *Haer.* 47, 61, 63; Timoth. C. P. *de Recep. Haer.*; *Apost. Constit.* vi. 16, Clark's ed.; Beausob. *Hist. Man.* part. ii. liv. ii.; Thil. *Apoc. Cod. Nov. Test.* Introd. pp. lxxv.–xc.) Yet, as the list just given will shew, containing, as it does, documents mentioned long before the time of Manes, it is almost certain that Manicheism merely adopted these apocryphal writings. In Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 103–105, we have a list of seventy-six epistles sent to various places and persons by Manes and the leaders of the sect after him, where also, pp. 166–168, will be found a specimen of their secret alphabet, which is similar to one ascribed to Bardesanes (*Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1864, t. vi. p. 465). For more on this subject see sec. 6.

5. *History after Death of Manes.*—We may divide this part of our subject into two. (1) As to the East. (2) As to the West. As to the East, where they originated, the Manicheans made rapid progress, spreading, as an-Nadim (Flügel's *Mani*, p. 105, cf. p. 394) tells us, into various lands. During the persecution raised against them upon the death of Manes, they fled into Transoxania, whence they maintained a constant communication with Babylon, their original seat, as the head of the sect always remained there till the Mahomedan invasion. They then returned to Persia, A.D. 661, but fled back again to the same region, A.D. 908–932, when a fresh persecution was raised by the Abbaside Chaliph Muktadir, and took refuge in the neighbourhood of Samarkand and Sogdiana. The spread of Manicheism towards the East is proved by an incident which occurred upon their second flight to Transoxania, where, as Renan has

pointed out (*Hist. Lang. Semit.* p. 281), they probably exercised an important literary influence upon the formation of the Ouigour, Mongol, and Calmuck alphabets, which through them or the Nestorians are derived from the Syriac Estranghelo. One of the Mahometan princes was about to persecute them, when the ruler of China sent a message to him that there were far more Moslems in his dominions than Manicheans in Samarkand, and that if he killed one of them, whose religion he himself professed, he would in return slay all the Moslems (cf. on spread of Manicheism into China from Turkestan, De Guignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns*, iii. 24; West's Pahlavi Texts, pt. i. p. 296 in *Sacred Books of the East*, t. v. Oxford, 1880). Chwolsohn (*Die Ssabier*, i. 123–130) has, indeed, thrown a doubt upon the narrative of an-Nadîm, as derived, in his opinion, from Manichean sources only, and representing an effort to throw a halo round their history. It has, however, received a striking confirmation in the publication of Albîrûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Orient. Trans. Fund. 1879), from which we have already quoted in treating of Manes. This book, written in the neighbourhood of Khiva, displays the most accurate acquaintance with the teaching and history of the sect, even to the charge of paederasty, which it refutes in almost the very words used by Beausobre, t. ii. 742, when tracing the origin of this charge back to John Damasc. (*Dial. cont. Manich.*). Albîrûnî, A.D. 973–1048, testifies, p. 191, that Manicheans still existed in his time, scattered throughout all Mahometan lands, but were specially numerous at Samarkand, where they were known as Sabians. He also states that they were prevalent among the Eastern Turks, in China, Thibet, and India (cf. A. von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 171, Wien, 1875; Vambéry, *Hist. of Bokhara*, p. 16, and *Sketches in Central Asia*, pp. 261–266. On the value of Albîrûnî as an authority consult Sachau's Introd. to the *Translation*, and a paper contributed by him to the German Philological Congress, *Verhandl. der Versamml. Deutsch. Philolog.* 1872). The Manicheans again spread into southern Armenia and Cappadocia, where they found material ready to their hand in the Hypsistarii of that region [HYPSISTARII] (Matter, *Gnosticism*, ii. 392), whence they came into immediate contact with Europe. A proof of their activity in Armenia will be found in the work of Eznig, one of the leading writers of Armenia in the 5th cent., published by the Mekhitarite monks at Venice in 1826 under the title *Refutatio Errorum Persarum et Manichaeorum.* Their progress in this direction seems to have been intensified by the Mazdakite movement in the 5th century, which was only a revival of Manicheism. It displayed also the same missionary activity [MAZDAK], which manifested itself in an aggression upon the orthodox of Armenia, A.D. 590, noted by the Armenian historian Samuel of Ani. He gives us a list of Manichean works which they introduced into Armenia, among which appear the Penitence or Apocalypse of Adam (published by Renan in the *Jour. Asiat.* 1853, t. ii. p. 431), the Explanation of the Gospel of Manes, the Gospel of the Infancy, the Vision of St. Paul, and the Testament of Adam. A fresh impulse to Manicheism in southern Armenia was given by Paulicianism in the latter half of the 7th century, while again another revival of it took place under a man named Sembat in the middle of the 9th century (Neand. *H. E.* vi. 342), about which period its adherents inhabited in vast numbers the mountain ranges and border lands between the Roman and Persian empires [PAULICIANISM]. During the iconoclastic controversy the emperors of the 8th century, beginning with Leo the Isaurian, who drew his origin from the same quarter, found in the Armenian Manicheans their most efficient allies, and transported them in large numbers to Europe to recruit their armies [LEO ISAUR.; ICONOCLASM], a practice which continued till A.D. 978, when John Zimisces transplanted a powerful colony to the valleys of Mount Haemus (Ann. Comn. *Alexiad.* ii. 298, ed. Bonn.), where, as Gibbon tells us, c. liv., they continued to exist in the last century, and from whence they spread all over Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, and Epirus. We shall meet these colonists again in the course of our narrative (cf. on subject of this section Neander's remarks derived from Petermann in *H. E.* t. vi. pp. 340–344, ed. Bohn).

(2) *History in the West.*—The first notice of a Manichean advance in this direction is found in an edict of Diocletian, directed to Julian, proconsul of Africa, dated prid. kal. April. 287, wherein its leaders are condemned to the stake, and its adherents punished with decapitation and confiscation of all their goods, as following "a new and unheard of monster, which has come to us from the Persians, a hostile people, and has perpetrated many misdeeds." The genuineness of this edict has been challenged, but is defended by Neander, *l. c.* ii. 195, note. It is given in Gieseler, *H. E.* i. 228. The chief ground for disputing it is the silence of the Fathers, specially of Eusebius, about it. But the argument *e silentio* is never a safe one. Besides Ambrosiaster mentions it when commenting upon 2 Tim. iii. 7. This edict is addressed to the proconsul of Africa, where the Manicheans were making great progress. This coincides exactly with the fact, known to us already, that Manes sent a special envoy to Africa, where, during the fourth century, Manicheism flourished, both among the monks and clergy of Egypt and in proconsular Africa, ensnaring souls like St. Augustine; and where they must have been very numerous and powerful, since, notwithstanding the severe and bloody laws enacted against them by Valentinian, A.D. 372, Theodosius, A.D. 381, as may be seen in the code, they assembled and taught and debated in public in Augustine's time. We have, however, a sufficient proof that in some places these laws did not remain empty threats, in the fact that the heathen rhetorician Libanius appealed in behalf of the Manicheans of Palestine (Ep. 1344). Probably just as in the case of the pagan persecutions, the vigour with which the imperial rescripts were enforced varied with the dispositions of the local magistrates. From Africa the sect was propagated in this century into Spain, Gaul, and Aquitaine (Philast. *Haer.* c. 61, 84), where it may have originated Priscillianism (Muratori, *Anecd. ex Ambros. Biblioth. Codic.* ii. 113, ed. 1698). Still later we find the Arian king Hunneric persecuting them in

Africa, together with the orthodox, A.D. 477 (Vict. Vit. *Hist. Persec. Wand.* ii. init.). In another direction, again, we of course find the sect at Constantinople and at Rome. Constantine the Great commissioned a certain Strategius —who, under the name of Musonianus, rose to be praetorian prefect of the East,—to report upon it (Ammian. Marcell. xv. 13); while again, 200 years later, in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, Manicheism in the Mazdakite movement made a convert of the emperor Anastasius I. At Rome they were found from ancient times. Lipsius in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1879, art. on *Neue Stud. zur Papst-Chronologie*, p. 438, discusses a constitution of pope Anastasius I. A.D. 398, enacted on account of their immigration from beyond the seas at that date. After the barbarian invasion of Africa they fled to Rome in great numbers, when pope Leo I. proved himself very active in their repression. Leo says that the Manicheans, whom, with the aid of the civil magistrates, he arrested, acknowledged their dissolute practices; whereupon Valentinian III. published a very severe law against them. Notwithstanding all the papal efforts, renewed from age to age, we still find the sect existing at Rome in the 7th century, under Gregory the Great (cf. Greg. Mag. lib. ii. Ep. 37; Gieseler, *H. E.* t. ii. p. 491, Clark's ed.). But the great impulse to Manichean thought in southern Europe came in later times from the original sources of the system. We have already traced the connexion between the Manicheans of southern Armenia and their colonies in Bulgaria, established by the iconoclastic emperors, and maintained by their successors[b] (cf. on this point Petr. Sic. *Hist. Manich.*, who speaks with all the authority of an eye-witness, though probably a very prejudiced one). These colonists developed a fresh Manichean movement in the Greek church in the 11th century, whose followers were variously called Euchites, Enthusiasts, or Bogomiles [EUCHITES]; and which rapidly spread, partly through the crusades, but most chiefly through their own missionary activity, to Italy, Gaul, Germany, and England, to be in the former countries the founders of the Albigensian and Catharist systems. Through these latter, again, Manicheism developed its essential Pantheism, which displayed itself in the system of Abbot Joachim and the Evangelium Eternum of the 13th century; and the numberless other Pantheistic and mystic sects which sprang up during the two succeeding centuries.[c] On this interesting topic consult an article by Renan in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1866, t. lxiv. pp. 134–142; Hauréau, *sur Conc. de Paris*, A.D. 1210, in *Rev. Archéol.* 1864, t. ii. p. 428; Cahier, *Mel. d'Archéol.* t. i. pp. 137, 149; Hammer-Purgstall's *Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum* in *Mines de l'Orient*, t. vi. p. 4, Vienna, 1818. On the subject of the Bogomiles, and of medieval Manicheism in general, consult Wolf, *Hist. Bogomil.* and Gieseler, *H. E.* t. ii. pp. 208, 488, t. iii. 387–474, where abundant authorities will satisfy the curious student; and latest of all, Albert Réville, *Les Albigeois* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Mai, 1874. Perhaps the most satisfactory proof of the historic connexion between the heretics of southern Gaul and the Manicheans of Eastern Europe is found in a fact mentioned by Gieseler (iii. 407–409) of the existence of a Romaic version of the New Testament, used by the Cathari, in the library of the Academy of Arts at Lyons (Fleck, *Wissenschaftl. Reise*, II. i. 90). Again, as pointing in the same direction, we may note that Benoist's *Hist. des Albigeois*, Paris, 1691, t. i. pp. 283–286, mentions the *Liber Apoc. Joannis aut Interrog. S. Joannis et Respons. Dom. Christi* as a secret book, brought by a certain Catharist bishop Nazarius out of Bulgaria into France. This relic of Bulgarian Manicheism will be found in Thilo's *Apoc. N. T.* p. 884.

6. *Remains of the Sect and of its Literature.* —It may be naturally asked, Are there now any remains of this once powerful and widely spread sect? We believe there are, and that in the Yezedees, or Devil-worshippers of Mosul, and the Ansairees of Syria, we have their direct representatives, while mingled with the doctrines of the Sabians or Hemerobaptistae, who still linger in the neighbourhood of Harran, we have a large Manichean element. A thorough examination of this point would however require a separate article. We can only refer to Badger's *Nestorians*, t. i. c. ix. x.; Lyde's *Asian Mystery*, and Layard's *Nineveh*, c. ix., as confirming this view by several interesting facts, cf. also *Notes sur les Sectes de Kurdistan*, par T. Gilbert, in *Jour. Asiat.* 1873, t. ii. p. 393. Cahier also maintains in *Mel. Archéol.* i. 143, that the Bogomili and the Massalians, branches of the same sect, still exist in Russia.

We still possess some specimens of their literature, and we are persuaded that a critical examination of Mahometan MSS., and that complete investigation of the interior state of Western and Central Asia which yet awaits us, will reveal them in still larger abundance (Beausob. *Hist. Man.* t. i. p. 366, and note 7). Thus to omit the Apocryphal Gospels, to which we have already referred, Renan, as mentioned above, published in 1853, in the *Jour. Asiat.* a document out of the Syriac, called the Apocalypse of Adam, which he shewed to be one of those brought by the Manicheans into Armenia in 590 A.D., and condemned in the celebrated Gelasian decree [GELASIUS]. This book was very widely spread in the East, was known to Eutychius, Elmacin, El-Kesai, and other historians, Christian and Mussulman, and may be traced in *Chronic.* of Dionysius Telmehar, published by Tullberg, pp. 79–83, and in the Armenian histories of Samuel of Ani, and of Mekhitar of Airwauk, written so late as the close of the 13th century (cf. Brosset, *Mém.* 5 in *Jour. Acad. St. Pétersb.* 1869, t. xiii.). Again, according to Cureton, *Spicileg. Syriac.* p. 73,

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[b] An Armenian colony still exists in Transylvania. It supplied a head to the Armenian convent of St. Lazare at Venice in A.D. 1800, in the person of Archbishop Aconce Kōwer (Langlois, *Sur le Couvent de St. Lazare*, Venice, 1863, p. 16).

[c] Like all pantheistic systems Manicheism reduced Christ and Christianity to a level with other great teachers and philosophical systems. This characteristic we find in all branches of the sect. Thus on the Mazdakite monument found sixty years ago at Cyrene Christ is enumerated in the same rank with Zoroaster, Pythagoras, &c. [MAZDAK.] Albirûnî, *Chronol. of Ancient Nation*, p. 190, and the anathemas in Tollius, *Insig.* p. 135, witness the same.

Colonel Chesney discovered a MS. of their *Thesaurus Revivicationis*, mentioned by Tollius. It may have been identical with the *Spelunca Thesaurorum* analysed by Assem. *Bib. Orient.* i. 498, iii. 281. Some of the latest inquirers too have recognised the influence of the sect upon Mahometan doctrines, literature, and ritual. See F. von Hellwald's *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 140, Augsburg, 1877; A. Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 169, and *Culturgeschichtl. Streifzüge*, pp. 35–41.

A further discussion of this point would extend this article beyond its proper limits, and indeed the complete materials for such an inquiry are still wanting. We have already noted the leading authorities on the subject. Beausobre and Lardner amply represent the learning of the last century, and exhaust what can be said by investigating the Fathers. But no student can now be regarded as up to the knowledge of our times unless he has added thereto the study of the works of Neander, Baur, Gieseler (in his history, and more definitely in an article in *Stud. u. Crit.* I. iii. 599–620), Chwolsohn, Lassen, Weber, not to speak of those of Rawlinson, Müller, and of our other great Orientalists. The work of Baur, so often quoted by us, has the merit of first during this century bringing clearly into view the Buddhist element in Manicheism, but it will be found to have been most strikingly anticipated by a monk in the last century, viz. in Aug. Ant. Georgii *Alphabet. Tibetan.* pp. 267–293, 390–401 *et passim*, and in *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, praef. pp. cci.–cccvi. note. Flügel's *Mani*, to which this article owes much, is most exhaustive, and sheds the latest light on the question. For a comprehensive exposition and history combined of the sect the reader may consult Neander, *Eccles. Hist.* Bohn's ed. ii. 157–195, iv. 487–502, vi. 349–362. The chapters in Gieseler dealing with the subject are, of course, laden with authorities. Fabricius, in the *Biblioth. Graec.*, gives an almost complete list of the writers who have treated of the Manichean sect, not only among the Fathers, but in later times. The works of Titus of Bostra, which are noted by Fabricius as defective, have now been completed, the missing books having been found among the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum. The reader may also consult Scheckenburger in *Stud. u. Kritik.* 1833, iii. 890; Jac. Matter, *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, t. ii. sec. iii. ch. 3; Kessler, *Untersuch. zur Genesis der Manichäisch. Religionssystem*, 1876. Bishop Lightfoot's *Colossians*, pp. 390–396; and Zeller, *Die Philosoph. der Griechen*, t. v. p. 278, take a different view of the influence of Buddhism from that advocated by Baur, Neander, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, x. 103. Le Page Renouf in *Home and Foreign Review*, iii. 143 sq. (1863), and in the *Academy*, 1873, p. 399, Lightfoot, and Zeller would apparently dispute any important Indian influence upon either Essenism or Manicheism or any other movement in Western Asia or Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. They have overlooked the case of the Mithraic Cult, and also a series of articles which establishes this connexion by Colebrooke, *Life and Essays*, t. i. 309, t. iii. 399, when treating of decimal notation, astronomy, and algebra among Greeks and Indians (cf. a *Mém.* by Woepké on *the Propagation of Indian Cyphers* in *Jour. Asiatique* for 1863, t. i. p. 247, 458; cf. *Mém.* par M. Martin, *Rev. Arch.* Dec. 1856, Jan. 1857). There it is maintained that Neo-Pythagoreans, like Porphyry, introduced the decimal notation from India centuries before the Arabs did so. If, then, they borrowed arithmetical and astronomical ideas from India, it is not likely they overlooked their philosophy. [G. T. S.]

MANICHAEUS, Hibernian, mentioned in the tract *De Mirabilibus Sanctae Scripturae* (l. ii. c. 4), written by the Irish monk Augustin, but often ascribed to St. Augustine of Hippo and included amongst his works (Ben. ed. 1679–1700, tom. iii. append.). The author, in treating of the cycle of 532 years, says the death of Manichaeus "Hibernensium . . . inter caeteros sapientes" was coincident with the last year of the eleventh cycle, the tenth having ended 92 years after the crucifixion, *i. e.* A.D. 120. This emerges in A.D. 652, the year when Manchenus abbat of Meanadrochit died (*Ann. Tig.*). [MANCHENUS (1).] (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 516; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* c. 3; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 543, Ind. Chron. A.D. 652; Lanigan, *H. Ir.* iii. 30.) [J. G.]

MANSUETUS (1) (MANSUY), first bishop of Toul (*Gall. Chr.* xiii. 958; see also Tillem. iv. 501 and Ceill. xii. 886). He is represented as a Scot or Irishman, who became disciple of St. Peter, and was sent by him to be bishop of Toul, and to convert the Leuci; after much preaching and miracles he died about A.D. 89. If there be any truth in the legend, some Irishman had probably found his way to Toul in the 4th or 5th century, assumed a Latin name, and preached there, the Petrine mission being a natural mediaeval idea. The chief authority is *Vita S. Mansueti*, by Adso, abbat of Moutier-en-Der, in the 10th century, and printed by Bosquet (*H. E. Gall.* i. pt. ii. 23 sq.), the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 3 Sept. i. 615–658, with another Life, and long preface and appendices), and Calmet (*H. E. et C. de Lorr.* i. 86 sq., with dissertation in Pref. t. i. xxvii. sq.). He is probably to be distinguished from the British bishop Mansuetus, who assisted at the Council of Tours A.D. 461 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* ii. pt. i. 72). His feast is Sept. 3, and Dempster ascribes to him *De Apostolicis traditionibus.* [J. G.]

MANSUETUS (2), the first Breton bishop recorded; he was at the council of Tours in 461 (Mansi, vii. 947; Tillem. xvi. 399). He may have been bishop of Aleth (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 73, 289). [C. W. B.]

MANSUETUS (3), bishop of Milan, an active opponent of the Monothelites. In 679 he presided in a council at Milan. The synodic epistle addressed in his name to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus has been assigned to Damianus bishop of Pavia (Paul. Diac. *Gest. Lang.* vi. 4). Baronius in his *Roman Martyrology* (Ap. 12, note on Damianus) takes exception to this assignment, but in his *Annals* (ann. 679, iv.; cf. Pagi, ann. 679. v.) his opinion appears modified. The epistle, which is accompanied by an *Expositio Fidei*, was cited at the council of Constantinople in 680 (Mansi, xi. 203) and is also printed among the works of Damianus (*Pat.*

Lat. lxxxvii. 1261). It severely reproves the Monothelites and praises the Lombard kings Peretharit or Bertarid and Cunibert (as to whom *vid.* Paul. Diac. *G. L.* v. 33, 37, 39). In the same year Mansuetus attended Agatho's council at Rome (Mansi, xi. 306, 779). His accession is placed in 672, and his death 19 Feb. 681 (Ughelli, iv. 68; Cappelletti, xi. 133, 302). Cappelletti reckons him the 39th bishop of the see, and he stands between Ampelius and Benedict. He was honoured on Feb. 19 (*Mart. Rom.*) and commemorated locally on Sep. 2 (Boll. *Acta SS.* 19 Feb. iii. 135). Notices of Mansuetus occur in Cave (i. 595), Tiraboschi (*Storia d. Letterat. Ital.* t. iii. 188, ed. 1833), Ceillier (xii. 942). Bosca (*Mart. Mediol.* Feb. 19) gives his metrical epitaph. [T. W. D.]

MANTHANEUS (1) (MANTANIUS, MONTANIUS), a Christian imprisoned in Carthage under Decian persecution A.D. 250, who on his release went to CELERINUS at Rome. (Cyp. *Ep.* xxi.) [E. W. B.]

MANTHANEUS (2) (MONTANUS) (Fell), Afr. Bp. 2nd Syn. Carth. A.D. 252. (Cyp. *Ep.* 57.) [E. W. B.]

MAPPALICUS, Carthaginian martyr in Decian persecution; died under reiterated torture before the proconsul (Cyp. *Ep.* 10). In *Ep.* 22 is quoted by Lucianus as one of those who commanded the restoration of the lapsed; but, according to Cyprian, *Ep.* 27, only of his own mother and sister. Was commemorated in the African church: see ARISTO. [E. W. B.]

MAPPINIUS (MAPINIUS), bishop of Rheims, represented at the council of Orleans in 549 by his archdeacon Protadius (Mansi, ix. 138). Two undated letters of his are extant. One is addressed to Nicetius bishop of Trèves, explaining his absence from a council at Toul, cir. 550, viz. because he was not made acquainted with its object in time. It is printed in Mansi (ix. 147) and in the appendix to Gregory of Tours (*Pat. Lat.* lxxi. 1165), and it is of importance as being our only information with respect to the council of Toul. The other, a eulogistic letter to Villicus bishop of Metz, is given by Duchesne (*Scriptor.* i. 860). Notices of Mappinius will be found in *Gall. Chr.* (ix. 14), Ceillier (xi. 206), Dupin (t. i. p. 699, ed. 1722), *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.* (iii. 306). [T. W. D.]

MARA, son of Serapion, a Syrian Christian of Samosata. In Cureton's *Spicileg. Syriac.* there is a letter addressed by him to his son Serapion, who is possibly the bishop of Antioch in succession to Maximinus, A.D. 190. Cureton hesitates for a date between the end of the 1st and the last half of the 2nd century. He inclines to the latter, as it was probably written when the Sibylline verses were currently quoted. It places Pythagoras and Christ much on the same level, a common view among the eclectic systems of Syria (cf. MANES). (See Cureton's *Spicil. Syriac.* and his notes for a full discussion of the subject; cf. Renan, *Jour. Asiat.* 1852, t. xix. 4 sér. p. 328; Wright's *Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.* p. 1159.) [G. T. S.]

MAR ABBAS CATINA (as Quatremère and Renan write the name, Catina meaning subtil; MAR IBAS DE CATINA, Fréret; MARIBAS CATINENSIS), an early historian of Armenia, whose works are largely used by Moses of Chorene in his *Hist. of Armenia.* He is represented as living about 150 years B.C., under Mithridates I. Some French critics have regarded him as a fabulous character, as Fréret (*Opp.* t. xii. p. 207–9) and Quatremère (in *Jour. des Savans*, 1850, p. 364). Langlois, on the contrary, regards him as a real historian, who lived however in the first centuries of our era. Renan goes further and maintains that he was a Christian of the school of Edessa. His works were known to Jerome and are cited by him in his *Commentary on Ezech.* cap. i. They were extant as late as the 9th century, as they are used to fill up blanks in the narrative of Moses Chorene by John cathol. of Armenia, in a history of Armenia, which was analysed for the first time by M. L. Bore, in a mém. *Sur l'action du Christ. sur la Société Armén.*, in the *Jour. Asiat.* 1836, t. i. p. 227; Saint Martin has since translated it: cf. p. 14 thereof with Moses Chor. i. 20. (Langlois, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* t. v. part. ii. p. 3–5; where his remains are elaborately edited; *Jour. Asiatique*, 1852, t. xix. p. 52; Karékin, *Hist. de la Litt. Armén.*; Renan's *Hist. des Lang. Sémit.* p. 262; Langlois, *Bull. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, t. iii. p. 531–583; M. Brosset in *Mém. Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1869, No. 5, p. 25.) [G. T. S.]

MARANA and **CYRA**, two ladies of birth and education of Beroea in Syria, who in their youth devoted themselves to a solitary life of the extremest austerity, which they had persevered in for forty-two years when Theodoret wrote his *Religiosa Historia.* According to Theodoret these ladies left their home, with some female servants whom they had inspired with the same ascetic fervour, and built for themselves a small stone enclosure, open to the sky, the door of which they closed up with mud and stones, the only means of communication with the outer world being a small window through which they took in their food. Only females were allowed to converse with Marana, and that only at Easter.—Cyra no one had ever heard speak. For their maidens a small hovel was constructed within earshot of their enclosure, so that they could encourage them by their example and by their words to a life of prayer and holy love. Theodoret states that he often visited these recluses, and that in honour of his priestly office they unwalled their door and admitted him into the enclosure, which he found devoid of any protection against the extremities of heat or cold, rain or snow. The heads and the whole of the upper part of the bodies of the holy women were enveloped in long hoods, entirely concealing their faces, breasts, and hands. They wore chains of iron round their necks, waists, and wrists, of such weight as to prevent Cyra, who was of weak frame, from raising herself upright. These instruments of torture they laid aside at Theodoret's request, but resumed them after he had taken his leave. Their fastings equalled in length those of Moses and David. Fired with a desire to visit holy sites, they made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, not eating once on the journey thither nor on their return, and only breaking their fast at Jerusalem. They practised the same rigid ab-

stinence on a second pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thecla at the Isaurian Seleucia. Marana and Cyra are commemorated in the Greek martyrology on Feb. 28th, in the Roman on Aug. 3rd. (Theod. *Hist. Relig.* c. 29; Basil. *Menol.* Feb. 28; Tillem. ii. 64; Ceill. x. 63.) [E. V.]

MARANAS SCHOLASTICUS, an advocate, probably of Constantinople, a warm and generous supporter of orthodoxy, who wrote to Theodoret in 449 expressing his sorrow at beholding the church oppressed and iniquity triumphant (Theod. *Epist.* 124). He may perhaps be identified with the Maranas who built and endowed a religious building, *θεῖος σηκός*, probably a monastery, in Theodoret's diocese. (Theod. *Epist.* 67.) [E. V.]

MARATHONIUS, eleventh bishop of Nicomedia, between Cecropius and Onesimus (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 587), and as Tillemont (vi. 397, 770) argues, in the reign of Julian. When paymaster of the pretorian guards, he amassed great wealth, which he employed in conducting institutions for the sick and poor, until at the suggestion of Eustathius bishop of Sebaste he gave up his secular employment and embraced the monastic life (Soz. iv. 27). As a deacon under Macedonius I. of Constantinople he was indefatigable in setting on foot monasteries as well as asylums for the poor (Soc. ii. 38; Soz. iv. 20). One of his monastic foundations at Constantinople long survived (Soz. iv. 27; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* ix. 47; Ducange, *Cpolis Chr.* lib. iv. p. 110, ed. 1729). He was consecrated to his see by Macedonius, and he is said to have originally taught the opinions called after that prelate (Soc. ii. 45). His name thus occurs as a heresiarch in two works attributed to Chrysostom, *The Circus* and *The Sower* (*Pat. Gr.* lix. 569, lxi. 774). This use made of his name is attributed by Nicephorus (*l. c.*) to pecuniary support he gave to the propagation of the heresy (cf. Tillem. vi. 413). See further on Marathonius in Tillem. vi. 497, 527, 528, ix. 84; Ceillier, iv. 595. [C. H.]

MARBILIOTAE. [BARBELITAE.]

MARCELLA, a Roman lady in the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century, the friend of Jerome, by whose writings and especially from whose memoir of her (*Ep.* 127, ed. Vall.) she is chiefly known.

She was descended from the illustrious family of the Marcelli, and had great wealth. Her father died early, and her mother Albina was a widow when Athanasius came as an exile to Rome in 340. From Athanasius and his companions she heard of Antony and the monasteries of the Thebaid, and received her first impulse towards the ascetic life. She married, but her husband died after seven months, and she refused, with spirit and vivacity, a second marriage which was offered her by the distinguished and wealthy Cerealis, a man of consular rank but advanced in years. Her ascetic tendency was confirmed by the coming to Rome of the Egyptian monk Peter in 374. She was the first in the city to make the monastic profession. She continued to live with her mother in the palatial residence on the Aventine, but she denuded herself as far as possible of her wealth, giving the more costly objects to her rich relations, and the rest to the poor, and living with the utmost simplicity. She was not, however, immoderate in her asceticism, and followed the counsels of her mother, from whose society she never departed.

When Jerome came to Rome in 382, she sought him out on account of his repute for biblical learning, and made him, at first against his will, her constant companion. A circle of ladies gathered round her, and her house became a kind of convent dedicated to the study of the Scriptures, and to psalmody and prayer. Marcella was eager for information, and would not accept any doubtful explanation, so that Jerome found himself in the presence of a judge rather than a disciple. At times also she took her teacher to task for his severity and quarrelsomeness (*Ep.* xxvii. 2, ed. Vall.). He wrote for her some fifteen different treatises on difficult passages of Scripture and church history; and on his departure from Rome in 385 hoped that she might have accompanied her intimate friends Paula and Eustochium to Palestine. The letter written to her by those two ladies on their settlement at Bethlehem (in Jerome, *Ep.* 46, ed. Vall.) invites her in glowing terms to come and enjoy with them the Holy Land; but she remained at Rome. After her mother's death in 387 she retired to a little house outside the city with her young friend Principia, and devoted her whole time to good works. She still had a keen interest in Jerome's theological pursuits, and when Rufinus came to Rome and disputes arose as to his translation of Origen's περὶ Ἀρχῶν, she threw herself eagerly into the controversy. Having, in conjunction with Pammachius and Oceanus, ascertained Jerome's view of the matter, she urged the pope Anastasius (400–403) to condemn Origen and his defenders; and, when he hesitated, went to him herself and pointed out the passages which, she contended, though veiled in Rufinus's translation, demanded the pope's condemnation. The result was that Anastasius completely yielded, and followed Theophilus of Alexandria in his condemnation of Origen and his upholders. "Of this glorious victory," says Jerome, "Marcella was the origin."

Marcella lived on till the sack of Rome by Alaric. The Goths, supposing her to be affecting poverty in order to conceal her wealth, treated her with personal violence, but at her entreaty spared Principia, and at last allowed them to take sanctuary in the church of St. Paul. Though her faith rose superior to her sufferings, so that she seemed hardly sensible of them, she only survived a few days, and died in the arms of Principia, leaving all that she had to the poor. (Jerome, ed. Vall. *Epp.* 23–29, 32, 34, 37–44, 46, 97, 127.) [W. H. F.]

MARCELLIANI (Soc. iv. 12), heretics. They were followers of Marcellus bishop of Ancyra [MARCELLUS (4)]. (Epiph. *Haer.* lxxii. κατὰ Μαρκελλιανῶν; St. Basil, *Ep.* 265 al. 293; *Ep.* 266 al. 321.) [C. H.]

MARCELLINA (1), a female teacher of the school of CARPOCRATES, who came to Rome in the episcopate of Anicetus (A.D. 156–167). She made many disciples, who wished to be known by the name of Gnostics, this being one of the earliest instances in which it is proved that a

sect claimed this title. Actually, however, they came to be known, like other sects, by the name of their chief teacher, and so are noticed by Celsus (Orig. *adv. Cels.* v. 62). They had pictures and images of Christ, said to have been copies of a likeness taken by Pontius Pilate. These they crowned, and in other ways honoured, in company with the images of Pythagoras, Plato, and other philosophers (Iren. i. 25). Epiphanius (*Haer.* 27, p. 107) copies what Irenaeus has said with one remarkable verbal change, that where Irenaeus speaks of Marcellina coming "to Rome," Epiphanius says "to us." From this it has been inferred (Lipsius, *Quellenkritik des Epiph.* p. 114, *der Ketzergeschichte*, p. 151) that Epiphanius has here made use of, besides Irenaeus, a document written at Rome, either the Syntagma of Hippolytus or else an earlier antiheretical treatise, from which Irenaeus himself had derived his information. [G. S.]

MARCELLINA (2), a sister of St. Ambrose, older than himself. His three books, "De Virginibus," were addressed to her, as having been written by her request. From iii. 1 we learn that she was admitted as a consecrated virgin at Rome on the feast of the Nativity, by pope Liberius, in the presence of a large concourse of virgins and others. The address made on that occasion by Liberius is recorded by Ambrose, from what Marcellina had often repeated to him. Ambrose praises her devotion, and advises her to relax the severity of her fasting. She is mentioned by him (*Ep.* v.) as having borne witness to the virginal purity of Indicia. It appears that a constant correspondence was kept up between the brother and sister. She is his "domina soror vitae atque oculis praeferenda." Three of the most important of his letters are addressed to her: the first (*Ep.* xx.) describing the conflict of the bishop with Justina and her son, the younger Valentinian; the second (xxii.) announcing the discovery of the bodies of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius; the third (xli.) reporting a sermon in which he had reproved Theodosius on the subject of the punishment inflicted by the emperor on some Christians who had burnt a Jewish synagogue. In his discourse on the death of his brother Satyrus, Ambrose speaks of the warm family affection by which the three were bound together, and of the sister's grief (*De Excessu Satyri*, § 33, 76). [J. Ll. D.]

MARCELLINA (3), a Roman lady, one of the circle gathered round Jerome during his stay at Rome 382–5. She is mentioned in his letter of farewell written from Portus to Asella. (Jerome, *Ep.* 45, ed Vall.) [W. H. F.]

MARCELLINUS (1), bishop of Rome after Caius from June 30, A.D. 296, to October 25 (?) A.D. 304, during 8 years, 3 months, and 25 days, elected after a vacancy of about two months. He is called Marcellianus by Jerome, Nicephorus, and in the *Chronogr. syntomon* (853). The dates above given are those of the Liberian Catalogue (354), and appear to be correct. In other records of the popes the chronology with respect to him is very uncertain, partly, it would seem, owing to a confusion between him and his successor Marcellus. He is omitted altogether in the Liberian *Depositio Episcoporum*, and *Depositio Martyrum*. (See Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. bisch.* p. 242.)

The main question about this pope is his conduct with regard to the persecution under Diocletian, with which he was contemporary. The Liberian Catalogue says only that it occurred in his time — "quo tempore fuit persecutio." Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 32) intimates only that he was in some way implicated in it,—*ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν κατείληφεν ὁ διωγμός.* The Felician Catalogue (530) has the following account. "In which time was a great persecution: within 30 days 16,000 persons of both sexes were crowned with martyrdom through divers provinces; in the course of it Marcellinus himself was led to sacrifice, that he might offer incense, which thing he also did; and having after a few days been brought to penitence, he was by the same Diocletian, for the faith of Christ, together with Claudius Quirinus and Antoninus, beheaded and crowned with martyrdom. The holy bodies lay for 26 days in the street by order of Diocletian; when the presbyter Marcellus collected by night the bodies of the saints, and buried them on the Salarian Way in the cemetery of Priscilla in a cell (*cubiculum*) which is to be seen to the present day, because the penitent (pope) himself had so ordered while he was being dragged to execution, in a crypt near the body of St. Crescentio, vii. Kal. Maii." As to the different parts of this narrative, the most probable view seems to be that the statements of his having offered incense and of the place of his burial are true, but that his martyrdom is at least doubtful. The evidence of his having yielded to the edict of Diocletian, which required all Christians to offer incense to the gods, is strong. This charge against him appears from Augustine to have been alleged afterwards as a known fact by the African Donatists. It is true that Augustine treats it as probably a calumny. His words are, in addressing the Donatist Petilianus, "You have bishops whom you are wont to accuse of having given up the sacred books; concerning whom we also are wont to reply, 'Either you do not prove your charge, and it affects no one, or you prove it, and it does not affect us.' For they bore their own burden, whether good or evil; we indeed believe it to have been good, but, of whatever kind it was, it was their own" (*Contr. lit. Petilian.* lib. ii. 202). Again, "What need is there to rebut the charges brought by him (*i.e.* Petilianus) against the bishops of the Roman church, whom he has inveighed against with incredible calumnies? Marcellinus, and his presbyters Melchiades, Marcellus, and Sylvester, are accused by him of delivering up the sacred books and offering incense. But the charge is by no means proved by any documentary evidence."—And he goes on to contend that, the accusations being brought by enemies and unproved, it was the part of humanity to disbelieve them, even though they might be true (*De Unico Baptism. c. Petilian.* c. 16, sect. 27). Further, Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 2) speaks apparently with praise of the conduct of Marcellinus in the persecution:—*τὸν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διαπρέψαντα.*" On these grounds Bower, in his history of the popes, having his reasons in this case for taking the line, with him unusual, of defending a pope, warmly maintains his innocence. But it is difficult to account for the introduction of the story into the pontifical annals

themselves, and its perpetuation as a tradition of the Roman church, unless there had been foundation for it. And it is to be observed that even Augustine, however anxious to rebut the charge, can only plead the absence of evidence; he does not deny the tradition, or even the possibility of its truth. The expression of Theodoret too, whatever its exact meaning, is too vague to count as evidence. It is different with the story of the martyrdom. There is indeed nothing improbable in the alleged fact itself, though it could not have been, as asserted, through the personal action of Diocletian himself that he suffered, since the emperor is known to have left Rome before the supposed date of the martyrdom, and Maximian to have been in command there. But he might very well have fallen a victim to the fourth edict of Diocletian, issued in 304, which initiated the bloodiest period of persecution, and the enforcement of which at Rome during that year appears from the martyrdoms of Parthenius and Calocenus, May 19, and of Blasilla, Sept. 22, mentioned in the Liberian *Depositio martyrum*. And it is quite possible in itself that Marcellinus might have recovered courage, and atoned for temporary weakness. But there is such a significant absence of early evidence of the alleged fact as to leave it not only unproved but improbable. His name does not appear at all in the Liberian *Depositio martyrum*, nor in Jerome's list. And, apart from the legendary complexion of the Felician narrative (including the statement of 16,000 having suffered within thirty days), the addition of the glory of martyrdom to popes in the later pontifical annals is of too frequent occurrence to have weight against the silence of earlier accounts. In this case there would be a natural motive in the desire to retrieve the credit of a pope whose fall could not be denied: and the expression in the earlier catalogue, "in which time there was a persecution," might easily suggest the addition that he suffered under it. Further, the omission of his name from the Liberian *Depositio Episcoporum*, as well as the *Depositio Martyrum*, might be due to his unfaithfulness, which had not really been atoned for by martyrdom. His burial in the cemetery of Priscilla instead of that of Callistus, where his predecessors since Zephyrinus (236) had been interred, may be accepted without hesitation, the Felician Catalogue being apparently trustworthy as to the burial-places of popes, and the place where he lay being spoken of as well known in the writer's day. But a reason for the change of place, independent of the alleged wish of the penitent pope himself, is given by De Rossi (*Rom. Sotteran.* ii. p. 105), viz. that the Christian cemeteries had been seized during the persecution, so that it had become necessary to construct a new one. It appears further (*Rom. Sotteran.* i. p. 203, ii. p. 105) that the Christians did not recover their sacred places till the time of pope Miltiades, to whom Maxentius restored them; and this circumstance accounts for the further fact, that of the two popes who intervened between Marcellinus and Miltiades, the first, Marcellus, was also buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, but the second, Eusebius, as well as Miltiades himself, again in that of Callistus (*Catal. Felic.*); though not in the old papal crypt, a new one, it is supposed, having been constructed by Miltiades. In recensions of the pontifical annals later than the Felician the cemetery of Priscilla is said to have been acquired from a matron of that name by Marcellus, the successor of Marcellinus; but in the Felician account above given Marcellinus himself appears as having already secured a place of burial there. The cemetery itself was, according to De Rossi, one of the oldest in Rome; but he speaks of extensive workings in it at a deep level, which he supposes to have been made during the persecution, when the old burial-place of the faithful on the Appian Way was no longer available. It is to be observed that the Salarian Way, where the cemetery of Priscilla was, lies far removed from the Appian, being on the opposite side of the city, towards the north.

In the Roman Breviary (*in fest.* SS. Cleti et Marcellini, Ap. 26) a story is told of the self-condemnation of Marcellinus after his fall before a synod of bishops at Sinuessa, which is taken from the supposed acts of a council said to have been held there. According to these acts (of which there are varying editions, inconsistent with each other), the pope, having had a controversy with Urbanus, "pontifex" of the Capitol, was by him brought before Diocletian and Maximian, and accused of refusing to offer incense to the gods. Diocletian, having at first endeavoured to protect him, was at length induced to summon him to the temple of Vesta and Isis, where he consented to offer incense, having been seen doing so by many of his clergy, who had at first fled from the temple, but returned in time to witness the act. A synod of 300 bishops was subsequently assembled at Sinuessa (a town on the coast of Latium), in the "crypt of Cleopatra," where the witnesses above mentioned alleged the charge against him. At first he denied its truth, but, being urged by the synod to accuse and judge himself on the ground that the first see could be judged by no man, he at length did so, with ashes on his head; whereupon the bishops, accepting his judgment of himself, subscribed his condemnation. The lection on the subject in the Breviary modifies the story in the pope's favour, making him go of his own accord to the council (the number of bishops present being reduced to 180, which is again changed to "plurimi" in the modern editions), and openly confess his guilt with many tears; whereupon, it is said, no one dared to judge him, but all with one voice exclaimed, "Tuo te ore, non nostro judicio, judica; nam prima sedes a nemine judicatur." Apart from the suspicious complexion of the whole story, the improbability of so many bishops having been able to meet in council during the heat of persecution, is apparent; and, further, the statement of Augustine that there existed in his time no evidence of the charge against Marcellinus, shews that he at any rate knew nothing of any synodal judgment. According to Von Döllinger (*Papst-Fabeln*, p. 50) the composition of this tale may be referred with tolerable certainty to the pontificate of Symmachus, 498–514. In the course of the violent contest between the party of Symmachus and that of the anti-pope Laurentius, heavy charges against Symmachus were laid before king Theodoric, who directed that they should be investigated by a council. The party of Symmachus denied the competence of any such tribunal to condemn a pope; and

the present is not the only document which there is reason to think was forged by the party of Symmachus in order to establish their principle.

The present document was made use of by pope Nicolas I., A.D. 862, in his letter to the Greek emperor Michael (Hardouin, *Concil.* v. 155), in order to prove the illegality of the deposition of a prelate by his inferiors. On the other hand this case, as well as that of Liberius, was appealed to by Gerson and others in order to shew the possibility that a pope might fall from the faith, and that in such a case a council might be assembled without or against his authority.

Two spurious epistles are assigned to this pope by the Pseudo-Isidore; one on doctrinal subjects, to a bishop Saloman, the other, on the usual subject of the immunity of clergy from lay judgment, to the Eastern bishops. No genuine writings remain. [J. B—y.]

MARCELLINUS (2) (MARCELLUS, Usuard), Apr. 20, 1st bishop and apostle of Embrun. The principal authority for his life is an anonymous biography in Boll. *Acta SS.* 20 Apr. ii. 750–5, which Mabillon (*De Re Dipl.* p. 179) believes to have been written in the 6th century, and the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* (iii. 44) not later than the first years of it, basing their opinion upon internal evidence. (See also Tillem. vii. 561, 778.) Marcellinus was born in Africa. Landing at Nice with two companions, Vincentius and Domninus, he preached through the Maritime Alps and came to Embrun, where he prosecuted his mission with much success. Eusebius bishop of Vercellae, with Aemilianus or Camelianus of Valence, consecrated him to the episcopate. The year of his death is uncertain, but cannot have been later than 374, since his successor, Artemius, was present at the council of Valence in that year. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1054.) [S. A. B.]

MARCELLINUS (3), a Luciferian presbyter, who, in conjunction with Faustinus, drew up the *Libellus Precum*, cir. 383, for an account of which *vid.* FAUSTINUS (33), and cf. Ceillier, v. 150, Tillem. viii. 395, Cave, i. 279. [C. H.]

MARCELLINUS (4), an African deacon mentioned by Augustine, cir. 409, in a letter to Macrobius (*Ep.* 108 al. 256, cap. 6, § 19). He had been a Catholic and was excommunicated by his own presbyter, upon which he went over to the Donatists, whose bishop Proculeianus rebaptized him and admitted him to their diaconate, soon after which he was slain in a nocturnal brawl. In the Benedictine edition the deacon thus described is unnamed, the clause which calls him Marcellinus being considered an interpolation from *Ep.* 139 al. 158, § 2. (*Vid.* the Benedictine preface to tom. ii. on the chronological order of the epistles, at *Epp.* 106–108.) [C. H.]

MARCELLINUS (5) (MARCELLUS), consul, with Probinus, at the time of the Dedication council of Antioch (Athan. *De Synod.* § 25), *i.e.* A.D. 341. He is called by some authors the father, and by others the grandfather, of the elder Melania [MELANIA (1)]; the father by Jerome (*Chron.* ann. Chr. 377) and Palladius (*Laus. Hist.* cap. 117, "Marcelli consularis"); the grandfather by Paulinus of Nola (ep. 29 al. 10, § 6, "eam consulibus avis nobilem," § 8) and Rufinus (*Apol. in S. Hieron.* ii. 6 in *Pat. Lat.* xxi. 605). The Life of Rufinus in Vallarsi's edition (lib. i. cap. i. num. 7, § 5, in *Pat. Lat.* xxi. 85) discusses the discrepancy and the readings. Tillemont (x. 821) notices that the consul's period makes him too old to have been Melania's father. [C. H.]

MARCELLINUS (6), the historian. See AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. The edition of the text by V. Gardthausen, 2 vols., Teubner, Lipsiae, 1874–75, is the best yet published. The same scholar promises a larger edition, which has not yet appeared (1880). [J. W.]

MARCELLINUS (7), FLAVIUS, a tribune and notary, *i.e.* an officer who, having held in the army the rank of tribune, was afterwards employed in the civil capacity of notary, an office of high position (Böcking, *Not. Dig. Occ.* p. 408). Salazar, in *Martyrol. Hispanicum*, says he was born at Toledo, but of this there is no evidence. Cassiodorus calls him *primicerius notariorum*. The two offices were frequently combined (Aug. *c. Gaud.* ii. 12). He was brother to Apringius, afterwards proconsul of Africa, and appears to have usually resided in that country, if not to have been a native of it, for in a letter addressed to him and to Anapsychia, his wife, St. Jerome recommends him to consult St. Augustine, as his bishop, on the subjects on which he desired information. He was a Christian and a man of high character, and a devout mind, taking much interest in theological matters. The letter mentioned above is a reply to one addressed to St. Jerome by Marcellinus from Africa, asking for an introduction at Rome to Oceanus, whom he calls "father," *i.e.* perhaps his senior, and for a solution of his difficulties concerning the origin of the soul. It refers also to the exegetical works of St. Jerome on Scripture (Hieron. *Ep.* 126; Aug. *Ep.* 134, 2; 166). It was written A.D. 410, and from the circumstance mentioned above we may suppose that Marcellinus was then meditating a voyage to Rome, but in the course of that year he was appointed by Honorius to preside over a commission of enquiry into the disputes between the Catholics and Donatists, an office for which he was singularly well qualified, and which on the whole he discharged with great moderation, good temper, and impartiality, though not without giving offence to the Donatist party, who accused him of bribery (Aug. *Ep.* 141; *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 11, 5). For an account of the conference, A.D. 411, see Vol. I. pp. 893, 894. In letters written during the following year, both to Marcellinus and Apringius, then proconsul, Augustine, while he deplores and condemns the violence of the Circumcellions, shewn in the murder of Restitutus and mutilation of Innocentius, exhorts them to shew forbearance towards these misguided fanatics (Aug. *Epp.* 133, 134, 139). Between Augustine and Marcellinus an intimate friendship subsisted, which the behaviour of the latter at the conference no doubt tended to strengthen, and not only were several letters exchanged between them,

but Augustine addressed to him his three books, *de Peccatorum meritis et Remissione*, his book *de Spiritu et Littera*, and the first two books of his great work *de Civitate Dei*, which he says that he undertook at his suggestion (Aug. *Retract.* ii. 37; *de Civ. Dei*, i. praef. ii. 1). Excepting letters which refer to the conference (*Epp.* 128, 129) the correspondence appears to have been carried on chiefly during the year 412. It arose mainly out of the anxiety of Marcellinus on behalf of his friend Volusianus, who, notwithstanding the efforts of his mother to induce him to become a Christian, was swayed in a contrary direction by the worldly society in which he lived. In the year 413 occurred the revolt of Heraclian, followed by his defeat and execution at Carthage (Oros. *Hist.* vii. 24). Marinus, count of Africa, by whom Heraclian was defeated, either on the pretext that Marcellinus had taken part with the rebels, or being urged on by the Donatist party, and, as Orosius insinuates, bribed by them, arrested and imprisoned both Marcellinus and Apringius. Several of the bishops of Africa joined in a letter of intercession on behalf of the prisoners, whose prayer Caecilianus affected to support, and he even paid an express visit to Augustine, giving him the strongest hope that they would be released, with solemn asseverations of absence of all hostility on his own part. But on the following day, Sept. 15 or 16, they were both of them put to death. Augustine mentions the edifying behaviour of both the prisoners in their prison, of whom the elder had been a worldly-minded man, but the younger, Marcellinus, had lived a religious life (*Ep.* 151; Hieron. *adv. Pelag.* iii. 19). Marinus was deprived of his office and recalled to Rome, while the admirable behaviour of Marcellinus towards the Donatists was commemorated in an imperial decree (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, 55). He is perhaps the person mentioned by Augustine (*De Unico Bapt.* ii. 30). He is regarded by the Roman church as a martyr, and his memory observed on April 6. (Baronius, *Ann.* A.D. 413, and *Mart. Rom.* Ap. 6; *Acta Sanct.* Ap. 6.) [H. W. P.]

MARCELLINUS (8), and his brother MARCIANUS, gentlemen of wealth and official rank at Antioch (*τιμιώτατοι καὶ εὐγενέστατοι*), intimate friends of Carteria [CARTERIA], and among those who were most warmly attached to Chrysostom. We have six letters addressed to them conjointly by Chrysostom. The Marcellinus to whom two letters are addressed (*Ep.* 31, 188) and the Marcian to whom there is one (*Ep.* 122) appear to have been different, but the point is open to question. (*Epp.* 19, 44, 65, 100, 129, 224, 226.) [E. V.]

MARCELLINUS (9), a lay friend of Chrysostom at Antioch, probably different from the above, from whom he wrote to announce his arrival at Cucusus in 404, speaking of the consolation he derived from the thought of his affection (Chrysost. *Ep.* 188); and again in 405, after a long silence, assuring him of his undiminished attachment (*Ep.* 188). [E. V.]

MARCELLINUS (10), a general in the government of Libya Pentapolis, to whom Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in that country, addressed a letter in the name of his people. Marcellinus was relinquishing the post, and Synesius testifies to his piety, his justice, and humanity (Synes. ep. 62 in *Pat. Gr.* lxvi. 1406). Tillemont (xii. 552, 553) thinks that the date was 413. [C. H.]

MARCELLINUS (11) COMES, called by Cassiodorus (*De Instit. Div. Lit.* c. 17) "Illyricianus" and "patricii Justiniani cancellos," and said to have written four books on geography, which are not now extant, but are commended by Cassiodorus, has also composed a *Chronicon* from A.D. 379 to A.D. 534: a later hand has extended it to A.D. 557. He was evidently a Christian, and embodies many ecclesiastical notices in the secular annals of the empire, but of his own life nothing is known. It is inferred that he died after A.D. 534, when the *Chronicon* closes: the short preface recognises the work of Eusebius and Hieronymus, and in the *Chronicon* there is presented a fair conspectus of the chief events and persons in the church during the period. The principal editions are those of Schonhovius (Paris, 1546, 1575, with the recensions of Panvinius, Heidelb. 1588, and Scaliger, Lugd. Bat. 1606) and of Sirmondus (Par. 1619: *Bibl. Patr.* Lugd. 1677). The latter, as edited by Baunius (Sirmond. *Opp.* ii.), is published by Migne (*Pat. Lat.* li.) with Prolegomena. (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 514, 1740; Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* v. 20, ed. Mansi, 1754; Dupin, *Hist.* i. 540, ed. 1722; Ceillier, xi. 98.) [J. G.]

MARCELLUS (1), African bishop at Syn. Carth. 4 sub Cyp. A.D. 254. (Cyp. *Ep.* 67.) [E. W. B.]

MARCELLUS (2), bishop of the famous Zama (Regia) in Numidia (made a colony by Hadrian); 53rd suffrage in *Sentt. Eppi* (Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. 7.) [E. W. B.]

MARCELLUS (3), bishop of Rome probably from May 24, A.D. 307, to Jan. 15, A.D. 309, during 1 year, 7 months, and 20 days, the see having been vacant after the death of Marcellinus, for 2 years, 6 months, and 27 days (Lipsius, *Chronologie der röm. Bischöf.*). A vacancy of 7 years 6 months and 25 days, alleged by the Liberian Catalogue, is inconsistent with the dates given in the same catalogue for the death of Marcellinus and the accession of Marcellus, and on other grounds evidently erroneous. Lipsius accounts for the error by supposing a confusion in transcription of two distinct chronological statements in the original catalogues. In the existing edition we read,—

> "Quo tempore fuit persecutio et cessavit episcopatum ann. vii., m. vi., d. xxv."

He conjectures that the original reading was,—

> Quo tempore fuit persecutio ann. vii., m. vi., d. xxv.
> Et cessavit episcopatus ann. ii., m. vi., d. xxvii.;

and he holds that the duration thus assigned to the persecution, but supposed to have been transferred in transcription to the vacancy, may represent correctly the time from the first persecuting edict of Diocletian, Feb. 23, 303, to the edict of toleration issued by Galerius, which was probably between the months of July and November in 310, though it has been usual to

assign it to the following year. The duration of the episcopate of Marcellus given above, agrees with the Liberian Catalogue. The vacancy of more than two years may be well accounted for by the general state of confusion at Rome, when Maxentius assumed the purple in the interval, A.D. 306.

This pope appears as a martyr in the Roman Martyrology, and in the later recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, a story being told of him (which appears also in the Lections of the Breviary for his feast, Jan. 16) to the effect that he was beaten with cudgels for refusing to sacrifice, by order of Maxentius, and afterwards condemned by him to tend the imperial horses as a slave; that, having been ransomed by his followers, he celebrated divine service in a house given him by a holy widow, called Lucina, which he had dedicated as a church; that, being discovered by Maxentius, he was again doomed to tend horses, clothed only in a sackcloth garment, in the church itself, which the tyrant had turned into a stable. No trace of this legend, or, indeed, of his being a martyr at all, appears in the earlier recensions of the Pontifical, including the Felician. But he is entitled "Confessor" in the martyrology of St. Jerome. The assertion of Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 14) that Maxentius, at the beginning of his reign, not only abstained from persecution, but even pretended to be a Christian himself, in order to gain favour with the common people, is strongly against the supposition of Marcellus having suffered under him on the ground alleged in the legend. But a light is thrown on the circumstances which probably led to his title of "Confessor" by the monumental inscriptions to him and his successor Eusebius, placed in their burial-places by pope Damasus. That to Marcellus (given in Pagi, *Critic. in* Baron. ad ann. 309; *in Actis S. Januar.*; and by De Rossi, *Rom. Sotter.* vi. p. 204) was as follows:

"Veridicus rector lapsis quia crimina flere
Praedixit, miseris fuit omnibus hostis amarus.
Hinc furor, hinc odium sequitur, discordia lites,
Seditio, caedes; solvuntur foedera pacis.
Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit,
Finibus expulsus patriae est feritate tyranni.
Haec breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre
Marcelli ut populus meritum cognoscere posset."

It would appear from these lines, together with those on Eusebius [see EUSEBIUS], that on the cessation of persecution at Rome conflicts had arisen in the Christian community as to the terms of readmission of the *lapsi* to communion; that Marcellus after his election had required a period of penance before absolution; that his stern discipline in this respect had evoked violent opposition, as was likely to be the case where the subjects of it were doubtless both numerous and influential; that the church had been split into parties in consequence, and riots, anarchy, and even bloodshed, had ensued; that "the tyrant" Maxentius had interposed in the interests of peace, and banished the pope, as the author of the discord. He was not really so, the inscription implies, but "another," for whose "crime" he suffered, *i.e.* the leader and instigator of the opposition, who had "denied Christ in time of peace" by condoning apostasy and subverting discipline after persecution had ceased. But Marcellus was made the victim, and thus was a "confessor" (or, in the wider sense of the word, a "martyr"), if not strictly for the faith itself, at any rate for canonical discipline, and the honour of Christ. The "other" person referred to may be supposed with probability to have been the Heraclius spoken of in the inscription on Eusebius as having "forbidden the lapsi to mourn for their sins" (vetuit lapsis peccata dolere), and who, on the recurrence of riots and bloodshed among the Christians after the accession of Eusebius, was on that occasion banished by "the tyrant" as well as the pope—"Extemplo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni." It is not unlikely, from the way he is mentioned in this second inscription, that he had been elected as an antipope by the party of laxity after the death of Marcellus. As the last-named pope is not said in the Damasine inscription to have died in exile, as is said of Eusebius, and as he was certainly buried at Rome, like his predecessor in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Salarian Way (*Catal. Felic.*), he may be supposed to have been allowed to return to his see. He is said in some recensions of the Pontifical catalogue to have himself acquired the cemetery of Priscilla from a matron of that name. But see art. on MARCELLINUS. He is honoured as "pope and martyr" on Jan. 16, in the Roman Calendar. Two spurious epistles are assigned to him by the Pseudo-Isidore; one to the bishops of the province of Antioch on the authority of the Roman see; the other to Maxentius, warning him to desist from the persecution of Christians. [J. B—y.]

MARCELLUS (4), bishop of Ancyra, believed to have been present at the synod held in that city, A.D. 315; but nothing can be proved from subscriptions doubtful in themselves. St. Athanasius, writing in A.D. 358 (*Hist. ad Mon.* 76), calls him an old man *then*; so that his age could have been no bar to his being *bishop* A.D. 315. He was certainly present, ten years afterwards, at the Nicene council, where he obtained a good report, as pope Julius tells the Eusebians (Mansi, ii. 1215), for having contended earnestly for the Catholic faith against the Arians. Later, in refuting the heterodox writings of Asterius, he was accused of falling himself into doctrines combining the errors of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. Thus he taught, or appeared to teach, that the Son had no real personality, but was merely the external manifestation (προφορικὸς λόγος) of the Father: being called the Son of God, viewed as man only. But it is quite possible that his attachment to St. Athanasius, and to the orthodox cause, may have subjected his book to unfair criticism. Anyhow, the Eusebians, piqued at his absence, first from the synod of Tyre, and afterwards from the festivities at Jerusalem, A.D. 335, in honour of the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, called upon him then and there to render account of the opinions advanced in it, and to recant them; when, according to Socrates, they extorted a promise from him that he would burn the book that had given so much offence. For not having at once done this, he was deposed in the synod held at Constantinople by the chiefs of that party, the year following, in the month of February, by command of the emperor, when Eusebius of Nicomedia presided, and Eusebius of Caesarea was charged by the assembled bishops

with the task of refuting his work. Basil, who, in the words of Cardinal Newman, "united in his person the most varied learning with the most blameless life of all the semi-Arians," was appointed at the same time to the see vacated by him (Soc. i. 36). Condemned at Constantinople, Marcellus betook himself to Rome, and that, apparently, without loss of time. We can hardly be wrong in drawing this inference from his own words. In a letter addressed by him to his "blessed colleague Julius," and preserved by St. Epiphanius, though it bears no date, he tells the pope that, understanding he had been accused to him by letter, on the part of some that had been refuted by himself at Nicaea, and there condemned for heterodoxy, of holding opinions opposed to the teaching of the church, he had felt it his duty to come to Rome, *and suggest to him* to summon those who had written against him to confront him there, when he would be able to demonstrate their adherence to their old errors, and clear himself in the same breath. He had now passed a whole year and three months at Rome, waiting for their arrival in vain; although presbyters had been sent by Julius to engage them to come. He could wait for them no longer, but, before setting off, he was desirous of leaving with Julius a profession in writing of the faith he had learnt, and had been taught from the holy Scriptures, as proof that he had been falsely traduced. . .

Of his profession in due course. His letter would bring us past the death of Constantine—say, to A.D. 338, the year in which St. Athanasius was returning through north Italy from his first exile; and his returning would encourage Marcellus naturally to hope that he might get back also, all the more too from having been admitted to communion by Julius before leaving—the very thing which his letter was designed to effect. This, of course, we must not expect to find stated in his letter; but that letter throws so much light upon, as well as receives so much light from, all the subsequent events in which pope Julius figured, as an actor or otherwise, that we must not forget a word of it in passing to the account given of them in the writings of St. Athanasius, or by Julius himself in his well-known letter to the Eusebians, epitomised under art. JULIUS, in this volume, so far as relates to St. Athanasius and his opponents, with so much care: but with all that relates to Marcellus left out, as though more fitting to be supplied here. The fact is, Marcellus shewed himself an arch-*intriguant* unquestionably, whatever he may have been as a theologian. It must have been almost the first act of Julius, after his election, to receive Marcellus into communion; nor could he fail to be struck by the manner of his appeal. Marcellus could have scarcely left Rome when the Eusebian deputies, Macarius and two deacons, arrived, in the hope of persuading Julius to declare for Pistus, their nominee, and join them in unseating St. Athanasius, who had returned from exile, without having been synodically restored. They could have scarcely made known their mission, when presbyters arrived from Alexandria to unmask their artifices and defeat their aims. Taken aback, they beat a precipitate retreat; declaring, however, that they would be prepared at any moment to substantiate their charges against St. Athanasius, if a council were held. The word "council" had hardly been pronounced before St. Athanasius was informed of it by Julius, told it might meet where he would; and he set off at once for Rome to be ready for it (*Hist. ad Monach.* § 9-11), as might have been expected. Julius, on his part, was ready for anything that would bring grist to his mill. We must now go to his well-known letter for the rest; for, whenever it was written, it goes back to the arrival of St. Athanasius in Rome, and reports all the steps taken by himself from that point.

Taken as a whole, this epistle reads far more like the work of two persons than one. There are parts of it which may be read side by side with the natural and hearty letter of Julius to the Alexandrians (Apol. c. *Arian.* § 52), congratulating them on the return of their great prelate, and be pronounced conclusive testimony to their joint authorship. Again, there are parts of it equally which such juxtaposition alone suggests must have been inspired by a different spirit; though, very possibly, traced by the same pen. Anyhow, there are two things which it places beyond controversy: 1, that Marcellus was at Rome then, having been admitted by Julius to communion on a previous visit; and 2, that Julius had himself followed the exact precedent suggested by Marcellus at his previous visit, and adopted in his case, viz. that of sending presbyters to the Eusebians—this time we are told their names, Elpidius and Philoxenus—with the object of bringing them to Rome to confront an opponent who was already there. Nothing can be clearer, *from his own words*, than that the arrival of St. Athanasius at Rome, and the fixing of the synod to Rome, preceded the despatch of the first letter of Julius to the Eusebians by his two presbyters, announcing—*not repeating*—and announcing, *not merely* that their suggestion of a synod would be carried out, but that its time and place had been definitely fixed without consulting them. No wonder that their reply to this letter should have been—as even Sozomen admits it was—piquant in the extreme (*E. H.* iii. 8). But there is yet a further point in this letter of Julius, which more strictly concerns us here, and which perhaps has not been hitherto treated to the prominence which it deserves. St. Athanasius *twice says* that the synod of more than fifty bishops then assembled in Rome, indignant at the answer brought back from the Eusebians by his two presbyters, dictated to Julius the terms of his rejoinder, and that it was in fact more theirs than his (Apol. *c. Ar.* § 20, and then at the end of the letter). But Julius *himself*, strange to say (§ 26), assures his correspondents that he would not allow any to write but himself, though, he adds, he expressed the opinions of the Italian episcopate, and that in a strain of which they might well be supposed to have approved. Yet there is one passage towards its close which is couched in *anything but* an indignant tone, as it gives the Eusebians to understand that, even then, if they will but come forward and make good their charges, the whole question shall be re-opened, and the acquitted shall be re-tried, with their full assent (§ 34–5). If it could be proved that St. Athanasius had been shewn this epistle before it was sent off, we might have

been amazed that no word of comment on this passage should have escaped him. But the fact is, he nowhere deposes to having seen the original, and merely classes it with other documents, of which sooner or later he had obtained copies (§ 2, *ad f.*). In this way it need not have been actually perused by him till after his second return from exile, when adverse criticism of any part of it would have been unwise. Coming indeed from Julius himself, this proposal was natural enough, in spite of all the apparent bluster that precedes it. The bluster was for the fifty bishops at his back: the proposal was for adversaries who, without reference to the ally that they had in the emperor, had, in the letter that he was answering, beyond any question, hit him hard. The precedent of Marcellus they would have jeered at had it been invoked. *Their* precedents were facts of acknowledged weight. Cornelius had, in a large gathering of bishops at Rome, condemned Novatianism A.D. 251, and the East had acquiesced. The Easterns had, in a large gathering of bishops at Antioch, condemned the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, and the West had acquiesced, A.D. 269. But if he himself had invoked the last Roman synod, it would have covered him with confusion, for there, though Melchiades gave judgment in strong terms for Caecilian, and all present shared his opinion, Donatus appealed from their sentence, and his appeal was allowed. Julius, as might have been expected, was not keen to refer to this precedent, yet neither was he forgetful of it. He took care to keep his acts within it if not his words. Neither he nor his bishops ventured to restore Marcellus or St. Athanasius to their respective sees. They merely gave their collective voice for admitting them to communion, and declared their innocence. Moreover, the precedent of the council of Arles was repeated, when the council of Sardica was convened. Let us now enquire what, more particularly, this council of Rome, and then afterwards that of Sardica, did for Marcellus. First, Julius, in his rejoinder to the Eusebians, tells them that he *had been* * careful to tell them—in his former letter that is—that after they had written against him *ὡς ἀσεβοῦντος εἰς τὸν Χριστόν*, Marcellus had assured him on reaching Rome, that what they had written against him was false: nevertheless, that having been challenged by them (*παρ' ὑμῶν*, which is the reading of Mansi, confirmed by the letter of Marcellus himself, whereas *παρ' ἡμῶν*, which is the reading of Coustans and the Benedictines, is flatly contradicted by what Marcellus there states) to speak on the faith, he delivered himself with so much candour in words of his own, that he could not but feel certain of his holding nothing outside the truth, as he had in particular expressed himself about the Lord Jesus in exact harmony with the teaching of the church, and averred that these were views which he had long since held. Vincentius and Vito, moreover, the presbyters who represented his predecessor at Nicaea, and were still alive—the synod, indeed, on whose behalf he was then writing, met, as St. Athanasius tells us (Apol. c. *Arian.* § 20), in the church of the latter—"added their testimony to his, when he stated that he had opposed the Arians then, and from that time forth. How, then, after all these proofs of his orthodoxy, should he have done otherwise than regard him as a bishop, as he had done, and not refuse him communion?" (*ib.* § 32). In this letter it is obvious Julius repeats what he had already told them in his previous letter: referring to the profession and explanations given him by Marcellus—as stated by Marcellus himself—on his leaving Rome, without any hint of a synod that had met, or was going to meet, in his case. Julius, it is clear, admitted him to communion at that time; and now the synod, in whose name he was writing, formally declared his innocence. Further, it was on this occasion that Marcellus testified to Julius and to the assembled bishops, that his attempt to return to Ancyra, A.D. 338–9, had only provoked the same flagrant scenes that had been re-enacted at Alexandria more recently, when St. Athanasius was expelled (*ib.* § 33, comp. St. Hil. *Frag.* iii. 9).

Passing from this letter to that of the council of Sardica, which St. Athanasius also transcribes at length, addressed to all bishops and ministers of the Catholic church in all lands, we may commence by noticing a statement made by St. Athanasius about Marcellus in his history to the monks (§ 6), which would seem as little consistent with the words of Marcellus himself already quoted, as with the words of the Sardican bishops that are still to follow. "Marcellus," he says, "went to Rome, made his apology, and then, at their request, gave them his faith in writing, of which also the Sardican council approved." It so happens that as Julius never once refers to his book, in like manner the Sardicans never once refer to his profession. They grounded their verdict in his favour on the book which Eusebius had maligned, but which they pronounced consistent with orthodoxy. They said, "they had read his book:" who *but* Marcellus could have put it into their hands? "and detected the cunning of Eusebius and his friends. For what he had put forward as queries, they had calumniated him as having professed. Hence, read by the light of what had preceded and followed, his faith was found to be sound. For he had not, as they affirmed, attributed to the Word of God a beginning from Mary, nor any end to His kingdom; but had stated His kingdom to be without beginning or end" (Apol. c. *Arian.* § 47). On these grounds they declared him faultless and free from taint. And St. Hilary, who says nothing of his profession either, tells us he had the same book that they examined by him, and bears them out in their decision on it; adding that Marcellus was never again tried or condemned in any subsequent synod (*Frag.* ii. 21–23). Against such testimony—living, competent, and explicit—as this, it is plainly not for moderns to contend, the book being no longer extant to speak for itself; and therefore we must—in spite of all Cave may urge to the contrary (*Hist. Lit.* i. 202), and after him, Cardinal Newman (*Library of the Fathers*, xix. 503), and after him, the learned writer of Art. EUSEBIUS, Vol. II. 342, of this work—conclude with Montfaucon (*Diatr.* c. iii.) that strong as the extracts from it may read in Eusebius, whose party bias betrays itself in every line, "read by the light of what precedes and

* In the *Library of the Fathers*, vol. xiii. p. 52: this is translated as in present time.

follows," in the words of the Sardican fathers, they may all be interpreted in a sense not conflicting with orthodoxy. St. Hilary, moreover, speaks with unwonted weight, as he proclaims the fact loudly that Marcellus subsequently by some rash utterances of his, and evident sympathy with his former disciple, Photinus, the ejected from Sirmium, came to be suspected of heretical leanings by all at last; and notably, though privately, put out of communion by St. Athanasius, on which Marcellus abstained from church himself (*Frag.* ii. 23). What those rash utterances were, we shall probably never know; but it is just possible that one of them was in the mind of St. Hilary when he said of him frankly to Constantius: "Hinc Marcellus Verbum Dei cùm legit, nescit." And then adds: "Hinc Photinus hominem Jesum Christum cum loquitur, ignorat," classing them both in the same category. In the work of St. Epiphanius against heresies, on the other hand, the Photinians rank first (71), and the Marcellians follow (72); yet even there the inference is, that the latter had been led astray by the former. St. Epiphanius makes no mention of the work of Eusebius against Marcellus, but he gives extracts from another work against him by Acacius, the successor of Eusebius at Caesarea—just to be fair, as he says, not because he thinks it a bit more conclusive than the Sardican fathers thought the work of Eusebius. But to the profession given by Marcellus in writing to pope Julius, he takes exception at starting—strange to say—on the principle that "Qui s'excuse, s'accuse." Then, after producing it, he still more strangely comments on it as follows: "Now whether this document be faultless or not, those who read it must judge for themselves; and those who can exactly fathom its contents must, in the latter case, point out its errors. For we are desirous of limiting ourselves to say no more than we know, or have been told. For though it be fair enough, as it stands, still persons coming across it will reflect that it could have been put together for no trivial or chance purpose, still less with the object of defending himself, had he never let drop any perplexing words, making it necessary for him to explain them. Thus it might be, that having gone wrong so far, he composed this document to set himself straight and regain confidence. Or, again, he may have drawn it up in these words, on purpose to divert attention from other expressions of his, and be the means of staying any synodical process against him, endangering his exclusion from the bench of bishops and the clergy-roll."

St. Epiphanius is here commenting on what both Marcellus himself and St. Athanasius call his "ἔγγραφον πίστιν," which he says expressly that he gave to pope Julius before leaving Rome, and which St. Epiphanius here gives at full length. St. Athanasius says it was exhibited to the Roman and Sardican councils as well; but of this, beyond his assertion, we have no distinct proof in either case. Meanwhile, before testing it on its own merits, let us invite special attention to this fact, that far from standing alone, it is but one of three different professions exhibited at different times on behalf of Marcellus—all characterized by the same suspicious surroundings, as will be shewn in due course. The two first are given by St. Epiphanius;[a] the third was exhumed by Montfaucon. Having dealt with the first on a former occasion, it will be perhaps allowed me to repeat, in the interests of creeds in general, what I there said ('Athanasian Creed,' pp. 168–75). Dr. Heurtley extracted this creed from Epiphanius, and found a place for it in his excellent little work *De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 24, as the earliest specimen of a Western creed, having been the first to call attention to its being cast in that mould. But exception may be taken to the title prefixed to it —'Symbolum Romanum'—as such distinctions do not seem customary at that time among local creeds. St. Augustine calls his own work, *De Fide et Symbolo—not* Symbolo Africano. St. Maximus of Turin entitles his homilies, *De Traditione Symboli.* St. Nicetas of Aquileia, writing after Rufinus, his comment: *Explanatio Symboli.* By "the creed" was meant, in all these cases, the baptismal creed. And this creed, produced by Marcellus, was as certainly the baptismal creed of the West, as it was *not* that of the local church of Rome (*ib.* pp. 89–133). Into this question, indeed, this is not the place for further inquiry; but, in point of fact, this very case dispenses us from further proof. For, *had it been* the creed of the church of Rome, would not St. Athanasius have characterized it as such; would not Julius have recognised and applauded the adoption of his own formula? No doubt Marcellus picked it up in the Danubian provinces, or at Aquileia, in his way to Rome. It is identical with the creed, commented upon by St. Augustine, which follows it in the work of Dr. Heurtley, saving in the expression τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, &c., which is suspiciously peculiar, and may well have excited misgivings in the mind of St. Epiphanius. Now this creed, it should be noticed, Marcellus never ventures to call the creed of his own church, yet in designating it "what he had been taught by his spiritual fathers, had learnt from holy Scripture, and preached in church," he must have meant that Julius should gather it was: and he begs Julius to enclose copies of it to those bishops with whom he was corresponding, in order that any to whom he was unknown might be disabused of every wrong notion they might have formed of him from hostile statements. By way of preface to it, he recites the principal errors held by his enemies to condemn them; and affirms several points on which his own faith had been questioned. Yet, strange to say, whether by his own contrivance or otherwise, this profession of his was never made public, or appealed to by him again. It satisfied Julius, and Julius may have communicated it to those bishops of the West with whom he was corresponding, and to St. Athanasius on his arrival in Rome: but it cannot be proved to have been formally brought before the fifty bishops afterwards assembled there, and there is no proof that it was so much as named at Sardica. In dealing with Easterns, anyhow, the creed in which he professes his faith was that of Nicaea. This profession of his is extant as well as the other, and was being employed by his disciples in their own justification, when it was placed in the hands of St. Epiphanius. It is headed 'Inscription of the faith of Marcellus.' Yet it can hardly be thought accidental that his

[a] *Haer.* lxxii.

own assent is not explicitly given by subscription either to this or the third formula, produced on his behalf.

Montfaucon has fallen into a singular, though by no means inexplicable, mistake respecting it. Preoccupied with his own discovery, he seeks to connect it with this second profession, with which it has nothing whatever to do; and actually quotes a long passage from a letter addressed by St. Basil to three bishops of Egypt[c] on the subject of his own discovery—the third profession—as though it had been addressed to those Diocaesarean bishops, for whose enlightenment this second profession was intended. This oversight has led him into wild confusion about its date. St. Epiphanius nowhere speaks of it as a *recent* utterance. He merely gives it the place which it occupies in his own work, that it may serve for an antidote to the hostile criticisms of Acacius immediately preceding it; and prefaces it by saying it had been put into his hands by some friends of his, who had obtained it from certain disciples of Marcellus that had survived him, being a vindication of his faith by himself. Internal, in default of external, evidence, would suggest its date to be close upon that of his first profession: 1, because Marcellus, being absent, is nowhere named in it; 2, because it reads like the effusion of a widowed church; 3, because it speaks of being in possession of communicatory letters from St. Athanasius, which the church of Ancyra was of course then; 4, because the first signature to it is that of Photinus, presbyter of the church of Ancyra, which he, who shortly became bishop of Sirmium, then was. Against this it might be urged, 1, that the name of Photinus occurs among the heretics also, who are disavowed. But in answer to this it may be rejoined, that there is a second Photinus named among the Ancyran presbyters at starting, whose name has dropped out among the signatories, and therefore may have been *mis*placed among the heretics; 2, that it condemns those who speak of the Holy Ghost as a creature. But this had already been done more than once by Eusebius in his work against Marcellus.[d] It must be remembered, too, that this profession was addressed to the Diocaesareans, all near neighbours of the Ancyrans; and then, apparently, fellow-sufferers in the same cause. Looking at both professions, then, as having emanated from Marcellus about the same time, we see plainly that he aimed at being an Eastern to the Easterns, and a Western to the Westerns.

Finally, neither of these professions would seem to have sufficed for him in extreme old age, but he must construct a third, intended this time for St. Athanasius himself. The date fixed for it by Montfaucon is A.D. 372, not earlier, to give time for some letters that passed on the subject of Marcellus in A.D. 371, between St. Athanasius and St. Basil, elected to the see of Caesarea the year before: not later, because St. Athanasius died A.D. 373, and Marcellus himself A.D. 374. But if Montfaucon had dated it one year later, he would have got rid of the very difficulty which perplexed him most, viz. the absence of the name of St. Athanasius amongst its countersigners (*Diatr. c.* vi. 4). For if St. Athanasius was already dead, when it arrived, the omission of his name would be natural enough. Besides, St. Basil must have noticed it, had his name been affixed, in the letters addressed by him to his successor Peter, praising him, A.D. 377, for his continued reserve: and to the exiled suffragans of Peter of the same date, cautioning them in the strongest terms against being induced to depart from that reserve towards the disciples of Marcellus, by the specious overtures lately made to them on their behalf (*Ep.* 265–6, Ed. Ben.). Far from having been received by St. Athanasius and his colleagues, the signatures affixed to this "aureum opusculum," as Montfaucon in his enthusiasm calls it, are such as go far towards impeaching its genuineness, or else depriving it of the least weight. Surely the signatures to it should have been not of those to whom it was delivered, but *from whom* it emanated! St. Athanasius in any case could not have possibly let his name stand at the head of a list of names of this description. The document itself purports to be the work of a gathering of the church of Ancyra under their father Marcellus; and it may well have been dictated by a man of his advanced years, recapitulating and repudiating all the various errors, amid which his chequered life had been passed. Indeed, as no other name is given but his own, and that of his deacon Eugenius, who was charged with its delivery, we may well doubt whether any third person had a hand in it. The reference which it contains at starting to the commendatory letters given to the bearer of it by the bishops of Greece and Macedonia, seems consistent with its having been addressed, and expedited through their good offices, at that time to St. Athanasius (*Diatr. ib.* § 2). Yet it recalls forcibly, when read side by side with his former professions, the cutting remarks made by St. Basil on a very similar personage to Marcellus—Eustathius of Sebaste—and we may well doubt whether this was not the exact estimate which he had formed in his own mind of Marcellus, and the secret of his disparagement of him to the last. Indeed what two bishops should have known each other better than the occupants of the sees of Ancyra and Caesarea? "Our faith," then, says the great bishop of the latter, "is not one thing at Seleucia, another at Constantinople, another at Zele, another at Lampsacus, and another at Rome . . . but one and the same everywhere" (*Ep.* 252). And in other letters (*Ep.* 59, 125, 239, 265, Ed. Ben.), he is just as disgusted at Marcellus having been received into communion in the West under Julius, as at Eustathius having been received into communion in the West under Liberius (*Ep.* 226, 244, 263). He looked upon both as trimmers of the first water, which their acts prove them to have been; and heterodox at heart, in spite of their repeated disclaimers. Neither, in his opinion, was deserving of any trust. There was just one point of which Marcellus never lost sight; and he traded upon it through life, with whatsoever errors he was charged. "Se communione Julii et Athanasii, Romanae et Alexandrinae urbis pontificum, esse munitum"—as St. Jerome

[c] Ep. 293 (265 Ben. ed.).

[d] See Mont. on *De Eccl. Theol.* iii. 6, ap. Migne, Pat. Gr. xxiv. 1014: "Apertè Spiritum Sanctum in albo reponit creaturarum: Eumque a Filio perinde atque caetera productum disertis verbis repetit, quod et statim *blasphemus repetit.*"

puts it (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 86). Some may, possibly, consider that he duped them both; and the second more, by a good deal, than the first. All that remains to be said of Marcellus is, that although restored at Sardica, and included in the general letter of recall issued subsequently by the emperor Constantius, and preserved by St. Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* § 54), he never seems to have regained his see. Basilius certainly was in possession of it at the second council of Sirmium A.D. 351, when he refuted Photinus; and either he, or Athanasius his successor, with whom St. Basil corresponded in A.D. 369 (*Ep.* 25), was in possession A.D. 363, and joined in the petition recorded by Socrates (iii. 25) to the emperor Jovian. St. Athanasius, according to Cardinal Newman, upheld him "to about A.D. 360," but attacked his tenets pointedly, though without naming him, in his fourth oration against Arians. The short essay demonstrating this is of the highest interest—Introd. to Disc. iv. p. 503 et seq. of vol. xix. of the *Library of the Fathers*. Also, vols. viii. and xiii. (p. 52, note l.) of the same. Comp. Montfaucon, *Diatr. de causâ Marcelli*, vol. ii. collect. Nov. Pat. Praef. 41 et seq.; Newman's *Arians*; Art. ATHANASIUS and EUSEBIUS in this work; Rettberg's Preface in Migne, Pat. Gr. xviii. 1299; Wetzer's *Restit. Ver. Chronol.*; and Larroque's *Diss. de Phot. Haeret.* [E. S. Ff.]

MARCELLUS (5), one of the eleven orthodox bishops of Macedonia, to whom a letter of thanks was addressed by Chrysostom. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 163.) [ANYSIUS.] [E. V.]

MARCELLUS (6), a priest, addressed by Ambrose in his eighty-second Epistle. The letter describes a settlement effected by Ambrose as arbitrator in a matter of family property. It was arranged that Marcellus should give up his rights to his brother Laetus and their sister. [J. Ll. D.]

MARCELLUS (7), a deacon and solitary of Nazianzus, whom Gregory Nazianzen appointed, with his brother deacon Gregory and Eustathius, the executors of the part of his will relating to his bequest to the poor. (Greg. Naz. *Test.*) [E. V.]

MARCELLUS (8), the archimandrite of a convent of Acoemetae at Constantinople, one of the nineteen orthodox abbats who united to oppose the heresy of Eutyches and his followers. Two of Theodoret's letters to him remain to us, belonging to the time of his troubles after the Latrocinium, A.D. 449 (*Ep.* 141, 142). In the latter he commends Marcellus for the resolution with which he had defended the faith, undaunted either by the authority of the emperor or the crowd of bishops who had abandoned the faith. Before the council of Chalcedon he joined the other orthodox abbats in presenting a petition to the emperor Marcian, that he would stop the impieties of Eutyches and his crew, and eject them from their robbers' cave (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 531). At the session of Oct. 17 Marcellus appeared with his companions to give the council trustworthy information with regard to Carosius, Dorotheus, and the other Eutychian abbats who were invoking the intervention of the emperor in their behalf. (Labbe, iv. 517.) [E. V.]

MARCELLUS (9), priest of Nola, author of a history of Felix bishop of Nola, inscribed to Leo bishop of Nola, about the middle of the 6th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 14 Jan. i. 946, § 1; Tillem. iv. 227.) [C. H.]

MARCELLUS (10), a monk of Gregory the Great's monastery at Rome. His impending death was revealed in a vision to Gerontius, a monk of the same monastery, when on his death-bed. (Greg. Mag. *Dial.* iv. 26.) [C. H.]

MARCELLUS (11), legendary disciple of St. Peter, said to have been originally a disciple of Simon Magus and to have been converted by Peter (Tischendorf, *Act. Apost. Apoc.* p. 37). He plays an important part in the Acts of LINUS, where he is both the bearer of information to Peter of his intended execution, and is also the chief agent in the apostle's burial. Under the name of Marcellus was current a Latin version of Acts substantially the same as those printed by Tischendorf, the name of Marcellus however being wanting in several MSS. The Latin version was printed by Nausea in 1531, and by Fiorentini (ad *Martyrol. Hieron.* p. 103), and later by Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc.* N. T. iii. 632.

A letter under the name of this Marcellus is to be found in the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus (Bolland, *Acta SS.* May iii. 9). The letter gives particulars of the conversion of Marcellus from belief in the pretensions of Simon Magus. Simon had fastened a great dog at his door in order to prevent Peter from entering. Peter by making the sign of the cross makes the dog tame towards himself, but so furious against his original master, that he is obliged to leave the city in disgrace. For a different story of Simon and dogs see Tischendorf, *Act. Apost. Apoc.* p. 20. The letter contains other stories of Peter to be found also in the Acts of Linus and in other sources. The Acts containing this letter are referred to the first half of the 5th century by Lipsius, *Petrus-Sage*, p. 153, who on the whole subject ought to be consulted. [G. S.]

MARCIA. In the year 183 a conspiracy against the emperor Commodus was detected and put down, in which the emperor's sister Lucilla and his cousin Quadratus had been prime movers. On the execution of Quadratus and the confiscation of his property, two members of his household, his chamberlain Electus and his concubine Marcia, passed into corresponding positions in the household of Commodus, and obtained the highest favour with him. Marcia was granted all the honours due to an acknowledged empress, save that of having the sacred fire borne before her. The emperor's coins displayed her figure in the garb of an Amazon, in which he delighted to see her. He himself took the title Amazonius, and gave the same title to a month of the year. She was all-powerful with him, and her place in this Dictionary is due to the fact that she used her influence on behalf of the Christians, and obtained for them many benefits. This fact, stated by Dion Cassius (or possibly by his epitomiser Xiphilinus), has led to the suspicion that she was a Christian herself, a suspicion not disproved by the position of concubine which she filled; for the Christian code of the time dealt tenderly with the case of a female slave unable

to refuse her person to her master, and provided she observed the fidelity of a wife towards him, did not condemn her because he did not observe the fidelity of a husband towards her (*Const. Apost.* viii. 32). Yet unless the accounts of the profligacy of Commodus have been grossly exaggerated, one, the business of whose life was to keep such a man in good humour, must have witnessed and taken part in scenes incompatible with membership in the Christian society. We now know from Hippolytus (see HYACINTHUS) that the eunuch who brought Marcia up, and who retained a high place in her confidence, was a Christian presbyter. This sufficiently accounts for her Christian sympathies; but the epithet φιλόθεος, which Hippolytus applies to her, would have been different, if, besides being friendly to the Christians, she had been a Christian herself.

Marcia, whose intimacy with her fellow-servant Eclectus had given occasion for remark, ultimately became his wife. She appears to have been a woman of resolution and spirit corresponding to her favourite Amazonian dress. The story went that when Cleander's administration had given rise to insurrection, it was Marcia who had courage to make known to the emperor his danger, and to obtain the sacrifice of the unpopular minister. All agree that it was she who planned and carried out the murder of Commodus. There is nothing incredible in the common story of the circumstances which made known to her that it was only thus she could rescue her own life; but in any case we may be sure that nothing but a sense of imminent danger could make her wish to overturn a rule in which she and her friends enjoyed supreme power. She was put to death in 193 by Didius Julianus, who thought proper to avenge the death of Commodus.

On some unsuccessful attempts to illustrate the history of Marcia by inscriptions and medals, see Aubé, *Revue Archéologique*, March 1879. For the original authorities, see the references in the article ECLECTUS. [G. S.]

MARCIANI. [EUCHITES, p. 261.]

MARCIANUS (1), bishop of Arles A.D. 254 (Cyp. *Ep.* 68). He was an adherent of Novatian, and refused to re-admit the lapsed. Faustinus bishop of Lyons, having in vain requested Stephen bishop of Rome to excommunicate him, appealed to Cyprian; who in a dictatorial letter desired Stephen to excommunicate him in pursuance of the discipline adopted by himself, Cornelius, and Lucius, and to acquaint himself and other bishops with the name of the successor. The date of this letter is manifestly earlier than that of the baptismal controversy, and as Cyprian speaks of "years" having elapsed under his discipline, whereas Novatianism only began in A.D. 251, we must date the letter rather late in A.D. 254, Stephen's second year. The episcopate of Marcian with its undoubted date disposes of the episcopate and apostleship of Trophimus, the patron saint of Arles, sent according to Gregory Turon. by Fabian from Rome A.D. 249. [E. W. B.]

MARCIANUS (2), bishop of the Novatianists at Constantinople. He had originally belonged to the palace guard, and was afterwards a presbyter of the Novatianists. From the high character he bore, the emperor Valens selected him as the preceptor of his daughters Anastasia and Carosa, and out of respect to him shewed favour to the Novatianist party (Soc. iv. 9; Soz. vi. 9). Marcian, who was very popular with the Novatianists, was ordained by their bishop Agelius as his successor in 384. His subsequent admission of SABBATIUS to the Novatianist presbyterate occasioned him much grief and produced a schism in the body (Soc. v. 21). He died 27 Nov. 395, and was succeeded by Sisinnius. (Soc. vi. 1; Tillem. vi. 433, 538, iii. 484, 486, 487.) [C. H.]

MARCIANUS (3), Nov. 2 (*Menol. Graec.* Sirlet. and *Mart. Rom.*), a celebrated solitary in the desert of Chalcis in Syria (Theod. *Rel. Hist.* cap. 3). He was a native of Cyrrhus and of good family. Betaking himself to the desert, he built himself within a narrow enclosure a cell in which he could neither stand upright nor lie at full length. In course of time he admitted to his society, but in separate dwellings, two disciples—Eusebius, his successor in the cell, and Agapetus. At some distance off he established an abode, under the care of Eusebius, for those who desired to pursue a monastic life under regulations framed by him. Agapetus retired and became bishop of Apamea. Towards the end of his life Marcian allowed himself to be visited by all who pleased, women excepted, but only after the festival of Easter. About 382 he was visited by Flavian, the new bishop of Antioch, in company with four of the most eminent bishops of Syria—Acacius of Berhoea, Eusebius of Chalcis, Isidore of Cyrrhus, and Theodotus of Hierapolis—besides some religious laymen of high rank. They came to listen to his wisdom, but he persisted in humble silence, and only observed that such as he could not expect to profit men while the word and works of God were so continually appealing to men in vain. Living in the Arian reign of Valens, Marcian's great influence was steadily exerted on the side of orthodoxy, and he was an uncompromising opponent of all the prevailing heresies. He also zealously upheld the Nicaean rule of Easter, and broke off communion with the venerable solitary Abraham in the same desert, until he gave up the old Syrian custom and conformed to the new one. His public receptions after Easter must likewise have helped to popularise the correct rule. Tillemont (viii. 483, xiv. 222) places his death about 385 or 387. The *Roman Martyrology* commemorates him on Nov. 2. His disciple Agapetus founded two monasteries, one called after himself at Nicerta in the diocese of Apamea, and another called after Marcian's disciple Simeon. From them sprang many others, all observing the rules of Marcian. His disciple Basil erected one at Seleucobelus. (Tillem. viii. 478, x. 533, xi. 304, xii. 20, xiv. 222, xv. 340, 349; Dupin, i. 455, ed. 1722; Ceill. x. 52; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 382, lxviii.) [C. H.]

MARCIANUS (4), Jan. 10, presbyter and oeconomus of the great church of Constantinople. The authorities for his life are Theodorus Lector (*H. E.* i. 13, 23, in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi.), the *Basilian Menology*, Jan. 10, and a *Vita* from Simeon Metaphrastes (Boll. *Acta SS.* 10 Jan. i. 609).

There are also notices of him in the Bollandist lives of St. Auxentius (14 Feb. ii. 770), St Isidore the martyr of Chios (15 Mai. iii. 445), and St. Gregory Nazianzen (9 Mai. ii. 401 C, note *n*). Tillemont (xvi. 161) devotes an article to him. He was originally a layman of the Cathari or Novatians (Theod. L. i. 13), and was then intimate with Auxentius, who was a Catholic (*Vit. Auxent. u.s.*). Marcian's own life is silent on this point. He was appointed oeconomus by the patriarch Gennadius, therefore after 458; and on entering upon the office made it a rule that the clergy of Constantinople should retain for their own churches the offerings made in them, and no longer pay them over to the great church (Theod. L. i. 13). His erection of the remarkable (θαυμαστὸν) church of the Anastasia or Holy Resurrection and of the church of St. Irene is mentioned in the *Basilian Menology* and by Codinus (*Aedif. Cp.* p. 88, ed. Bekker), the latter adding that he also built a hospital for the sick. The church of Irene (transformed from an idol temple) was on the shore (*Vit.* § 14) at "the passage" (Codin.). The Anastasia was (Codin.) a refoundation of the humble oratory in which St. Gregory ministered, and Marcian bought the site (then occupied by dealers in materials for mosaic work) because there had been found St. Gregory's commentaries (ὑπομνήματα), wherein he had, fifty years before, predicted the restoration of the building in greater size and beauty. The adornment of Marcian's church was subsequently completed by Basil the Macedonian, who added the golden ceiling. How Marcian saved his new church in the conflagration of Sept. 2 by his prayers and tears, while mounted on the roof with the Holy Gospels in his hands, is related by Theodore Lector (i. 23), the *Vita*, the *Basilian Menology*, Theophanes (A. C. 454), and Cedrenus (p. 348, ed. Bekker, p. 610). The year as fixed by Clinton (*F. R.* i. 666) was 465. Codinus's mention of fifty years makes the rebuilding of the Anastasia about A.D. 425, as the Bollandist Life of St. Gregory (*u. s.*) and the Bollandist account of St. Isidore (*u. s.*) say, long therefore before Marcian became oeconomus. Marcian is stated to have placed the relics of St. Isidore in the church of St. Irene (*ib.*). An account of the two churches, very full as to the Anastasia, will be found in Du Cange (*Cpolis. Chr.* lib. iv. pp. 98, 102, ed. 1729). In the Byzantine calendar Marcian was commemorated on Jan. 10. His death is placed in 471 by Tillemont, who has some minor notices of him at ii. 231, iii. 354, v. 98, ix. 416, xvi. 59, 70. [C. H.]

MARCIANUS (5). This name occurs as that of a heretic in an extract from a letter of Serapion of Antioch given by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 12). For want of the context we cannot determine whether this is the name of an otherwise unknown member of the church addressed, or whether Marcion may not be intended. [G. S.]

MARCIANUS (6), the friend to whom a work of Irenaeus was inscribed. (Eus. *H. E.* v. 26.) [G. S.]

MARCIANUS (7), a tribune at Antioch (Chrysost. *Ep.* 211), conspicuous as the common friend and patron of widows and orphans, and all who were in distress, to whom Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus, commending him for his great liberality to the suffering population during a recent dearth. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 122.) [E. V.]

MARCIANUS (8), FLAVIUS, emperor of the East 450–457 A.D. For the civil history of his life and reign see *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

On Marcian's accession, he found the world distracted by the Eutychian controversy. Theodosius had taken the part of Eutyches, and upheld the decision of "the Latrocinium" of Ephesus. His death caused a complete revolution in the church in the East. Pulcheria had always been on the side of Leo and orthodoxy, and naturally chose for her husband a person who shared her views. Marcian, in his very first letter to Leo (S. Leonis, *Epist.* lxxiii. in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* liv. 900), speaks of the assembling of a council under Leo's influence. For the correspondence between Marcian, Pulcheria, and Leo relating to the proposed council see LEO I. The disturbed state of the ecclesiastical atmosphere was probably the motive of Marcian's law of July 12, A.D. 451, against brawling in churches and holding meetings in private houses or in the streets (*Codex*, lib. i. tit. xii. 5). In the same year Eutyches was banished (though not so far from Constantinople as Leo (*Epist.* lxxxiv.) wished), and orders were issued by the emperor convening a council. It was originally intended to meet at Nicaea on Sept. 1, but as the pressure of public business prevented the emperor, who was then in Thrace, from going so far from Constantinople, the bishops who had assembled at Nicaea were directed to repair to Chalcedon (Mansi, vi. 552, 558). A detailed account of the proceedings of the Council is given under DIOSCORUS and EUTYCHES. Marcian and Pulcheria were present only at the sixth session on October 25, when the emperor made short speeches in Greek and Latin to the assembled bishops, who received him and the empress enthusiastically as a new Constantine and a new Helena. A full description of the scene is given under EUTYCHES (Vol. II. 411).

After the council separated Marcian proceeded to enforce its decrees by a series of edicts. The first two, dated February 7 and March 13, A.D. 452, confirmed the decisions of the council, and prohibited public arguments on theological questions that had been settled by them once for all, as thereby the divine mysteries were exposed to the profane gaze of Jews and Pagans (Mansi, vii. 475–480). A third, of July 6th, repealed the constitution promulgated by Theodosius at the instigation of the Eutychians against Flavian and his adherents Eusebius and Theodoret (Mansi, vii. 497–500). Finally, by a fourth, dated the 28th of the same month (Mansi, vii. 501–506), Marcian imposed heavy penalties and disabilities on the Eutychians. This law is fully given under EUTYCHES (Vol. II. 411). Another law dated August 1, A.D. 455, re-enacted the same provisions as the last with trifling variations, and further declared the Eutychians subjected to all the penalties imposed upon the Apollinarists by the laws of former emperors (Mansi, vii. 517–520).

The emperor likewise wrote to the monks of Alexandria by Joannes the Decurio (Mansi, vii. 481), exhorting them to abandon their errors and to submit to the decrees of Chalcedon. The

troubles at Alexandria, however, were too great to be appeased by words. The arrival of Proterius, the bishop appointed in the room of Dioscorus, was the signal for the outbreak of violent riots. The soldiers were stoned by the mob, and some, who had taken refuge in the Serapeum, were burnt along with the building itself. Marcian was obliged to send a reinforcement of 2000 troops, and even then the tumults were only appeased by the judicious conduct of Florus, the prefect of the city (Evagrius, 292, 293).

Palestine was likewise in a disturbed state. Some of the monks, who had attended the council, and had been on the defeated side, on their return, headed by Theodosius, a monk of violent character, who had been their leader in the council, stirred up an insurrection of the whole body of monks of the Desert (Evagrius, 293). Juvenalis bishop of Jerusalem had, after his return, to fly for his life. Severianus bishop of Scythopolis was killed by an assassin sent in pursuit of Juvenalis; Jerusalem was seized by the infuriated monks; houses were burnt, murders were perpetrated, the prisons were broken open and the criminals released, and finally Theodosius was elected bishop in the room of Juvenalis [THEODOSIUS]. Marcian, on hearing of these outrages, wrote to the archimandrites, monks, and inhabitants of Jerusalem, rebuking them sharply for their conduct. He contented himself, however, with ordering the punishment of those guilty of murder or arson, sent count Dorotheus to investigate who were guilty, and placed a garrison in Jerusalem under his command (Mansi, vii. 487–495). Juvenalis was subsequently restored to his see, Theodosius fled to Mount Sinai, and all the bishops he had consecrated were deprived of their sees. Marcian wrote to bishop Macarius and the monks of Mount Sinai demanding the surrender of the fugitive (Mansi, vii. 483–488).

While Marcian thus endeavoured to enforce the decision of the council, he took measures to suppress the last remnants of paganism. By a law of November 12, A.D. 451 (*Codex*, lib. i. tit. xi. 7), he forbade, under pain of death, the reopening of the temples which had been closed, and the offering sacrifices, libations, or incense in them, or even adorning them with flowers, and at the end of the above-mentioned law of August 1, A.D. 455, is a clause directing that the laws already enacted against paganism should be strictly enforced.

In the April of 454 he passed a law, granting to nuns, deaconesses, and widows, the power of making testamentary dispositions in favour of the church or clergy, and repealing all previous enactments to the contrary.

In April, A.D. 456, Marcian passed a law, preserved in the Codex (lib. i. tit. iii. 25, and tit. iv. 13), by which proceedings against the oeconomus or other clerics of the churches in Constantinople were to be taken at the plaintiff's desire either before the archbishop or the prefect of the city, and no oath was to be tendered to a cleric, as they were forbidden to swear by the laws of the church and an ancient canon.

He died in January, A.D. 457 (Theodorus Lector, 565), at the age of 65, after a reign of six years and six months. He was buried in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople (Cedrenus, 607, in *Patr. Gr.* cxxi. 659). [F. D.]

MARCIANUS (9), son of the emperor Anthemius and grandson of the emperor Marcian, from whom he derived his name, was married to Leontia, the younger daughter of the emperor Leo. On the ground that her right to the throne was superior to that of her sister Ariadne, who had been born before her father's accession, he revolted in A.D. 479 against the emperor Zeno, the husband of the latter. After a contest in the streets of Constantinople, he was beaten, and was forced to take sanctuary in the Church of the Apostles. He was dragged from the church and exiled to a monastery at Caesarea in Cappadocia. Making his escape to Galatia, he caused some further trouble in the neighbourhood of Angora, but was taken prisoner, and exiled to Tarsus, being obliged to shave his head and become a priest (Evagrius, *H. E.* iii. 26, in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi. 2, 2649). According to Theophanes (109, *Patr. Graec.* cviii. 313) and Candidus (p. 477, Bonn) his forced ordination took place before his first banishment, and according to the latter he was finally exiled to Isauria. [F. D.]

MARCIANUS (10), a Messalian heretic. [EUCHITES, Vol. II. p. 275.]

MARCION, one of the most noted and most permanently influential of the heretics of the second century.

Life.—Justin Martyr in his *Apology* (cc. 26, 58) mentions Simon and Menander as having been instigated by the demons to introduce heresy into the church, and goes on to speak of Marcion as still living, evidently regarding him as the most formidable heretic of his own day.[a] He states that he was a native of Pontus, that he had made many disciples out of every nation, and he refers for a more detailed refutation to a separate treatise of his own, one sentence of which has been preserved by Irenaeus (iv. 6). Justin's work against Marcion seems to have been extant in the time of Photius (*Cod.* 154). Irenaeus also states that Marcion came from Pontus. He adds that thence he came to Rome, where he became an adherent, and afterwards the successor, of Cerdo, a Syrian teacher, whose relations with the church were unsettled. Sometimes he would make public confession and be reconciled; but he would go on privately teaching heretical doctrine, be betrayed by some of his hearers, and be separated again. Irenaeus places the coming of Cerdo to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus, which lasted four years, ending, according to Lipsius, 139, 140, or 141. Irenaeus places the activity of Marcion at Rome under Anicetus (invaluit sub Aniceto), whose episcopate of 12 years began in 154. He tells (iii. 3) that Marcion meeting Polycarp at Rome claimed recognition from him, on which Polycarp answered, I recognize thee as the firstborn of Satan. Though Irenaeus does not expressly say so, this meeting is most naturally referred to the visit of Polycarp to Rome, which, according to the now received date of Polycarp's death, must be placed in 154 or at latest 155. The story makes probable a previous friendly

[a] Though the form of the name Μαρκιανοί (*Trypho* 35) suggests rather followers of Marcus than of Marcion, we think the latter is what was intended.

acquaintance of Polycarp with Marcion. Irenaeus contemplated (iii. 12) a separate treatise against Marcion. There is no direct evidence of his having carried out this design, but as its proposed method is stated to have been the confutation of Marcion by means of his own Gospel, and as this is precisely the method followed by Tertullian, who is elsewhere largely indebted to Irenaeus, there is a fair probability that the work of Irenaeus may have been written and been known to Tertullian. It has been stated under HIPPOLYTUS (p. 93) by what process the contents of the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus are inferred. It appears to have named Sinope as Marcion's native city (Epiph. 42, Philast. 45), of which city his father was bishop; and to have stated that he was obliged to leave home on account of having seduced a virgin and being thereupon excommunicated by his father (Epiph., Pseudo-Tert. 17). Epiphanius singly then tells, but apparently on the same authority, that Marcion having in spite of frequent entreaties failed to obtain absolution from his indignant father, went to Rome, where he arrived after the death of Hyginus, that he begged restoration from the presbyters there, but that they declared themselves unable to act in the matter contrary to the decision of his venerated father. The mention of presbyters as at the time the ruling power at the church of Rome, and their professed inability to reverse the decision of a provincial bishop, indicate a date earlier than that of Epiphanius; but Epiphanius further states that Marcion's quarrel with the presbyters was not only because they did not restore him to church communion, but also because they did not make him bishop. This has been generally understood to mean bishop of Rome, and possibly Epiphanius intended this, but he does not say so. His words are ὡς οὐκ ἀπείληφε τὴν προεδρίαν τε, καὶ τὴν εἴσδυσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. It is absurd on the face of it that an excommunicated foreigner should dream of being made bishop of a church from which he was asking in vain for absolution. We must then believe that Epiphanius misunderstood some expression which he found in his authority, or else that Marcion had been already a bishop (possibly one of his father's suffragans), had been deposed, and was seeking at Rome at once restoration to communion and recognition of his episcopal dignity. The only authority who directly countenances the latter view is Optatus, who speaks of Marcion (iv. 5, p. 74) as "ex episcopo factus apostata." But there is some indirect confirmation in the fact which we learn from Adamantius (i. 15; xvi. 264, Lommatz.) that Marcion was afterwards recognized as bishop by his own followers, and was the head of a succession of Marcionite bishops continuing down to the writer's own day. The Marcionites appear to have had no difference with the orthodox as to the forms of church organization. Tertullian's words are well known, "faciunt et favos vespae, faciunt et ecclesias Marcionitae" (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5). We may conclude that episcopacy was the settled constitution of the church before the time of the Marcionite schism, else Marcion would not have adopted it in his new sect, and it seems more likely that Marcion had been consecrated to the office before the schism than that he either obtained consecration afterwards, or that by his own sole authority he took the office to himself and appointed others to it, a thing unexampled in the church, of which we should surely have heard if Marcion had done it. Many critics have believed that the statement as to the cause of Marcion's excommunication took its origin from the misunderstanding of a common figurative expression, and that what was originally meant was that Marcion by heresy had corrupted the pure virgin church. We are inclined to adopt this view, not on account of the confessed austerity of Marcion's subsequent life and doctrines, which are not inconsistent with his having fallen into sins of the flesh in his youth, but because the story goes on to tell of Scripture difficulties propounded by Marcion to the Roman presbyters, and of his rejection of their solutions. If the question at issue had been whether pardon were to be given for an offence against morality, it is not likely that either party would have chosen to enter into theological controversy, whereas such discussion would naturally arise if the cause of excommunication had been heresy. Add that the charge of youthful incontinence is never brought against Marcion by Irenaeus or Tertullian.[b] Tertullian, who expends all the resources of his rhetoric in vituperation of Marcion, has no word of reproach against the purity of his sexual relations, but on the contrary contrasts his austerity in this respect with the alleged frailty of his disciple Apelles.

We are led to infer that Tertullian when he wrote against Marcion had not seen the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, and this conclusion is otherwise made certain. Irenaeus had merely named Pontus as the birthplace of Marcion, and Tertullian understands this of the northern shore of the Black Sea, and rhetorically classes Marcion with the monsters of Scythia. He could not have known the more definite and more probable account which named Sinope, a place likely enough to have been a hotbed of heresy, as its eastern position and its commercial relations with many countries subjected it to the influence of various forms of religious thought. An important work against heresy could not be published at Rome and Tertullian long remain ignorant of it. It follows, therefore, that we cannot assign the *Syntagma* an earlier date than 208, the year when the first book of Tertullian against Marcion was written.

The story of Marcion's interview with the Roman presbyters goes on to tell that he asked them to explain the texts, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit," and "No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment," texts from which he himself deduced that works in which evil is to be found could not proceed from the good God, and that the Christian dispensation could have nothing in common with the Jewish. Rejecting the different explanation offered him by the presbyters, he broke off the interview with a threat to make a schism in their church. This story represents Marcion as from the first out of communion with the Roman church; but here again Tertullian's account is different. He tells that Marcion was originally in communion, and had brought in 200 sesterces

[b] We attach no weight to the repetition of the charge by Esnig, whose historical notices have the appearance of being taken from Epiphanius.

as his contribution to the church fund; that falling into heresy he was expelled, and the money returned; that he afterwards begged for restoration, which was only offered him on condition that he would bring back those whom he had led astray, and that before he could do this he was overtaken by death. This has so much resemblance with what Irenaeus has told of Cerdo, that we are disposed to think with Tillemont that Tertullian has made a confusion and told of Marcion what was true of Cerdo. It might well have been made a condition of Cerdo's final restoration that he should bring back his pupil Marcion. If we adopt the opinion that Marcion was never in communion with the Roman church, we are free to believe that he did not learn his heresy at Rome from Cerdo, but had taught and propagated it before his coming to the city. The limits of permissible speculation concerning the origin of evil were probably then not sharply defined, and Marcion might have hoped to obtain toleration for his system in the Roman church. Disappointed in this expectation he might have joined himself to Cerdo, with whom he might have had relations in the East. The fact is, the beginning of Marcionism was so early that the church writers of the end of the 2nd century, who are our best authorities, do not seem themselves able to tell with certainty the story of its commencement; and so anything we can say on the subject must be conjectural. But this we know, that the heresy of Marcion spread itself widely over many countries. Epiphanius names as infected by it in his time, besides Rome and Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and even Persia. Its diffusion in the latter half of the 2nd century is proved by the number of antagonists it met in different countries; Dionysius in Corinth writing to Nicomedia, Philip in Crete, Theophilus in Antioch, Modestus (Eus. iv. 25), of whose place of writing we are not sure, besides Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Rhodo, Tertullian already mentioned. Its diffusion in the East is also proved by the fact that Bardesanes wrote against the heresy in the Syriac language (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 30), as did Ephrem Syrus later.

Now Marcion would seem to have travelled much. Ephrem Syrus speaks of him as wandering like Cain, but possibly he only refers to his leaving his country for Rome (Hymn. 56, Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* i. 119). Tertullian constantly applies to him the epithet "nauclerus;" Rhodo (ap. Euseb. v. 13) calls him ναύτης, according to a reading which we believe to be right, though the word is wanting in some MSS. Whether Marcion had any commercial object in his voyages or not, we may gather that he did travel; and he probably used his journeys to propagate his doctrines. Now his travels seem more likely to have preceded than to have followed his settling in Rome under Anicetus. Unless, therefore, the story of the interview with the Roman presbyters is to be rejected altogether we think it must be taken, date and all. The interview must be placed immediately after the death of Hyginus, and we must suppose Marcion then to have left Rome on his travels and only to have settled there permanently some years later, first as a member of Cerdo's school and afterwards as his successor.

The authorities as to the chronology of Marcion's life are very conflicting. The statement on which we can most rely is that he taught in Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus. We have no good warrant to extend his activity later, for we can give no credit to Tertullian, who names Eleutherus (*De Praesc.* 30) in connexion with the excommunication of Marcion. If Marcion did not survive Anicetus he might have been born about A.D. 100, and this would harmonize well enough with the fact that towards the close of the century Rhodo found Marcion's disciple Apelles then an old man, who had outlived all inclination for controversy. Philaster, who (*Haer.* 45) states that Marcion was driven from Ephesus by the apostle John, may be set aside as having blundered together the story of John and Cerinthus. It is more difficult to deal with a passage of Clemens Alex., which has much puzzled his commentators. Having stated that it had been alleged that Valentinus had been a hearer of Theodas, a disciple of Paul, he goes on to say that Marcion being of the same age lived with these as an elder with younger, after whom Simon heard for a little the preaching of Peter. In all the early anti-heretical treatises Valentinus is placed before Marcion, who is here not only made his elder contemporary, but is even made to precede Simon Magus. In Potter's note (p. 898) may be seen the various expedients by which it has been tried either by emendation of reading or by less obvious interpretation to relieve Clement from the responsibility of an opinion which it is very unlikely that he really held. A different solution is that of Volkmar and Lipsius, that what Clement says of Marcion is ironical; but whatever way we take of reconciling Clement with himself, the context clearly shews that he does not ascribe to Marcion an earlier date than the reign of Antoninus or at earliest that of Hadrian. It seems at first as if Tertullian fixed for us with great accuracy the date of Marcion's schism, which he says (*Adv. Marc.* i. 19) was placed by his followers themselves one hundred and fifteen years six months and a half after Christ. Taking the year of the Passion as A.D. 29, this gives for Marcion the by no means improbable date 144, but the passage in Tertullian, though relied on by Lipsius, is really useless for our purpose. Tertullian's object is to shew that Marcion is much later than Christ, and his argument runs as follows: "I care not to enquire in what year of Antoninus Marcion came; it is enough for my purpose that under Antoninus it was. Now Christ came in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; between Tiberius and Antoninus are one hundred and fifteen years, six months, fifteen days. That is the interval between Christ and Marcion." It is surely a misunderstanding to regard the last sentence as an independent statement and not as the conclusion of the argument. It is true that the real interval between Tiberius and Antoninus is not what is here stated; but it is safer to accuse Tertullian of bad arithmetic than of bad logic. He might easily have erred in his addition of lengths of emperors' reigns, but he was incapable of using an argument in which the conclusion does not follow from the premisses, and is only what his opponents concede without any argument. Add that the chronicles give lengths of emperors' reigns with months and

days, but there is no reason to think that any one pretended to name the month or day on which the interval between Christ and Marcion began or ended. The Chronicle of Edessa [CHRONICON EDESSENUM] names the year 138 as that of the beginning of Marcionism, and with this agrees the date, the first year of Antoninus, given by the Fihrist (Flügel's *Mani*, p. 85). This date is not improbable, if we suppose an oriental preaching of the heresy to have preceded its establishment at Rome; A.D. 150 is a not unlikely date for Justin Martyr's *Apology*, and a dozen years of growth is not too much to allow before Marcionism could have assumed the formidable dimensions which that work indicates. If Justin Martyr's work is to be dated earlier, the date of Marcionism will be similarly affected.

Eusebius in his Chronicle gives a date for the arrival of Cerdo at Rome, but none for that of Marcion. In fact, these two heretics were regarded as belonging to the same school, and the accounts of their doctrines are so much mixed up together that it is not possible now to distinguish with certainty what Marcion learned from Cerdo from what he added of his own. Jerome states (*Ep.* 130, *ad Ctes.* vol. i. p. 102) that Marcion sent on a female disciple before to Rome, to prepare the way for him, but he is not supported in this by any other authority. Possibly Jerome was thinking of Marcellina. The time of Marcion's death is unknown, but he probably did not survive Anicetus. The only works which he is known to have left are his recension of the Gospel and of Pauline Epistles, of which we shall speak further on; his *Antitheses*, in which by a comparison of different passages he tried to shew that the Old Testament contradicted the New, and also itself; besides which Tertullian also refers to a letter of his, then extant, as proving that he had originally belonged to the Catholic church (*Adv. Marc.* i. 1; iv. 4; *De Carn. Christ.* ii.). We learn from Rhodo (Euseb. v. 13) that after his death his followers broke up into sects, among the leaders of which he names Apelles, who only acknowledged one first principle; Potitus and Basilicus, who counted two; and Syneros, who counted three (*Ref.* vii. 31). Other Marcionite teachers are mentioned: Prepo, an Assyrian, by Hippolytus, Lucanus by Tertullian; Pitho and Blastus (the latter probably erroneously; see Vol. I. p. 319) by Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 25). Epiphanius tells us (*De Mens. et Pond.* 17; Vol. II. p. 171) that Theodotion, the translator of the Old Testament, had been a Marcionite before his apostasy to Judaism, and Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.* 56) states that Ambrosius had been a Marcionite before he was converted by his friend Origen.

These sectaries were formidable to the church, not only by their numbers, but by the strictness of their life.[a] They were ascetics of the severest kind, refusing the use of flesh meat, of wine, or of the married life. And unlike the members of some Gnostic sects who taught that it was no sin to escape persecution by disguising their faith, the Marcionites vied with the orthodox in the number of their martyrs. In particular Eusebius tells (iv. 15) that the same letter of the church of Smyrna, from which he drew his account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, told also of the martyrdom of a Marcionite presbyter, Metrodorus, who, like Polycarp, suffered at Smyrna by fire, and in the same persecution. When at a later period the Montanists appealed in proof of their orthodoxy to the number of their martyrs, they were reminded that this argument would be equally conclusive in favour of the Marcionites, who had very many martyrs (Euseb. v. 16). Other Marcionite martyrs mentioned by Eusebius are a woman who suffered under Valerian at Caesarea in Palestine (iii. 12), and a Marcionite bishop Asclepius, who in the Diocletian persecution was burned alive at Caesarea on the same pyre as the orthodox Apselamus (*Mart. Pal.* c. 10). The strictness of the Marcionite discipline is proved by the unfriendly testimony of Tertullian, who tries by their practice to convict of falsity the Marcionite theory, that a good God could not be the object of fear. "If so," he says, "why do you not take your fill of the enjoyments of this life? Why do you not frequent the circus, the arena, and the theatre? Why do you not boil over with every kind of lust? When the censer is handed you, and you are asked to offer a few grains of incense, why not deny your faith? 'God forbid!' you cry; 'God forbid!' Then you fear sin, and you shew that He who forbids the sin is an object of fear." (*Adv. Marc.* i. 27.) We are apt to overlook that as in bodily disease one organ may receive dangerous injury, while others continue in healthy action; so in the Marcionite heresy, while some fundamental truths were rejected, a firm hold was kept of others. God's work of creation was denied by the Marcionites; the Old Testament rejected, and a large part of the New given up; but they believed that He whom Christ revealed was a good God, the proper object of men's love, whose will it was their duty to do; they had faith in Christ and His work, and for that faith were willing to die. Apelles in his old age declined controversy with Rhodo on their points of difference, expressing his belief that faith in the Crucified, accompanied with a holy life, might suffice for the salvation of either. We may charitably hope that he was right, and that those to whom Christ gave grace to die for Him were not left without a share in His salvation.

At the end of the Diocletian persecution the Marcionites had a short interval of freedom of worship. An inscription was found not long since, which had stood over the doorway of a house in a Syrian village (Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, No. 2558, vol. iii. p. 583) which runs as follows: *Συναγωγὴ Μαρκιωνιστῶν κώμης Λεβάβων τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος* Ἰησοῦ Χρηστοῦ (*sic*) *προνοίᾳ Παύλου πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ λχ' ἔτους.* A Syrian date of that age would be reckoned in the era of the Seleucidae, in which the year 680 corresponds to the year commencing Oct. 1, A.D. 318. This is more ancient than any dated inscription belonging to a Catholic church. At the time in question Constantine was ruling in the West, but Licinius in the East, and a general toleration prevailed. It is noteworthy that the Marcionites, anti-Jewish as they were, should call their place of meeting by the name of synagogue. With

[a] See Origen, in *Ezek. Hom.* vii., where it is remarked that the most dangerous heretics are those whose lives are good.

the complete triumph of Christianity Marcionite freedom of worship was lost. Constantine (Euseb. *de Vit. Const.* iii. 64) absolutely forbade their meeting for worship either in public or private buildings. Their churches were to be handed over to the Catholic church; any private houses used for schismatical worship were to be confiscated. But the dying out of Marcionism was probably less the result of imperial legislation than of the absorption of the older heresy by the new wave of oriental dualism which in Manicheism passed over the church. The Theodosian code (xvi., Tit. v. 65) contains a solitary mention of Marcionites. The sect was not extinct in the 5th century, for Theodoret, writing to pope Leo (*Ep.* 113, p. 1190), boasts that he had himself in the course of his ministry converted more than a thousand Marcionites. (See also *Epp.* 81, 145.) In the latter the number of converts rises to ten thousand; in the former they are said to be the inhabitants of eight villages. In his Church History (v.) Theodoret tells of an unsuccessful effort made by Chrysostom for the conversion of these same people. It is probable that this survival of Marcionism was but a local peculiarity. But as late as 692 the council in Trullo thought it worth while to make provision for the reconciliation of Marcionites, and there is other evidence of some lingering remains of the sect so late as the 10th century (Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 160, 167).

Doctrine.—There is a striking difference of character between the teaching of Marcion and that of others commonly classed with him under the name of Gnostics. The systems of the latter often contain so many elements derived from heathenism, or else merely drawn from the fancy of the speculators, that we feel as if we had scarcely any common ground with them, and are disposed to class them not as Christians but as heathen eclectics. With Marcion, on the contrary, Christianity is plainly his starting point, and the character of his system harmonises with the story that he was the son of a Christian bishop, and had been brought up as a Christian. But he has been perplexed by the question of the origin of evil, and is disposed to accept the solution, much prevalent in the East at the time, that evil is inextricably mixed up with matter, which therefore could not be the creation of the Supreme. He tries to fit in this solution with his Christian creed and with the Scriptures; but naturally it is only by a mutilation of both that he can force an agreement. Indeed, he is sometimes obliged to resort to still more violent measures. Thus he has to alter the text, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil," into "I am not come to fulfil the law, but to destroy." Still the arbitrary criticism of Marcion has more points of contact with modern thought than the baseless assumptions of other Gnostics. A modern divine would turn away from the dreams of Valentinianism in silent contempt, and not deem them worthy of serious refutation; but he could not refuse to discuss the question raised by Marcion, whether there is such opposition between different parts of what he regards as the word of God, that all cannot come from the same author.

The fundamental point of difference between Marcion and the church was concerning the unity of the first principle. Marcion in express terms asserted the existence of two gods, a good one and a just one. What he meant to convey by these words Beausobre well illustrates by a passage of Bardesanes, preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. Evan.* vi. 10). He says that animals are of three kinds: some, like serpents and scorpions, will hurt those who have given them no provocation; some, like sheep, will allow themselves to be injured and not attempt to return evil for evil; others will hurt those that hurt them, and those only. These three may be called evil, good, and just respectively. Marcion then thought the infliction of punishment to be inconsistent with perfect goodness, and would only concede the title of just to the God of the Old Testament, who had distinctly threatened to punish the wicked. The God, he said, whose law was "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was a just God, but not the same as the good God whose command was, "If any smite thee on the one cheek turn to him the other also." The command, "Thou shalt love him that loveth thee and hate thine enemy," was that of a just God; "Love thine enemy" was the law of the good God. Further, the God of the Old Testament had said of Himself, "I create evil;" but since from a good tree evil fruit cannot spring, it follows that he who created evil cannot himself be good. The God of the Jews could not be the Supreme, for He was a being of limited intelligence, who could not find Adam when he hid himself, and was obliged to ask, "Where art thou," and who was obliged to come down to see before He could know whether or not Sodom had done according to the cry of it. The God of the Jews claimed that the hearts of kings were in his hand. He cannot then be the same as the God of the Christians, whom the rulers of this world persecute. Once more, Christ has said, "No man has known the Father but the Son;" but of the Creator it is written (Ezek. xx. 5): "I was known to your fathers in the wilderness." Hence that God who was well known to the Jews cannot be the same as He whom only the Son knew. Marcion's theory then was that the visible creation was the work of the just God; that the good God, whose abode He places in the third or highest heaven, and whom apparently he did acknowledge as the creator of a high immaterial universe, neither concerned Himself with mankind, nor was known by them, until, taking compassion on the misery into which they had been brought by disobedience to their Creator who was casting them into his hell, He interfered for their redemption. The Marcionite denial of the unity of the first principle was variously modified. Some counted three first principles instead of two, namely, a good Being, a just one, and a wicked one. The good Being rules over the Christians, the just one over the Jews, the wicked one over the heathen. In the theories of others, again, since the world was supposed to have been made out of previously existent matter, it was held that matter deserved to be ranked as a fourth self-originated principle. Marcion himself only counted two ἀρχαί, but then the word ἀρχαί must be understood in the sense of ruling powers, for it does not appear that he regarded matter as the creation either of his good or his just God, and therefore it should rightly have been

reckoned as an independent principle. Tertullian, indeed, tries to make out that Marcion ought in consistency to have counted as many as nine gods. Once, again, since in all these systems the good Being was acknowledged to be the superior of the others, it was not a violent change in the system to assume that from this principle the others were derived; and so Apelles and his school drew near the orthodox and taught that there was but one self-originated principle. In all these systems the ascription of the works of creation and redemption to different beings enabled the church writers to convict the Marcionite deity of unwarrantable interference with what did not belong to him.[d] This interference was the more startling from its suddenness, for Marcion's rejection of the Old Testament obliged him to deny that there had been any intimation of the coming redemption, or any sign that it had been contemplated beforehand. His God then suddenly wakes up to trouble himself about this earth; stoops down from his third heaven into a world about which, for thousands of years, he had given himself no concern; there kidnaps the sons and servants of another, and teaches them to hate and despise their father and their king, on whose gifts they must still depend for their sustenance, nay, without whose help their new friend cannot receive any worship, for the Creator must furnish the ground on which this new God's worshippers are to kneel, the heaven to which they are to stretch out their hands, the water in which they are baptized, the very eucharistic food over which thanks must be offered to a God to whom it had never belonged.

Marcion's rejection of Old Testament prophecy did not involve a denial that the prophets had foretold the coming of a Christ; only it was said the Christ of the prophets could not be our Christ. The former was to come for the deliverance of the Jewish people; the latter for that of the whole human race. The former was to be a warrior, Christ was a man of peace: Christ suffered on the cross, the law pronounced accursed him that hangeth on a tree; the Christ of the prophets is to rule the nations with a rod of iron, kings are to set themselves against Him, He is to have the heathen for His inheritance and to set up a kingdom that shall not be destroyed; Jesus did none of these things, therefore it follows that the Christ of the prophets is still to come. Tertullian successfully shews that if Jesus was not the Christ of the prophets, He must have wished to personate Him, coming as He did at the time and in the place which the prophets had foretold, and fulfilling so many of the indications which they had given. What Marcion supposed his own Christ to be has been disputed. Some have supposed that he did not distinguish him from his good god, for Marcion's Gospel was said to have commenced: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius God came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught on the Sabbath days" (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 7); but we believe that here the true reading is "eum" not "deum," and that Marcion held his Christ to be a saving spirit (i. 19), but did not confound him with the Supreme. It will be observed that Marcion's Gospel, beginning as has been stated, told nothing of the birth of Christ; and Marcion's "came down" has a very different meaning from what it has in the original passage (Luke vi. 31); in Marcion's use meaning "came down from heaven." In fact, the story of Christ's birth would represent Him as a born subject of the Demiurge, deriving from his bounty the very body in which He came; and so it was preferred to tell the improbable tale of a divine teacher, of whom no one had ever heard before, making a sudden appearance in the synagogue. That Christ had a real earthly body Marcion of course could not admit. In the article DOCETISM (Vol. I. p. 869) an account is given of Marcion's doctrine on this subject, as also of that of his disciple Apelles, who on this point as well as on others approached more nearly to the orthodox.[e] It was an obvious argument against the Docetic theory that if our Lord's body were not real we could have no faith that His miracles were real; neither could we have faith in the reality of those sufferings and death of his, which Marcion was willing to regard as an exhibition of redeeming love; nor in the reality of His resurrection. Marcion, like the orthodox, taught that the death of our Lord was followed by a "descent into hell;" but Irenaeus tells us that he taught that there Cain, the people of Sodom, and others of those condemned in the Old Testament as wicked, received Christ's preaching and were taken up by Him into His kingdom; but that Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, the prophets, and other righteous men imagined that the Demiurge was tempting them as he had done on other occasions, and so being afraid to join themselves to Christ and accept deliverance from Him, were left behind by Him in the underworld. Christ's salvation, according to Marcion, affected the soul only, and did not affect the body, of which he held there would be no resurrection. In fact none of those who regarded matter as essentially evil, could believe that evil would be made eternal by a material resurrection. Tertullian points out that sin originates with the soul, not the body, and pronounces it unfair that the sinful soul should be redeemed and the less guilty body punished. On unredeemed souls no punishment would be inflicted by Marcion's good God; he would merely abandon them to the vengeance of the Demiurge; but Tertullian shewed that if direct punishment were inconsistent with perfect goodness, such abandonment must be equally so.

In the preceding statement of Marcionite doctrine we have not used an account different in character from that given by the other authorities, namely, that of Esnig (see Neumann's translation from the Armenian, *Zeitschrift für histor. Theol.* vol. iv.). The system described by Esnig has more of a mythic than of a rationalistic character, and if we accept this as the original form of Marcionism, Marcion owed more to the older Gnostics than we should otherwise have

[d] Some of the later Marcionites endeavoured to escape this imputation by incorporating with their system a fable of the older Gnostics; and taught that only the ψυχή had been breathed into man by his original Creator, and that the good God, taking pity on man's grovelling condition, had afterwards inspired the *πνεῦμα*, which spirit as being his own he rightfully endeavoured to redeem from the power of the Demiurge.

[e] Concerning Apelles may be consulted Harnack's thesis *De Apellis Gnosi Monarchica*, Leipzig, 1874.

supposed. (Compare in particular JUSTINUS.) We give a summary of Esnig's account without determining whether it may not represent a later modification of the system; Esnig himself regarded all that we are here about to quote as belonging to the primary form.

Marcion, then, is said to have taught that there were three heavens: in the highest dwelt the good God, in the second the God of the Law, in the lowest his angels; beneath lay Hyle, or matter, having an independent existence of its own. By the help of Hyle, which played the part of a female principle, the God of the Law made this world, after which he retired to his heaven; and each ruled in his own domain, he in heaven and Hyle on earth. Afterwards the God of the Law, beholding how goodly this earth was, desired to make man to inhabit it, and for this purpose requested the co-operation of Hyle. She supplied the dust from which man's body was made, and he breathed in his spirit, and made him live. He named him Adam, gave him a wife, and placed him in Paradise, as the Scriptures relate. There they lived, honouring and obeying their Maker, in joy and childlike innocence, for as yet they had no children. Then the Lord of Creation, seeing that Adam was worthy to serve him, devised how he might withdraw him from Hyle and unite him to himself. He took him aside, and said, "Adam, I am God and beside me there is no other; if thou worshippest any other God thou shalt die the death." When Adam heard of death he was filled with terror and gradually withdrew himself from Hyle. When Hyle came after her wont to serve him, Adam did not listen to her, but withdrew himself, and came not nigh her. Then Hyle recognised that the Lord of Creation had supplanted her; and she said, "Seeing that he hates me and keeps not his compact with me, I will make a number of gods and fill the world with them, so that they who seek the true God shall not be able to find him." She did so, and filled the world with idolatry; men ceased to adore the Lord of Creation, for Hyle had drawn them all to herself. Then was the Creator full of wrath; and as men died he cast them into hell, both Adam on account of the tree and the rest. There they remained twenty-nine centuries. At length the good God looked down from the highest heaven, and beheld what misery men suffered from Hyle and the Creator. He took compassion on those who were plagued and tortured in the fire of hell, and he sent down his son to deliver them. "Go down," he said, "take on thee the form of a servant, and make thyself like the sons of the law. Heal their wounds, give sight to their blind, bring their dead to life, perform without reward the greatest miracles of healing; then will the God of the Law be jealous, and will instigate his servants to crucify thee. Then go down to hell, which will open her mouth to receive thee, supposing thee to be one of the dead. Then liberate the captives whom thou shalt find there, and bring them up to me." This plan was carried out. Hell was deceived and admitted Jesus, who emptied it of all the spirits that were therein, and carried them up to his Father. When the God of the Law saw what had been done, he was enraged, he rent his clothes, tore the curtain of his palace, darkened his sun, and veiled his world in darkness. After that, Jesus came down a second time, but now in the glory of his divinity, to plead with the God of the Law. When the Creator saw Jesus thus appear, he was obliged to own that he had been wrong in thinking that there was no other god but himself. Then Jesus said, "I have a controversy with thee, but I will take no other judge between us than thine own law. Is it not written in thy law that whoso killeth another shall himself be killed; that whoso sheddeth innocent blood shall have his own blood shed? Let me, then, kill thee and shed thy blood, for I was innocent and thou hast shed my blood." Then he recounted what benefits he had bestowed on the Creator's children, and in return had been crucified; and the Creator could make no defence, seeing himself condemned by his own law, and he said, "I was ignorant, I thought thee but a man, and did not know thee to be a God; take the revenge which is thy due." Then Jesus left him and betook himself to Paul, and revealed to him the way in which we should go. All who believe in Christ will give themselves to this good and righteous man. Men must withdraw themselves from the dominion of Hyle; but all do not know how this is to be done.

Though this mythical story differs much in complexion from the other ancient accounts of Marcionite doctrine, we cannot absolutely reject it; for there is nothing in it inconsistent with Marcion's known doctrines, or such as a Gnostic of his age might not have taught. It strikes us, indeed, as much such a system as he might have learned from the Syriac Gnostic Cerdo. But Marcion must have given the mythic element little prominence in his own teaching, else it would not have so disappeared from the other accounts.

Discipline and Worship.—From the fact that Marcion exercised great freedom of private judgment on the church tradition, Neander unwarrantably inferred that he must have aimed at Protestant simplicity of worship. This was not the case; in rites Marcion followed the church model. Thus (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i. 14) he had baptism with water, anointing with oil, a mixture of milk and honey was given to the newly baptized, and sacramental bread represented the Saviour's body. Only wine was absent from his Eucharist, for (see ENCRATITES) his principles entirely forbade the use of wine or of flesh meat. Fish, however, he permitted to be eaten. He commanded his disciples to fast on Saturday, in order to mark his hostility to the God of the Jews, who had made that his day of rest. Marriage he condemned. A married man who offered himself as a disciple was received as a catechumen, but not admitted to baptism until he had agreed to separate from his wife (*Adv. Marc.* i. 29, and iv. 10). This probably explains the statement of Epiphanius that the Marcionites celebrated the mysteries in the presence of unbaptized persons. The sect could not have flourished if it discouraged married persons from joining it; and if it admitted them only to the class of catechumens, that class would naturally be granted larger privileges than in the Catholic church.[f] Nor need we disbelieve the

[f] They justified their practice by an appeal to Gal. vi. 6 (see Jerome ad loc.).

statement of Epiphanius that a second or a third baptism was permitted. If a member of the sect married, or if one who had put away his wife took her back, it is not incredible that on repentance a second baptism was necessary before restoration to the full privileges of membership. Again, since the baptism of a married person was only permitted *in articulo mortis*, it would sometimes happen that catechumens were surprised by death before baptism, and it is not incredible that in such cases the device of a vicarious baptism may have been resorted to, as Chrysostom tells in speaking on the passage in Corinthians about being baptized for the dead (vol. x. 378). Epiphanius states that Marcion permitted females to baptize. The Marcionite baptism was not recognised by the church. Theodoret, cited above, tells that he baptized those whom he converted. (See also Basil, *Can.* 47, *Ep.* 199.) The serpent worship which Theodoret tells that he found among the Marcionites of his own district was probably a mere local superstition. He tells also that he had met an aged Marcionite who, in his hostility to the works of the Creator, refused to wash his face in water, but used his own spittle. It was easy to shew that refusal to use the works of the Creator was a principle which could not possibly be carried out consistently. On the whole we cannot but pity the austere and melancholy life to which the principles of Marcion condemned himself and his followers. Giving up, for Christ's sake, as they fancied, almost all that other men value, they only earned the reprobation of the great mass of those who bore Christ's name; and so Marcion addresses a disciple as his partner in tribulation, and fellow sufferer from hatred (συμμισούμενον and συνταλαίπωρον, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 9).

Canon of Scripture.—It has been already stated that Marcion rejected the Old Testament; this involved the rejection of great part of the New which bears witness to the Old. He only retained the Gospel of St. Luke (and that in a mutilated form), and ten Epistles of St. Paul, omitting the pastoral epistles. In defence of his rejection of other apostolic writings, he appealed to the statements of St. Paul in the epistle to the Galatians, that some of the older apostles had not walked uprightly after the truth of the gospel, and that certain false apostles had perverted the gospel of Christ. Marcion's Gospel, though substantially identical, as far as it went, with our St. Luke's, did not bear that Evangelist's name. The later Marcionites said that it had been written by Christ, and when asked how then could it contain the history of Christ's death and resurrection, answered that these portions had been added by St. Paul. That Marcion's Gospel was, however, an abridgment of St. Luke was asserted by all the fathers from Irenaeus down, and not doubted by any until quite modern times. Then notice was taken that in some cases where Marcion is accused by Epiphanius or Tertullian of having corrupted the text, his readings are witnessed by other ancient authorities. In such cases we can see that the orthodox critics were wrong in regarding every variation from their own text as heretical corruption. Then the question suggested itself, May not Marcion have been really in possession of the older and better text? Irenaeus and Tertullian in good faith accused him of mutilating St. Luke, because his form of the Gospel was shorter than that current in their own day, but may not Marcion's shorter form have been the original and the enlarged form a later corruption? We have the means of restoring Marcion's Gospel with sufficient exactness. Tertullian undertook to confute the heretic out of his own Gospel, and accordingly goes through it in minute detail; Epiphanius also has made a series of minute notes on Marcion's corruptions of the text; some notices are also found in the Dialogue of Adamantius. Combining these independent sources of information we obtain results on which we can place great confidence. It clearly appears that Marcion's Gospel and our St. Luke's in the main followed the same order and were even in verbal agreement, except that the latter contains much not found in the former. So that the affinity of the two forms is certain, and the only choice is whether we shall regard the one as a mutilation or the other as an interpolated form. The theory that the shorter form was the original was for some time defended by Ritschl and Baur, who, however, were obliged to yield to the arguments of Hilgenfeld and Volkmar. In the work of the latter, *Das Evangelium Marcions*,[g] the differences between the two forms of the Gospel are examined in minute detail, especially with reference to their doctrinal bearings; and it is found that the only theory which will explain the facts is that Marcion's is a mutilated form. His form, in fact, exhibits a hostility to Judaism, to the Mosaic law, and to the work of the Creator, of which there is not a trace in genuine Pauline Christianity. The question has been treated from a different point of view by Dr. Sanday (*Gospel in the Second Century*, p. 204). He has made a careful linguistic comparison of the portion of our St. Luke which Marcion acknowledges with that which he omits, the result being a decisive proof of common authorship; the part omitted by Marcion abounding in all the peculiarities which have been noted as distinguishing the style of the third evangelist. The theory therefore that Marcion's form is the original may be said to be now completely exploded. Dr. Sanday notes further that the text of St. Luke used by Marcion has some readings which are recognised by some other ancient authorities, but which no critic now accepts. The inference is that at the time when Marcion used St. Luke's Gospel it had been so long in existence, and had been copied so often, that different types of text had had time to establish themselves. It has been argued that Marcion could not have known our Fourth Gospel, else he would have chosen this, as being more strongly anti-Jewish, in preference to St. Luke's, as the basis of his own Gospel. But the Fourth Gospel is not anti-Jewish in Marcion's sense, and he would have had even more trouble in mutilating this before he could have made it suitable to his purpose. At the very outset Christ's relation to the Jewish people is described in the words, "He came unto His own;" the Jewish temple is called His

[g] Those who do not care for so minute an examination will find the chief peculiarities of Marcion's Gospel noted in Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, or in the English work founded on it, Charteris's *Canonicity*.

Father's house; salvation is said to be of the Jews; contrary to Marcion's teaching, Christ is perpetually identified with the Christ predicted in the Old Testament; the Scriptures are "they which testify of me," "Moses wrote of me," "Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed me." Great importance is attached to the testimony of John the Baptist, who, according to Marcion, like the older prophets, did not know the true Christ; and if there had been nothing else, the story of the miracle of turning water into wine would have condemned the Gospel in Marcion's eyes. In short, if the Fourth Gospel can be called anti-Jewish, it is still more strongly anti-Marcionite.

Marcion's *Apostolicon* consisted of ten Epistles, in order as follows:—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, wanting the last two chapters, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, called by Marcion the Epistle to the Laodiceans, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon. Concerning the order of the last two, Tertullian and Epiphanius differ. It will be seen that the Acts as well as the pastoral Epistles are rejected. Marcion's *Apostolicon* was known to Jerome, who notes two or three of its readings. The most careful attempt to restore it is by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift f. histor. Theol.* 1855). It becomes apparent that Marcion struck out from the Epistles which he acknowledged some passages which conflicted with his theory. He appears to have made some few additions besides. He may possibly have made these alterations in the sincere belief that they were necessary to restore the genuine text of Paul, who, he thought, could not but have held the same doctrine as himself. But the arbitrary character of such criticism would destroy all claim to originality for Marcion's text of the Gospel, even if that claim had not otherwise been sufficiently refuted. [G. S.]

MARCULPHUS, a Gallic monk, author of *Formulae* in two books, still extant. He compiled the work when past seventy, and his period is known from his dedicating it to bishop Landericus, who may be assumed to be the bishop of Paris, cir. 660. The *Formulae* were first edited by Bignonius at Paris in 1613. In 1618 they were included in La Bigne's *Mag. Bibl. Pat.* (vii. 564, Cologne) and in 1677 in his *Max. Bibl. Pat.* (xii. 767, Lyons). In 1780 Baluze printed them in his *Capitularies* (ii. 369), and added his own notes to those of Bignonius. They are also to be found in Bouquet (t. iv.) and in the *Patrol. Lat.* (lxxxvii. 691). They are noticed by Cave (i. 591), and fully described by Ceillier (xi. 739) and Dupin (ii. 22, ed. 1722). They consist, says Mr. Smith (*u. inf.*), of drafts or forms for every species of legal writing, whether they relate to the appointment of counts and bishops by the king or to the most ordinary traffic between man and man, throwing therefore much light on the condition of society in France in the 7th century. Dupin examines those of the *Formulae* which relate to ecclesiastical matters and believes them to be very ancient. Mr. Smith concludes from them that under the Merovingian dynasty ecclesiastical appointments were entirely in the hands of the king and his council of great barons, without any reference to Rome. (Thomas Smith, F.S.A., of Stonygate, *Marculfus*, Leic. 1836.) [C. H.]

MARCULUS, a Donatist presbyter, who with Donatus, bishop of Bagai, suffered death during the persecution, so called, under Macarius, A.D. 348. The account, as given among the collection of Donatist memorials, states that he was apprehended at Vegesela, in Numidia (*Fouganah*), between Theveste and Lambese (Ant. *Itin.* 33, 5), and, having been there cruelly beaten, was taken to a fort situate on a precipitous rock, called Castellum novae Petrae (*Ouled Sultani*), on the road from Lambese to Sitifi (Ant. *Itin.* 34, 4), where, four days later, he was thrown from the rock and perished. But St. Augustine, though he does not absolutely deny the fact of his death, appears to doubt the manner of it, as being a punishment unknown to Roman law, and in so doing to throw doubt also on the fact itself. (Aug. *c. Petil.* ii. 14, 32; 88, 195; *c. Cresc.* iii. 49, 54; in *Joann. Evang.* xi. 2, 15; Opt. i. 6; *Collat. Carth.* Cogn. i. 187; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 246; *Mon. Vet. Don.* xxviii. pp. 226–236, ed. Oberthür; Tillem. vi. 113, 711.) [MACARIUS (21).] [H. W. P.]

MARCUS (1), bishop of Jerusalem, the first gentile bishop of Aelia Capitolina, *πρῶτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 12), A.D. 136. He stands sixteenth on the catalogues of bishops of Jerusalem. According to the Roman Martyrology he was martyred under Antoninus A.D. 155. He is commemorated Oct. 22nd. (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 6, 12; Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 25, iv. 19; Epiphan, *Haer.* lxvi. 20; *Mart.* Usuard., Adon.) [E. V.]

MARCUS (2) (MARCIANUS), bishop of Alexandria, succeeded bishop Eumenes in the autumn of A.D. 143, the sixth year of Antoninus. Eumenes having held the office thirteen years (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 11), from the fifteenth year of Hadrian, or A.D. 130 (Euseb. *Chronic.*). Eusebius calls him Marcus, and it has been conjectured that the name of Marcianus, by which Egyptian writers call him (as Eutychius, *Annal.* p. 356, and compare Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 17), was substituted for his own "out of reverence to the Evangelist" (Neale, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* i. 15). He sat ten years, according to Eusebius, and dying on the 6th of Tybi or 1st of January, in 153 (Renaudot, Neale), or 154 (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 390), was succeeded by Celadion. [W. B.]

MARCUS (3), African bishop in Syn. Carth. (sub Cyp. *de Bapt. Haer.* 1, Cyp. *Ep.* 70). Bishop of Macthar, prov. Byz (f. l. Mazara Itin. Anton.); 38th in *Sentt. epp.* in Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. 7 (*de Bapt. Haer.* 3). [E. W. B.]

MARCUS (4), addressed along with Miltiades by Constantine, who desires them to assemble a council at Rome for the unity of the Church (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5). Valesius (ib. *note*), rejecting a conjecture of Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 313 xxv.), thinks he is a Roman presbyter who succeeded Silvester as bishop. (Tillem. vi. 30.) [C. H.]

MARCUS (5), bishop of Pelusium, who although deprived of the presbyterate had been ordained to that see by Athanasius, according to the charge brought against the latter in the council of Tyre in 335. (Soz. ii. 25; Tillem. viii. 39; Le Quien, ii. 531.) [C. H.]

MARCUS (6), bishop of Rome, probably from Jan. 18 to Oct. 7, A.D. 336, during 8 months and 20 days, having been ordained eighteen days after the death of his predecessor Sylvester. The above dates, those of the Liberian *Catalogue* and *Depositio Episcoporum*, are confirmed by St. Jerome (*Chron.*), who gives him a reign of eight months, and are consistent with historical events. The Felician and other later catalogues, giving him a reign of more than two years, are manifestly erroneous. His time was an eventful one. Shortly before his accession Athanasius had been deposed for the first time, and was in exile at Treves, Constantine the Great being still alive: during his pontificate Arius died, and the council was held at Constantinople, at which Marcellus of Ancyra was condemned. But no action of Marcus is recorded. He is said (*Catal. Felic.* and Anastasius) to have been a Roman, and the son of Priscus, to have ordained that the bishops of Ostia should consecrate the bishops of Rome and bear the pallium, and to have been buried in the cemetery of Balbina on the Via Ardeatina, "in basilica quam coemiterium constituit." Baronius notices the above as being the earliest mention of the pallium. The custom of the bishops of Ostia ordaining those of Rome, is alluded to by Augustine as an ancient one (*Brevic. Collat. cum Donat.* die 3, c. 16); and long before the time of Marcus, Dionysius of Rome is said to have been consecrated by Maximus bishop of Ostia (Surius, *de S. Laurent. Martyr.* Aug. 10). The cemetery of Balbina, called also that of St. Mark from this pope's interment there, which is variously spoken of in old itineraries as on the Ardeatine and Appian Ways, has been identified as lying between the two by De Rossi, who supposes the "basilica" spoken of to have been a chapel, or *cella memoriae*, built by Marcus at the entrance of an existing cemetery, and intended as a place of burial. Interment near the surface of the ground seems about this time to have begun to supersede the use of subterranean catacombs. Marcus appears in the Roman Martyrology as a saint and confessor: "Oct. 7. Romae Via Ardeatina depositio S. Marci papae et confessoris." A letter supposed to have been addressed to him by Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops with reference to the Nicene council and his reply to it are both supposititious.

[J. B—y.]

MARCUS (7), the name of two bishops who with a number of others were ordained by Alexander of Alexandria and banished by Constantius, the Marci being sent respectively to Ammoniaca and the upper Oasis (Athan. *Apol. de Fug.* § 7 and *Hist. Ar.* § 72). In the *Tome to the Antiochians* of Athanasius, A.D. 362 (title and § 10), they appear again, their sees being here mentioned, viz. Zygra and Philae, having returned under Julian's edict and attended the Alexandrian council. One of these two Marci, and not Diadochus bishop of Photice, is believed by Galland to be the Marcus Diadochus whose *Discourse against the Arians* in Greek is printed, with a Latin version, in Galland's *Vet. Pat. Biblioth.* (t. v. p. 242) with observations on the author (Proleg. p. xxiv.). The whole is reprinted by Migne (*Pat. Gr.* lxv. 1141), who, believing like some others that Marcus Diadochus is Diadochus of Photice, places the works of both together. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 613, 635; Tillem. viii. 206, 697; Cave, i. 217; Ceillier, vi. 329, xii. 297.) [C. H.]

MARCUS (8), bishop of Arethusa and confessor in Julian's reign. During the reign of Constantius he demolished a magnificent temple, which enraged the populace against him. On the accession of Julian he was ordered to rebuild it, whereupon he fled from the city. Hearing however that the Christians were suffering persecution on his account, he returned, and was cruelly tortured by the mob. Yet he survived all, and was protected by Julian from further violence (Liban. *Ep.* 730; Soz. *H. E.* x. 10; Greg. Naz. or. iv.; Neander's *H. E.* ed. Bohn, iii. 72, 86). According to some Marcus was the bishop who saved Julian's life when six years old, amid the massacre of the rest of his family. Gregory questions whether Mark's sufferings were not a great though imperfect retribution for his misplaced act of humanity (Rendall's Julian, 35, 167). Valesius in Soz. v. 10 has distinguished him from another Marcus of Arethusa, a leader of the Arians from Constantine's time, but apparently without sufficient reason. In Socrat. *H. E.* ii. 30 (cf. Valesii *Annott.*) he is expressly mentioned as the author of the creed of Sirmium A.D. 351, which the historian there sets forth in full (cf. Till. *Mém.* vii. p. 226; Ittig. *Hist.* Phot. p. 454; Fab. *Bib. Graec.* lib. v. 24; Ceill. v. 199). He was present on the Eusebian side at Sardica A.D. 344; cf. Soc. ii. 18; Hef. *Hist. of Councils*, lib. iv. sec. 60; v. 72; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. xii. 26 et pass.; Hil. *Frag.* xv. in Migne, *P. G.* x. col. 721 note.

[G. T. S.]

MARCUS (9), bishop of Hydruntum, author of a short hymn *On the Great Sabbath*, extant in Latin (*Pat. Lat.* xcvi. 1345), but originally composed in Greek acrostics. He is supposed to have lived cir. 750 (Cave, i. 630; Ceillier, xii. 130) or later (Ughelli, ix. 55; Cappelletti, xxi. 300). [C. H.]

MARCUS (10), Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, called by the Copts "the new Mark," or Mark II. (the Marcus of the 2nd century being known as Marcianus), succeeded to the Monophysite primacy in 799. On hearing that he was elected, he hid himself among the monastic cells in the "desert of St. Macarius." The Jacobite bishops obtained the "prefect's" leave to consecrate him; his name was duly inscribed on the tablets of the divan; but he was not forthcoming, until the bishop of Misra (once the Egyptian Babylon), who had jurisdiction over the monasteries, ordered that he should be brought from his retreat, "if necessary, in chains." He was consecrated on Sunday, Jan. 27 (Mechir 2). At his enthronement he read, as was usual, a statement of his faith, in which he attacked the council of Chalcedon and its adherents, as if they ascribed to Christ a separate *human* personality, and thereby became worshippers of a mere man. He also censured the extreme or Eutychian Monophysites, whose theory in effect made the Passion unreal. He spent the ensuing Lent in Nitria. After Easter he obtained from the emir permission to rebuild the ruined churches. He had a friendly correspondence with Cyriacus the Jacobite patriarch of

Antioch; and he received overtures from the remnant of the Barsanuphian sect, which had arisen 300 years before among the discussions caused by the inconsistent policy of Peter Mongus, and was in fact a subdivision of the Acephali. There were two so-called bishops of this party; and Mark, on receiving their abjuration of schism, frankly told them that he could not recognize their episcopal character. "The Holy Spirit, who descends on bishops, did not descend on *you*." "All we ask," they meekly answered, "is that you will pray for us." Touched by this humility (somewhat as Theodore had been moved by the "soft answer" of Chad), Mark himself consecrated them according to his own rite, and arrayed them in episcopal vestments at a church in the Mareotis; and when two sees fell vacant, installed them therein. The rest of the Barsanuphites asked Mark to visit them; he hallowed their churches and monasteries, gave them liturgies according to the "ecclesiastical law," administered the Eucharist to them, and so brought this schism to an end. He exerted himself against a theory which was advocated in the Antiochene patriarchate by one Abraham, and which apparently denied the real presence in the Eucharist. It was not until Cyriacus had been succeeded by Dionysius that these "Abrahamites," to the great satisfaction of Mark, were won over. Mark had sore troubles to bear amid the intestine warfare which harassed Egypt. Various insurgents held parts of the country, while two Abbasside princes, the sons of Haroun-al-Raschid, were fighting for the khalifate. The Ommiads reigning in Spain invaded Egypt; Alexandria was besieged, and many foreign prisoners were taken, whom Mark ransomed to the number of 6000, sending home, with due "provision for the way," those who wished to return to their own country, and instructing others in the Monophysite creed. The Spanish-Arabian forces, aided by the Egyptian "rebels," took the city: the allies then quarrelled, the Spaniards were victorious, but in their turn were attacked by the citizens: their comrades, in revenge, perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre. In the midst of the city stood a grand Monophysite church "of the Saviour," which Mark's flock had constrained him to enlarge, in spite of his warning that "it might provoke the envy of the adversaries." Some of the slain Spaniards lay stretched at its gate, and an old Moslem falsely denounced Mark as having killed them with his own hand. It was enough. The church was instantly set on fire, and Mark, in bitter grief, escaped into the desert, where he remained for five years, until he found an abode in the valley of Habib. Hither, at last, the Arab forayers made their way, and Mark, utterly crushed by his sufferings, succumbed to a fever. On Easter Eve, 819, the bishops in attendance on their dying patriarch—who, although a heretic in the eyes of the Catholic East and West, was to them the representative of "the Evangelist" and of Athanasius—"brought to him," at his own request, "the chalice, and he received communion of the body and blood of Christ," *i.e.* in the Eastern method, the Sacrament in both kinds being administered with a spoon. He died on the 22nd of Pharmuthi, or 17th of April, after a pontificate of twenty years, leaving behind him a justly honoured name. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 246 ff.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 463; Neale, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* ii. 136 ff.

[W. B.]

MARCUS (11), a presbyter who had some kind of pre-eminence and authority among the monks of the Chalcidian desert in Syria when Jerome lived among them, A.D. 375–9. He is called in some editions of Jerome, Teledensis, from Teleda, a city of Chalcis. He wrote to Jerome, though he had frequently seen and conversed with him on points of faith, to inquire as to his views in reference to the questions about the Trinity which then disquieted the monks in connection with the disputes about the see of Antioch. Jerome in reply complains of the condemnatory spirit of the monks, who from their caves and in their sack-cloth passed sentence on the world and all its best bishops. He begs that the hospitality of the desert may be allowed him and that he may be left free till the spring, when he will retire. He appeals to "the holy Cyril," Zenobius, and Marcus himself, as the witnesses of his faith. (Jerome, ep. 17. ed. Vall.)

[W. H. F.]

MARCUS (12), deacon, ordained by Porphyrius bishop of Gaza, whose life he wrote. He was ordained deacon cir. 395 and soon after 421 composed his work, which contains personal notices of himself. It is one of the Greek manuscripts described by Lambecius in the imperial library of Vienna (*Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* lib. viii. p. 93 ed. 1679, p. 198 ed. Kollar, 1782). A Latin version is extant with notes by Heuschen (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 645; *Pat. Gr.* lxv. 1211), who considers this biography historically valuable. (Tillem. x. 704; Cave, i. 403; Ceillier, vi. 329.)

[C. H.]

MARCUS (13), a celebrated monk of Scetis in Lower Egypt (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 29; Niceph. *H. E.* xi. 35; Cassiod. *Hist. Trip.* viii. 1 in *Pat. Lat.* lxix. 1108). Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* cap. 21) tells us that about the year 390 he was 100 years old. In the *Menologia* of Basil (March 2) there is a story of a certain Marcus deeply versed in the Scriptures. This same story occurs in Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* cap. 20), but is told of Macarius. Tillemont is probably right in his opinion that for Macarius we should in this place read Marcus (vid. for his reasons *Mém. Eccl.* vol. x. p. 801). This Marcus has been very commonly identified with Marcus Eremita, whose works have come down to us [MARCUS (14)]: but on insufficient grounds, for none of our authorities speak of any works as written by him, and Nicephorus, who mentions both, gives no indication that they are the same person.

[M. F. A.]

MARCUS (14), surnamed EREMITA, mentioned by Nicephorus Callistus as ὁ πολυθρύλλητος ἀσκητής, and said to have lived in the reign of Theodosius II. and to have been a disciple of St. Chrysostom (Niceph. *H. E.* xiv. 30). This is the only indication which we have of his date, if he is not to be identified with No. (13). Later in the same book we are told of the works of a Μάρκος ἀσκητής, apparently the same man. Of these Nicephorus himself had seen a collection of eight and also another of thirty-two, dealing with the ascetic life (*H. E.* xiv. 54). Photius (*Bibl.* Cod. 200) gives an account of eight works

of Marcus the monk, all of which have come down to us with one doubtful exception (vid. below). He characterises the style as clear though not Attic, except in certain passages where the nature of the subject renders it necessarily obscure. Dorotheus (*Doctr.* i. 9, viii. 2, in *Patr. Gr.* lxxxviii. pp. 1627, 1707) refers to the writings of ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάρκος, but in such general terms, that it is quite impossible to say whether he means our author or not. His works are published in *Patrol. Gr.* lxv. 905, preceded by two disquisitions on the author by Gallandius and Fessler. The works are from the edition of Remondini, published at Rome in 1748: the order being slightly different from that given in Photius. They are as follows:—

(1) περὶ νόμου πνευματικοῦ, a collection of short aphorisms, inculcating especially the duties of humility and constant prayer.

(2) περὶ τῶν οἰομένων ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦσθαι shews that, as being slaves of God, we have no wages to expect. All is of grace, which is given τελεία in baptism, and afterwards in fuller or scantier measure according to our obedience.

(3) περὶ μετανοίας shews repentance to be necessary for all.

(4) ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τοὺς ἀποροῦντας περὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος, is an important treatise on the doctrine of baptism. It states distinctly that by the grace of baptism original sin is put away, and the baptized are in exactly the same condition as Adam before the fall.

(5) and (9) πρὸς Νικόλαον and περὶ νηστείας are ascetic treatises.

(7) ἀντιβολὴ πρὸς σχολαστικόν. A defence of the monastic life against a man of the world. The virtues most dwelt upon are again those which have been noticed.

(8) συμβουλία νοὸς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν—dwells on a thought which recurs constantly in the treatise on Baptism, that the root of evil is in ourselves.

(10) εἰς τὸν Μελχισεδέκ. This work was not included in the earlier editions of our author, and seems hardly to answer to the description of Photius. It is directed against those heretics who argued from the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews that Melchizedek was the Son of God. Photius (l. c.) says that in this treatise Marcus attacked his own father, who was tainted with the heresy; but of this there is no indication in the work as we now have it.

We have reserved till the last the treatise (6) entitled κεφάλαια νηπτικά. Though generally included among the works of Marcus, it is not mentioned by Photius, and is in general treatment wholly different from the others. It is highly mystical, describing as perfection the state of spiritual rapture, above both sense and intellect, in which the soul is absorbed in God, and man even becomes God. It is admitted that no men maintain this state uninterruptedly throughout life, and therefore absolute perfection is not attained here below. Judging both from external and internal evidence, it would seem that this work is wrongly ascribed to Marcus.

In two passages very precise language is used on the relation of the Persons in the Trinity and of the two natures in Christ, as "οὐ σύγχυσις ἀλλὰ ἕνωσις," "ἐκ δύο ἡνωμένων ἀδιαιρέτως ἀσυγχύτως" (Migne, pp. 1009, 1100). These, especially the latter, it is difficult to explain, on the supposition that our author is the person mentioned by Nicephorus as a pupil of St. Chrysostom, except as later interpolations.

[M. F. A.]

MARCUS (15), called CASSINENSIS, a monk of Mount Cassinus, cir. 606, author of a short metrical life of St. Benedict (*Pat. Lat.* lxxx. 183) founded on the life by Gregory the Great, with a few additions of his own. (Sigebert. Gembl. *Scr. Eccl.* cap. 33 in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxvii. 533; Petrus Diac. Cassin. *Vir. Ill. Cassin.* cap. 3 in *Pat. Lat.* clxxiii. 1013; Ceill. xi. 634.)

[C. H.]

MARCUS (16), an abbat whose name appears in the record of the council of Clovesho in 803 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024) among those in attendance on Ealhmund bishop of Winchester. [S.]

MARCUS (17), a Gnostic of the school of Valentinus, who taught in the middle of the 2nd century. His doctrines are almost exclusively known to us through a long section (i. 13–21, pp. 55–98), in which Irenaeus has given an account of the teaching of him and his school. It has been stated (Vol. II. p. 148) that another passage (i. xi. 3, p. 54) which Irenaeus quotes without mention of the author's name, is really an extract from Marcus; and possibly one or two passages where Irenaeus describes the opinions of anonymous Valentinians may also be referred to Marcus. Both Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 39–55, pp. 200–220) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 34) have copied their account of Marcosian doctrine from Irenaeus; and, notwithstanding some small differences between the present texts of Hippolytus and Irenaeus, there appears no good reason to think that either Hippolytus or Epiphanius had any direct knowledge of the writings of Marcus. Still less reason have we for attributing such knowledge to any later heresiologist. But Clement of Alexandria, whose sympathies were very strong with the Gnosticism which he combated, and who makes such use of preceding authors that his writings would have been full of inverted commas if that mode of acknowledging obligation had been usual in his time, clearly knew and used the writings of Marcus. We have noted one case (Vol. II. p. 161) where Clement adopted as his own some fanciful speculations of Marcus; and possibly if the writings of Marcus had survived other similar instances would have been found.

Although Jerome describes Marcus as a Basilidian (Ep. 75 *ad Theod.* i. 449), what Irenaeus reports of his teaching clearly shews that he is correctly described as a follower of Valentinus. Thus his system tells of thirty Aeons, divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Dodecad; of the fall and recovery of Sophia, of the future union of the spirits of the chosen seed with angels as their heavenly bridegrooms. We may note in passing that in this system these angels have the technical name "Greatnesses;" in other Valentinian systems (Epiph. *Haer.* 31, p. 168) "Greatness" is specially the name of the First Principle. What Marcus may be regarded as having added of his own to the teaching of his predecessors, is perhaps the most

worthless of all that passed under the name of "knowledge" in the 2nd century. It does not contain, like some of the Gnostic theories, attempts to solve problems which thinkers of every age have found difficult, but merely either magical formulae, which the disciples were to get by heart and put trust in, or else puerile speculations, such as were in vogue among the later Pythagoreans, about mysteries in numbers and names. Sometimes Marcus counts the number of letters in a name, sometimes he reckons up the sum total, when to each letter is given its value in the Greek arithmetical notation: sometimes he uses a method which enables him to find still deeper mysteries. He points out that if we take a single letter, Δ, and write its name at full length, δέλτα, we get five letters; but we may write again the names of these at full length and get a number of letters more, and so on *ad infinitum*. If the mysteries contained in a single letter be thus infinite, what must be the immensity of those contained in the name of the Propator. Concerning this name he gives the following account:—When the first Father, who is above thought and without substance, willed the unspeakable to become spoken, and the invisible to become formed, He opened His mouth and emitted a Word like Himself, which being the form of the invisible, declared to Himself what He was. His name consisted of four syllables successively uttered, of four, four, ten, and twelve letters respectively. It might appear as if we were to understand as the first of these the word ἀρχή, but on the whole we cannot see that Marcus had any actual names of ten or twelve letters in his mind; and this name of four syllables and thirty letters seems to be nothing but an artificial description of the system of thirty Aeons divided into two Tetrads, a Decad, and a Dodecad. Each letter is one of the Aeons, and, as has been already explained, contains within itself an infinity of mysteries. Each letter makes its own sound, it knows not the sound of the adjacent letter, nor of the whole, but the restitution of all things will take place when all the letters are brought to make the same sound, and then a harmony will result of which we have an image in that made when we all sound the Amen together. This comparison shews an interesting point of agreement in liturgical usage between the heretics of the second century and the Roman church of the time of Jerome, whose well-known words are "ad similitudinem caelestis tonitrui Amen reboat." What is stated about the limited knowledge of each Aeon may be compared with what Hippolytus tells of the Docetae (viii. 10, p. 268). Marcus pushes into further details his designation of the Aeons as letters of the alphabet. There are twenty-four letters in the alphabet, and twenty-four is the sum of the letters of the names of the first tetrad: Ἄρρητος, σιγή, πατήρ, and ἀλήθεια, as also of those of the second tetrad, λόγος, ζωή, ἄνθρωπος, ἐκκλησία. Again, the alphabet consists of nine mutes, eight semi-vowels, and seven vowels. Now (not taking into our account the two primary Aeons of the Ogdoad), the mutes belong to the first pair of Aeons, Pater and Aletheia, which made no direct revelation to man; the semi-vowels to the next pair, Logos and Zoe; and the vowels to the last, Anthropos and Ecclesia, since it was a voice coming through Anthropos which gave power to all. For the seven heavens, we are told, utter each its own vowel sound, the first A and so on; and it was the sound of their united doxology borne to the earth, which gave generation to all things on the earth. By the descent of Him who was with the Father from the nine into the seven, the groups of Aeons were equalized and perfect harmony produced. Further, it is to be observed that in the Greek arithmetical notation eight letters are used to denote units, eight tens, and eight hundreds: total 888; but this is exactly the numerical value of the letters in the name Ἰησοῦς. Similarly, the A and Ω is identified with the περιστερά which descended on our Lord, the numerical value being in both cases 801. Other mysteries are found in the six letters of the name Ἰησοῦς [see EPISEMON], the eight letters of χρειστός, which again added to the four of Υἱός make twelve. These, however, are only the spoken names known to ordinary Christians; the unspoken names of Jesus and Christ are of twenty-four and thirty letters respectively. Either Hippolytus, or an early copyist of his, makes an attempt to solve the mystery of the unspoken names by writing at full length the letters of the name χρειστός; χεῖ, ῥῶ, εἶ, ἰῶτα, σίγμα, ταῦ, οὖ, σάν; but we have here only twenty-four letters instead of thirty, and an attempt by Harvey to mend the reckoning cannot be pronounced successful, so we must be content to remain in ignorance of what would seem to have been one of the most valuable secrets of this sect. We give one or two specimens more of the arithmetical trifling in which Marcus gave instruction. To understand the generation of the thirty Aeons from the Ogdoad, we have only to take the first eight numbers and add them up, leaving out six, which is not denoted by a letter of the alphabet, and the sum will be thirty. Again, we find the fall of the twelfth Aeon, Sophia, indicated in the alphabet; for Λ, which arithmetically denotes 30, the number of the Aeons, is only the eleventh letter in the alphabet. But it set about to seek another like itself, and so the next letter is M or two Λ's. Again, add up the numerical value of all the letters of the alphabet ending with λ and we have ninety-nine; that is deficiency, a number still counted on the left hand, which they who have "knowledge" escape by following after the one which, added to ninety-nine, transfers them to the right hand. The reader will remember Juvenal's "jam dextera computat annos."

We have related more than enough of these puerilities, and we need not detail how Marcus found in Scripture and in Nature repeated examples of the occurrence of his mystical numbers, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, thirty. Under COLARBASUS (Vol. I. p. 594) has been copied the account which Marcus gave of the manner in which these mysteries had been revealed to him. If so great mysteries were contained in names, it naturally followed that to know the right name of each celestial power must be a matter of vital importance; and such knowledge the heretical teachers promised to bestow. They had formulae and sacraments of Redemption. They taught that the baptism of the visible Jesus was but for the forgiveness

of sins, but that the redemption of Him who in that baptism descended, was for perfection; the one was merely psychical, the other spiritual. Of the latter are interpreted the words in which our Lord spoke of another baptism, Luke xii. 50; Matt. xx. 22. Some conferred this redemption by baptism with special invocations; others added or substituted various anointings; others held that these applications to the body had no efficacy in procuring spiritual redemption; and that it was only by knowledge such redemption could be effected. This knowledge included the possession of formulae, by the use of which the initiated would be able after death to become incomprehensible and invisible to principalities and powers, and leaving their bodies in this lower creation and their souls with the Demiurge, to ascend in their spirits at the Pleroma. It is likely that it was the Egyptian religion which contributed this element of Gnosticism. Some of these Marcosian formulae were in Hebrew, of which Irenaeus has preserved specimens much corrupted by being transcribed by copyists who did not understand them, if indeed Irenaeus understood them himself. Besides teaching his followers to put trust in the knowledge of such formulae, Marcus, as Irenaeus tells us, used other juggling tricks by which he gained the reputation of magical skill. A knowledge of astrology was also among his accomplishments. He appears to have had some chemical knowledge, which he employed to astonish and impress his disciples. The eucharistic cup of mingled wine and water was seen under his invocation to change colour and become a purple red; and his disciples were told that this was because the great CHARIS (*q. v.*) had dropped some of her blood into the cup. Sometimes he would hand the cup to women, and bid them in his presence pronounce the eucharistic words—(that women should have been allowed to do this, even in a heretical sect, is worth taking notice of)—and then he would pour from their consecrated cup into a much larger one held by himself, and the liquor, miraculously increased at his prayer, would be seen to rise up and fill the larger vessel. He taught his female disciples to prophesy. Casting lots at their meetings, he would command her on whom the lot fell boldly to utter the words which were suggested to her mind, and such words were accepted by the hearers as prophetic utterances. He abused the influence he thus acquired over silly women to draw much money from them, and, it is said, even to gain from them more shameful compliances. He is accused of having used philtres and love charms, and at least one, if not more, of his female disciples on returning to the church confessed that body as well as mind had been defiled by him. Some of his followers certainly claimed to have been elevated by their knowledge, and by the Redemption which they had experienced above the need of complying with the ordinary rules of morality. If we are sometimes tempted to be indulgent to Gnostic theories as the harmless dreams of well-meaning thinkers perplexed by problems too hard for them, the history of Marcus shews how, when these closet speculations were turned into a practical religion, they at once became a degrading superstition. Everything elevating and ennobling in Christ's teaching disappeared; the teachers boasted of a sham science, having no tendency to make those who believed it wiser or better; the disciples trusted in magical rites and charms not more respectable than those of the heathen; and their morality became of quite heathen laxity.

Marcus appears to have been an elder contemporary of Irenaeus, who speaks of him in the present tense, as though he were still living and teaching. But Irenaeus more than once speaks of the resistance made to Marcus by a venerated elder, from whom he quotes some iambic verses, written in reprobation of that heretic. It has been conjectured that this elder may have been the revered Pothinus, bishop of Lyons. But though we learn from Irenaeus that the Rhone district was much infested by followers of Marcus, it does not appear that Marcus was there himself, and the impression left by the section is that Irenaeus knew the followers of Marcus by personal intercourse, Marcus himself only by his writings. We are told also of Marcus having seduced the wife of one of the deacons in Asia (*διάκονόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*), and the most natural conclusion therefore is, that Asia Minor was the scene where Marcus made himself notorious as a teacher, and probably before Irenaeus had left that district; that it was a leading bishop of that district who resisted Marcus, and that the heretic's doctrines passed on into Gaul as a consequence of the extensive intercourse which it is well known then prevailed between the two countries.

The use of Hebrew or Syriac names in the Marcosian school may induce us to ascribe to Marcus an oriental origin. The only grounds for believing him to be of Egyptian extraction are these:—Sulpicius Severus, and others who give the history of the origin of Priscillianism, tell that one Marcus of Memphis (*q. v.*) brought the Gnostic doctrines into Spain, from whom Agape and Elpidius learned them. Jerome certainly (*u. s.*) identified this Marcus with the subject of the present article, his notion being that Marcosian doctrine, which we know from Irenaeus to have been prevalent in Southern Gaul, naturally passed on to the adjacent province of Spain. It is not quite clear whether Jerome felt the chronological difficulties of his theory, which, however, could be easily got over by supposing that the first Priscillianists were to be regarded as having learned from Marcus, not because they had been taught by himself personally, but because they had learned from men who revered him as the founder of their sect. But since Priscillianism contains none of the points which distinguish Marcus from other Gnostics, it is safer to regard Marcus of Memphis as a distinct personage. [G. S.]

MARCUS AURELIUS. [AURELIUS.]

MARCUS (18), the Marcionite interlocutor who defends the doctrine of two principles in the dialogue against the Marcionites (Sect. ii.). [ADAMANTIUS (2).] [G. S.]

MARCUS (19), a native of Memphis, brought the Manichaean doctrine from Egypt and introduced it into Spain, in the latter part of the 4th century. His chief converts were Agape and Helpidius. (Sulp. Sev. ii. 46; Tillem. viii. 491, 791.) [PRISCILLIANUS.] [M. B. C.]

MARCUS (20), the son of Basiliscus, appointed by the latter soon after his usurpation of the empire in A.D. 475 first Caesar and then Augustus (Candidus, p. 475, ed. Dindorf). His name appears in conjunction with his father's in the encyclic letter, condemning the council of Chalcedon, and also in the retractation preserved by Evagrius (*H.E.* iii. 4 and 7, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. 2600, 2609) [ACACIUS (7)]. On Zeno's re-entering Constantinople in the summer of A.D. 477, Marcus, with his father and mother, took sanctuary in the great church, but they were given up to Zeno by Acacius, who deemed that heretics were undeserving of the right of sanctuary (Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* i. 7), or, according to Candidus, were persuaded by Armatus to surrender themselves to his mercy, or finally, according to the *Chronicon Paschale* (326, in *Patr. Gr.* xcii. 836), and Theophanes (*Chronographia*, 107, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.* cviii. 309) were induced to leave the church by Zeno's promising that blood should not be shed. Basiliscus, with his wife and family, were banished to a place in Cappadocia named Limnae, near Cucusus, where they were all put to death. (Procopius, ubi supra, *Chronicon Paschale*, Theophanes.) [F. D.]

MARIA (1). See MACARIUS (20). (Cyp. *Ep.* 21, 22.) [E. W. B.]

MARIA (2) (Cyp. *Ep.* 21 and 22), mentioned by Celerinus and Lucian with Calphurnius, Christians at Rome in Decian persecution; and by the latter as confessors. [E. W. B.]

MARIA (3), known by the title of MERETRIX, niece of St. Abraham. [ABRAHAM (4).] [J. G.]

MARIA (4), surnamed AEGYPTIACA, has her life written by Sophronius bishop of Jerusalem in the 7th century; it embodies a tradition of the 5th, and is not historical. It is given by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* lxxiii. 671 sq.; see also Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. 2, i. 68–90; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 38 sq.; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* p. 1108). Maria was in Egypt, and in youth was devoted to a life of infamy in Alexandria. But going with a company to Jerusalem, where the rest intended to celebrate the feast of the Holy Cross, Maria also was converted from the ways of sin, and retired to solitude beyond the Jordan, where Zosimas the monk at last met her, administered her last eucharist, and buried her in the wilds where she had lived. Her feast is April 2. In Migne her date is A.D. 521, under Justin I.; in Fleury, A.D. 421, and in Boll. A.D. 321. [J. G.]

MARIA (5). According to William of Tyre (*Hist. Rer. Transmar.* i. 2, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cci. 214) Chosroes II. of Persia was married to a daughter of the emperor Maurice named Maria, and for her sake became a Christian and a friend of the Romans. The same statements are found in certain Arabic writers (D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* 789, 997, 998), who identify this Maria with Schirin, the famous wife of Chosroes [CHOSROES II. Vol. I. p. 487]. On the other hand must be placed the fact that no trace of such a marriage, or of any daughter of Maurice of that name, is to be found in any Greek writer. Theophylact Simocatta (v. 13), who actually mentions the marriage of Chosroes with Sira or Schirin, who, he states, was a Christian, and a Roman by birth, could hardly have passed over so remarkable a fact, had she really been the daughter of the emperor. It seems therefore most probable that the Arabic writers whom William of Tyre copied were mistaken. [F. D.]

MARIA (6), a patrician lady of Constantinople who took a prominent part in defence of images, under the emperor Leo the Isaurian, in company with Gregorius, the commander of the imperial guard, and other companions—Julianus, Marcianus, Joannes, Jacobus, Alexius, Demetrius, Leontius, Photius, Petrus; all of whom were commemorated with her in the Greek and Latin churches on the 9th of August. The account is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 434) from an ancient Greek MS., which is one of those procured by Busbequius at Constantinople cir. A.D. 1562, and presented by him to the Imperial Library at Vienna. Jovinus appears from a letter of pope Gregory II. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxix. 518) to have been the name of the soldier who was killed. According to Paulus Diaconus (*Historia Miscella*, xxi. in *Patr. Lat.* xcv. 1083), more than one soldier was murdered. [F. D.]

MARIA (7), the descendant of an Armenian or Paphlagonian family, and according to Zonaras (xv. 10, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxxxiv. 1344) the daughter of St. Philaret, selected by the empress Irene as the wife of her son Constantine (Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, al. Constantine VI. Flavius). The marriage, which was celebrated in Nov. A.D. 788, proved unhappy. The emperor divorced Maria in January A.D. 795, and forced her to retire to a nunnery (Theophanes, *Chronog.* 391, 396, in *Patr. Gr.* 932, 943). A letter of Theodorus Studita to Maria is preserved (*Epistolae* ii. 181 in *Patr. Gr.* xcix. 1560), condoling with her on her misfortunes. [F. D.]

MARIAMNE. Hippolytus (*Ref.* v. 7, p. 95) tells of the sect of the Naassenes that they professed to have derived their peculiar doctrines from Mariamne, to whom they had been communicated by James, our Lord's brother. With this agrees Celsus, who (Orig. *adv. Cels.* v. 62) knows that there were some Christian sects who claimed descent from Mariamne, others from Martha. In Gnostic circles a gospel of Philip was current, and this apostle was supposed to be the channel through which some of their secret doctrines had been handed down. Now the Gnostic acts of Philip (Tischendorf, *Act. Apoc.* xxxii.) represent him as accompanied by his sister Mariamne: it is likely therefore that it was she who was represented as in possession of traditions of her own. On the question with which of the Scripture Maries it was intended to identify her, we may refer to *Pistis Sophia*, where a Mary is the principal interlocutor with our Lord. Although she is called blessed above all women (p. 28), she is not the mother of our Lord, who first appears (p. 116), and she proves to be Mary Magdalene (p. 182), who is represented (p. 231) as holding, together with John the Virgin, the highest place among our Lord's disciples. It seems likely that the writer identified Mary Magdalene with the sister of Martha,

who is mentioned several times, and this would harmonize with the collocation of names in Celsus. She is not described as the sister of Philip, but possibly a recognition of this relationship may be implied in the phrase "all her brothers" (p. 26). [G. S.]

MARIANUS (MAURIANUS), an Italian bishop, probably the same with the bishop of Apulia to whom Innocent wrote his seventh epistle (Labbe, ii. 1261). One of the unfortunate deputation of Western prelates despatched by the emperor Honorius to his brother Arcadius to remonstrate on the treatment of Chrysostom, and urging the calling of a general council. Marianus refusing to give the imperial letters, of which he was the bearer, into any hands but those of Arcadius, they were violently wrested from him by an officer named Valerianus, and Marianus's thumb was broken in the struggle. He shared in all the subsequent ill-treatment which the deputation met with. (Pallad. *Dial.* pp. 32, 33, ed. Bigot.; Tillem. xi. 313, 322–325.) [E. V.]

MARINA (1), converted and baptized by St. Januarius at Rome A.D. 362, with her husband St. Gordian [GORDIANUS (3)], and their household of fifty-three persons. When Gordian was deposed and imprisoned, and before he was put to death, Marina was given as a slave to peasants at the Villa of Aquae Salviae. (*Mart.* Adon., May 10; Boll. *Acta SS.* 10 Mai. ii. 492 B, 552.) [A. B. C. D.]

MARINA (2), the youngest daughter of the emperor Arcadius. She was born on the 10th of February, A.D. 403 (*Chronicon Paschale*, 307, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xcii. 780). She and her other sisters were induced by Pulcheria to join her in taking vows of perpetual virginity (Sozomen, ix. 1). They devoted themselves to visiting the churches and relieving the poor (Soz. ix. 3). Marina built the palace at Constantinople, called after her (*Chronicon Pasch.* 306), which existed as late as the time of Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 867 (Leo Grammaticus, 469, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cviii. 1084). She died in the year 449 (*Chronicon Paschale*, 317, where, by a gross blunder, she is described as the wife of Valentinian III.). [F. D.]

MARINA (3), July 17, virgin martyr of Antioch in Pisidia (Bas. *Men.*) at Alexandria, June 18 (Usuard.), in Spain July 18 (*Rom. Mart.*). Herm. Usener has written a treatise, *Legend. der Heilig. Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879, to prove that this saint, St. Pelagia of Antioch, and St. Arethusa of Seleucia were merely transformations of the Semitic divinity Aphrodite, whose worship was spread by the Phoenicians all over the shores of Asia Minor. Usener has published two Greek texts of the Acts hitherto unknown. The legend was composed at Edessa in the second quarter of the fifth century, under the title of *μετάνοια τῆς ὁσίας Πελαγίας*. It was written by James, deacon to Nonnus bishop of that city, and may be found in Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum:* cf. *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. i. 747; Ceillier, x. 582; Potthast's *Biblioth. Hist.* p. 844, s. v. Pelagia; *Revue Historique* Sept.–Oct. 1880, p. 161. In Bas. *Men.* Marina's death is encircled with miracles; she killed a dragon by the sign of the cross, was baptized by a heavenly dove when flung into a lake, and was at last beheaded, *Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. iv. 278–288. Some MSS. of Usuard's Martyrology write by mistake Margaret for Marina, cf. Till. *Mem.* v. 562, xvi. 167. [G. T. S.]

MARINA (4), ST., patron saint of St. Merryn in Cornwall, where there is a holy well dedicated to St. Constantine and there is a ruined church dedicated to the same saint. Maryansleigh in Devon seems also to be dedicated to St. Marina. Sir H. Nicolas gives "Marina and Ethelburga, virgins, 7 July." A St. Merin occurs in R. Rees, 236. [C. W. B.]

MARINIANUS (*al. lec.* MARIANUS), one of Chrysostom's lay friends at Constantinople to whom he wrote a cheerful letter from Arabissus in the spring of 406. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 128.) [E. V.]

MARINUS (1), bishop of Arles; present at the Roman synod under Melchiades or Miltiades, A.D. 313, as we learn from St. Optatus (*Dict. of Chr. Ant.* ii. 1811); and possibly present at the council of Arles, A.D. 314, held by order of the emperor Constantine: though it was Chrestus bishop of Syracuse who was charged with directing it, and who subscribed first, if we may trust the subscriptions as now given. In these, the names of Merocles of Milan, and Proterius of Capua, from Italy: and of Marinus, Reticius, and Maternus, from Gaul—who had all been present at Rome—appear likewise. But it is difficult to say what value should be attached to these subscriptions in their present shape. Two presbyters and two deacons subscribe fifth, representing Silvester bishop of Rome; who was only represented by two presbyters at the Nicene council, like Julius afterwards at Sardica. Marinus himself appears attended by one presbyter and four deacons—as no one else. Verus bishop of Vienne, then capital of that province, follows attended by a single exorcist. All the subscribing bishops amount to no more than thirty-three; though Constantine tells Chrestus, he had ordered "plurimos ex diversis ac prope infinitis locis episcopos," to meet at Arles on that occasion. The oldest MSS. accordingly make this council to have consisted of 600 bishops, to keep pace with his intentions. In the synodical letter attributed to the council, on the other hand, and addressed, "*Dilectissimo papae Silvestro*," Marinus occupies the first place, and thirty-two names follow—as though identical with the number of subscribing bishops. But when looked into, two are found to be the names of subscribing presbyters, a third of an attendant deacon, a fourth was no subscriber at all. Moreover, this epistle refutes itself by its contents. "Placuit etiam a te, *qui majores dioeceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari*" is an anachronism every way, that ought not to have imposed on Bingham (ix. 2, 2), nor indeed any part of it on the learned in general. We might as well contend for the genuineness of a similar letter to Silvester from the Nicene council. The Sardican bishops in their letter to Julius, preserved by St. Hilary, "thought it right," only thirty years later, "that their brethren in Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily, should learn their decrees through him." In short, the subscriptions, letter, and canons, of this council fall to pieces as soon as they are touched; though the

council remains: and whatever its dimensions, and its acts—of which we have really no record—Chrestus, not Marinus, must have been its controlling head. Mansi (ii. 463–512) has but these two remarks on it: "I. Neque plenarium, neque universale fuisse hoc concilium late probat Pagius ad Baron. A.D. 314, n. 1, & seq. II. Baronii sententiam asserentis ducentos episcopos huic concilio interfuisse tuetur et confirmat Pagius, *ib.* n. 22–3." Hefele rightly points out (i. 181, Eng. Tr.) that this last assertion is based on a false reading in St. Augustine, since abandoned (c. *Ep. Parmen.* i. 5, note, Ed. Ben.). But then, in the very next page, he says himself: "It cannot however be denied, that St. Augustine in his forty-third letter (c. vii. n. 19), in speaking of the council of Arles, calls it '*plenarium ecclesiae universae concilium:*'" which is either as gross a misconception, or as wilful a mis-statement as ever proceeded from a learned man. What St. Augustine really says in that section is, that "granting those bishops who passed sentence at Rome were not good judges, *there remained still* a plenary council of the universal church where those judges might themselves be impleaded: so that, if convicted of having judged wrongly, their sentence might be annulled. Let the Donatists prove whether they have done this: for we can easily prove that they have not," &c. Then, in the next section, he shews, from letters of the emperor, what they *had done*. Instead of ever conferring with others of their own order, they had gone straight with their complaint to the emperor. And what had *he* done? "Dedit aliud Arelatense concilium, *aliorum scilicet episcoporum*." This is, accordingly, what St. Augustine calls the council of Arles—*not* a plenary council at all, but—a council of other bishops, a pendant to that of Rome. In all his writings he never once calls it by a more exalted name. [E. S. Ff.]

MARINUS (2), an Arian and a Thracian, whom his party set up as bishop of Constantinople after the death of Demophilus cir. 386. They expelled him for his extreme views, and chose Dorotheus in his stead. Marinus and a knot of followers then kept up a conventicle. Between him and Agapius, whom he had made bishop of Ephesus, sprang up a schism, which resulted in many of his followers returning to the Catholic church. (Soc. v. 12; Tillem. vi. 631, 803; Le Quien, i. 212 E.) [C. H.]

MARINUS (3), bishop, companion of Anianus, went as missionary to the continent in the 7th century; they were Irishmen, though Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Scot.* ii. 468) calls Marinus a Scot. (For an excellent account of the two missionaries by Dean Reeves, see *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 295–300.) In the time of pope Eugenius I. (A.D. 654–7) they left Ireland for the continent, reached Rome, and, travelling northward, built their cells in the desert of Boioaria, or Boiodurum, on the north side of the Noric Alps, Marinus being a bishop, and his nephew Anianus archdeacon. They were successful in teaching the inhabitants, until a horde of barbarians cruelly murdered Marinus, while Anianus died a natural death the same day, Nov. 15. After resting a century in a common tomb, their remains were translated, first to Aurisium, and then to Rota on the banks of the Inn, where a Benedictine monastery was founded to the honour of SS. Marinus and Anianus. Reeves says the name "Marinus is beyond all question a Latin translation of Muiredhach which is derived from muir (*mare*), and signifies 'belonging to the sea.'" [J. G.]

MARINUS (4), March 3, a military martyr in the reign of Gallienus, at Caesarea in Palestine, under a judge named Achaeus, A.D. 262. He was distinguished by his birth, riches, and services. When about to receive promotion to the post of centurion, another aspirant declared that he was a Christian, and unable therefore to conform to the ancient practice of sacrificing to the emperors. The judge granted him three hours to make his choice between death and compliance. As soon as he came out of the Praetorium, Theotecnus the bishop drew him aside in conversation and conducted him to the church. Placing him within by the altar, he raised his cloak, and pointing to the sword that was by his side, at the same time presenting him with the book of the gospels, told him to choose either of the two as he wished. Without hesitation he extended his hand and took the book. "Hold fast then, hold fast to God," said Theotecnus, "and strengthened by Him mayest thou obtain what thou hast chosen; go in peace." He was immediately executed and buried by a Christian senator named Astyrius. The narrative of Eusebius was probably that of an eye-witness, perhaps the bishop. It is a moot question whether this martyrdom resulted from persecution or from military law. Dr. F. Görres in an art. in the *Jahrb. Prot. Theologie*, 1877, p. 620, on "Die Toleranzedicte des Kaisers Gallienus," suggests that Marinus could not legally have suffered under Gallienus as he had already issued his edict of toleration, but that it must have taken place by command of Macrianus, who had revolted from Gallienus and taken possession of Egypt, Palestine, and the East. He was, as we learn from Euseb. vii. 10, 13, 23, cf. Trebell. Pollio, ed. H. Peter., *Scriptt. Hist. Aug.* t. ii. Gallieni duo. c. i.–iii., xxx. Tyranni, c. xiii. xiv., the moral author of the Valerian persecution. He naturally, when possessed of imperial authority, was glad to vent his hate on the Christians whom Gallienus favoured. (Euseb. vii. 15, 16; Neander, *H. E.* ed. Bohn, i. 194; Ceill. ii. 394; Tillem. iv. 21; Pagi, *Crit.* i. 276, nr. x. xi.) [G. T. S.]

MARINUS (5), the Bardesanite interlocutor in the dialogue against the Marcionites (Sect. iii.). [ADAMANTIUS (2).] [G. S.]

MARINUS (6), a correspondent of Eusebius of Caesarea. (Vol. ii. p. 338.) [C. H.]

MARINUS (7), a Syrian by birth, was pretorian prefect in the reign of Anastasius. It was by his advice that Anastasius transferred the duty of collecting the taxes from the *curiae* of the towns to newly appointed officials, who bore the title of *Vindices* (Ev. *H. E.* iii. 43 in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. 2693). Marinus, with Plato the prefect of Constantinople, by the emperor's orders, on November 4th, A.D. 512,

caused the Trisagion at the church of St. Theodore to be chanted with the Eutychian addition of the words "Who was crucified for us." A disturbance ensued in which many were killed in the church itself. This was followed two days afterwards by violent rioting. According to the biographer of St. Saba (Coteler. *Eccl. Graec. Mon.* iii. 304–305), Marinus was warned by the saint in the previous month of May that these calamities would come upon him as a retribution for influencing the emperor to refuse a remission of taxes to Jerusalem (Marcellinus, *Chron.* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* li. 937–8; Ev. *H. E.* iii. 44; Theoph. *Chron.* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cviii. 136). In A.D. 514, Marinus, after the defeat and capture of Cyril, commanded the forces of Anastasius against the rebel Vitalian, and defeated him in a sea-fight at Bytharia. (Ev. iii. 43.) [F. D.]

MARION (MAURION), bishop of Cynopolis or Cynon (miswritten Cotenopolis, Labbe, iv. 1843), in the province of Aegyptus Secunda; one of the orthodox Egyptian bishops who, with some Alexandrian clerics, fled to Constantinople in A.D. 457, to escape from Timotheus Aelurus and the Eutychians. [NESTORIUS, bishop of Phragonea.] His name occurs in their petition to the emperor Leo (Labbe, iv. 1843), and in the letter of sympathy from the pope St. Leo (Leo Mag. *Ep.* clx. 1336). He subscribes the synodal letter of a council held at Constantinople in 459 against simony. (Labbe, v. 51; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 567.) [C. G.]

MARIS (1) (MARES, MARI), first bishop of Seleucia on the Tigris, ob. A.D. 82, regarded by the Nestorians as their first patriarch, and with Thaddaeus the author of their liturgies (Assem. *Acta Mart.* i. pp. lxvi. 4; Assem. *Dissert. de Syr. Nest.* p. iv. in *B. O.* t. iii. par. 2; Le Quien, ii. 1102; Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 136). Either he or his companion Agis is reputed to have been the first bishop of Edessa. (Le Quien, ii. 955.) [G. T. S.]

MARIS (2) (MARES, MAGNUS, MARIUS), bishop of Chalcedon, a prominent Arian (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 599). He is said to have been a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, the martyr (Philost. *H. E.* ii. 14; Tillem. v. 770, vi. 253, 646). He wrote in support of Arian opinions before the council of Nicaea (Athan. *De Syn.* § 17; Tillem. vi. 646). At the council he joined with Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Ursacius, and Valens against Athanasius (Soc. i. 8, 27), and was one of five who were unwilling to subscribe on account of the term ὁμοούσιον (i. 8). Maris at length gave his approval (Soz. i. 21; Nicet. Chon. *Thesaur.* v. 8; cf. Vales. note 71, ad Soz. i. 21). He was one of the seventeen who held out against the council and supported Arius, according to Gelasius (Mansi, ii. 818; cf. 878 B). His name occurs among the subscribers (Mansi, ii. 696). Philostorgius states (in Nicet. Chon. *Thes.* v. 8) that Maris, Eusebius, Theognis went to the emperor and expressed their repentance for having signed, stating that they had complied only through fear of him, and that the emperor indignantly banished them to Gaul. Maris assisted at the council of Tyre in 335, and was one of the commission to Mareotis (Ath. *Ap. c. Ar.* § 13, 72; Theod. *H. E.* i. 28; Mansi, ii. 1125 D, 1130 B, 1143 D; Tillem. viii. 35, 42, 49). In 335 he was one of the deputies sent to Constantinople against Athanasius (Soc. i. 35; Tillem. vi. 290). He was one of those who frequently wrote to pope Julius against Athanasius (Hilar. *Frag.* ii. § 2, in *Patr. Lat.* x. 632, here written Marius; Theod. *H. E.* ii. 6 al. 8; Tillem. vii. 270). In 341 he attended the council of Antioch, and is named in the epistle of Julius (*Ap. c. Ar.* § 20; Tillem. vi. 312). In 342 he was one of the party who secured the appointment of Macedonius to the see of Constantinople (Soc. ii. 12; Tillem. vi. 323, 493). In the same year he was one of the four bishops deputed by Constantius to Constans (Soc. ii. 18; Ath. *De Syn.* § 25; Tillem. vi. 326; Hefele, *Counc.* ii. 80, 83). Sozomen (iii. 10) omits Maris here. That he was present at the council of Sardica (343–4) appears certain, although his name is not among the signatures (Tillem. viii. 95, 686, 688; Hefele, ii. 92, note 3). At the council of Philippopolis his name is again absent, and among the subscriptions occur Thelaphius as bishop of Chalcedon (Mansi, ii. 138), probably by a clerical error. In 359 he defended the doctrine of the Anomoeans against Basil (Philostorg. iv. 12; Tillem. vi. 483). In that year he was at the council of Ariminum (Soc. ii. 41; Soz. iv. 24), and in 360 at the council of Constantinople (*ib.*; Hefel. ii. 271; Tillem. vi. 487). In 362 Maris, then advanced in age and blind, at an interview with Julian, severely rebuked him for his apostasy, whereupon the emperor tauntingly observed, "Thy Galilean god will not heal thy sight." "I thank God," retorted Maris, "for depriving me of the power of beholding thy face" (Soc. iii. 12; Soz. v. 4; Tillem. vii. 332). Maris was living in the reign of Jovian (Philostorg. viii. 4; Tillem. viii. 764), and he must be the Magnus of Chalcedon at the council of Antioch in 363 (Soc. iii. 25; Mansi, iii. 371, 372, 511). In an anonymous life of Isaacius abbat of Constantinople (iii. 12 in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 254 B), Maris is said to have been present at the council of Constantinople in 381, a statement which may safely be rejected. [C. H.]

MARIS (3), a bishop of an unnamed see, friendly to Chrysostom, who wrote to him from Cucusus in 404. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 86.) [E. V.]

MARIS (4), called PERSIAN, bishop of Hardascir. He attended the council of Ephesus, wrote against the Magi, was the author of *Commentaries on Daniel* and an *Exposition of the Epistles of Acacius*, and received a letter from IBAS of Edessa. (Assem. *B. O.* i. 197, 203, 350; Assem. *Acta Mart.* i. 40; Le Quien, ii. 1315; Tillem. xii. 442, xiv. 564, 627; Ceill. x. 143–148.) [G. T. S.]

MARIS (5), a Christian and confessor at Rome in Decian persecution (Cyp. *Ep.* 22). Saluted by LUCIAN of Carthage. Maris would be the vulgar form of Marius (as Lucis for LUCIUS), and he is mentioned with Collecta and Emerita. The salutation is in answer to Celerinus, who had sent Lucian the remembrances of Macarius and his sisters Cornelia and Emerita. As Lucian was a very poor scribe his Maris and Collecta may be misnomers for Macarius and Cornelia. [E. W. B.]

MARIS (6), a presbyter and solitary of Apamaea in Syria, to whom, in conjunction with a brother solitary, Symeon, Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus in 405, relative to the mission to the pagans in Phoenicia. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 55.)

[E. V.]

MARIUS (1) MERCATOR, a writer, of whom, until the last quarter of the 17th century, nothing was known except indirectly through the writings of St. Augustine, who in his work *De octo Quaestionibus Dulcitii*, mentions him as his son, *i.e.* his friend or pupil, and who addressed to him a letter, containing a long passage identical with one in that work (*Ep.* 193, *De oct. Quaest. Dulc.* qu. 3). At present only two MSS. of his works are known to exist, one in the Vatican Library, which was formerly at Heidelberg, and which was examined and partially transcribed by the learned librarian of the Vatican, Lucas of Holstein. After his death in 1661, this transcript was sent to father Philip Labbe, then engaged on his great work on the Councils, in the second volume of which it was published in 1671 after his death in 1667. But before this took place he had discovered a second MS., entitled "Synodus Ephesiana," belonging to the cathedral library of Beauvais, which, besides other matter, contained all that had been found in the transcript above mentioned, and which he intended to publish, an intention which the same cause prevented him from carrying into effect. The work of publication, however, was carried out by his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, father John Garnier, in 1673; and in the same year a portion of the works contained in the Vatican MS. was published at Brussels by father Gabriel Gerberon. In 1684 an edition of the works of Mercator, based on a careful collation of the two MSS., was brought out by Stephen Baluze, by whom the Vatican MS. was considered to be superior in authority to the one of Beauvais, regarded by Garnier with a parental and somewhat partial preference. This edition was included in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Galland, vol. viii. 1772; and the collection of the Abbé Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xlviii., contains a full account of all that is known of the author, of the works which pass under his name, and of the manner in which they have been published.

Of the man himself almost nothing is known. He was probably a native of Africa, was in Rome in 417 or 418, and is thought by Baluze to have outlived the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. When Julian was lecturing at Rome in 418 in favour of Pelagianism, Mercator replied to him, and sent his reply to St. Augustine, who at the time was too much occupied to be able to acknowledge its receipt. Not long afterwards Mercator forwarded to him a second treatise, complaining, as we learn from the reply of Augustine, very bitterly of the neglect with which the former one had been treated. To this appeal Augustine replied at length, expressing his regret at his inability to take earlier notice of his friend's work, and hinting that he had been somewhat unreasonably severe in his reproaches. Whether these two works of his exist or not is doubtful, but a treatise called Hypognosticon, or Hypermesticon, in six books, included in the tenth volume of the works of St. Augustine (ed. Migne, p. 1611), has been thought to be the one in question. Five of the books treat of Pelagianism, and the sixth of Predestination. The letter of Augustine, which he forwarded by Albinus, A.D. 418, expresses admiration of the learning displayed by his friend, and discusses certain points submitted by him to his consideration.

The works of Marius Mercator, which consist chiefly of translations, some of them from his own writings in Greek, appear in the volume of Migne in the following order, but in conjunction with a large amount of other matter more or less relevant to the principal subject. Part I. 1. *Commonitorium super nomine Coelestii.*—A memorial against the doctrines of Coelestins and Julian, disciples of Pelagius, written in Greek, and presented by Mercator to the emperor Theodosius II. and to the church of Constantinople, A.D. 429, translated by himself into Latin. It contains a history of Pelagianism and an account of its doctrines, and an appeal to Julian to abandon them. 2. A treatise, to which the *Commonitorium* is a preface, against Julian, entitled *Subnotationes in verba Juliani*, written after the death of Augustine, A.D. 430, at the request of Pientius, whom he calls a presbyter, but who was probably not an ecclesiastic. It shews that the real author of Pelagian doctrine was Theodore of Mopsuestia, that it was brought by Rufinus, a Syrian presbyter, to Rome, and there communicated to Pelagius, a native of Britain, and by him to Coelestius, who was followed by Julian. Mercator discusses the doctrine, and refutes it by quotations from Scripture, but mixes up his argument with some coarse personal remarks on his opponent's origin. 3. Translations of various works relating to Pelagianism. (*a*) Three letters, translated from Greek, of which the third only may be attributed to Mercator, as a translator, addressed by Nestorius to Celestine bishop of Rome. (*b*) Four treatises by Nestorius against Pelagianism, with a preface by Mercator. (*c*) The creed of Theodore of Mopsuestia, with a preface and a refutation of the creed by Mercator.

Part II. Concerning the Nestorian heresy. Book I. *A.* Translation of thirteen discourses by Nestorius, with a preface by Mercator; including also incidentally the following pieces:—(*a*) A letter by Mercator on the doctrines of Nestorius, and their difference from those of Paul of Samosata and others. (*b*) A discourse by Proclus bishop of Cyzicus, translated by Mercator, with replies by Nestorius. (*c*) A letter (1) of Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius, with a reply by him. (*d*) Another letter (2) of the same. (*e*) A letter (3) of the same to the clergy of Constantinople. (*f*) A second reply by Cyril to Nestorius. (*g*) A letter (4) of Cyril to Nestorius, being a synodical epistle with twelve heads of condemnation. (*h*) A letter of Nestorius to pope Celestine. (*i*) A letter of Nestorius to Coelestius.

B. Extracts relating to Nestorius, in four parts. (*a*) Extracts presented to the council of Ephesus, probably translated by Mercator, with the signatures of 193 bishops who attended the council. (*b*) Extracts by Cyril from books by Nestorius, translated by Mercator. (*c*) Extracts by Cyril from works by Nestorius contained in Cyril's book entitled ἔλεγχος. (*d*) Extracts from writings of Nestorius contained in various parts of the works of Cyril.

Book II. (*a*) Twelve chapters of Nestorian

doctrine, entitled *Nestorii Blasphemiarum Capitula xii.*, in which Nestorius replies to the letters of condemnation from Celestine of Rome, and Cyril, with replies by Mercator, and an appendix by him. (*b*) Defence by Cyril of his twelve heads of condemnation—addressed to the Eastern bishops, in whose name Andrew of Samosata had written, objecting to them—set forth by him in the form of statement and reply. (*c*) Apology of Cyril against Theodoret, and reply to his remarks on the anathemas, addressed to Evoptius. (*d*) Discourse by Cyril on the Incarnation, probably the work entitled *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*, existing, as far as known, in this translation only, made probably by Mercator, in thirty-five chapters.

Book III. (*a*) Extracts from works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, with preface and refutations by Mercator. (*b*) Extracts from works of Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, against Cyril, and from his letters, with remarks by Mercator. (*c*) Fragment of a discourse by Eutherius bishop of Tyana, against Cyril, on behalf of Nestorius, with remarks by Mercator [EUTHERIUS (2)].

Marius Mercator appears to have been a layman, but an able theologian. His style, which perhaps may be called provincial, aims more at accurate rendering than at elegance, and is somewhat disfigured by personal invective; but his learning, zeal, and ability entitle him to a respectable place among ecclesiastical writers. (Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, vol. xlviii.; Ceillier, vol. viii. c. 36.) [H. W. P.]

MARIUS (2), ST., 3rd bishop of Lausanne, whither he is said to have transferred the see from Avenches, between Chilmegisilus and Magnerius (Gams, p. 283), or Arricus (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 329). He is better known as Marius Aventicensis, the chronicler. But few details of his life have come down to us, and most of them resting upon the somewhat doubtful authority of the thirteenth-century chronicle of the bishops of Lausanne (*Société d'Histoire de la Suisse-Romande*, vi. 29–32). He was born at Autun, probably about 532, of parents of high rank. At about the age of forty-three he was made bishop (A.D. 575). He constructed a church at Paterniacum (Payerne) on his own property, and made various donations to it (*ibid.*). In 585 he was present at the 2nd council of Mâcon (Mansi, ix. 958), and after an episcopate lasting twenty years and eight months died on the last day of the year 596, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. If he transferred the see from Avenches to Lausanne, it must have been after the council of Mâcon, held in 585, since he signed himself on that occasion "episcopus ecclesiae Aventicae." The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (*ibid.*) publish from the above-mentioned chronicle a metrical epitaph of unknown date, which represents him as fabricating with his own hands the sacred vessels for his church and ploughing his own glebe.

His *Chronicon* is a work of some historical importance. Though extremely brief it furnishes information with reference to Burgundy and Switzerland during the period embraced by it, which is found nowhere else, and serves to correct the bias of Gregory of Tours against the Arians of Burgundy. It takes up the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine in the year 455 and carries it on to 581, continuing his method of marking the years by consulates, and commencing the indictions with the year 523. An anonymous author has carried it on till 623. (For an account and criticism of it see *Hist. Litt.* iii. 401; Cave, i. 538; Ceillier, xi. 399–400; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 47; Richter, *Annalen*, p. 37 and the references there given.) This work was first published by Duchesne from a MS. discovered by Chifflet. It may be seen in Bouquet, *Recueil*, ii. 12–19, and Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxii. 791–802. The authors of the *Hist. Litt.* (*ibid.*) attribute to him the Life of St. Sigismund, published in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 86–7, but there is no evidence beyond resemblances of style. Though usually given the title of saint he has no day of commemoration. [S. A. B.]

MARMENIA, a Roman lady, who, with her daughter Lucinia, buried pope Urbanus after his martyrdom, A.D. 230, in a tomb immediately beneath her house in the cemetery of Praetextatus, for which the prefect Almachius put them to death (*Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. vi. 13, 14; Tillem. iii. 687–689). De Rossi (*Bullet.* 1872, p. 68) suggests that her name was Armenia, not Marmenia. He discovered in the cemetery they constructed for the pope's body, an inscription to a certain Armenia Felicitas. The family of Armenius was a celebrated one at Rome in the second and subsequent centuries, and continued to be pagan till the fourth century. Thus we find that Armenius was prefect of Egypt when the edict of Diocletian arrived, ordering the destruction of the churches and the rebuilding of temples everywhere. The family of Armenius claimed to be descendants from Pelops by Orestes and Agamemnon, and were the hereditary priests of Bellona at Comana in Cappadocia. His hereditary office no doubt quickened his zeal against the church in Egypt. (Dio Cassius, xxxv. c. xi.; Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 164; P. Georgi, *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, pref. p. cviii.; Leironne, *Ins. de l'Égypte*, ii. 312; North and Brownl. *Rom. Sott.* i. 136.) [G. T. S.]

MARNAN (MARNACH, MARNOCH, MARMAN, MARRANUS, MERNANUS, MERNOCHUS), bishop and confessor. Identical with the Irish Ernin of Rathnoi [ERNIN (3)], he has received a Scotch legend, and is probably divided into three or even four different saints, Marnan or Marnoch, two Marnocks, and Marnochdubh, with various dates and feasts. The *Brev. Aberd.* (*Prop. SS.* pt. hyem. f. lx.) at March 1, gives his legend in six lections, commending his virtues, and relating the account of his death at Aberkerdoure (Aberchirder, in the parish of Marnoch, Banffshire), the weekly washing of his head and the miracles thereon attendant, with other wonders and observances (*Coll. Sh. Aberd. and Banff.* ii. 189; *View of the Dioc. Aber.* 597-8; *Reg. Episc. Morav.* pp. xxx. 247–9). To this Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.*108–9) adds the efficacy of his prayers for king Aidan, and consequent victory over the Northumbrian kings, and his death at Annandale in the 14th year of king Eugenius, A.D. 620. He belongs to the beginning of the 7th century, but Dempster (*E. H. Scot.* ii. 454*, 456, 457, 469), in multiply-

ing the persons, places two in the 4th century, one in the 9th, and one in the 10th. His feast is March 1 or 2. (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 392–3; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 59–62, 98; Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Mar. i. 63–5, criticising Dempster and Camerarius, and again 25 Oct. xi. 649–50, having a learned and recent criticism by De Buck.) [J. G.]

MARNOKUS. [MARNAN.]

MARO (1), Feb. 14, a Syrian anchorite near Cyrus, of whom an account is given by Theodoret (*Rel. Hist.* cap. 16; Tillem. xii. 412, 671, xv. 225). A monastery erected in his honour in the fifth century became the leading one of Syria Secunda (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 766; Fleury, *H. E.* lib. xvii. 7, xxxi. 32; Ceill. x. 58). The Maronites are said to derive their name from him, because probably they assembled at first about a monastery of St. Maro in the Lebanon. [MARONITES.] [G. T. S.]

MARO (2), reputed the first patriarch of the Maronites, A.D. 701. [MARONITES.] [G. T. S.]

MARONITES. This is the name of the only distinct sect which the Monothelite controversy produced. [PERSON OF CHRIST.] It is said to have been derived from the monastery of St. Maro, where they at first assembled. They are also said to have elected, as their first patriarch, a certain Maro about A.D. 701, who assumed, as his successors do still, the title of patriarch of Antioch. They continued to hold Monothelite dogmas till the time of the Crusades, when A.D. 1182 they united to the Roman communion (cf. Willelmus Tyrensis Archiep. xxii. 8). As late, however, as the council of Constance, A.D. 1445, a section of them retained their own dogmas in the island of Cyprus (Hard. *Concil.* ix. 1041; cf. Hefele's *Concilgesch.* Bd. vii. s. 815). They have been sometimes confounded with the Mardaites, a warlike people of Armenia, who were placed as a garrison on Mount Libanus by Constantinus Pogonatus, A.D. 676, cf. Aug. Duperron in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* t. 50, p. 1. On the whole subject consult the exhaustive treatise of Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 2–99; J. S. Asseman. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 496; Walch's *Ketzerhist.* ix. 474; Gieseler, *H. E.* ii. 181, which as usual gives a very full list of authorities. J. S. Assemani in the work just cited, and S. E. Assemani, in *Acta SS. MM. Orient. et Occid.* ii. 405–410 as Maronites themselves defend the orthodoxy of Maro, after whom they are called. Who really was their founder is a point involved in much obscurity. Maro the ascetic of cent. v. is out of the question, as he lived two centuries before the Monothelite controversy arose. But they, the Maronites, may have availed themselves of his name upon their separation after the sixth general council, A.D. 680, to justify their dissent from orthodoxy by claiming to hold the same views as such an eminent saint. Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* pp. 149, 150, 548 (cf. his *Liturg. Orient. Collect.* passim), refutes the absurd attempt of certain modern Maronites to prove the original orthodoxy of the sect, as maintained by, for instance, Abraham Echellensis and Faustus Naironus in *Dissert. de Maronitis*, Rom. Ed. 1679, and in another *Euoplia Fidei Cathol. Roman.* Ed. 1694. St. Joan. Damasc. twice at least reckons them heretical, cf. opp. Ed. Le Quien, i. 485. For another version of their origin cf. Eutych. Alexand. *Annal.* ii. 190, which is plainly incorrect, as he places Maro their founder and the origin of Monothelitism under the reign of the emperor Maurice. [G. T. S.]

MAROVEUS, 19th bishop of Poitiers, appears to have headed the rebellion of his city against the authority of Guntram in 585. The force which reduced it to subjection, consisting of citizens of Bourges and Orleans, were so exasperated against the bishop that he was compelled to ransom himself and the citizens by the sacrifice of part of the church plate. In 587 Poitiers obtained its desire, and came by the treaty of Andelot under the rule of Childebert, who two years afterwards, on the bishop's petition, sent a commission to readjust taxation in accordance with changes in the population. He appears to have soon regained Guntram's favour, as in this year he was appointed with Gregory of Tours to appease the quarrel which had arisen between queen Ingeltrudis and her daughter Berthegund. As bishop of Poitiers he was intimately connected with the disturbance raised in 589 by Chrodieldis at the monastery of the Holy Cross near that city. [CHRODIELDIS.] Though he appears in this transaction in a doubtful light, Gregory on another occasion speaks of him in terms of praise. He probably died about 590. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 24, ix. 30, 33, 39, 40, 41, 43; *De Glor. Mart.* ii. 44; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1145–8.) [S. A. B.]

MARRUTIUS (v. MARRUCIUS, MARUSCIUS, MARRACIUS), African bishop in Syn. Carth. (sub Cyp. 2 *de Pace*; Cyp. *Ep.* 57; sub Cyp. *de Bap. Haer.* 1; Cyp. *Ep.* 70). Does not appear at the third synod. [E. W. B.]

MARSIANUS, Sethite prophet. (Epiph. *Haer.* 40, p. 297.) [G. S.]

MARTIADES, Sethite prophet. (Epiph. *Haer.* 40, p. 297.) [G. S.]

MARTIALIS (1), ST., June 30, first bishop of Limoges, sometimes called the apostle of the Limousin and Aquitaine. Though he has been the subject of a vast amount of controversy, there is perhaps nothing authentic known of him. The earliest occurrence of his name is in the works of Gregory of Tours, who speaks of him as being one of seven bishops who in the time of Decius were sent from Rome to preach in Gaul (*Hist. Franc.* i. 28, iv. 16; *De Glor. Confess.* 27–29; *Vita Arid.* xi., xxxv. in *Patr. Lat.* lxxi. 1125, 1140). This account makes his date about 250 A.D., or more than 300 years before Gregory wrote. This was apparently the general belief till the 9th century, when the legend arose that St. Martial was one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, and had received his mission from St. Peter himself. Though not undisputed, the new story became, on the whole, the accepted account till the 17th century. In support of the legend were forged, probably in the last years of the 10th century, the *Acta* of St. Martialis, palpably spurious, but satisfying the uncritical sense of that and many

succeeding ages. They purported to be by St. Aurelianus, a disciple of Martialis. Two letters, not improbably by the same author, were also attributed to St. Martial, one addressed to the people of Bordeaux, the other to those of Toulouse. These saw the light in 1521, being published by Josse Bade at Paris, who found them buried in an urn under the sacristy of St. Peter's church at Limoges. They were accepted as genuine, and passed through many editions, which are enumerated in Ceillier, viii. 125–6, and the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, i. 408. They were challenged, and fell into disrepute with the *Acta* in the 17th century. It must not be omitted however that there is an ode discovered in quite modern times and ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus (*Misc.* ii. 21, in *Patr. Lat.* lxxxviii. 115), which, if it were genuine, would prove that the story of the *Acta* was known to him in the 6th century. But though its style resembles his, its authenticity is more than doubtful (Ceillier, xi. 404–5). See, however, the abbé Arbellot's *Dissertation sur l'Apostolat de St. Martial* (Paris, Limoges, 1855).

The middle ages gave birth to another and distinct controversy as to St. Martialis, whether he was to rank as an apostle or simply as a confessor. (For this controversy refer to Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* xii. lix. 23, 24; Dupin, i. 135, ed. 1722; Ceillier, xiii. 90, 103, 104, 179; xiv. 1042; *Hist. Litt.* vii. 301, 347; Arbellot, 186–224.) [S. A. B.]

MARTIALIS (2) and BASILIDES (Cyp. *Ep.* 67), Spanish bishops; libellatics in the persecution of Decius. Their two sees were Merida and Leon with Astorga; Martial being of Merida, according to Tillemont, iii. 318, iv. 133; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xiii. 133, xvi. 70; and Ceillier, ii. 326, 422, 562, 563; but of Astorga,[a] according to Baronius, *Ann.* 258, § 1; Fleury, l. vi. c. 23; Peters, p. 482; Gams, p. 6: and Basilides interchangeably of the other see. The epistle does not, however, enable us to say which belongs to which see. If Tillemont and those who agree with him were led (as might seem natural) by the order in which the names of cities and bishops occur in pairs, it would be necessary on the same principle to assign their successors Felix to Leon and Sabinus to Merida; but Sabinus succeeded Martial and Felix Basilides. It is indeterminable. Basilides "in some sickness blasphemed God." He abdicated his position, to which Sabinus was then elected and consecrated. Martial, besides his lapse and publication of the fact, further joined a *Collegium*, addicted himself to its banquets, and buried his sons in its ground. (The passage *Ep.* 67, vi., is an interesting example of Renan's description of such institutions: *Apôtres*, ch. xviii. p. 359.) The two men afterwards, and probably together, visited Rome, and requested the bishop, Stephanus, to restore them; which carelessly he attempted to do, and some bishops communicated with them. However, FELIX, a presbyter, with the congregations of Leon and Astorga, and Aelius (*al.* Laelius), a deacon, with that of Merida, presented an appeal (through their new bishop) to Cyprian against that decision. Felix (? bishop) of Saragossa wrote also separately to Cyprian on the matter. The synod of the autumn of A.D. 254 at Carthage addressed an epistle to the Spanish congregations affirming the validity of the consecration of Sabinus and of Felix, only exculpating Stephanus as far as possible on the ground of ignorance. [E. W. B.]

[a] The value of some of Fell's work is illustrated here. He observes that Astorga and Leon are united "ex vicinia non minus quam ex querela, ut et Emerita *urbs adjacens*," and that Saragossa was interested as *iisdem auspiciis structa*.

MARTIANUS (1), bishop of Astigi (Ecija), one of the suffragan sees of Seville, some time before the year 633. His name is only known to us from a certain *judicium* delivered by the bishops assembled at the 6th council of Toledo in 638, which does not appear in any of the nine MSS. used for the standard edition of the Spanish councils in 1821, but which was discovered by Florez in a Leon MS., from which other valuable matter has been gleaned, and of which an account is given in *Esp. Sagr.* xv. pref. From this judgment, which is signed by five metropolitans, thirty-five bishops, a presbyter, and an archdeacon, it appears that a certain bishop Marcianus of Astigi, had been, at some time previous to C. Tol. iv. in A.D. 633, and at some council of Seville, of which no other memorial survives, deprived of his office and see, on various accusations, some political, some ecclesiastical, and that his principal accuser, one Habencius, had been made bishop in his stead. The name of Habencius, as bishop of Astigi, appears among the signatures of C. Tol. iv. in 633. Martianus, however, appears to have immediately appealed from the provincial council of Seville to the national council sitting at Toledo. His case was heard, and partly decided, at C. Tol. v. in 636. He was then restored to the rank of bishop, but according to the *judicium* of 638 time was wanting at the council of 636 to proceed further with the case, and Habencius remained in possession of the see of Astigi. In 638, however, on Martianus's further appeal, the bishops investigated his whole case *de novo*, carefully examining all the witnesses and documents concerned, with the result that Martianus was declared innocent of all the charges brought against him, while Habencius was pronounced guilty of *fratria*, or conspiracy against the fame and fortune of his brother bishop, and was ordered to restore the see and lead a life of penitence under episcopal supervision.

The charges against Martianus appear to have been twofold: he was accused on the one hand of practising divination concerning the life of the king, an offence denounced in C. Tol. iv. 4, and on the other of admitting women to his apartments, contrary to the canons. Habencius and the other principal witnesses for the prosecution had made written agreements, ratified by oath, to support each other in these charges, and it was the discovery of these agreements (*placita*), coupled with a re-examination of the surviving witnesses, which mainly determined the judgment of 638.

The whole document is an interesting and valuable piece of Visigothic church law. The large number of personal names with Latin and Gothic quoted in it deserves notice. They are as follows: Martianus and Habencius, bishops; Eulalius Joannes and Timotheus, deacons; Gre-

gorius and Tonantius, presbyters; Loaila, subdeacon; Trasvarius Stefanus Adeodatus Hospitalis, cleric; Gondere Nepotianus, Ricesvindus Dormitius, Scivila, Gundulfuss Velesarius; and of women, Franca, Honorata, Ustania, Bonella, and the *divina* or sorceress Simplicia. It is to be regretted that Dahn makes no use of the piece in his remarks on the church history of this time, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. 455.

The *judicium* was first printed, Tejada y Ramiro, by Florez, l. c. 1759, then by *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.*, Madrid, 1850, ii. 326; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2) 121. [M. A. W.]

MARTIANUS (2) (MARCIANUS), bishop of Pampeluna some time before 693. In that year Vincomalus Diaconus subscribed the acts of the 16th council of Toledo held under Egica, in behalf of "Marciani Pampilonensis sedis episcopi." The 17th council held in the following year has no signature, and we have no further historical information concerning Marcianus. Legend, however, seized upon him as the last bishop known to history before the Moorish invasion, and later generations naively turned him into a martyr of Moslem intolerance. (See Sandoval, *Catalogo de los Obispos de Pamplona*—Pamplona, 1614, p. 8; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 587; Mansi, xii. 85.) [M. A. W.]

MARTIANUS (3), the oldest friend of Augustine, who wrote exhorting him not to delay his baptism. (Aug. ep. 258 al. 155; Tillem. xiii. 47.) [H. W. P.]

MARTINIANUS (1), legendary martyr with PROCESSUS at Rome, commemorated July 2. According to the Acts of LINUS, these were the two soldiers into whose charge Peter had been given. They are converted by him in the prison, and in order to their baptism, Peter, by making the sign of the cross, causes a fountain miraculously to spring from the rock. This fountain is still shewn in the Mamertine prison. After their baptism, the two soldiers give Peter as much liberty as he desires, and when news comes that the prefect Agrippa is about to put him to death, they earnestly urge him to withdraw. Peter at first complies, but returns to custody in consequence of the well-known vision *Domine quo vadis*. It would appear from a notice in Praedestinatus (*Haer.* 86) which has the air of being more historical than the bulk of the stories resting on the authority of that author, that the cult of these two martyrs was already in vogue in the reign of the pretender Maximus, that is to say, before the end of the 4th century. According to this story Montanists got temporary possession of the relics of these martyrs and claimed them as belonging to their sect. Lipsius conjectures that the cult of these martyrs began in the episcopate of Damasus, during which great exertions were made to revive the memory of the saints of the Roman church. To this period may be refered the Acts of Processus and Martinianus (Bolland. *AA. SS.* July i. 303). They are clearly later than Constantine, containing mention of the names of offices which did not exist till his time. They are evidently based on the Acts of Linus, but the story receives considerable ornament. For instance, in company with the two soldiers are baptized forty-seven fellow-prisoners, commemorated in the Roman church (March 14). It is not worth while to copy the fabulous details of the trial, tortures, and execution of the two martyrs. Their day of commemoration is fixed in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great (vol. ii. 114), who also mentions the church dedicated to them, and tells a story of a miraculous appearance of them (*Hom. in Evang.* ii. 32, vol. i. 1586). On the whole subject, see Lipsius (*Petrus-Sage*, p. 137 sq.). [G. S.]

MARTINIANUS (2), a gentleman of station and influence in Cappadocia, to whom Basil wrote a long letter at the time that the emperor was proposing to divide the province into two parts, A.D. 371, entreating him to employ all his influence to get the obnoxious decree annulled, by which the unhappy province was in danger of being torn in pieces, as Pentheus by the Maenades. (Basil. *Epist.* 74 [379]; Tillem. ix. 669; Ceillier, iv. 443.) [E. V.]

MARTINIANUS (3), poet, rhetor, judex, famous by land and by sea, the glory of Cappadocia, one who held Sicily and Africa by his arms, and whose sepulchre is highly venerated (Gregory Naz. epitaph. 40–53 in *Patr. Gr.* xxxviii. 29). Ceillier (v. 298) endeavours to identify him among the various Martiniani of the period. [C. H.]

MARTINIANUS (4), a friend of Jerome, only known to us from a mention of him in his letter from Antioch in 374 (*Ep.* 4, ed. Vall.) to Florentius at Jerusalem. Martinianus was then at Jerusalem. He was known also to Evagrius. Vallarsi in his note mentions a hermit who, according to the Greek traditions, lived at that time near Caesarea, and who may be identified with him. (Vallarsi's *Jerome*, i. 14.) [W. H. F.]

MARTINUS (1), ST., bishop of Tours in the latter portion of the 4th century; hence frequently styled St. Martin of Tours (*S. Martinus Turonensis*). Of all the prelates of that age the one who made the deepest impression upon the heart and imagination of France, and of a considerable part of Western Christendom beyond its limits.[a]

Authorities.—The authorities practically resolve themselves into one, namely, *Sulpicius Severus*. This author mentions Martin in the second book of his *Sacra Historia* (lib. ii. cap. xlv. *et seq.*), in connection with the important case of Priscillian [PRISCILLIANUS]. Of three dialogues composed by Sulpicius, the two latter treat *De virtutibus B. Martini*. An epistle, addressed to a presbyter named Eusebius (some say addressed to Desiderius), is composed *Contra aemulos virtutum B. Martini*; and two more, written respectively to a deacon named Aurelius, and to the author's mother-in-law, Bassula, narrate the

[a] Sulpicius would regard this as an under statement. In his *Dialogus de Virtutibus Monachorum Orientalium*, he writes with reference to the superiority to all the monks and all the bishops of his age: "Hoc Aegyptus fatetur, hoc Syria, hoc Aethiops comperit, hoc Indus audivit, hoc Parthus et Persa noverunt: nec ignorat Armenia. Bosporus exclusa cognovit et postremo si quis aut Fortunatas Insulas, aut Glacialem frequentat Oceanum." (Cap. xix.)

circumstances of Martin's death. Finally, we have a biography *De Beati Martini Vitâ Liber*. In the edition of Sulpicius put forth by Horn (Amsterdam, A.D. 1665, the date of its third issue), an octavo of some 570 pages, including notes, at least a sixth part is occupied with the career of St. Martin. 2. St. Gregory of Tours [GREGORIUS TURONENSIS] has occupied three books out of his seven on miracles, with an account of those wrought by the relics of St. Martin. This work must be noticed below, but it cannot be said to give any important information respecting Martin's life. The references to Martin contained in the *Church History* of the same writer, tend to justify the remarks already made on the large space in the mind of France occupied by the bishop of Tours. 3 and 4. We possess two versified biographies of St. Martin. For an estimate of the earlier one, in four books, by Venantius Fortunatus, see FORTUNATUS (17). As it is merely adapted from the writings of Sulpicius, it has no claim to be considered as an independent authority. The same verdict must be passed upon the later poem, in six books, by Paulinus [PAULINUS]. It is more elegant than that of Fortunatus, which it may easily be, but is simply based on the same authority. 5. Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History (lib. iii. cap. xvi.) has a brief account of Martin.

Life.—Martin was not a native of the country which became his own by adoption, having been born at Sabaria in that part of Pannonia which is now identified with Lower Hungary. His parents were respectable, but there hardly seems sufficient warrant for the assertion of Sozomen, that they were a family of distinction.

As the life of Martin appears to have been extended to at least eighty years (A.D. 316–396) it seems convenient to treat it in separate divisions, into which it naturally falls. These are (A.) from his birth to his eighteenth year (316–336); (B.) from his quitting the army to his second visit to St. Hilary of Poitiers (336–360); and from that date (C.) to his consecration as bishop (360–371); (D.) the period of his episcopate (371–396).[b]

A.D. 316–336. We do not know the names of either of Martin's parents, but they were certainly heathens. His father was a soldier in the Roman army, and rose to the rank of a military tribune. Martin's infancy was passed at Pavia in Italy, where his father was for some time stationed, and there he received his education, apparently a purely pagan one. But even in boyhood his real bent of mind was made manifest, and at the age of ten he fled to a church and got himself enrolled as a catechumen. This was done against the wish of his parents, and his father succeeded in checking for a season the desire of the boy for a monastic career. An imperial edict ordered the enrolment of the sons of veterans, and Martin, who had become a wanderer among churches and monasteries, was, through the action of his father, compelled to serve. He was allowed to have a servant, whom however he treated like an equal; and though free from the vices but too common in the profession, and living with much austerity, he thoroughly won the affections of his fellows during his three years of service in the army. It is during this period, between Martin's fifteenth and eighteenth year, that we must place a well-known incident, which, however we regard it, is thoroughly characteristic of the man. Being with his regiment at Amiens in Gaul, in the depth of a winter of unusual severity, he met at one of the city gates a poor man naked and shivering. His comrades did not heed the sufferer's petitions, and Martin's purse was empty. But Martin with his sword divided his cloak and gave one half of it to the beggar. Many derided the half-clad officer, but some regretted that they had not done likewise. That night Martin dreamed a dream. He saw in sleep Christ Himself clad in that half cloak, and heard a voice addressed by his Lord to a crowd of angels standing round him: "Martin, still a catechumen, has clothed Me with this garment." The biographer here cites the words: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." Martin, he adds, was not elated, but regarded his dream as a call to baptism, which he straightway received, being now eighteen years of age.[c] At the request of a superior, the military tribune under whom he served, he stayed in the army for two years after his baptism. His retirement is said to have been preceded by a refusal to accept a donative on the eve of an expected battle and to fight. The taunt of cowardice was met by Martin with an offer to stand unarmed in front of the ranks. The enemy, however, came in with proposals of peace, and Martin quitted the *profession* of arms the next day.[d]

A.D. 336–360. The next important event in the career of Martin was beyond doubt his first visit to St. Hilary of Poitiers [HILARIUS PICTAVIENSIS]. Martin was the guest of Hilary for a considerable time, and his host was anxious to ordain him deacon. To this proposal Martin resolutely refused his consent on the plea of un-

[b] Although some of these dates are well established, it must be owned that considerable uncertainty prevails respecting others. Thus though his length of life seems unquestioned, its exact commencement and end are not quite settled. It is difficult to reconcile some of the statements of Severus with the chronology set forth by Gregory of Tours.

[c] The apostrophe of Paulinus to the famous cloak is not devoid of spirit:

> O vere pretiosa chlamys—quid tale vel ostro
> Vel ducto in filum penais rabilantibus auro
> Insignes meruere habitus? quid serica tactû
> Laevia, vel doctè expressis viventia signis.

This scene lends itself so naturally to artistic representation that it has become very common on canvas. We have even heard the sentiment expressed that it has consequently obtained an exceptional and undue celebrity.

[d] The chronology is at this point painfully confused. If Severus really took pains to inquire into the point, and is right in naming Julian as the commander under whom Martin served in Gaul, we are compelled (with Alban Butler) either to think that Gregory of Tours has placed the birth of Martin several years too early, or that he remained in the army for a longer period than that commonly assigned. J. H. Newman in his *Church of the Fathers* (chap. x.) quietly assumes an interval of fourteen years between Martin's withdrawal from the army and his first visit to St. Hilary. This assumption cuts the knot if it does not solve it. But Sulpicius gives no hint of such an interval. Indeed his language virtually contradicts any such supposition.

worthiness, but he did not refuse the more lowly office of exorcist. Soon after the acceptance of this position, he was influenced by a dream concerning his parents, of whom he very naturally thought much, and conceived it to be his duty to visit them and convert them from the paganism which they still professed. Hilary fully approved of this step, but implored Martin that he would return. Martin departed in a somewhat dejected frame of mind, having a conviction that his journey would not be an easy or a pleasant one. His apprehensions proved correct. The journey from Gaul to Pannonia was in those days far from safe, and in crossing the Alps Martin fell in with a band of robbers. He was seized, and an axe was brandished over his head, but was arrested in its descent by one of the company. With hands bound he was brought before the chief. To the question who he was, he answered, "A Christian;" to the further query whether he feared, he promptly replied that he never felt more secure, but that he grieved for the condition of his captors. The robber is said to have been converted, and to have told the story of his own conversion.

As in some other instances on record, Martin found it easier to impress the mind of his mother than that of his father. His mother, with many more in Illyricum, became a convert to Christianity; his father remained a heathen. But Arianism, then in great force in many quarters, was particularly prevalent in these regions, and Martin stood forth as an almost solitary confessor for the faith. He was publicly scourged and compelled to depart. Having learnt that Gaul was in a state of confusion in consequence of the exile of Hilary, Martin betook himself to Italy, and for a short time found a safe retreat at Milan, where he made for himself a place of retirement. But the bishop of that city, Auxentius, a leader among the Arians, severely persecuted him, and at length drove him away. He retired, in company with a presbyter of high character, to the small island of Gallinaria (now called Galinara) off the coast of the Riviera, near Albenga.

A.D. 360–371. The news that Hilary had been permitted to return home (inasmuch as Constantius found him more successfully effective against Arianism in the East than in his own country) determined the next step of Martin. He kept his promise and returned to Gaul, an attempt to meet his friend at Rome having failed. Having settled in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, some five miles off, Martin founded what is looked upon as the earliest of monastic institutions in Gaul. Hilary gave him the site. The name of the spot was Locociagum. It is now known as Lugugé.

If, as seems to be implied by Sulpicius, Martin returned to Gaul immediately after Hilary, this fact gives us the date of A.D. 360 as the commencement of his monastic life. After eleven years in his monastery, the reputation of Martin caused his election to the see of Tours. It required what is called a pious fraud to entice him from his monastery; a leading citizen of Tours, having pretended that his wife was ill, begged Martin to come and visit her. A crowd, not only of the people of Tours, but collected also from neighbouring cities, had been gathered together; and the one all but unanimous desire was for the election of Martin. The few opponents objected that his personal appearance was mean, his garments sordid, his hair unkempt. One of the objectors was a bishop named Defensor. At service on that day the reader, whose turn it was to officiate, failed, through pressure of the crowd, to arrive in time. A bystander took up a psalter and read the verse which in the A. V. stands thus: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength because of Thine enemies, that Thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." But in the version then employed in Gaul, the concluding words ran as follows: "ut destruas inimicum et *defensorem*." It is characteristic of the age, that at this point a loud shout was raised by Martin's friends and that his enemies were confounded, the reader's choice of the verse being regarded as a divine inspiration. Opposition thenceforth ceased, and Martin was duly consecrated.

A.D. 371–396. To a great extent the new bishop of Tours continued to be the monk, though not in such wise as to neglect the duties of his office. He built a monastery two miles out of the city, where no less than eighty scholars, some of them noble and educated in softness, pursued a severe discipline. It has been noticed that the art of transcribing was cultivated by the younger brethren, perhaps the only direct recognition on Martin's part of the value of books and learning. In time several cities demanded and obtained bishops from this institution.

Unlike his friend Hilary, whose controversies with Arians and with semi-Arians form the main features of his polemical work, Martin as bishop was especially called upon to do battle with paganism. Despite the apparent recognition of some ten or eleven towns in Gaul as episcopal sees, the country people were still to a large extent heathen.

Another feature of difference between our records of the two friends runs throughout their career, but emerges specially at this point. The biography of Hilary of Poitiers is largely constructed out of his own writings, and it would not be easy to name any miracle recorded of Hilary by a contemporary.* But Martin, as portrayed by his friend Sulpicius, simply lives in an atmosphere of marvels. It is impossible to ignore this characteristic, and it will be commented on below. At present we merely call attention to it, and remark that at least on one occasion the supernatural insight attributed to the bishop of Tours was exerted to check the veneration exhibited at the supposed tomb of a saint, which proved to be that of a robber executed for his crimes. During the first years of Martin's episcopate the record of miracles is specially abundant, though his biographer declares he is restricting himself to a few specimens.

The law of the land was thus far with Martin, that it had forbidden heathen sacrifices; nor did paganism produce any martyrs or confessors on

* It is true that Hilary (in his *De Trinitate*, lib. xi.) does speak, as do several Fathers, of miracles wrought at the tombs of martyrs. But the main authority for any wrought by himself is Venantius Fortunatus, who was born in A.D. 530, when Hilary had been dead more than 160 years.

its behalf. But although there may be room for difference of opinion on the degree of stress to be laid on the political aspect of the case, on the character of Martin, or on the supernatural agencies believed to aid him, there can be no doubt that he must be regarded as the great evangeliser of the rural districts of Gaul, especially within the bounds of that considerable and not very defined diocese of which Tours was the recognised centre. There are prelates whose work seems to lie almost outside the domain of secular history. But Martin is not one of these. His work and influence are facts which no historian of France can fail to notice: and accordingly he has his place in the pages of a Gibbon, a Sismondi, or a Michelet, as well as in those of a Tillemont or a Fleury. Twice, indeed, he came across the path of emperors, namely, Valentinian I. and Maximus.

Valentinian, whose rule in the West lasted twelve years (A.D. 364–375), his brother Valens ruling in the East, for a time (in 368) fixed his seat of empire at Treves.[f] Martin repaired thither, for what reason is not specified, but probably for some confirmation of rights conceded by the laws. Moved by his Arian wife, Justina, the great opponent of St. Ambrose [AMBROSIUS], the emperor refused an audience. Martin had recourse to his usual weapons, asceticism and prayer, and within a week made his way into the palace at a time when the guards seem to have been careless. The emperor, indignant at the intrusion, declined to rise, until his chair caught fire and compelled him to move forward. Convinced of the divine aid, Valentinian granted all his requests, and took him into favour. Martin accepted the royal hospitality, but declined all personal presents.

Somewhat different were the relations of Martin with the emperor Maximus. The purple had not devolved on Maximus, as it had on Valentinian, by fair election to a vacant throne, but as the result of a revolt among the troops in Britain, where Maximus was at that time (A.D. 385) in command. Sulpicius is the chief witness for the apparently plausible view, that the diadem was all but forced upon Maximus, and that he was not at first personally responsible for the crimes by which he profited.[g]

Maximus, after the flight of Valentinian,[h] fixed his capital also at Treves. Many bishops at once accepted the *de facto* ruler, with a degree of adulation severely condemned by Martin's biographer, who declares that the bishop of Tours stood alone in the preservation of apostolic dignity in regard to the usurper. Martin declined at the hands of Maximus such invitations as he had accepted from Valentinian, declaring it impossible to banquet with one "who had dethroned one emperor [Valentinian] and slain another" [Gratian, Valentinian's brother]. The excuses of Maximus, however, so far wrought upon Martin, that he at length consented to appear at the imperial board. This concession, if we may credit Martin's biographer, was a real source of joy to the emperor. Nor can such a sentiment on the part of Maximus be regarded as improbable. On the lowest ground, the *quasi* sanction given to his own position might naturally be welcomed as a source of strength and of progress in popular favour; while on higher grounds, the strange mixture of some measure of conscientiousness with ambition and ferocity might really be soothed and elevated by the recognition thus accorded by a representative of unworldly piety. The banquet was attended by guests of the highest distinction, and included Evodius the consul, and an uncle and brother of the emperor. The seat assigned to Martin was among the very highest. In the middle of the feast the proper functionary offered, according to custom, a goblet to the sovereign. Maximus, however, ordered that it should first be given to Martin, in the expectation that he himself would in this way receive the cup from the bishop. But Martin handed the goblet to his chaplain, holding it wrong to allow that the emperor or his noblest guests had a higher claim to honour than a presbyter. The bishop's conduct was admired, though no other prelate had acted thus even at the repasts of secular dignitaries of inferior rank.

On another scene of intercourse between Martin and a person of high social position, Sulpicius employs the language of apology in reply to some half-hostile criticism. The wife of Maximus was completely entranced by the discourses of Martin, and in order to shew her reverence, persuaded the bishop to partake of a repast, which she herself prepared with her own hands and at which she acted as the chief attendant. Even the remains of his feast were gathered up and apparently consumed by the empress, as something better than any imperial banquet. An objector is represented as suggesting the danger of such an example, which might induce future ascetics to relax their rules against feminine ministrations. The biographer replies that this was an exceptional case; that Martin must have been seventy years old at the time; that the empress was not a youthful maiden, but a matron of mature age acting with the full consent and approbation of her husband. From this time Maximus, with what sincerity we have no means of judging, acted as a penitent.

The intercourse of Martin with Maximus involved the bishop in the difficulties which troubled the church in connection with the error of the Priscillianists. For details respecting the heresy fostered by Priscillian, the reader is referred to the article PRISCILLIANUS. In this place it must suffice to say that Priscillianism is usually, and it would seem justly, considered as a phase of Gnosticism. Its birth-place was Spain, and its partisans were treated with great severity by the authorities both of the church and the state. The leading opponent of Priscillian (who from his good social station, character, and ability, was a formidable foe) was another Spanish bishop, named Ithacius. Ithacius is not a favourite of Sulpicius, but is honourably mentioned by Isidore. That Ithacius was wrong in accusing Martin of heresy will be seen as we

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[f] We must here have recourse to the second Dialogue of Sulpicius (capp. vi. vii.).

[g] The actual words of Sulpicius respecting Maximus are: "Vir omni vitae merito praedicandus, si ei vel diadema non legitimè, tumultuante milite, impositum repudiare, vel armis civilibus abstinere licuisset" (l. c. cap. vii.). Cf. also the chapter in the *Life of Martin* (cap. xxiii.). This last-named chapter records the scene of the feast.

[h] *i.e.* Valentinian II. son of Valentian I. by Justina.

proceed; but the mere circumstance of his venturing on such audacity would be enough to ruin his reputation with Sulpicius, and this element of the case must be taken into account when we weigh the evidence for the character of Ithacius.

Priscillian, though condemned by a local council, was supported by some bishops, who consecrated him to the vacant see of Avila. The members of the council thereupon had recourse to the civil power; while the friends of Priscillian sought the aid of Damasus the bishop of Rome. Failing to obtain it, they betook themselves to Milan, where the great Ambrose [AMBROSIUS] was then bishop. But St. Ambrose shewed them no more favour than Damasus.

In A.D. 384 we find Ithacius journeying to Treves (*Treviri*), and seeking an interview with Maximus. From this emperor Ithacius obtained the summoning of a council to be held at Bordeaux (*Burdigala*). Thus much was on all hands recognised as within the fair limits of imperial authority. But Priscillian, on his arrival at Bordeaux, instead of defending his cause by argument, appealed to the emperor. The Ithacians, as his opponents were called from their leader, had already committed themselves to the permission of a considerable amount of state interference. It was probably the consciousness of their admissions which made them feel the difficulty of making any consistent objection to Priscillian's appeal.

Priscillian now came in person to Treves and Ithacius followed him. Whether (as Sulpicius implies) Ithacius had an innate dislike both to students and to ascetics, or whether, as seems more probable, the difference between Martin and himself in the particular case before them was the main ground of the dissension, must be left doubtful. But they were at variance on a twofold issue. Martin objected to a case of heresy being left to the decision of a secular tribunal, and implored Ithacius not to press the charges against Priscillian before such a court; while at the same time he besought Maximus not to allow of any other punishment of the accused beyond excommunication. Finding that he must needs leave Treves and return home, Martin obtained a promise from the emperor that there should be no bloodshed. But the trial of Priscillian, which had been delayed until Martin's departure, was now eagerly pressed on, at the instance of two bishops named respectively Magnus and Rufus. The emperor seems to have been sincerely convinced that the heretical teaching of the Priscillianists involved gross immoralities;[i] and, accordingly, in A.D. 385, Priscillian was executed. Several of his adherents shared the same fate, others were exiled[k] for different periods, having reference to their importance and degree of complicity.

This event, the first instance of the capital punishment of a heretic, blends together the name of St. Martin with that of his great contemporary, the archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose. It is a noble conjunction. Both protested against the sentence, and announced their determination not to hold communion with the bishops who had been instrumental in procuring it. According to Sulpicius, this sentence was, in its immediate results at least, a conspicuous failure.[l] The heresy was spread more widely; the victims honoured as martyrs, and their bodies interred with solemnity. To swear by Priscillian became among his adherents a mark of true religion; discord raged for the next fifteen years, and the dissensions of the bishops brought disgrace and scorn upon the church.

Somewhat later these two allies pursued, to a certain extent, a divergent course. So strongly did Ambrose feel upon the subject of the execution of Priscillian, that on a second visit to Treves, in A.D. 387, he persisted in his refusal to communicate with the Ithacians, though he was made aware that this refusal would entail the failure of the object which he had in view, the recovery of the body of the assassinated emperor Gratian. But meantime the case had come before Martin entangled with a more difficult and graver responsibility. Martin had also paid another visit to Treves, but it was in order to save life, to plead that some of Gratian's officers might be spared. He had found there a number of bishops gathered together for the consecration of a new bishop, Felix, to the vacant see of Treves. These prelates had, with one exception, communicated with the adherents of Ithacius; and they had endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to prevent the entrance of Martin into the city. The attentions of Maximus had no effect upon Martin's resolution; but the information that those for whose lives he came to plead were doomed, and that a sort of raid against Priscillianism was contemplated, induced him to change his mind, especially as he feared that the charge of sympathy with heresy might plausibly be imputed to himself, and to others of ascetic life who had taken the same line.

It is evident that Martin considered himself on this occasion to have been placed in a situation which involved a cruel and perplexing question of casuistry. Felix was himself a good man and well fitted for the vacant see. Still Martin would not have communicated, but for the impending dangers to the lives of innocent men and to the cause of religion. On his journey homeward, which he commenced on the day after this communion, he sat down, while his companions went onward for a while, in the vast solitude of a forest, near the village of Andethanna, and again debated with himself the anxious question whether he had acted aright or not. It seemed to him that an angel appeared and told him that his compunction was right, but that he had had no choice. Henceforth he must be more careful. Martin believed that his power of working miracles and of relieving the oppressed was diminished ever after this unfortunate event. In order to escape such risks in the future, he

[i] For the discussion of this question see art. PRISCILLIANUS. The account of Sulpicius must be sought not in his *Life of St. Martin*, but in his *Sacra Historia* (lib. ii. capp. 61–66) and in the third of his *Dialogi* (§ 15).

[k] Two of them to the Scilly Isles ("in Sylinam insulam quae ultra Britanniam sita est," *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 65).

[l] The emphatic language of Sulpicius on this point seems to deserve citation in the original: "Caeterùm Priscilliano occiso, non solùm non repressa est haeresis quae illo auctore proruperat, sed confirmata, latiùs propagata est. Namque sectatores ejus, qui eum prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut martyrem colere coeperunt."

never, for the remaining sixteen years of his life, attended any synod or gathering of bishops. Sulpicius believes that in due time he regained his supernatural powers.

The remainder of Martin's career was spent in the conversion of his diocese, amidst constant prayer and toil. His death was calm, pious, and edifying. The date of his decease must probably be fixed as A.D. 397,[m] on the 11th of November, a date well known throughout the north of England as the term-day of Martinmas.

Of the honours paid to Martin's memory only a few can be mentioned here. His funeral is said to have been attended by two thousand monks. He is specially named among confessors in the mass of pope Gregory, with Linus, Cletus, Hilary, Augustine, and thirteen more. One of the oldest churches in England is that of St. Martin at Canterbury; and the earliest apostle of Scotland, St. Ninian [NINIANUS], having heard of Martin's death while he was labouring in Galloway, dedicated to him the first stone church of the country, *Candida Casa*. He became (about 997) the patron saint of Norway, by the choice of its first convert king, Olaf Tryggvesen. His abbey near Tours, which was secularised in the 7th century, had, from the time of Charles-le-Chauve, the king of France for its abbat and first canon, with a long list of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries among the honorary canons, including the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Cologne; the counts of Flanders and Dunois, and (before the Reformation) the earls of Douglas in Scotland.

It must here be added that the one solitary writing attributed by some to St. Martin, the short *Confessio Fidei de Sanctâ Trinitate* (given by Schönemann, *Bibliotheca Patr. Lat.* vol. i. § 19, and in some other patristic collections), is of doubtful authenticity. We are not aware of any modern historian or biographer who has laid any stress upon it.

Two questions seem to call for some attempt at reply before we close. 1. What is to be said of that atmosphere of the supernatural in which St. Martin is reported to have lived? 2. What is the value of that popular favouritism which places Martin so completely in the front rank of his country's objects of veneration?

1. A considerable number of divines in our day would probably describe their own mental attitude towards physical science in some such language as the following: "We are compelled to own with regret that theology has but too frequently adopted towards physical science (and, indeed, at times, towards mental science also) a position of antagonism which has not been worthy of her own dignity. Christian teachers have allowed themselves to be betrayed into a state of excitement, of irritation, and distrust in relation to this or that assumed scientific discovery, often without waiting to see whether it is a real discovery or not, or whether, if proved, it will affect the essence of the Christian faith. We have, it is true, some generous admissions from votaries of physical science, to the effect that their leaders have occasionally adopted language quite as unreasonable and needlessly aggressive as that of any theologian; but we ought, at least, to try to set a good example." There is, however, another element of the case which seems to be greatly overlooked. It is this, that the lack of that special culture which has been given to the human mind by the progress of physical science, must be regarded as a serious defect in the composition of a large portion of patristic literature.[n] In our own day, to say nothing of a considerable list of theologians who are also men of science, even divines who would not claim to be physicists are at least aware of what physical science means. They can talk with distinguished cultivators of astronomy and zoology, of chemistry and geology, and even the indirect training thus obtained must colour, and ought to colour, their ideas of the value of evidence. And the result would be an inability to accept, as objectively true, a great deal that is put forth in the large class of works, of which the Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius is a specimen.

It may be thought that this is only a Protestant sentiment. This is not the case. It would not be easy to name better examples of the cultivated Roman Catholic of the age than the present Duc de Broglie or than Möhler. M. de Broglie speaks thus of the narratives of the 4th century respecting the hermits of the Egyptian desert: "No doubt that, aroused by the sight of so many undeniable prodigies, a rather credulous enthusiasm embellished, enriched, and sometimes even grotesquely travestied the truth. It must be observed that these simple narratives, which have all the charm and vigour of a childlike faith, were by their special character marvellously fitted to exercise a happy moral effect on the interior discipline of Christian life. The prodigies narrated are never mere *tours de force*, useless demonstrations of power, calculated only to captivate the senses by a surprising *prestige*. They are usually external representations, under a living and sensible form, of the struggle of the Christian soul against passion and sin. It might be described as the inward drama of the soul displayed in broad daylight. It was thus for each Christian the living history of his inner life, and of his struggles of conscience. It is thus that in a more modern age, a dissenter in Great Britian described all the Christian combat against sin by a long allegory, in which every virtue and every vice was personified."[o] Möhler had substantially anticipated this language, both in his *Athanasius der Grosse*, at the close of the fourth book, where he criticises the biography of St. Antony, and in one of his minor works, where he is speaking of the marvels attributed to St. Jaco-

[m] Mr. Fynes Clinton adopts this date (*Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 513). He makes the latest visit of Martin to Treves occur in 386, and his death eleven years later. This requires, it must be owned, a somewhat bold emendation of the text of Sulpicius, in whose third dialogue (cap. xv.) the ordinary reading runs "*Sedecim* (not *undecim*) postea vixit annos." Canon Robertson (Ch. Hist. bk. ii. chap. v.) seems hardly prepared to accept the proposed emendation, in which case the dates become respectively 384–400 instead of 386–397.

[n] The writer considers himself bound to mention that this conviction was strongly impressed upon his mind by one of the most deeply-read students of the Fathers and of church history whom he has known, the most learned Presbyter of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the late George Hay Forbes of Burntisland.

[o] *L'Eglise et l'Empire au IVe. Siècle* (Paris, 1859), tome iii. pp. 110, 111.

mius. There does appear to be real ground for the observations of Mr. J. A. Froude in a recently published essay on *The Lives of the Saints*, that "in certain conditions of mind the distinction between objective and subjective truth has no existence." [p]

Of course, as has been remarked, the effect on a given person remains untouched, whatever be thought of the character of a particular vision. If the account given by Dr. Doddridge of the appearance which converted Colonel Gardiner be correct, it would matter little to the gallant soldier if the vision could be proved to have originated from within rather than from without.[q] This remark holds good as regards many of the visions of the Fathers of the desert, and also of St. Martin. There is, for example, the celebrated one related by Sulpicius in his biography (cap. 25) where the Evil One appears to Martin clad in royal robes, and with a diadem, and asks for the homage due to Christ. Martin's spiritual instinct, undeceived, declines to acknowledge him, and when rebuked, he replies that it is not in this guise that he looks for Christ, but *with the show of the wounds of the Cross.* And Satan vanishes, filling the cell with smoke and stench. Whatever judgment be passed upon the narrative, there are few Christians who will not recognise the singular force and beauty of the reflections made by the (then Anglican) commentator, who some forty years ago made the following application of the story. "The application of this vision to Martin's age is obvious: I suppose it means in this day, that Christ comes not in pride of intellect or reputation for philosophy. These are the glittering robes in which Satan is now arraying. Many spirits are abroad, more are issuing from the pit; the credentials which they display are the precious gifts of mind, beauty, richness, depth, originality. Christian, look hard at them with Martin in silence, and ask them for the print of the nails." [r]

Where so much is subjective in its origin, shall we say that all is so? The present writer is unable to take this step. Fully recognising the inaccuracy of a Beda's account of physical phenomena, and the strangeness of temper, according to modern ideas, which could make an Adamnan represent a common-sense warning uttered by St. Columba into a distinct prophecy;[s] admitting that credulity is not faith, and that mediaeval license of belief has operated (as the Roman Catholic M. Nicolas grants [t]) to the prejudice of the gospel narrative, he is for his part with Edmund Burke and with Dr. Arnold,[u] still prepared to believe that "not only at the beginning of the gospel, but in ages long afterwards, believing prayer has received extraordinary answers; that it has been heard in even more than it might have dared to ask for." It is obvious that, if any real miracles were vouchsafed, the tendency to multiply instances and to see the supernatural where it was not truly manifested would be largely increased. It must be added that the popularity of these narratives must have proved a temptation even to an honest narrator like Sulpicius. The booksellers, his friend Posthumianus told him, were delighted with the demand for his works, which they found most profitable; and there was a craving to hear more about Martin.[v] May not Sulpicius unconsciously have anticipated the well-known comment of M. Guizot on some of the marvels which he told: that they formed *un véritable soulagement moral . . . peu importerait la vérité matérielle de l'histoire.*[w]

A similar verdict must be passed on the miracles in connection with St. Martin's tomb and relics recorded by St. Gregory of Tours. We read in Holy Scripture of the restoration to life effected by the bones of Elisha (2 Kings xiii. 21), and divines seem justified in pointing out that the selection of a perfectly new tomb for the Saviour was not only a part of the reverence due to His sacred body, but also a preservative against any theory of the Resurrection which should assign it to the influence of some saint's remains. The miracle wrought by Elisha's bones may have had its parallels under the Christian dispensation; and any instances allowed would be largely multiplied by credulity.

2. Thanks in part at least to Sulpicius, the impress made by Martin's life and career was wonderful. As has been already remarked, secular historians, as *e.g.* Michelet, do him full justice. Sismondi is a partial exception. But Sismondi, most fair and generous to opponents of the three last centuries, whom he can at least understand, is rendered utterly incapable, by his want of imagination, of entering into the mind of mediaeval champions of the faith. Sismondi can denounce with unsurpassed vigour a crime like the partition of Poland. That was to him a reality. But the abominations of paganism were not to him a reality. He wrote before the days of Guizot, Vogt, Thierry, and their school, and he cannot make allowance for any fierceness against the rites of heathendom, and all that they involved. One important admission he does however make, namely, that paganism, when attacked, furnished no martyrs.

As regards, however, the popularity of Martin,

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[p] *Good Words* for June 1881, p. 411. The way in which Sulpicius would silence objectors is highly characteristic of his age. Our Lord has promised that what Martin accomplished (*implevit*) should be wrought by all the faithful. *Therefore* he who does not believe that Martin did these marvels, does not believe that Christ thus spoke.

[q] Sir Walter Scott, in Note D subjoined to Waverley, cites a plausible passage from Dr. Hibbert in favour of a subjective origin of Gardiner's vision. The rejection of the entire story by Carlyle of Inveresk is little worth.

[r] *The Church of the Fathers*, by John Henry Newman (Martin and Maximus).

[s] Columba simply warned a monk to take care not to drop a book into a vessel of water. The monk was careless and did let it fall into the vessel.

[t] *Études Philosophiques sur le Christianisme* (tome v.). "Les Miracles."

[u] *Lectures on Modern History*, by Thomas Arnold, D.D. (Lect. II.).

[v] Dialogus I. cap. 16.—The friend is represented as speaking of the volume on *The Life of Martin* by Sulpicius: "Cum totâ urbe raperetur, exsultantes librarios vidi, quod nihil ab his quaestuosius haberetur, siquidem nihil illo promptius, nihil carius venderetur." In our list we have reserved the biography until the last, as the most important work. In point of time, as this passage shews, the dialogues were subsequent compositions.

[w] *Civilisation en France*, 17ième Leçon. Canon Liddon has some remarks on the dangerous side of this theory in his recent volume of University Sermons (Second Series).

we must not lay too much stress on this feature of his life. Without going to the length of the slightly morbid sentiment of Pascal, that a good deed becomes less beautiful by the mere fact of its being known, there does seem real force in the theory that the honours paid to champions of the faith must be regarded as being an accidental glory, which falls to one and does not fall to another, who yet deserved it as well. The tradition of some charm of manner may have permeated after ages. Martin possessed this gift. His fame is deserved. Of the acts in Martin's career which may be legendary, many have a brightness peculiarly their own. Of some it may be fairly said that the narrative carries conviction with it. It is no light praise to have protested against the first capital punishment for heresy; not the less so because France has heard but few such protests, though we do not forget the inconsistent wail of the elder De Thou over the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the generous (and consequently highly censured) outburst of the closing days of Montalembert. Even the weakness—for it surely was a weakness—which kept him from all gatherings of his brother prelates during his later life, sprang out of an amiable fear lest he should again be entangled in some moral difficulty. Fascination is not in itself piety; though some holy men have possessed it. The list of its possessors must include Hannibal, C. Julius Caesar, Mary Queen of Scots, Fenelon, Bishop Heber, with numbers more. Contemporaries of St. Martin may have rivalled him in devotedness and in zeal for the faith. They are unknown, or but little known; partly from the lack of a biographer (*carent quia vate sacro*), partly because, with all their gifts, the fragrant aroma of a winning sweetness was apparently not blended with their sternness.

[J. G. C.]

MARTINUS (3), bishop of Dumium in Gallicia, and afterwards metropolitan bishop of Braga, died about 580; a person of importance, about whom our information is far too scanty.

Sources.—The sources for our knowledge of Martin's life are—(1) the life of him by Isidore in the *De Vir. Ill.* cap. 35, and a mention of him by the same author in the *Hist. Suevorum*, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 505; (2) the passages concerning him in Gregory of Tours—(*a*) *De Mirac. Scti. Martini Tur.* i. 11; (*b*) *Hist. Franc.* v. 38; (3) the Acts of the 1st and 2nd councils of Braga, A.D. 561 and A.D. 572, *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 606, 620; (4) a passage in the Acts of the 10th council of Toledo, l. c. p. 421; (5) a letter and poem addressed to him by Venantius Fortunatus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxviii.); (6) his works collected and edited by Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xv. To these original sources may be added the notices of him in Sigebert, cap. 117, Trithemius, cap. 221, Anonymus Mallicensis, cap. 38, Honorius Augustodunensis, iii. 76, all in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*.

His Life.—According to Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, Martin was a native of Pannonia, of Roman Pannonia, "Pannonia Quiritis," according to Venantius. He had travelled from his native country to the Holy Land, and had in the East acquired such a knowledge of letters that he was held to be second to no scholar of his day. Thence (ex Orientis partibus) on what errand none of the original accounts explain, he came to Gallicia, arriving "ad portum Galliciae" (? Portucale) on the same day as the relics of St. Martin of Tours, for which Arianus or Theodoric I., king of the Suevi, had shortly before petitioned the guardians of the saint's shrine. Already the conversion of the Suevi had been half effected by the supernatural agency of the elder Martin (see the story of Theodemir's conversion under THEODEMIR), and now another Martin was to complete it. Among the Suevian people converted "from the Arian impiety to the Catholic faith," he established, according to Isidore, the "rule of faith and holy religion." Immediately after his arrival he seems to have founded the monastery of Dumium, close to Braga, and to have been then made bishop of a see of Dumium, constituted for the occasion, and comprising probably only the monastery and the royal household (*Esp. Sagr.* xviii. 32). In 561, about eleven years after his arrival in the country, he attended the first council of Braga, presided over by Lucretius metropolitan bishop of Braga. In all probability the Acts of the council, which are thrown into an unusual and highly artificial shape, were compiled by Martin, who would then be the person of the greatest literary pretensions in Gallicia. Lucretius opens the proceedings with a long speech, recalling the letter of pope Leo to Turribius against the Priscillianists, and quoting the decrees of a council supposed to have been held by the bishops of Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, Lusitania, and Baetica, under the presidency of Balconius bishop of Braga, and in the pontificate of Leo.

The tradition of this council, of which no record remains, and which is not mentioned by Leo's zealous Gallican contemporary Idatius, probably sprang from a confusion of two events—of the first council of Toledo in 400, which was concerned with the Priscillianists, with Leo's letter to Turribius (A.D. 448), in which he recommends that a general synod of the Spanish bishops should be assembled to deliberate on the spread of this heresy, or failing a general synod, that a council of Gallican bishops should at least be held. But whether this be so or no, the silence of Idatius, who was deeply interested in the Priscillianist controversy, and reports minutely all the episcopal proceedings in Gallicia with regard to it, is conclusive against the reality of such a council. The political troubles of the time probably made it impossible to follow Leo's advice.

The first council of Braga evidently marks an era of revival and reformation in the church of Gallicia, under the auspices probably of the orthodox and energetic Martin. The only mention of Arianism in it throughout occurs in a letter of pope Vigilius which was read. Probably this indirect handling, and the penalties decreed generally against intercourse with heretics, were all that the bishops felt themselves at this moment strong enough to venture against a creed which had been shortly before the religious confession of the Suevian nation, and had no doubt still many friends in high places. Eleven years later another council was held at Braga, and we now find Martin occupying the metropolitan see as successor to Lucretius. His position of superiority throughout the council is very clearly marked, the bishops addressing him in unusually

submissive terms. Eleven bishops were present from the two synods of Lugo and Braga, which here appear as two distinct metropolitan dioceses for the first and only time in authentic history.

The history of the metropolitan dignity of Lugo is very obscure, and is connected with that of various forged documents. An investigation of it will be found under the head of NIBIGIA.

Some time between 572 and 580, the year, according to Gregory of Tours, of Martin's death, we may probably place the correspondence between Martin and Venantius Fortunatus. Martin's letters are not extant, but we have a letter of the most extravagant and meaningless eulogy addressed to him by Fortunatus, and also a poem in his honour. A passage towards the end of the poem evidently refers to a society of nuns of whom Martin was the founder and guide. In 580 Martin died, followed by the grief of the people of Gallicia (Greg. Tur. *l.c.*). His memory is celebrated on the 30th of March.

His Works.—(1) *Formula vitae honestae*, as he himself calls it in the preface, otherwise *De Differentiis Quatuor Virtutum* (so Isid. *l.c.*), or *De Quatuor Virtutibus Cardinalibus*. This little tract was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, and was frequently printed during the 15th and 16th centuries at Leipzig, Paris, Deventer, London, Venice, and elsewhere. In the early editions it was always ascribed to Seneca, and it is mentioned as Seneca's in the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais. Aguirre even found it attributed to Cicero in a Vatican MS. (*Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* ii.). It occurs in the MSS. in three forms, of which an account is given by Dr. Lightfoot in *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 3rd edit. p. 330, note. The preface, addressed to Miro king of Gallicia, seems to have been first printed at Poitiers, by Elie Vinet, in 1544 (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, 2nd ed. 1723, iii. 312, note), then with many variations by Boxhorn in one of the notes to his edition of Ammianus (Lugduni Batav., ex officina Joannis Maire, 1632), and for the third time in the 1st edition of D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, where it appears as "hitherto unpublished," and whence it was transferred to other collections. Of this tract the present writer has examined eight 15th- and 16th-century editions, and there are no doubt others, besides early German and French translations. The best edition is that by Haase in *Sen. Op.* iii. 468, where he describes the *Formula* as more frequently read and quoted in the Middle Ages than any of Seneca's genuine works. There is an edition by A. Weidner, Magdeburg, 1871. (Conf. Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. Ae. Inf. Lat.* iii. and *Bibl. Latina*, ed. 1773, ii. 119.)

De Moribus.—A tract consisting of a series of maxims gathered from various sources. Seneca's works were probably used in compiling it, though it is not easy to discover actual verbal agreement (Haase, *l.c.* p. xx.). It *may* contain fragments of some of the lost works of Seneca; it certainly contains one fragment from Lactantius. In it, according to Orelli, are sentences from "the Pythagoreans, the Seven Sages, and other ancients," while some are probably taken from the Proverbs of Solomon. A sentence from it is quoted as Seneca's at the 2nd council of Tours, A.D. 570, can. 15. It is also quoted by Lupus abbat of the monastery of Ferraria, in the diocese of Sens, in the latter half of the 9th century, as belonging to "secular," *i.e.* non-Christian, literature. Like the *Formula* it was frequently printed in the 15th and 16th centuries, at Leipzig, Paris, and elsewhere. The reasons for its attribution to Martin are not very plain. It does not apparently occur in the numerous Spanish MSS. which contain Martin's other works (Florez at least had not seen it in MS.), and its quotation under Seneca's name at a council held during Martin's lifetime would seem to shew that it was the work of the compiler of an earlier generation. In Boxhorn's Ammianus, the address to Miro, which is properly the preface to the *Formula*, is given as the preface to the *De Moribus*, Boxhorn finding it so placed in a MS. in his own possession. Can a copyist's mistake of this kind be the foundation of Martin's connexion with the *De Moribus?* On the other hand, Martin was no doubt a diligent student and imitator of Seneca and other moralizing writers, and upon internal grounds alone may easily have been its author. (Conf. Orelli, *Opuscula Graec. Vett. Sentent.* p. 269, Leipzig, 1819; Mansi, ix. p. 795; Lupus Servatus, *Opera*, ed. Baluze. cap. lxiv. and note, p. 401; Fabricius, *ll.cc.*; Erasmus in *Sen. Opera*, most recent edition; also in Haase, iii. 462.)

De correctione Rusticorum, a curious sermon, of undoubted authenticity, addressed to the bishop Polemius of Astorga, whose signature appears among those of C. Brac. II. Florez found a mention of it in various ancient breviaries, and at last discovered it among the Toledan MSS. (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 127). His edition, however, is extremely careless, and the MS. used by him does not seem to have contained the introductory address to Polemius. This was first published by Aug. Mai, *Classici Auctores*, iii. 379, who also reprinted the greater part of the text in a far better form from a Vatican MS. In this interesting tract Martin discusses the origin of idolatry, and denounces the heathen customs still remaining in Gallicia. His theory is that the fallen angels or demons assumed the names and shapes of notoriously wicked men and women who had already existed, such as Jove, Venus, Mars; that the nymphs, Lamias, and Neptune are demons with power to harm all who are not fortified with the sign of the Cross, and who shew their faithlessness by calling the days of the week after the heathen gods. The observance of kalends, the propitiation of mice and moths by presents of bread and cloth that they may be so kept away from the store cupboard and the chest, auguries, the observance of the New Year on the 1st of January instead of on the March equinox, when in the beginning God "divided the light from the darkness" by an equal division, the burning of wax tapers at stones, trees, streams, and crossways, the adornment of tables, the pouring of corn over the log on the hearth, the placing of wine and bread in the wells, the invocation of Minerva by the women at their spinning, the worship of Venus, the incantation of medicinal herbs, divination by birds and by sneezing, all these are denounced as pagan superstitions, offensive to God and dangerous to him who practises them. The sign of the Cross is to be the remedy against auguries and all other diabolical signs. The holy incantation, viz. the Creed, is the Christian's defence against diabolical incantations and songs.

This tract ought to be compared with the 72nd, 73rd, 74th, and 75th *Capitula* of Martin's canons. It has not yet been pointed out that at least can. 74 and 75 are indisputably connected with certain passages in the *De correctione Rusticorum*, and thus furnish one more evidence of Martin's authorship of the tract. The connexion does not help us to determine the date either of the tract or the *Capitula*, for either may have preceded the other.

De trina Mersione, a letter to a bishop Boniface on the subject so often debated within the Arian Germanic kingdoms of the threefold immersion in baptism. Martin refers to the letter of pope Vigilius to Profuturus, quoted in the 1st council of Braga, and mentions incidentally the presence of Suevian legates at Constantinople, who had seen the ceremony of baptism performed by the bishop of Constantinople in the manner prescribed by Vigilius. Vigilius's letter is spoken of as a "formula," "certissimae auctoritatis," "ab ipsa beatissimi Petri cathedra." The *De trina Mersione* was first published by Aguirre from a Toledan MS. Florez claims to have produced an amended text in his edition of Martin's works.

Pro Repellenda jactantia, De Superbia, Exhortatio Humilitatis, De Ira, De Pascha, are five small tracts, first published by Tamayo de Salazar in vol. ii. of his *Martyrol. Hisp.* There is, however, no ground for suspecting their genuineness because of their connexion with the untrustworthy Tamayo (so Gams, ii. (1) 473), since Florez reprinted them from two MSS., one at Madrid and one at Toledo (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 127). The *Exhortatio Humilitatis* is apparently addressed to a king, perhaps to Miro (Theodemir II.), with whom Martin seems to have had close relations, while the *De Ira* is addressed to bishop Witimir of Orense, whose name occurs among the signatures of C. Brac. ii. This last piece is a mere abridgment of Seneca's treatise on the same subject. Martin incorporates whole passages from his original, compressing Seneca's long treatise into matter equivalent to eight small quarto pages, and dividing his tract into three parts, in imitation of the three works of Seneca. There is not a word throughout of the author's debt to Seneca, either in the body of the tract or in his prefatory address to Witimir.

De Paupertate is a short tract, consisting of excerpts from Seneca, sometimes attributed to Martin, but not mentioned by Florez or by Nicolas Antonio (*Bibl. Vat.* Bayer's edit. Haase, *l.c.* xx. 458).

Martin's Translations.—Besides these adaptations of Latin stoical literature, Martin produced or superintended a good deal of translation from the Greek, some of which had important consequences. Foremost among these translations appear the *Capitula Martini*, a collection of eighty-four canons, which had great vogue and influence in the middle ages. Martin addressed the collection to that Nitigis bishop of Lugo who appears at the second council of Braga, and by proxy at C. Tol. III. in 589, and to the whole "concilium" of the church of Lugo, to the dioceses, that is to say, subject to her metropolitan jurisdiction. He declares in the short preface that his object has been to clear up passages which were originally incorrectly or obscurely translated from the Greek, and also to restore passages corrupted by the ignorance or carelessness of copyists. For convenience of reference he has placed the canons relating to the clergy first, and has then gathered together those relating to the laity. To the first class Martin assigns 68, to the second 16.

These "capitula sive canones orientalium antiquorum patrum synodis a venerabili Martino episcopo, vel ab omni Bracarensi synodo excerpti," were incorporated into the earliest form of the Spanish *Codex Canonum*. With it they passed into the pseudo-Isidorian collection, and so obtained a widespread influence. "From the 10th century onwards," says Maavin (*Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, Gratz, 1870, p. 802), "there are few systematic collections in which they are not used." The sources of the collection cannot be exhaustively ascertained. In the *Bibliotheca Juris canonici veteris*, Paris, 1661, Doryat, in editing a new text of the *Capitula* based on a careful comparison of the text as contained in the first edition of the genuine *Collectio Hispana*, published by Loaysa in 1593, with that of the pseudo-Isidorian collection, attempted to assign each canon to its sources. Some of the canons, however, he failed to trace; others he traced wrongly. His text and notes were afterwards incorporated with all the later collections of councils. A new edition, with some corrections, will be found in Brun's *Canones Apostolorum*, l. c. Berlin, 1839, ii. 43. In any case the canons are not exclusively drawn from *Greek* sources. Many canons of C. Tol. I., some from the 3rd and 4th councils of Carthage, and one from C. Brac. i. (can. 10 in cap. 41) have been made use of. In the remaining *Capitula*, canons of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea can be traced. "The interpretation, however," says Maaven, "is by no means that of literal translation. Some parts are expanded, others omitted. Even the Latin canons are not exactly reproduced." We have already pointed out the connexion between cap. 74 and 75, and certain passages in the *De correctione Rusticorum*. The collection seems to have been conceived in a high ecclesiastical spirit. The canons selected define the relative position and modes of appointment of metropolitan, bishop, presbyter, and deacon. Popular election to bishoprics, which is admitted, though in somewhat vague terms, by the well-known C. Tol. iv. 19, is here expressly prohibited in a canon drawn from C. Laod. xii. 13. A canon of Ancyra, which allows the deacons who had declared before ordination that they could not remain unmarried, to retain their offices after marriage, is altered by Martin in an exactly contrary sense (conf. C. Tol. II. A.D. 527). The whole appears, like the canons of the 1st council of Braga, to have been directed towards the tightening of those bonds of church discipline which the troubled condition of Gallicia and the Arianism of its Teutonic governing class had tended to weaken. By arranging them in this short and systematic form Martin hoped to bring the disciplinary canons of the past to bear practically on the present, and to clothe them with new force and working power. (Spittler, *Geschichte des canonischen Rechts*, Opp. i. 802, 1827; Schroeckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, xii. 215, 230, 243, 695.)

Interrogationes et reponsiones plurimae, sct. *Aegyptiorum Patr.*, translated from an unknown

Greek source by a certain deacon Paschasius in the monastery of Dumium, with a preface addressed by him to Martin, at whose command the work had been undertaken. (Rosweyd, *Vitae Patrum*, lib. vii. p. 505, and Prolegomenon xiv.; Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 433.)

To these prose works and translations may be added certain poems of doubtful authenticity, published by Sirmond, Opp. ii. p. 907 (they should be read, however, in connexion with the mention of certain poems by Martin in Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* l. c.), and an epitaph composed by himself, which has the authority of long tradition and may be genuine (*l.c.* and *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 449).

Was Martin a Benedictine?—This question is unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative by the great Benedictine writers. (So Mabillon, *Annales O. S. B.* and *Bibliothèque Générale de l'Ordre de Saint Benoit*, ii. 203.) "Martin is famous in the order of St. Bened.," says the *Bibl. Gén.*, "as having been the propagator of it in Spain." The only possible evidence for this assertion is contained in the general expression of Isidore, "monasteria condidit," in the fact of Martin's foundation of Dumium; and, say the Benedictines, in a letter addressed by pope Boniface IV. to certain Angli who objected to the appointment of monks as bishops, in which "Martinus Pannoniensis" is spoken of in the same breath with the English Augustine and Gregory the Great, as illustrious examples of a contrary theory. If the "Martinus Pannoniensis" here spoken of could be identified with Martin of Braga, the Benedictine case would be arguable. But it is abundantly plain that Boniface is here thinking of Martin of Tours, also "Pannoniensis," and not of Martin of Gallicia. The words used, "cujus fama longe lateque totus personat mundus," apply legitimately to Martin of Tours; they would have been ridiculous applied in 614, or, indeed, at any time, to Martin of Braga (Harduin, ii. 543). It is on the whole most probable that Martin adopted one of the various older rules still current in the contemporary monasteries of Southern Gaul, with some of which we know him to have had relations. About one hundred years later his illustrious successor in the sees of Dumium and Braga, St. Fructuosus, drew up a monastic rule for his monastery of Compludo, which was for the most part an abstract and abbreviation of the Benedictine rule, but contained also provisions not to be found in that rule. This is the only piece of historical evidence connecting the Benedictine rule with Visigothic Catholicism. Everything else commonly brought forward to prove such a connexion is mere inaccurate guess-work. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxvii. 1096; Yepes, *Chron. del Ord. de S. Benito*, i. for the ultra-Benedictine view. On the general subject of monasticism in Gothic Spain compare Dahn's summary, *Könige der Germanen*, vi.)

Martin's Personality.—That Martin played an important and commanding part in his generation all that remains of him suggests. His life appears to have been greatly influenced by the parallel so often drawn by his contemporaries between himself and the greater Martin of Tours. We may also regard him to some extent as a piece in a political game. As the conversion of the Suevi to Arianism under Remismund in the middle of the 5th century was originally a political move, and the price paid by the Suevi for the West Gothic alliance, so their conversion to Catholicism under Theodemir I., about the middle of the sixth, was probably a political move, and the price paid by them for Frankish and Byzantine support against those same Arian West Goths who had originally drawn them into heresy. The presence at Constantinople of Suevian legates, mentioned in one of Martin's letters, and the whole history of Leovigild's early years, and of the relations between the Suevi and the West Goths and the Suevi and the Franks during his reign (see art. LEOVIGILD) seem to point to some such conclusion. If so, the career of Martin the missionary, "ex Orientis partibus," who effected the Suevian conversion, is one element in a scheme of European politics which can be traced through the greater part of the 6th century, and in which the destruction of the Suevian kingdom by Leovigild five years after Martin's death, and the West Gothic conversion to Catholicism under Reccared, are important incidents. (Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (1) 471.)

[M. A. W.]

MARTINUS (3) I., elected bishop of Rome as successor to Theodore, July 5, A.D. 649, after a vacancy of fifty-two days as stated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of Martin. (See also Pagi, *Critic. in* Baron. *ad ann.* 649.) He is described as "patria Tudertina quae est civitas in Tuscia." Entering office during the heat of the Monothelitic controversy, he became memorable for his resolute defence of the orthodox doctrine, and for his sufferings in consequence. The question whether two wills, and two operations of will (ἐνέργειαι), divine and human, were to be attributed to Christ had been thrown into the arena of controversy about the year 626 by the emperor Heraclius, in the hope, it is supposed, of suggesting a middle ground of agreement between the orthodox and the Monophysites. It was conceived that the latter might accept the doctrine of two natures, if that of a single will and a single operation were conceded. Theodore bishop of Pharan is credited with having originated the doctrine of one will only, which was countenanced by Cyrus of Phasis (promoted by Heraclius to Alexandria), by Sergius patriarch of Constantinople, and even by pope Honorius of Rome. [HONORIUS.] On the other hand, Sophronius, an Alexandrian monk, who became patriarch of Jerusalem, had been the leading champion of the contrary, or orthodox, view. In the year 639 Heraclius, under the advice of Sergius, had issued the edict known as the *Ecthesis*, in which the doctrine of one will was asserted, but all future discussion of one or two operations was forbidden. For it seems that some of those who could not accept the view of two distinct wills in the one person of Christ, still allowed that His one will might operate in a twofold manner, divinely and humanly. The object of the *Ecthesis* was to allow this supposition; to leave it as an open question, on which there was to be no more controversy. The edict had been approved by synods, at Constantinople under Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius, and at Alexandria under Cyrus, but had been condemned at Rome under pope John IV. Theodore also, after John, had urged the emperor to withdraw it, and had ex-

communicated Paul, who, having superseded Pyrrhus as patriarch of Constantinople, had given his adhesion to it. Thereupon Paul had overthrown the altar in the pope's chapel, and forbidden his envoys to celebrate the divine mysteries in the imperial city. As to Pyrrhus himself, having been driven from Constantinople on political grounds during the troubles that ensued after the death of Heraclius, and having been, as aforesaid, superseded by Paul, he had fled to Africa, when he was persuaded by the orthodox monks, and especially by one Maximus, to pay a visit to pope Theodore at Rome. He had done so, and had been received to communion on his profession of orthodoxy. Soon after, however, he had at Ravenna returned to his former heresy, and had been excommunicated by Theodore in a peculiarly solemn manner. The sentence had been pronounced at the tomb of St. Peter, and written with the contents of the consecrated chalice. In the meantime the emperor Constans II., the grandson of Heraclius, had, under the advice of Paul, issued a new formula called the *Type*, which was intended to supersede the *Ecthesis*. Its object was to close the entire controversy. It forbade, under heavy penalties, any future assertion on either side of the question at issue; the public maintenance either of one will and one operation, or of two wills and two operations. It failed entirely of its purpose, as such attempts must always fail, unless followed up by exterminating persecution; attempts to stamp out religious ideas that have taken hold of men's hearts by secular authority. It only stimulated the resolution of those who were zealous for their faith, and invested them with the dignity of martyrs.

Such then was the position of the controversy, and such the relation of the see of Rome to Constantinople and the emperor, when Martin entered on his career as pope. He was at once assailed by the orthodox from Africa, Greece, and elsewhere, urging him to take measures in defence of the true faith. He was especially instigated by Maximus, the zealous monk and controversialist of Africa, who had been prominent previously in persuading the patriarch Pyrrhus to resort to Theodore, and who had now come from Africa to Rome (Theophanes, *ad ann.* 19 *Heraclii*, "cum papam Martinum ad aemulationem accendisset"). Being himself resolutely orthodox, he was not slow to act. He assembled without delay a council consisting of 105 bishops,[a] from Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, with a few from Africa—at which many presbyters also and other clergy were present—known as "the first Lateran council." It met on the 5th day of October, A.D. 649 (being the ninth year of the emperor Constans, and the first of Martin's pontificate), in the Basilica of Constantine, adjoining the Lateran palace, and had five sessions, called *secretarii*,[b] the Acts of which are extant at great length, both in Greek and Latin. In the first session, the purpose of the council having been declared by Theophylact the first notary of the apostolic see, Martin opened the proceedings by a long and learned address. He supported by the authority of Scripture and the fathers, as well as by argumentation, the doctrine of two wills and operations in Christ, as essential to the perfection of His two natures, human and divine; he reviewed the history of the Monothelitic controversy; he dwelt on the impious conduct of Pyrrhus and Paul in their relations to the see of Rome, and their excommunication by its authority; he strongly condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*, representing the last as by its prohibition denying the existence of any will or operation in Christ at all; and finally called on the assembled fathers to take such measures under divine inspiration as might best promote the glory of God and the stability of the faith. His speech being ended, Maurus bishop of Caesarea rose, as, along with Deusdedit, a presbyter of Ravenna, representing Maurus the bishop of Ravenna, who had been unable to attend the council. He presented a letter from the absent bishop, which the pope ordered to be read. In it the writer explained the reason of his absence: he had been detained by the clergy and people of Ravenna for security, in the exarch's absence, against hostile incursions of the Sclaves; he expressed full concurrence with the see of Rome in its denunciation of Monothelitism, the *Ecthesis*, and the *Type;* he deputed his two envoys to act in his name, and ended with the words, "Pray for me, holy and most blessed lord, and in all the world apostolical pope." This letter having been entered among the Acts of the council, Maximus of Aquileia, seconded by Deusdedit of Cagliari, after a speech of his own in exposition of the faith, proposed the course to be pursued, viz. that some of the accusers of Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, should be first heard, and then the writings of the accused should be examined. This proposal being unanimously agreed to, the first session closed.

At the second, which was held three days later (Oct. 8), the pope, having ordered the charges against the accused to be made, either by the accusers in person or by the notaries who had the custody of the archives of the Roman see, Theophylact the chief notary announced that Stephen bishop of Dora and first suffragan of Jerusalem was at the door and craved admittance. At the pope's proposal he was admitted, and a letter prepared by him two days previously was read. It gave an account of the origin and progress of the existing troubles; it set forth further how Sophronius of Jerusalem (mentioned above as the leading original opponent of the Monothelitic heresy) had taken the writer to Calvary, and conjured him by Him who had been there crucified, and as he hoped to answer at His second coming, to resort to Rome, and never rest till he had obtained from the pope a condemnation of the new heresy;—how he (Stephen) had twice visited Rome on the subject in the time of Theodore, and how the latter had constituted him his legate in Palestine, superseding one Sergius of Joppa, who had uncanonically usurped the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem after the death of Sophronius;—how he had acquitted himself of his charge, and submitted an account of his doings to pope Martin;—and how he consequently appeared now as representing the

[a] One hundred and ten according to Theophanes (*ad ann.* 19 Heraclii), but 105 only subscribed the decrees of the council.

[b] *Secretarium* denoted a vestry or sacristy adjoining a church. It being usual to hold synods in the apartment so called, the sessions of synods were themselves also called *secretaria* or *secretarii* (Du Cange).

patriarchate of Jerusalem, in the name of which, and of other Eastern bishops, he implored the pope and the synod to vindicate the cause of truth, which he further set forth and defended in his letter. The see of Rome is addressed as the supereminent and ruling see of Christendom in virtue of the keys delivered to St. Peter, and of the charge to him to feed the sheep of the universal church. This letter having been ordered to be entered among the Acts of the council, Theophylact notified the attendance at the door of several Greek abbats, monks, and priests, some of whom had recently arrived at Rome, others being residents. They were admitted, and their petition was read. In it the synod was earnestly entreated, and even solemnly adjured, to anathematise not only the doctrine complained of, but also its authors and abettors;—to wit, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, with all who in any way, at any time, or anywhere, had assented to them, it being alleged to be contrary to the law of canonical procedure to meet a written complaint against persons by a general judgment against no one in particular. It was also demanded that the *Type* (which the most pious emperor was said to have been cajoled by Paul into issuing) should be especially condemned, as reducing Christ, through its prohibition of the assertion of either one or two wills, to the likeness of an inanimate idol without mind or soul. It has been mentioned that a similar misrepresentation of the drift of the *Type* had been made by Martin in his opening speech. Of course the document had never been intended to imply that Christ had no will; only to bar from future controversy the question whether He had one or two. It is worthy of notice that, though the petitioners in this case are not behind Stephen of Dora in their exaltation of the office of the pope, calling him "the priest of priests, the father of fathers, preeminent over all, our lord the thrice most blessed pope,"—yet they do not express themselves as ready to accept his synodical judgment, whatever it might be. On the contrary, they intimate that if the synod should not accurately define the faith in all respects (which, however, they can hardly believe possible), they would hold themselves free to withhold their assent. And a further assertion of their own independence seems implied in their final request, that the definitions of the council should be translated with the utmost accuracy into Greek, in order that they might know fully what they should be called upon to accept. The petition, signed by thirty-seven abbats, priests, deacons, and monks, was entered among the Acts. Theophylact then notified that there were in the archives of the see many formal accusations against the heretics in question, some of which were produced and read; to wit, one that had been presented to pope Theodore in 643 by Theodore archbishop of Cyprus, and others to the same pope in 646 by the bishops of Africa. These having been entered among the Acts of the council, the formal accusations were deemed sufficient, and the pope announced that at the next session the synod would proceed to examine the writings of the accused.

At the third session, held five days later (Oct. 13), Martin, after making another long speech, ordered the production of the writings of the accused. At the suggestion of Sergius bishop of Tempsa (or Temesa), those of Theodore of Pharan, as having been accused by Stephen of Dora as the original heresiarch, were first examined. Objectionable passages, previously marked, were read from them; whereupon Martin again delivered a long speech, in which he refuted the doctrine of these passages, first by arguments, and then by citing in opposition to each the utterances of Cyril of Alexandria, of Gregory Nazianzen, of Dionysius the Areopagite, of Basil, and of the synod of Chalcedon. In the next place, at the instance of Benedict of Corsica, the seventh of the nine chapters of Cyrus of Alexandria, and the letter to him of Sergius, approving the views therein expressed, were read. The chapter of Cyrus was found to contain a reference to Dionysius the Areopagite as having taught the doctrine of a single operation. Had the latter really done so, it would have been an embarrassing fact for the council, the so-called Areopagite being an accepted authority on the faith. The writings of Dionysius were therefore examined, at the suggestion of Sergius of Tempsa, by way of seeing whether they bore out the conclusion of Cyrus. The passage relied on by him, contained in the letter of Dionysius to Gaius, was found to run as follows, Christ being the subject of the sentence:—"And, in fine, not having done divine things after the manner of God, nor human things after the manner of man, but having displayed to us a kind of divine-human (*theandric*) operation of God-made man."[a] After the reading of this passage, Martin delivered a long and subtle disquisition, designed to shew that both Cyrus and Sergius had fraudulently misquoted and misrepresented the expression of Dionysius, which was really against their position; for that Cyrus had quoted Dionysius as speaking of "one theandric operation," instead of "a new kind of theandric operation," and that Sergius had omitted the word "theandric" altogether. The work of Themistius, an acknowledged heretic, which had been previously marked for the purpose, was then read from, by way of shewing that it was from heretical sources, and not from the orthodox Dionysius, that Cyrus had got his doctrine; after which Martin resumed his argument. He contended that Dionysius's "new kind of theandric operation of God made man" necessarily implied a double, not a single, operation, the compound word "theandric," prefixed to a singular noun, having been devised to express the new idea of a twofold operation of one and the same Person, in whom the divine and human natures were perfectly united. "For (said he) it is the property of perfect union that each nature should operate wonderfully in the way of interchange (*κατ᾽ ἐπαλλαγήν*), *i.e.* that the same Person should do what is divine humanly, and what is human divinely." Hence, he argued, Cyrus and Sergius had entirely misrepresented the intention of the word "theandric" in saying under the leading of the heretic Themistius that it implied singleness of operation rather than singleness of the Persou operating in accordance with His twofold nature. Bishop Deusdedit of Cagliari rose next, and proceeded to accuse Pyrrhus, the successor

[a] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κατὰ θεὸν τὰ θεῖα δράσας, οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνδρωθέντος θεοῦ καινήν τινα τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος.

of Sergius, of having maintained the same heresy, of having in like manner misrepresented Dionysius, and having been reprehended by Sophronius for so doing; and he demanded that the *Ecthesis* should be in the next place read. It was read by the pope's order, and also extracts, previously prepared and marked, from the Acts and writings of Cyrus, Sergius, and Pyrrhus, proving their assent to the document. And thus the third session closed.

The fourth (held Oct. 15) was opened by another lengthy speech from Martin, in which he reviewed, in no gentle terms, the heresies that had been proved in the previous session against Cyrus, Sergius, and Pyrrhus, and enlarged on their condemnation of themselves in supporting the *Ecthesis*, which forbade the assertion of their own previously expressed views. But before passing judgment, he proposed that the decrees of the fathers and of the five general councils, to which the heretics had appealed in support of their views, should be read before the synod. The doing of this was, however, interrupted by the demand of Benedict of Acacius (in Corsica, *Harduin.*), supported by the rest of the bishops, that the heresy of Paul of Constantinople should also be considered, so that a common condemnation might be passed on all the guilty. Martin thereupon ordered that the dogmatic epistle of Paul to pope Theodore, together with the *Type*, should be read. There follows in the Acts of the synod a pronouncement on the latter document, probably prepared beforehand for adoption at this stage of the proceedings, and given simply in the verdict of the synod—"Sancta Synodus dixit." In it the *Type* is not so unreservedly condemned as it had been by Martin in his opening speech at the first session. A desire is evident to avoid offence to the emperor personally. The document is allowed to have been issued with a good intention, that of allaying dissensions, but said to have been badly framed for its purpose, inasmuch as it put truth and error on an equal footing. But Paul himself is severely censured for inconsistency and self-condemnation in advising its issue after he had committed himself to the *Ecthesis*. Further, whereas Martin, as well as the Greek monks and clergy in their petition, had previously represented the *Type* itself as implying by its prohibitions that Christ was without any will or operation at all, this absurdity is not now attributed to the document itself, but only to Paul and his followers personally, "sicut audivimus, et manus nostrae palpaverunt de verbo novitatis eorum." The reading of the definitions and decrees of the five general councils, and a long speech from Maximus bishop of Aquileia, occupied the rest of the session.

At the fifth and last, held on the 31st of October, the pope having ordered the reading of the utterances of the orthodox fathers on the questions at issue to be proceeded with, Leontius of Naples requested that the synod should first hear what the fifth general council had decreed as to the binding authority of the fathers' writings on all Christians. This request having been complied with, passages from the fathers, which had evidently been carefully extracted and arranged beforehand, were read. Twenty writers were referred to. After this, extracts from the writings of a number of condemned heretics were also read; and then Martin, after another speech, compared their writings with those of the Monothelites, setting passage against passage; his purpose being to shew how the latter were the true descendants of the earlier heretics, and not, as they boasted, of the orthodox fathers. After three more long speeches from Maximus, Deusdedit, and again from Martin, the synod finally issued a definition of the faith with respect to the Incarnation, and 20 canons. The doctrine of two natures and two wills in Christ was set forth as follows:—"We believe . . . that one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, is to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably, the difference of the natures being in no respect removed on account of their unitedness, nay rather the property of each nature being preserved without diminution, and concurring into one Person and Subsistence;—not separated and divided into two persons, but one and the same Only-begotten Son, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ:—and that of Him there are, as two natures united without confusion or division, so also two natural wills, divine and human, and two natural operations, divine and human;—and that, in perfect and complete certainty, the same is truly perfect God and according to the truth perfect man, one and the same, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, divinely and humanly willing and operating our salvation." A definition essentially the same with this, though with some additions, was adopted, and thus received full ecclesiastical sanction, at the 6th oecumenical council (A.D. 680). Of the twenty canons, the first sixteen condemn all who do not confess with the "holy fathers" various specified truths with respect to the Trinity and the Incarnation, or who with the "wicked heretics" profess the contrary views. The 17th condemns generally all who do not confess, in word and mind, in every single point, whatever has been handed down and preached to the holy Catholic Church by the holy fathers and the five oecumenical councils. The 18th similarly condemns all who do not utterly reject and anathematize all whom the holy Catholic Church —to wit, the five councils and the approved fathers—rejects and anathematizes; giving a long list of heresiarchs to be thus anathematized, and including in the number Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople, with all who should hereafter persist in the doctrine of one will and operation. The "most impious *Ecthesis*," and the "wicked *Type*," with all who had either framed or favoured them, are also to be rejected and anathematized. The two remaining canons, in like manner, condemn any one who should in any way defend the heresies referred to as being in accordance with traditional orthodoxy, and end with the words, "If he should continue to the end thus impiously acting without penitence, let him be condemned for ever and ever, and let all the people say, Amen, Amen." The signatures of 105 bishops follow, headed by that of Martin, which in the Latin copy is given thus:—"I, Martin, by the grace of God bishop of the holy and apostolic church of Rome, have subscribed with my own hand this definition, for the confirmation of the orthodox faith, and for the condemnation of Sergius, sometime bishop of Constantinople, of

Cyrus of Alexandria, of Theodore of Pharan, and also of Pyrrhus and Paul, bishops of Constantinople, with their heretical writings, and the impious *Ecthesis* and the impious *Type*, by them unlawfully promulgated."

On the Acts, above summarised, of this the famous 1st Lateran council, Fleury remarks with truth, "Ces actes ne sont pas du stile des anciens, rédigés mot pour mot par des notaires à mesure que l'on parlait. On ne voit ici ni exclamations, ni interruptions, ni discours vifs et naturels : ce sont des discours étudiés, ordinairement très-longs, remplis de quantité de passages de l'écriture, dont l'application est souvent tirée de loin." He adds, "Ainsi il est vraisemblable que l'on apportait ces discours tout écrits, et qu'on les lisait dans le concile. Les études étaient alors fort tombées à Rome, on ne sçavait plus parler simplement et précisement. Peut-être même l'art d'écrire en notes y était-il perdu : et peut-être aussi le latin vulgaire était-il déjà si corrompu que l'on avait honte de l'écrire tel qu'on le parlait" (Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiast.* lib. xxxviii. c. 53).

Though for this last supposition there may be no sufficient ground, it is evident that the whole proceedings of the council had been preconcerted : the accusers were ready at the door when wanted ; the passages from authors and from the Acts of councils were all prepared and marked for reading ; and the speeches shew signs of having been prearranged both as to their sequence and their purport. The result was also a foregone conclusion ; there was not, as in the general councils before and after, any advocacy of conflicting views ; all present were of one mind, having met, not for discussion, but for the simple purpose of condemning heresy and especially of individuals charged with it. As to the speeches, though they were (as Fleury intimates) wordy, reiterative, and discursive, yet they evince on the other hand a clear comprehension of the points at issue, and of the grounds of the orthodox position, on the part of Martin and his associates. And though, as was usual in that age, the dicta of approved fathers as well as of general councils were exalted to something of the position of infallible oracles, yet the speakers by no means confined themselves to the argument from authority : they appealed to reason also, shewing how the doctrine of two wills and operations was a necessary logical sequence of that of two perfect natures united in the Incarnate Word.

This council was one of great celebrity and importance. It was not oecumenical, though Martin, in his letter to Amandus (to be mentioned presently), calls it *concilium generale ;* for no churches but those of Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, and Western Africa were actually represented at it : but it was soon accepted and assented to both in the West and by the orthodox elsewhere ; it served to fix the definition of the faith till the same was finally endorsed by the 6th general council ; and, even after the time of the latter, it continued to be specially named after the oecumenical councils in the third of the professions of faith made by the popes at their ordination : "quinque synodos generales, ac *praeterea sextam nuper congregatam*, . . . sed etiam cuncta Decreta Pontificum apostolicae sedis ; praesertim quae a sanctae memoriae Martino universali Papa ad confirmationem praedictarum quinque Synodorum definita sunt et decreta" (*Lib. diurn. Rom. Pontif.* c. 2 tit. 9). It is to be observed that no mention was made at the council of Honorius of Rome as having been implicated in the heresy condemned, though in the 6th general council, held afterwards, he was anathematized by name along with Sergius and the rest. Bellarmine (*de Roman. Pontif.* l. iv. c. 12) makes this omission one ground of his contention that the pope in question had not really assented to the heresy of Sergius, and that the 6th council condemned him under an error as to fact, or else that its Acts have been corrupted. But see art. on HONORIUS.

Copies of the Acts of the council are extant, both in Greek and Latin, many having been sent, in one language or the other, to the various provinces of the East and West (Anastas. *in Vit. Martin.* ; *Ep. Martin. ad Amandum*). They were accompanied by an encyclic letter from Martin and the synod, addressed to all the faithful. It is, in the style of the speeches delivered, a long and tedious document, abounding in Scripture quotations, more or less relevant. To the emperor also a special letter was sent, which begins thus : "To Christ, the heavenly King, who, being God, appeared on the earth through flesh, intelligently animated and hypostatically united to Him,—to Him the magi zealously offered earthly gifts, not as being worthy of His divine glory, but rather as expressive of their zeal. . . . But to you, most serene one, who reign through Him upon the earth, and through your virtues are hastening to Him,—we, who through His grace are His priests, with much boldness offer precious gifts which are from heaven and carry up to heaven those who receive them, . . . for the true manifestation of our heartfelt love towards Him, our Lord and God, and towards you His sincere servant." After a little more in this highflown strain, the writers inform the "pious and serene emperor" how they had met in his God-loving and God-worshipping city of Rome, and with one consent had defined the truth, and condemned the heresies which they proceed to set forth and refute. They repeat also their condemnation of the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*, which they represent Sergius and Paul as having cunningly cajoled the emperors into issuing, so as to throw on others the blame of their own guilt. They expatiate further on the danger to the church from the least admission of heresy, and declare how the apostolic see, at the earnest request of the pious clergy and laity, had convened the synod to avert this danger, and indeed to defend the reputation of the emperor himself, whom the heretics represented as having issued the *Type* of his own will and motion. They conclude, "Wherefore we, flying for refuge to your Piety, that we may clearly exhibit to your Might the difference between the decrees of the pious fathers and the dogmas of impious men, send these our synodical Acts, with a Greek translation, praying and exhorting your divinely wise Serenity to deign to read them diligently, and to condemn by the laws of your Piety the aforesaid heretics, and sanction the confession of the holy fathers, for the settlement of holy church and the safety of the republic," &c. This letter, carefully worded with a view of conciliating the emperor, failed entirely of its purpose, as will be seen hereafter

Several other letters, accompanying the Acts and the encyclic, were sent by Martin himself to various churches. One is to the Catholic church of Carthage, and the clergy and people dependent on it (*Ep.* iv.). Another is to the churches ecclesiastically subject to Jerusalem and Antioch (*Ep.* xi.). It has been mentioned how Stephen bishop of Dora had appeared at the council as representing the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having been appointed to superintend it during the occupation of the patriarchal see by a heretical bishop. Martin had now commissioned John bishop of Philadelphia, recommended to him by this Stephen and others, to supervise the patriarchates both of Jerusalem and Antioch, one Maximus having been lately placed in the latter see by the Monothelite party. Martin, in his letter to these churches, warns them against heresy and heretics, and especially against communion with the aforesaid Maximus, or with Peter the Monothelite bishop of Alexandria; he enjoins them to aid and submit to John of Philadelphia, whom, "according to the power given us by the Lord through St. Peter the prince of the apostles, we have appointed our vicar to supply our place in all ecclesiastical matters in the Eastern parts." He wrote also a long letter to John himself (*Ep.* v.), conferring on him vicariate jurisdiction, transmitting to him the Acts and the encyclic for publication, and enjoining him to fill the churches with faithful pastors, to reconcile returning heretics, but to allow no compromise with heresy. In support of him and his mission he sent letters also to Theodore bishop of Esbus, to Antonius bishop of Bacathus,[d] to George archimandrite of the monastery of St. Theodosius, and to Peter, designated as "illustrious," who appears to have been some layman of power in the East (*Epp.* vi. vii. viii.). There is another letter also, written at this time, to one Pantaleon, with reference to charges that had been sent to the pope against Stephen of Dora in connexion with his late administration in the East. Martin, having examined these charges, defends Stephen against them, and reproves Pantaleon for having entertained them (*Ep.* ix.). All these letters intimate a lamentable state of things in the Eastern churches. In addition to the older heresies that had long distracted them Monothelitism had now introduced a new element of discord: the patriarchal sees themselves, and the imperial court, being infected with heresy, there was in the East no central authority for rallying the orthodox; while the recent conquest of Arabia and invasions of Africa and Palestine by the Moslems had increased the general disorganization. Hence Martin's frequent complaints of flocks being left without pastors, as well as of heretics being in possession of the leading sees. He did what he could to meet the evils of the time by assuming authority over all the churches in virtue of his position as St. Peter's successor, which he asserted in the fullest terms. Whatever the legitimacy of his claims, and whatever his success, there can be no doubt that he was actuated by a sincere zeal, as well as consistent, fearless, and uncompromising in the cause of truth and order: and his resolute attitude and firm grasp of definite doctrine, thwarted though he might be in his own day, may be regarded as one of the main causes, humanly speaking, of the eventual triumph of orthodoxy at the sixth general council.

Not only in the generally infected East, but in one region also under his acknowledged jurisdiction, he felt called upon, from a like cause, to take vigorous action. The see of Thessalonica had long been ecclesiastically subject to Rome, its bishops having, since the time of pope Damasus, been constituted the pope's vicars over Eastern Illyricum. Paul, recently appointed to Thessalonica, had sent, according to custom, his profession of faith to Martin, who had not been satisfied with it, finding it tinged with Monothelitism. But, being assured by Paul's envoys that the defects complained of had been due to inadvertence only, and would be amended when pointed out, he refrained from exercising his right to summon Paul to Rome, sending him only a correct confession of faith, which he was required to adopt. Paul therefore handed to the papal legates an amended profession, but one not identical with what the pope had sent. He had omitted the distinct assertion of two natural wills and operations in Christ, and also the appended anathema against all who were anathematized by Rome. The legates, however, accepted it as sufficient, for doing which they were made afterwards to do penance in sackcloth and ashes. To Paul Martin wrote a very severe letter, in which he suspended him from all ecclesiastical dignity and ministry till he should, without any omission, confirm in writing whatever had been synodically defined at Rome, and anathematize all heresies and heretics, including Theodore, Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople, with the *Ecthesis* and the *Type* (*Ep.* xii.). To the Thessalonian church also Martin wrote, forbidding all communion with Paul, and authorising the celebration of divine offices by the orthodox clergy, till either he should be reconciled, or another bishop be appointed (*Ep.* xiii.). One more letter remains to be mentioned, addressed by Martin to Amandus (the bishop of Maestric in Austrasia, known as St. Amandus) in reply to one received from him, in which he had complained of the difficulties of his position, and the vices of the clergy under him, and had expressed a desire to retire from his see. He had also asked for some relics to be sent to him from Rome, and some books from the pope's library. Martin, after exhorting him to persevere in the duties of his episcopate, and by no means to relax discipline, takes the opportunity of sending him a copy of the Acts and encyclic of the Lateran council, gives him a short account of the circumstances of its convention, and desires him to assemble a synod for the acceptance of its decrees. He also bids him admonish and entreat the Frank king Sigebert (who then reigned in Austrasia) to nominate bishops who might come to Rome, and go thence as a legation from the pope to the emperor, carrying with them the assent of their church to the Lateran decrees. He concludes by acceding to the request for relics, but refusing that for books, on the ground that the library was already exhausted, and there was no time

[d] Esbus and Bacathus were sees in the province called Arabia, or Arabia Philadelphiae, under the metropolis of Bostra, in the patriarchate of Antioch. (See Bingham, Bk. ix. ch. ii. sect. 7.)

to make copies (*Ep.* ii.). It appears from Audoenus (*St. Ouen*) of Rouen, in his life of St. Eligius, that a legation carrying the confession of faith and the encyclic of the council was also sent to Clovis, the half-brother of Sigebert, who reigned over Neustria and Burgundia, with a request similar to that which was made to Sigebert, and that St. Audoenus himself and St. Eligius of Noyon (whose biography he writes) had been prepared to go to Rome, but were prevented by some cause which is not explained (Audoen. *Vit. S. Eligii*, c. 33; *ap.* Surius, *de* 1 *Decemb.*; and D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. v. 190). Audoenus, in the work referred to, speaks in high praise of Martin and of the confession of the Lateran council, thus shewing its favourable acceptance in the kingdom of Clovis. We have no evidence of the decrees and encyclic having at the same time been sent to Britain; but we find from Bede (*Hist. Gent. Angl.* iv. 17) that at the synod of Haethfeld (*Bishops Hatfield*), under archbishop Theodore, September 17, 680, the first Lateran council was fully accepted in addition to the five general ones previously held.

Martin had evidently calculated on the influence which the concurrence of the Frank kings, through the proposed legations, might have on the heretical emperor. If, however, he had hoped, either through such influence, or by the thunders of the Lateran council, or through the tone of his synodical letter, to convince, or awe, or conciliate Constans, the event proved the vanity of such a hope. While the council was still sitting, Constans had sent a new exarch to Italy, Olympius the chamberlain, with orders to cause all the clergy and proprietors there to subscribe the *Type*, and, in case of his finding the army favourable, to seize the pope. Having arrived at Rome, and found it impossible to carry out the latter part of his orders, Olympius is said to have formed the design of having the pope assassinated in the church of St. Mary ad Praesepe while in the act of administering the communion to himself, and to have given orders to that effect to his bodyguard (*spatharius*). The latter, however, is further said to have failed to carry out his orders, and to have alleged afterwards on oath that he had been seized with blindness at the moment when he should have done the deed (Anastas.; *in Vit. Martin.*). What really occurred at Rome during this visit of Olympius is uncertain. Martin (as will be seen) was afterwards accused of having concurred with him in some treasonable designs against the emperor, but repudiated the charge as a baseless calumny. Olympius before long departed for Sicily to oppose the Saracens, and there met with disaster and death (Anastas. *ib.*). After him Theodore (surnamed and spoken of as Calliopas) was sent to Rome as exarch, accompanied by Theodore the chamberlain, whose surname was Pellurus. Of the events that followed we have the advantage of a graphic account from the pen of Martin himself, in two letters written to another Theodore, whom he addressed as "beloved brother" (*Epp.* xiv. xv.). The style of these letters is in contrast with the wordy tediousness of his theological effusions. From them we learn that three charges had been brought against him to justify his apprehension:—1st, that he had written letters with a treasonable intent to the Saracens; 2ndly, that he had sent them money; 3rdly, that he had shewn disrespect to the Blessed Virgin. He indignantly denies them all, except that, with regard to the second, he had given alms to some "servants of God," who had come to Rome; but he says that they were of small amount, and were not transmitted to the Saracens. As to the third (which was probably worth no more than the usual charge of Nestorianism alleged by both Monophysites and Monothelites against the orthodox) he expresses himself thus:—"As to our glorious Lady, the Ever-virgin Mary, who brought forth our God and Lord Jesus Christ, whom all the holy and Catholic fathers call the Mother of God, as having brought forth the God-man; wicked men have testified falsely against me, nay rather against their own souls. For whosoever does not honour and adore her who is blessed above every creature, and above every human nature, excepting Him who was born of her, let him be anathema in this world and in the world to come." It appears that Calliopas and the chamberlain Theodore, with an army from Ravenna, entered Rome on Saturday the 15th of June (A.D. 653). Martin, who had been ill since the previous October, foreseeing what would happen, had meanwhile taken refuge with his clergy in the church of Constantine near the Lateran palace, in which the council had been held. But he sent some of the clergy to receive the exarch, who, perceiving that the pope was not among them as he had at first supposed, expressed his intention of paying his respects to him on the following day. But this being Sunday, when a great crowd was assembled, he deferred his visit till the Monday, pleading fatigue. At daybreak on Monday morning he sent his secretary (*chartularius*) with others to the pope, charging him with having armed men and a collection of arms and stones concealed, and protesting against any need of such precautions. Martin disproved the charge by causing the messengers to be conducted through the whole of the Lateran so as to see for themselves. He thus describes what next ensued: "Now I had my bed on which I lay before the altar of the church; and lo! before midday was past, an army entered the church, carrying their lances and their swords and their bows strung, with their shields; and things not even to be spoken of were done. For as in the winter season, when the wind blows hard, the leaves fall shaken from the trees, so the sacred candles of the church were struck down by the weapons of the soldiers, and rebounded from the pavement; and a horrible sound like thunder was heard in the church both from the clashing of arms and from the multitude of candles broken by them." An imperial order was then handed by Calliopas to the clergy present, commanding the deposition of Martin, as having been irregularly intruded into the see, and being unworthy to occupy it, his removal to Constantinople, and the substitution of another bishop in his place: "a thing," Martin adds, "which has never yet been done, and I hope never will be done, since in the absence of the pontiff the archdeacon, the arch-presbyter, and the primicerius represent him." To avoid useless bloodshed he gave himself up quietly and forbade resistance, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, who, as he left the church, ex-

claimed with a loud voice, in the presence of Calliopas and the chamberlain, "Anathema to every one who has said or believed that Martin has changed or will change the faith on any single point; and anathema to those who abide not in the orthodox faith even unto death." Calliopas, on hearing this, deemed it expedient to declare that he too held the same faith with Martin, whom he also promised that as many of his friends, bishops or others, as he might wish for should accompany him to Constantinople. "With him we live, and with him we die," exclaimed several of the presbyters. Thus assured, he allowed himself to be led to the imperial palace on the Palatine. Next day (Tuesday) he was visited there by clergy and others who had prepared themselves for leaving Rome with him, and who had already sent their effects to the boats. But towards midnight he was hurried away suddenly, being allowed to take with him only five attendants and one drinking cup (*caucullum*); and the gates of the city, after he had passed them, were closed against his followers. Thus hastily embarked in a boat on the Tiber, he reached the port about the tenth hour on the Wednesday morning, and was made to take ship on the same day (June 19), the baggage which his friends had sent on in boats being left behind. On the 1st of July the vessel arrived at Messina, during its stay at which place, and on the coast of Calabria, and at several islands in the Aegean, during three months, he remained a prisoner on board, suffering all the time from painful illness. The only alleviation of his sufferings was at Naxos, where the vessel remained a whole year. There he was permitted to live on shore, and to bathe three times. "And at the present time," he continues in his letter, writing probably from Constantinople after his arrival there, "it is forty-seven days since I have been allowed to moisten myself with either warm or cold water, and I have been all over affected with flux and shivering, since the flow of my bowels both by sea and land has allowed me no rest to the present hour; and in the very hour of my necessity, when I would have tasted food, my whole body was convulsed, and I had none of the things necessary for comforting nature, since what I have I cannot take for loathing." It is stated by the writer of a letter to be presently referred to (*Commemoratio eorum, &c.*) that whenever faithful Christians anywhere brought him food, it was snatched from them by his brutal guards, the bringers being driven away with blows, and told that if they loved him they were enemies of the state. Martin continues: "But I believe in the goodness of God who sees all things; for, when I shall be withdrawn from this present life, my persecutors will be called to account for all these things, that at least being brought to penitence they may be converted from their iniquity."

What took place after Martin's arrival at Constantinople is related in the letter above referred to from a Christian unnamed to "the orthodox fathers in the West, whether in Rome or in Africa," entitled *Commemoratio eorum quae saeviter, &c.* The writer professes to have been an eye-witness of all that he relates, or to have heard it from eye-witnesses. It appears that Constantinople was reached on the morning of September 17, A.D. 654. The pope was left all day lying sick on a couch in the ship, exposed to many insults. About sunset a scribe called Sagoleva, with a detachment of guards, came and removed him in a chair to a guard-station called Prandearia, where he was left in close custody for ninety-three days. He was then taken to the apartment of the imperial treasurer (*sacellarius*), where the members of the senate were in attendance. He was brought before them carried in a chair, being still ill; the treasurer, who presided, ordered him to rise, and, though told by the bystanders that the prisoner was too weak to stand, angrily repeated his order, whereupon the pope was supported on each side in an erect position. "Wretched man," said the treasurer, "what harm has the emperor done thee? Has he ever taken anything from thee? Has he ever oppressed thee?" The pope was silent. "Answerest thou not?" resumed the treasurer; "So now thy accusers enter." The principal witness was Dorotheus, patrician of Cilicia, and with him came several soldiers and others, some of whom had been at Rome with Olympius, the exarch who had been sent there before Calliopas, as above related. Seeing accusers of this class enter, Martin said with a smile, "So these are the witnesses! This is then the order of things!" Dorotheus declared on oath, "If he had fifty heads, he ought not to live, in that he alone has subverted and ruined the whole of the West; and, indeed, he was confederate with Olympius, and the enemy of the emperor and of the state." The charge seems to have been one of some treasonable conspiracy with Olympius at Rome, when the latter had failed, as has been seen, to carry out the emperor's designs against the pope. The religious question was purposely kept out of court. When other witnesses were about to be sworn, Martin exclaimed, "I implore you by God, do not let them swear, but let them say what they will without an oath, and do ye what ye will; for why should they lose their souls by swearing?" Another witness having, however, confirmed on oath what Dorotheus had alleged, Martin, being called upon to reply, began by saying, "When the Type, concocted and sent to Rome by the emperor"——; but he was interrupted by the prefect Troilus, who exclaimed, "Introduce nothing about the faith: you are now being examined for treason: we too are Romans, and Christians, and orthodox." "Would you were," replied Martin; "but you will find me in the dreadful day of judgment a witness against you even in this." After more altercation,—Martin having set forth how powerless he had been to hinder anything that Olympius might have done when at Rome, and having also recriminated on Troilus,—the treasurer closed the proceedings. Refusing to hear any more witnesses, or to allow the interpreter to report any more of what the accused might say, he rose and departed to make his report to the emperor. Martin was carried in his chair to a neighbouring open court, which adjoined the imperial stables, and thence to what is supposed to have been a terrace (*solarium expositionis*) in front of the emperor's dining-room (*triclinium*), whence the latter could see him through the grated gates (*cancelli*) of the apartment. He was there again propped up in a standing position, sur-

rounded by the members of the senate and a large crowd. The treasurer, coming out through the opened *cancelli*, and dividing the crowd, said to him, "See how God has delivered thee into our hands! What hope was there for thee in contending with the emperor? Lo! thou hast deserted God, and God has deserted thee." Then, having ordered one of the guards to cut off his pontifical *psachnion*, and the latchet of his shoes,* he delivered him to the prefect of the city with the words, "Take him away, Sir Prefect, and immediately cut him to pieces." The bystanders were told to anathematize him; some twenty did so; the rest (says the narrator) retired with dejected countenances and great sadness. He was next stripped of his sacerdotal *pallium*, and left with no covering but his tunic, which was torn up on both sides so as to expose his naked flesh; chains were put about his neck, and he was thus dragged through the city, a drawn sword being carried before him, amid the jeers of some, but the commiserating tears of others, to the praetorium, and thence to a prison approached by a flight of steps, called "the prison of Diomed." His limbs were lacerated through the violence that had been used, and his feet bled as he ascended the rugged stairs. He was thus left, loaded with irons, and (as was usual with persons condemned to death) chained to his guard, only one young ecclesiastic being allowed to attend him. Two women, a mother and her daughter, who kept the keys of the prison, moved to compassion by his sufferings, and seeing him shivering with cold, would have brought him some covering had they dared. After a few hours, however, the head gaoler having been called down by some one in the court below, one of these women removed him to her own bed, and covered him with clothes. He remained there speechless till evening, when the prefect of the city (a eunuch Gregory who had been the emperor's chamberlain) sent him some slight refreshment, with a message bidding him be of good comfort, for that his life would be spared. This message caused him distress rather than comfort. His irons were then removed.

On the following day, Paul the patriarch being at the point of death, the emperor went to visit him, and told him what had been done to Martin. "Woe is me!" said Paul, groaning and turning his face to the wall, "and this has been done to fill up the measure of my judgments!" Questioned by the emperor why he spoke thus, he replied, "Is it not miserable, sir, that pontiffs should suffer such things?" The emperor promised with an oath to do the pope no further injury; on getting news of which promise Martin grew the more sad; "for he was in haste to finish his good fight and to depart to Him whom he desired." After Paul's death the ex-patriarch Pyrrhus, seeking restoration to his see, was opposed by many on the ground of the confession of faith which he had made at Rome before Theodore, and of his having been excommunicated by Paul. The emperor therefore sent Dorotheus the treasurer's secretary (rescriptor et collaborator) with a notary, to examine Martin as to what had passed at Rome between Pyrrhus and Theodore. The following conversation ensued. "Did Pyrrhus go to Rome of his own accord, or by invitation?"—"Of his own accord."—"Did he sign the confession of faith under compulsion?"—"No, voluntarily."—"How did Theodore receive him? As a bishop?"—"Certainly; why not?"—"Whence did he get the necessaries of life?"—"Manifestly from the Roman patriarchal palace" (*patriarchio*). "What kind of bread was given him?"—"Know ye not, my lords, the Roman church? For I tell you that whatever wretch comes there for hospitality all his needs are supplied, and St. Peter sends no one away without a share of his gifts; but the finest bread and various wines are given both to him and to those who belong to him. If, then, this is done to any wretched person, what sumptuous entertainment must one coming in the honourable position of bishop receive!"—"We have heard that Pyrrhus signed the confession under compulsion, was put in the stocks, and suffered many grievous things."—"Nothing of the kind took place. There are many here now at Constantinople who were then at Rome, and know what was done. There is the patrician Plato, who was then exarch: ask him whether I lie. But why enquire further? Behold, I am in your hands; do with me what you will; by God's permission it is in your power; though even if you cut my flesh in pieces—as you ordered to be done when you delivered me to the prefect, I do not communicate with the church of Constantinople."

After lying eighty-five days in the prison of Diomed, Martin was again visited by Sagovela the scribe, who told him that he had orders to remove him to his own house, to be thence transported to such place as the treasurer might choose. He begged in vain to be allowed to remain where he was till the time of his exile. Towards evening he addressed his fellow-prisoners thus, "Come, brethren, let us take a farewell, for he who is to remove me hence will soon be here." All then partook of a parting cup. To a beloved brother who was among those who had come to visit him, he said serenely, "Come, sir brother (*domine frater*), give me the kiss of peace." The brother, unable to contain himself, "roared like a lion, and with him all who were present lamented with a terrible lamentation." Martin, retaining his own composure, bade them all restrain their feelings, and putting his hands on the beloved brother's head, said with a smile, "Is this good? Is it in place, sir brother? Ought you to act thus, when on the contrary you should be rejoicing over me?" All having saluted him and retired, Sagovela came presently, as expected, to carry him to his own house; whence a few days later, he was taken by sea to Cherson (or Chersona), a town in the Tauric Chersonesus (*Crimea*), where after four months' more suffering he died.

For a view of his condition during this concluding period of his life we have again the advantage of his own pen in two extant letters written from Cherson. From the first (*Ep.* xiv.), addressed to a friend (ad quendam sibi carissimum), apparently at Constantinople, we learn that, having sailed on March 26, A.D. 655, being

* *Corrigiam campagorum.* Campagus was a kind of shoe or buskin worn by emperors, and also by patriarchs and other persons of distinction. The obscure word *Psachnion* is supposed to denote an outer robe worn by popes. The derivation is uncertain. (See Du Cange.)

Thursday in Holy Week, he reached Cherson on May 15. Thirty days later the person whom he employed as the bearer of his letter had arrived there; "And (he writes) we rejoiced greatly, supposing him to be the bearer of supplies that had been sent from Italy for our consolation. But, having interrogated him, we found that he had brought nothing; and I wondered, though glorifying my God even in this, since He dispenses our afflictions as He knows to be best, especially as the famine and destitution in this land are such that bread is spoken of but never seen. Indeed, unless provisions be sent us from those parts or from the parts of Pontus, we cannot live here at all. For the spirit is willing, but the flesh weak, as you yourself also know . . . Wherefore, if (as has been reported) corn and wine, or oil, or anything whatever, has been sent for us from those quarters, make what haste you can to send it on to us. For, indeed, methinks I did not so maltreat the saints that are there, and the Roman church, that they should pay no regard to the Lord's command, especially as the apostle wrote to the Philippians giving them thanks that they had sent once and again to his necessity, and added, 'I have all and abound.' . . . I send a list of articles that ought to be procured there (*i.e.* in Italy), and I beseech you, after your accustomed manner and as you know how, to see to their being bought and sent to us because of our many necessities and frequent infirmities."

In his second letter (*Ep.* xv.) he again complains bitterly of his destitute state, which his friends seem to have still taken no measures to relieve. He says that the natives of the region where he is are all heathens, and that those who have settled there have adopted the ways of heathens, having no charity at all such as human nature often inspires even among barbarians; that no corn whatever can be got there, except very rarely from ships which come there to be laden with salt; that he has thus been able up to the month of September, when he writes, to buy three or four bushels, and no more. He wonders greatly at the want of thought and compassion among his old friends, who seem not to care to know whether he is dead or alive. He wonders most of all at the clergy of the most holy church of St. Peter for their utter neglect of him. "For (he says) though the church of St. Peter has not gold, yet by the grace of God it is not without corn and wine and other necessaries, so that they might at least have provided me with a moderate maintenance. What is the dread that has fallen on men that they should not fulfil the commands of God, and fear where no fear is? Have I been such an enemy to the whole body of the church? Nevertheless may God, who wills all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth, through the intercession of St. Peter, establish their hearts in the orthodox faith, and strengthen them against every heretic and adversary of our church, and especially the pastor who is said now to preside over them." The allusion here is to Eugenius, whom the Roman church under the emperor's orders had elected in Martin's room [EUGENIUS]. "For the Lord will take care of this poor body as it pleases Him, either in unceasing tribulations or in some slight refreshment. The Lord is at hand; why should I be anxious? I hope in His mercies that He will not delay to finish my course according to His will. May the High God protect you with His powerful hand from all temptations, and save you for His kingdom."

The release so longed for was not long delayed. He died on Sept. 16, A.D. 655 (*commemor.*), the same month in which he had written the letter, a real martyr for the faith of which he had been so resolute a champion. For, though he was not put to death by violence, the hardships he endured for conscience' sake must have hastened his end; and though political grounds were assigned for his persecution, there can be little doubt that its real cause was his resistance to imperial domination in matters of theology. St. Audoenus (in *Vit. S. Eligii*, c. 34) warmly vindicates for him the crown of martyrdom, his claim to which had been denied by his enemies because he had died a natural death. He expresses the highest admiration of his faithfulness and endurance, declaring martyrdom for orthodoxy to be even more glorious than that which is suffered under heathen persecution, since, in the former case, the martyr suffers not only to save his own soul but in behalf of the universal church.

Martin was buried in a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of *Blacherne*, situated about a stadium from the town of Cherson (*commemor.*). His remains were said to have been afterwards translated to Rome, and were there venerated (*Martyrol. Roman.*). But Baronius, from the fact that even to his own day the saint's sepulchre in the Chersonesus was visited by the faithful, and that cures were wrought there, concludes that some part of his body must have been left behind. One of the letters of pope Gregory II. to the emperor Leo Isauricus contains evidence that in the 8th century his remains were still believed to be at Cherson, and to possess miraculous powers;—"But that Martin is blessed and holy all Chersonesus and all the inhabitants of the north testify, who flock to his tomb, and experience cures of their diseases." Audoenus speaks of one miracle said to have been wrought by him in his lifetime; the restoration of sight to a blind man at Constantinople. He is commemorated as a confessor by the Greek church on April 14, and as a martyr by the Roman church on Nov. 12:—"Natalis S. Martini pap. et martyr., qui . . . multisque miraculis claruit; cujus corpus postea Romam translatum in ecclesia ejus nomine dedicata conditum fuit" (*Martyrolog. Roman.*).

Martin is one of the popes whom the Magdeburg Centuriators accuse of heresy on the ground of a passage in his letter to Amandus, where he is said to be guilty of Novatianism in directing that sinful priests and deacons, after deposition, are not to be readmitted to penitence. But Bellarmine (*de Roman. Pontif.* I. iv. c. 12) defends him with success by saying that it is not absolution, but restitution to ministerial functions that he is speaking of in his letter. The authorities for his life and his extant writings have been intimated above. [J. B—y.]

MARTINUS (4), a cancellarius addressed by Nilus in three letters (lib. ii. epp. 316, 317, 318 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxix. 353), one on Eccl. x. 14, the other two cautioning him against Manichean errors and the society of fair women. [T. W. D.]

MARTINUS (5), presbyter and archimandrite, opposed to Eutyches at Flavian's council at Constantinople in 448 (Mansi, vi. 751). At his monastery Eutyches endeavoured to get his tome subscribed (Mansi, vi. 719). With Faustus, Peter, and others he addressed the emperor Marcian (Mansi, vii. 75). He and Faustus were addressed by pope Leo (epp. 32, 61, 74, 75 in *Patr. Lat.* liv. 795, &c.). In ep. 32 the note observes that other readings of the name are Marcianus, Marcellinus, Marcellianus. [FAUSTUS (28).] [C. H.]

MARTINUS (6), Oct. 24 (Usuard), founder and patron of the monastery of St. Martin at Vertavum (St. Martin at Vertou), near Nantes, believed to have been at that time abbat of St. Jouin de Marnes, and to have been the Martianus or Marcianus to whom Fortunatus dedicated his *Life of Paternus*. (Le Coiate, *Annal.* ann. 565 xii.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 24 Oct. x. 794; *Gall. Chr.* ii. 1274; Fortun. *Vit. Pat.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxxxviii. 487; Tillem. x. 353.) [C. H.]

MARTYRIANI. [EUPHEMITAE.]

MARTYRIUS (1), a bishop deputed by the Eusebians, with Eudoxius, Macedonius, and Demophilus, to carry their new creed into Italy (Athan. *De Syn.* § 26). They attended the council of Milan. (Hilar. *Frag.* vi. § 4 in *Patr. Lat.* x. 684; Tillem. vi. 331.) [C. H.]

MARTYRIUS (2), bishop of Antioch, raised to the patriarchal throne A.D. 460. After he had enjoyed his see for ten years he was forcibly deposed by the turbulent Monophysite Peter the Fuller, who, by the help of Zeno the son-in-law of the emperor Leo, had made himself master of his seat A.D. 470. Martyrius fled to Gennadius at Constantinople, whose influence with Leo secured for him a kindly reception, and his ultimate restoration. The violence of Peter rendered Martyrius's position so uncomfortable that before long he abdicated his bishopric, and it was a second time seized by the Fuller. An appeal was again made to the emperor, who deposed Peter, and Julian was appointed the orthodox successor to Martyrius (Theophan. *Chronogr.* sub ann. 456 [468 A.D.]; Theod. Lect. p. 554; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* xvi. 75). Nicephorus (*Chronicon*) asserts that a letter was written by pope Simplicius to the people of Antioch denouncing Martyrius as a Nestorian, but it is believed by Tillemont to be a forgery for the purpose of blackening Martyrius's character (*Mém. Ecclés.* xvi. 290). The celebrated pillar-saint, Simeon Stylites, died during the episcopate of Martyrius, who on hearing of his decease repaired to the Mandra with a retinue of six bishops, accompanied by a large number of troops and a vast concourse of people, and conveyed the sacred remains to Antioch (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 13; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 724). He was the author of *Panegyricum S. Joan. Chrysost.* (Tillem. xi. 547; Mai, *Pat. Bibl. Nov.* ii. 545; *Pat. Gr.* xlvii. p. xli.) [E. V.]

MARTYRIUS (3), bishop of Jerusalem, successor to Anastasius, A.D. 478. He was a Cappadocian by birth, who had embraced a solitary life in the Nitrian desert. The violent proceedings of Timothy Aelurus drove him and other orthodox monks from Egypt, and he took refuge, A.D. 457, together with his fellow solitary Elias, also subsequently bishop of Jerusalem, in the house of St. Euthymius. The aged anchorite received the two friends with great favour, admitted them to close intimacy, and took them as his companions in his periodical retreats, predicting that they would both become bishops of Jerusalem (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.* c. 94, 95). After a time Martyrius retired to a cave two miles to the west of the laura, which became the site of a considerable monastery (*ib.*). Martyrius and Elias were present at the death and burial of St. Euthymius, A.D. 473, after which, to divert them from dwelling on their loss, Anastasius, who had come from Jerusalem for the translation of the holy man's remains, took them back with him and ordained them presbyters, attaching them to the Church of the Resurrection (*ib.* cc. 105, 110, 112). On the death of Anastasius, A.D. 478, Martyrius succeeded him as bishop of Jerusalem (*ib.* 113). His church was then rent asunder by the Eutychian Aposchistae, or schismatic monks, of whom Gerontius was the head. As narrated in another article, Martyrius, A.D. 486 or 481, sent his deacon Fidus to Constantinople, with letters to Zeno and Acacius, asking for their intervention to heal this schism (*ib.* 113) [FIDUS (3)]. On the conversion of the laura of Euthymius into a monastery, the church of the establishment was dedicated by Martyrius with great pomp (*ib.* cc. 119–122). He succeeded in bringing back the schismatic monks to the unity of the church (*ib.* 123–124). Evagrius records, as a departure from strict orthodoxy, that he received synodical letters from Peter Mongus, and sent back a reply; though afterwards he refused communication with him (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 16). Cyrillus Scythopolitanus tells us that he died in the eighth year of his patriarchate, A.D. 486 (*Vit. S. Sab.* c. 19; Eutych. tom. ii. p. 103). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 171; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* xvi. 332 sq.) [E. V.]

MARTYRIUS (4), the archdeacon of Constantinople whose deposition by Chrysostom, acting as "accuser, witness, and judge" all in one, was one of the charges specified at the council of the Oak (Phot. *Cod.* 59, p. 56). As deacon of Constantinople, he accompanied Peter the presbyter to Rome, conveying Theophilus's letters to Innocent informing him of Chrysostom's deposition and the Acts of the council, and brought back Innocent's indignant reply. (Pallad. *Dial.* pp. 23, 24, ed. Bigot.) [E. V.]

MARTYRIUS (5), presbyter addressed by Isidore of Pelusium on modesty (lib. iii. 162 in *Patr. Gr.* lxxviii.); on purity (iii. 163); consolatory (iii. 309); on the Incarnation (iii. 355); on Dan. vi. 3 (iii. 356). [T. W. D.]

MARTYRIUS (6), addressed by Isidore of Pelusium on the subject of pride (lib. i. ep. 164, in *Patr. Gr.* lxxviii. 292); on Matt. xviii. 3 (ii. 207); on opportunity (v. 399); on instability of character (v. 443). [T. W. D.]

MARTYRIUS (7), a presbyter to whom Theodoret wrote stating that a certain rhetorician, Athanasius by name, a native of Egypt, had paid him a visit of some days, probably at

Martyrius's suggestion, hoping to obtain some profit from his intercourse with him. Theodoret modestly deprecates the idea commonly entertained of him, and begs Martyrius to pray for him that what is said of him may be verified by facts. (Theod. *Ep.* 20.) [E. V.]

MARUTHAS (1) (called by the Copts MARUNAS), bishop of Tagrit, otherwise Martyropolis or Maipheracti in Mesopotamia. He flourished at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. He is sometimes confounded with another Maruthas, bishop of the same place, who was one of the Nicene fathers. Maruthas the younger was a friend of St. Chrysostom (Chrysost. ep. 14, § 5), and assisted at the council of Constantinople. He was the author of the following works: (1) the acts of the martyrs who suffered in Sapor's persecution, and odes in their honour; (2) a history of the council of Nice; (3) a Syrian liturgy or anaphora (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* t. ii. p. 261); (4) commentaries on the Gospels (Assem. *Bib. Orient.* i. 179). He also translated the canons of Nice into Syriac, and is said to have published twenty-six canons, passed A.D. 410, in the council of Seleucia, whose authenticity, however, is very doubtful. They are printed in Mansi, iii. 1167, vii. 1181, Renaudot, *l. c.* p. 272; and Assem. (*Bib. Cod. Orient. Flor.* p. 94) says that a codex with these canons exists at Florence, cf. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* cap. 117. He had the reputation of working miracles among the Persians. His relics were preserved in the convents of Scete. Assemani, *Acta Mart.* t. i. pp. xlvi.-lxv. of his general preface, describes his works; he also mentions him on pp. 2, 4, 73, 171, 208. In the *Rom. Mart.* he is commemorated on Dec. 4, as a restorer of the churches destroyed in the persecution of Isdegerdes; cf. G. Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus Syrisch. Akten Persischer Martyrer* in *Abhandlung. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1880, vii. 3, 41. [G. T. S.]

MARUTHAS (2), first maphrian or primate of the Jacobites in Mesopotamia, was elected and consecrated at the monastery of St. Matthew in Mosul to be the primate of the East, when Athanasius Camelarius, patriarch of the Jacobites, on the plea of obedience to the Nicene canons, had refused his consent and aid. He fixed his see at Tagrit, and had the Eastern Jacobites divided into twelve dioceses under the primacy of Tagrit. This city Maruthas adorned with churches and monasteries, and is said to have, for the safety of the inhabitants, handed over the citadel to the Saracens when they overran the country. Under his rule the Jacobites increased largely in Persia, and for them he consecrated bishops. Evidently one of the most influential bishops of the East, he was consecrated A.D. 629, and died A.D. 649. (Assemanus, *B. O.* ii. 418–420; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1534.) [J. G.]

MASBOTHAEI. This name occurs in the earliest list of heresies, that given by Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22); and, as Burton edits, these heretics are said to have been called after their founder Masbotheus; but this addition is weak in MS. authority. The earliest commentary on this is to be found in the statement of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 6), that among Jewish sects were the Basmotheans who denied Providence, said that the world was formed by spontaneous motion, and took away the immortality of the soul. The Indiculus of Pseudo-Jerome and Isidore of Seville (*Origg.* viii. 5; Oehler, i. 286, 303) state that the heresy of the sect was that Christ taught His disciples in everything to keep Sabbath. Modern commentators have found an origin for the word in the last word of Lam. i. 7, translated in our version, "Her adversaries did mock at *her Sabbaths*;" and it has been suggested that the nickname "despisers of Sabbaths" may have been used among the Jews for the Christians themselves. With somewhat more probability Renan (*L'Église chrét.* p. 228) translates the word "apostates," deriving it from the phrase "backsliding Israel" (מְשֻׁבָה, Jer. iii. 8). All these explanations are mere guess-work; our real knowledge is limited to the occurrence of the name in Hegesippus, and there is no reason to think that any of those who have undertaken to explain it knew more about the matter than ourselves. [MAZBERCHTENSES.] [G. S.]

MASCEZEL (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, vol. v. p. 64; Orosius, vii. 36; Zosim. v. 11; Claudian, *de Bello Gildon.* & *Laud. Stilich.* i.; Gibbon, c. 29. MASCEZAL, MASCIZEL, MASCEZIL, and by Zosimus Μασκέζηλος). Mascezel's name occurs, probably for the first time of mention in history, in Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix. v. 11, as acting on the part of his brother Firmus [FIRMUS (7), GILDO, NUBEL] in his revolt against Romanus, count of Africa under Valentinian I. (373). Their father, Nubel, whom Ammianus mentions as one of the most powerful chiefs of Mauritania, left several other sons, including Zamma, Gildo, Dius, Salmacis, Muzuca, and Dius; and a daughter named Cyria. The murder of Zamma by Firmus, and the action taken against him in consequence by Romanus, drove him to revolt, and he was supported by all his brothers except Gildo. Mascezel took the command of two lightly armed tribes called the Tyndenses and Massinenses, and was twice defeated by Theodosius. He seems, however, to have shewn some military capacity. But at the time of Gildo's own revolt against Honorius in 397, Mascezel fled to Milan. Being a baptized Christian, as Tillemont suggests, he may have objected to a rebellion against the son of Theodosius I., grandson of his old conqueror. His life is said to have been attempted by Gildo (Claudian, *de Bello Gild.* i.), and on his flight his two sons were put to death by him. Stilicho not unnaturally placed Mascezel at the head of an expedition to quell this dangerous rebellion, which threatened a stoppage of the corn-supply of the Roman market. Zosimus says Mascezel was entrusted with a large army, Orosius and the chronicle of Marcellinus that there were only 5000 men. As Claudian names their legions or cohorts, they may have been picked soldiers. As Mascezel felt or professed great devotion, it is probable that Zosimus would be inclined to depreciate and Orosius to exaggerate his victory. He sailed at all events from Pisa, passed along the east coast of Sardinia, touched at the isle of Capraja or Capraria, then tenanted only by monks, and the wild goats from which its name is derived.

He persuaded some of these solitaries to accompany him (Augustin, *Ep.* 81, 141, 142). Gildo was a pagan in conduct, and probably in creed, if he had any; and had shewn favour to the Donatists and other heretics; so that Mascezel's expedition must have been felt as closely affecting the interests of the Catholic church. He landed in Africa, and was met between Thebecte in Numidia and Metridora in Africa Proper, by Gildo, at the head of an irregular army of 70,000 revolted Romans and native auxiliaries. Being encouraged by the appearance of St. Ambrose (who had been dead about a year) in a dream, he gave battle and obtained a decisive victory; determined, it appears, by the fall of a standard with its bearer, whom Mascezel cut down, on his defiance and refusal of pardon on submission. This caused a panic in the tumultuous host of his opponents, and is consistent with Zosimus's account of a hard struggle; which may not have lasted long. Gildo was defeated, and escaped to the sea, but was driven into the port of Tabraca and taken. He destroyed himself in prison. Mascezel was received by Stilicho on his return with apparent cordiality; which is not surprising, as all Africa seems to have been recovered by his victory without further operations. The view taken by history of the 4th and other centuries is impartial only in attributing the greatest wickedness to the greatest number; and Tillemont takes it as agreed that Stilicho contrived his successful lieutenant's death soon after, by having him jostled over a bridge near Milan, while riding in his train, and giving no orders to attempt his rescue while he struggled in the torrent below. This he gives on the authority of Zosimus; and leans on the other hand on Orosius for Mascezel's having deserved his fate, by pride and arrogance, by giving up the company of the monks to whose prayers he owed his victory; and even in violating sanctuary, by dragging some accused persons out of a church. It is possible that soon after the murder of his children, and in view of possibly personal encounter in battle with his brother their murderer, described and perhaps known to him as the pagan tyrant of Africa, he may have used severities which he did not continue in the camp or palace of Stilicho. That great general's views on rights of ecclesiastical sanctuary are known to have been loose, and were rebuked by St. Ambrose. It is also known of him that he used intrigue and violence against enemies as unscrupulous as himself. But the deliberate murder of a trusted subordinate is very unlike any other recorded action of Stilicho's; and Zosimus's expression about a *tessera* or token given by him to the attendants to crowd Mascezel over the bridge, and of his laughing openly at the deed, seem to go for more than they are worth. Had Mascezel lived to be count of Africa instead of Heraclian, Stilicho himself might have lived to defend Rome from Alaric, and the miserable episode of Heraclian's invasion of Italy would have been spared the Roman world. [R. St. J. T.]

MASONA (MASSONA, MAUSONA, Mansi, ix. 1000, x. 478), bishop of Merida from about A.D. 571 to about 606.

Sources.—(1) *Joannes Biclar.* ad ann. 573, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 378. (2) Acts of the third council of Toledo, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 252. (3) *De Vita et Miraculis Patrum Emeritensium*, a series of lives attributed to Paulus Diaconus, a supposed writer of the 7th century, printed by Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xiii., by Aguirre, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* ii. 639, and elsewhere. (4) Letter of Isidore to Masona published by Arevali, *Isid. Opera*, vii. 563.

Life.—Our information concerning Masona, outside that which we derive from the 3rd source mentioned above, is extremely scanty. Joannes Biclarensis says of him under the year 573, the fifth year of Leovigild, "Masona Emeritensis Ecclesiae Episcopus in nostro dogmate clarus habetur," and among the signatures to the third council of Toledo, the famous conversion council of 589, that of Masona "*Ecclesiae Catholicae* Emeritensis Metropolitanus episcopus provinciae Lusitaniae" is found at the head of all the episcopal signatures, and immediately following that of Recared, Masona presiding at the council as the senior metropolitan present. Between these two dates sixteen years of great importance to the Gothic state had elapsed. The rebellion of Hermenigild, while it had brought out the personal vigour and ability of the last Arian king Leovigild, had also made the political force of catholicism, and the necessity of conciliating it, plainly manifest to the ruling Gothic class. The submission of Recared to catholicism on the death of his father marked the close of a long struggle, and the Catholic church remained the dominant power in the state. During the rebellion of Hermenigild, Merida declared for the Catholic son against the Arian father, and was only reconquered by Leovigild in 582 (or early in 583?) (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 18). We have no mention of Masona's name in connexion with these events, but from the notice of him by Joannes Biclarensis nine years earlier, it is evident that at the outbreak of the rebellion he was one of the most prominent Catholic bishops in southern Spain, and it is therefore natural to suppose that, as in the kindred case of Leander at Seville, he had considerable influence upon the position assumed by Merida in the contest. In 589 the great aim of the Catholic party was achieved, and the Visigothic state became, at least officially, Catholic. Eight years later a gathering of bishops, of which record is preserved in only one MS. of the Spanish *Codex Canonum* (Cod. Emil. Maassen, *Lit. des Canon. Rechts*, 1870, pp. 219, 709), met at Toledo under the presidency of Masona, and passed two canons, one insisting upon the celibacy of bishops, priests, and deacons, the other reserving the endowments of a church to the use and benefit of the priests and other clerks attached to it, as against possible exactions from the bishop. This assembly has no place in the list of Spanish national councils (comp. however, Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 156). On the other hand, it cannot be regarded as a provincial synod of the bishops of Carthaginensis (so Maassen, *l.c.*), a supposition sufficiently disproved by the presidency of Masona, the metropolitan of Lusitania, and by the presence of bishops from Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Gallia Narbonensis. It was, perhaps, the result of the chance gathering of a number of bishops in the capital, who took advantage of

the circumstance to formulate agreement on two important disciplinary points, or if it were a duly summoned national council, the Acts must have been purposely or accidentally omitted from the original redaction of the Spanish *Codex Canonum* made within the first forty years of the 7th century. Our last notice of Masona occurs in a letter addressed to him by Isidore in answer to an inquiry from Masona on a matter of discipline. The date of the letter is Feb. 28, A.D. 606. In 610 his successor, Innocentius, signs the *Decretum Gundemari* [GUNTHIMAR].

The third source catalogued above remains to be considered. If it be received as what it professes to be, viz. a genuine piece of 7th-century biography, it would offer us not only full and valuable information on the life of Masona, but also on the general condition of the Spanish church in the 6th and 7th centuries. The document known as *De Vita et Miraculis Patrum Emeritensium*, attributed by an untrustworthy and late tradition to one Paulus Diaconus, contains the lives of five bishops of Merida, Paulus, Fidelis, Masona, Innocentius, and Renovatus, and three introductory chapters concerning the martyrdom of the abbat Nunctus, the conversion of a gluttonous monk of Cauliana, and the vision of the boy Augustus. The author, according to internal evidence, was a Levite of the church of St. Eulalia at Merida, and was brought up by Renovatus, the last bishop whose life he chronicles. Florez, Mabillon, and others, relying on certain expressions as to time in the work, place it about the middle of the 7th century. The document was first published in 1633 by Barnabas Moreno de Vargas, a man who also produced a history of Merida, his native place, and was mixed up with the circle of ecclesiastical forgers who at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries produced and propagated the "false chronicles" (Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.* iii. 185 n.). The MS. history of the work before it reached his hands is now impossible to ascertain, unless after fresh examination on the spot. Florez based his edition entirely on printed texts with the exception of the preface, for which he said he possessed independent MS. authority (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii.). In recent times the Père Gams has made an attempt at investigating the matter, but the attempt was so perfunctory that nothing has been gained by it (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. [2] p. 115). He came to the conclusion, however, in Spain that the first three chapters were probably spurious, and one of them most likely the deliberate invention of Moreno de Vargas, that the name of Paulus Diaconus rested upon no substantial authority, but that the five episcopal lives were undoubtedly early and genuine biographies. One portion of the section which he rejects was, however, made use of by Ambrosio de Morales more than sixty years before the publication of the document by Moreno de Vargas, so that if it be spurious, other and earlier forgers must have been concerned. The episcopal biographies according to Gams exist in certain ancient sanctorales, one of which, of the 14th century, now in the possession of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, contains the lives of the bishops Paulus and Fidelis, and, separated from them, the life of Masona. A copy of the document is preserved in a precious collection of historical materials made by the well-known bishop and antiquary, Joann. Baptista Perez, about 1595. But Gams appears to have made no collation of this copy or of any other MS. with the printed text, so that we are still altogether in the dark as to the exact MS. history of the work, even as it results from the sources hitherto available. A reference to lives of holy *Emeritenses* in a letter of Alfonso III. (A.D. 906), quoted by Gams, belongs to a class of documents—viz. those connected with the privileges and antiquities of the shrine of Santiago—too imperfectly sifted as yet by critical examination to supply a sound basis for argument.

With regard to internal evidence, the Latin of the first three chapters would seem to make it impossible to refer them to the 7th century. The legendary and marvellous character of the remainder, and the desire apparent throughout to exalt the ecclesiastical importance of Merida, is, on the other hand, no argument against genuineness, as contemporary parallels might easily be quoted.

The facts offered us by the life of Masona are briefly: his Gothic extraction, his education in the church of St. Eulalia, his persecution at the hands of Leovigild, who sent two Arian bishops, Sunna and Nepopis, at different times, to undermine Masona's influence and oust him from his church, his intercourse with Leovigild at Toledo, where his resistance to the king's demand brought upon him the penalty of exile, and his final restoration to his see after various supernatural warnings had befallen Leovigild. Under Recared, after the new king had publicly embraced catholicism, a struggle took place in Merida between Masona and Sunna. Sunna joined with two Gothic *Comes*, Segga and Witteric, in a plot for murdering Masona, but the plot was miraculously frustrated, and Witteric, afterwards the Gothic king of that name, confessed all to Masona, who, however, was not only protected by miracles, but by the strong arm of the Catholic Claudius Dux of Lusitania (known to us from other sources, as are Sunna and Segga, comp. Isid. *Hist. Goth.* ap. *Esp. Sagr.* v. 492; Joann. Bicl. *Ib.* 385, 386; and ep. Greg. Magn.; Aguirre Catalani, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hist.* ii.). Recared, on being appealed to, decided that Sunna should either recant his Arianism or go into exile. He chose the latter alternative, retired into Mauritania, and there came to a miserable end. Masona lived on to an honoured old age, procuring in his last hours the miraculous punishment of his archdeacon Eleutherius, who had abused the additional powers entrusted to him by the failing bishop. The whole document is embroidered with supernatural occurrences, some of them of a truly ludicrous character.

It is not at all improbable that this life represents the tradition of the 7th century on the subject of one of the heroes of the Catholic struggle against Leovigild. As to Masona's exile, Isidore expressly mentions the exile of bishops among Leovigild's measures of persecution (*Hist. Goth. l. c.* p. 491), and it is most likely that he was sent into exile about 583, after the fall of Merida, and that he was restored, not during the lifetime of Leovigild, as his enthusiastic biographer would have us believe, but upon the accession of Recared, whose object it was to reverse his father's policy.

The historical material embedded in the life of Masona will be found discussed in the article on Recared, to which we also relegate an account of the proceedings of the conversion council. See also arts. SUNNA, SEGGA, WITTERIC. It is greatly to be wished that the interesting document, in which the biography we have summarized occurs, may before long receive the critical attention it deserves, and which is specially due to any work known to have passed through the unscrupulous hands of the "false chroniclers." (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 141; R. de Castro, *Biblioteca Españoles*, ii. p. 348; Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* Bayer's ed. i. p. 373; note by Morales to the *Memoriale Sanctorum* of St. Eulogius apud *Hisp. Illust.* iv. 282.) [M. A. W.]

MASSALIANI. [EUCHITES.]

MATERNUS (1), ST., a legendary bishop of Trèves, Cologne, and Tongres, said to have been sent to these cities by St. Peter from Rome; not to be confounded with the historical bishop of Cologne in the first quarter of the 4th century. His fabulous story does not seem to be earlier than the 9th century. It is to be found in Harigerus, in Chapeaville, *Gesta Pontif. Leod.* i. 9–22, and the *Gesta Treverorum*, in *Patr. Lat.* cliv. 1127 seqq. It is rejected by modern writers. See the elaborate examination of the subject by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 354–400, who conclude that there was only one Maternus, the historical bishop of Cologne of the councils of Rome and Arles, and cf. *Gall. Christ.* iii. 807–8, 620–2; Grandidier, *Hist. de l'Église de Strasbourg*, diss. ii. tom. i. 45 seqq., and Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 74 seqq. But on the other hand see Hillar, *Vindiciae Hist. Trev.* Metz, 1763. Maternus's day of commemoration is Sept. 14 (Boll. *ibid.*). His successors are given as St. Agraetius at Trèves and St. Navitus at Tongres. [S. A. B.]

MATERNUS (2), the first bishop of Cologne whose name is known, succeeded by Euphrates. The Donatist controversy of the early years of the 4th century in Africa is the occasion of his appearance in history. The schismatics had appealed to Constantine to appoint impartial judges from among the Gallic bishops of the charges made by them against the bishop Caecilianus. The emperor complied, and Maternus of Cologne, Marinus of Arles, and Rheticius of Autun were deputed to proceed to Rome. Here, in a synod presided over by the pope, Melchiades, they decided against the Donatists (A.D. 313). The latter however were dissatisfied with this decision, and demanded a larger tribunal. This also was conceded, and the important council of Arles held the following year, at which Maternus was also present, affirmed the judgment in favour of Caecilianus [DONATISM, CAECILIANUS].

The writers who have adopted the medieval fable of a Maternus sent from Rome by St. Peter to the churches of Trèves, Cologne, and Tongres have been compelled to regard the historical Maternus of the councils as the second of the name at Cologne. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xiii. 373–5), while rejecting the mission from St. Peter, think it probable that the historical Maternus was bishop of Trèves originally, and resigned that see to preach at Cologne and Tongres. But this belief is entirely without evidence. For Maternus see Mansi, *Sacra Conc.* iii. 433–442, 463–512; Ceillier, ii. 624–7; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 620–2; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 354–400; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 200–1. [S. A. B.]

MATERNUS (3), JULIUS FIRMICUS. Two writers of the fourth century are known by this name. They are generally regarded as distinct; but some would identify them, and there are circumstances that favour that view. They had the same name. They lived at the same time, under the reigns of Constantine the Great and his sons Constantius and Constans. They both enjoyed the title V. C., which would indicate senatorial or consular rank. Yet they are distinguished by all critics on the ground of diverging styles, as well as because the work of one was purely pagan, the work of the other thoroughly Christian. Let us take them separately. Julius Firmicus Maternus the Christian writer was an acute critic of pagan rites and doctrines, as well as a vigorous apologist for the Christian faith. Baronius and others make him at one time bishop of Milan during the Diocletian persecution, at another time, identify with a certain Julius whose signature appears to a pretended Roman council in the *False Decretals*. In fact there is nothing known of him beyond the date of his literary activity, which can be clearly deduced from his treatise *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*. This date must be fixed between A.D. 343—since he refers to the expedition of Constans into Britain A.D. 343—and the murder of that prince by Magnentius in 350, as the work is addressed to him and to his brother Constantius. As to the character of the work, it is very valuable for its details of the secret rites of paganism. It takes up every leading form of idolatry then current and gives us information that we shall seek in vain elsewhere. It discusses the idolatry of the Persians, Egyptians, Assyrians, the Greek mysteries, the ceremonies and formulae used in the Mithraic worship. Some of the details given on this last subject are very curious, some liturgical fragments being preserved for us. These will be found in capp. xx. xxi. and xxvii. In opposition to the heathen orgies he presents the pure mysteries of Christianity in his preface, which is now almost completely lost, and from cap. xxiv. to the end. He concludes with an earnest exhortation to the emperors, bidding them suppress paganism by force; thus giving one of the earliest specimens of the forthcoming Christian intolerance. This work is valuable for some other reasons. It is an interesting illustration of the small amount of philological and etymological science possessed by the ancients. Maternus strives to prove his case against paganism by the derivation of the names of the gods. Thus, arguing against the Egyptians, he declares that Sarapis was originally the patriarch Joseph converted into a god by the gratitude of that nation for rescuing them from famine. This he proves by deriving the name Sarapis from Σαρᾶς ἀπό, because Joseph was the descendant of Sarah. This must suffice, but many similar instances will be found in our writer. This idea about Joseph was not, however, confined to him. It is also found in

Paulin. Nolan. *Nat.* xi. *S. Felic.* v. 100; cf. Suidas, *s. v.* Σάρακις. This work again is valuable for Biblical criticism, as in it are found quotations from the versions of Holy Scripture used in North Africa in St. Cyprian's time, a point which we cannot stop to prove, but which will be found discussed in the dissertation referred to below. Again in this work there probably are embodied some fragments of the ancient Greek writer Evemerus, whose work upon Paganism though now lost was largely used by all the apologists for Christianity. Some fables are mentioned by Maternus which are found nowhere else. It is therefore concluded that they are due to Evemerus. Cf. art. on Evemerus in DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL BIOGRAPHY and in the *Biographie Générale*. The work of Maternus was first published by Matthias Flaccus at Strasburg in 1562. It has since been frequently reprinted. It is unnecessary to give the complete list of editions, which will be found in Ceillier, iv. 313, and also in Migne's *Patrolog. Lat.* t. xii. In that volume there has been reprinted an edition of our writer, published by Munter at Copenhagen in 1826, with an introductory dissertation discussing the whole subject in all its bearings. Oehler also published it in 1847 at Leipsic, but the best critical edition is by Halm, Vienna, 1867. See also *Philologus* for 1880, t. xxxiv. p. 720. As for the pagan Julius Firmicus Maternus, usually styled Junior, he wrote a work between A.D. 330 & 360 on judicial astrology, which is mentioned by Sidon. Apollin. in *Ep. ad Pont. Leont.* It was first published at Venice in 1497 under the title *de Nativitatibus sive Matheseos*, libb. vii.; about subsequent editions see Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire s. v.*; upon this work also see dissertation quoted above. [G. T. S.]

MATIDIUS, priest of Suedra in Pamphylia, who, with Tarsinus, a priest of the same church, requested Epiphanius to write in defence of the Catholic faith. Epiphanius, in compliance, wrote his *Ancoratus*. (*Patr. Gr.* xliii. 13; Tillem. x. 503; Ceill. vi. 414.) [C. H.]

MATTARII, an ascetic sect of Manichaeans who slept "in mattis"—on mats. (August. *Haer.* 46 in *Patr. Lat.* xlii. 36, where one reading is Macarii; Id. *Contr. Faust.* v. 5, *ib.* 223; Tillem. iv. 374, 403, xiii. 39.) [C. H.]

MATTHIAS, GOSPEL OF. [GOSPELS, APOC. Vol. II. p. 716.]

MATTHIAS, TRADITIONS OF. A book was in the second century in use among the Basilidians purporting to contain traditions of discourses privately held with Matthias by the Saviour (Hippol. *Ref.* vii. 20, p. 230, Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 17, p. 900). Clement, whose custom with Gnostic writings is to use them when they make for his purpose without raising question as to their authority, three times cites these traditions (*Strom.* ii. 9, p. 452, iii. 4, p. 523; vii. 13, p. 882). It appears to us that in the second passage λέγουσι is used impersonally as in the third, and that the citation is made by Clement himself and not by his Gnostic opponents. It is probably from the same "traditions" that were derived the docetic stories told in the "Hypotyposes," p. 1009 (see Vol. I. p. 870). At *Strom.* iv. 6, p. 579, one suspects a confusion between Matthias and Matthew.

Clement is the only writer that gives us any fragments of these traditions, but the work is mentioned by several other authors, commonly under the name of the Gospel according to Matthias. (Origen, i. *in Luc.* vol. iii. p. 932; Eus. *H. E.* iii. 25; Innocent. *ad Exsup.* Mansi, iii. 1041; Gelas. Decret., Theiner, *Epp. Rom. Pont.* p. 462; Anastas. Sinait., Coteler. *Pat. Ap.* 197.) [G. S.]

MATTHIAS (MATTHAEUS), Jan. 30, bishop of Jerusalem in the 2nd century. He stands eighth in the list given by Eusebius, between John and Philip. (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 5; Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 20; Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 25; *Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 30 Jan. ii. 1025; Tillem. ii. 1895.) [E. V.]

MATTIDIA, legendary mother of Clement of Rome (*Rec.* vii. 8, ix. 35, *Hom.* xii. 8). The Clementine romance represented its hero as related to the emperor of his time, and the name chosen for his mother was probably selected on account of the dignity then attached to the name which had been borne by the niece of Trajan, whose daughter became the wife of the emperor Hadrian. [G. S.]

MAUDUITUS, ST., saint of St. Mawes, on the east side of Falmouth harbour. Sir H. Nicolas gives "S. Maudiut 17 Nov.," but Whitaker (*Cornwall*, i. 309) identifies him with Machutus bishop of Aleth in Brittany, now St. Malo. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 256; see Leland, *Itin.* iii. 19, 29, 30.) [C. W. B.]

MAUGANIUS, bishop of Silchester, a legendary or fabulous person, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Hist. Brit.* ix. 15) mentions as made bishop by king Arthur, after the death of Dubricius. At the same time Diwanius was appointed to Winchester, and Eledanius to Dumbarton. The whole story is apocryphal, but the name may represent a genuine British name; that of Magonius was given by St. Germanus to St. Patrick (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 523, note). There is no evidence that Silchester was an episcopal see. [S.]

MAUGANUS, ST., the saint of two parishes in Cornwall, Mawgan Meneage in the Lizard district, and Mawgan on the Bristol Channel. In the latter, the parish feast is on the nearest Sunday to St. James's day, 25th July. A St. Meugan occurs among the saints of Bardsey (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 123, 219, 269). The name Maugantius is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, vi. 18. [C. W. B.]

MAUNAN, ST., the saint of St. Mawnan by the Helford river on the south coast of Cornwall. "Mwynen" is given as one of the daughters of Brychan (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 142; see Leland, *Itin.* iii. 24), but the Welsh devotees mostly settled on the north coast of Cornwall opposite Wales (above, Vol. I. p. 317, v. BERWYN). A dedication to St. Stephen was added on later to that of Maunan, and the parish feast is now on St. Stephen's day, 26th December. [C. W. B.]

MAURIANUS, a monk addressed by Nilus in five letters of a hortatory character (lib. ii.

ep. 53, lib. iii. epp. 58–61, in *Patr. Gr.* lxxix.). A letter on the death of Christ (i. 329) was addressed to a Maurianus. [T. W. D.]

MAURICIUS (1), July 10, martyr with forty-five others, led by Leontius, Daniel, and Antony, at Nicopolis in Armenia, under Lysias the president. This martyrdom has been a subject of much debate. Some have placed it under Licinius, A.D. 319–323; others during the Diocletian persecution in A.D. 307. Görres, in his *Licinianische Christenverfolgung*, Jena, 1875, pp. 146–154, has bestowed upon it an elaborate analysis. He shews that the martyrs involved therein could not possibly have suffered during the Licinian persecution, and that their historical reality at any time is a matter of much doubt. To this view there are opposed—Boll. *AA. SS.* 10 Jul. iii. p. 36; Baronii *Annal.* iii. p. 132, § 46; Till. *Mém.* V. pt. 3, p. 208. Our martyrdom may have arisen from a confusion between thirty-six martyrs of Alexandria, commemorated Jul. 10 in *Mart. Hieron.* ed. D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. ii. p. 14, and some martyrs who suffered at Nicopolis, commemorated by Ado Jul. 11, cf. *Vet. Rom. Mart.* and Görres, *l. c.* p. 152. This would account for the mention of the president Lysias, who was one of the most active persecutors in Egypt under Diocletian, and put Mardarius to death in Armenia during the Diocletian persecution. [G. T. S.]

MAURICIUS (2), FLAVIUS TIBERIUS, emperor A.D. 582–602.

The reign of Maurice was occupied by continual wars against the two enemies that threatened the empire on the east and west, the Persians and the Avars. A detailed account of these wars will be found in the DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY.

Maurice in his attempts at reform had the misfortune to come into collision with pope Gregory the Great. Maurice, it appears, had in A.D. 593 enacted a law forbidding soldiers or persons who had public duties to perform to retire into monasteries (compare MAJORIANUS). Gregory complied with the order to publish the law, but wrote in terms of respectful remonstrance to the emperor, who appears to have modified the law in consequence. (S. Gregorii *Epist.* iii. 65, 66, viii. 5, pp. 675, 898, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 662, 909.) [GREGORIUS I. Vol. II. p. 782.]

Another cause of dispute between the pope and emperor was the support given by the latter to John the Faster in his assumption of the title of oecumenical bishop. (See Vol. II. 785, 6.) It is probably on account of these quarrels that so unfavourable a view is taken of Maurice by Gregory (Vol. II. 787) and his biographer John the Deacon. His private character seems to have been without reproach, the account of his death proves his justice and piety, while the curious story of Paulinus the wizard (Theophylact, i. 11) shews that he was a humane man and superior to some of the prejudices of his time, though he was obliged to yield to the importunity of the bigoted patriarch. In public affairs he seems to have been unequal to the difficult position in which he was placed, obliged as he was to defend the empire against two formidable enemies with a mutinous army and with generals who were for the most part incompetent. Maurice wrote a work in twelve books on military tactics, which has been edited by Scheffer and published at Upsala in 1664. (Evagrius, v. 19–24 & vi. in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxvi. 2, 2829–2886; Theophylact Simocatta; Theophanes, 213–244; Gibbon, ch. xlvi.; Finlay, i. 297–308.) [F. D.]

MAURILA (MURILA), bishop of Palencia 589 A.D. (Ildefonsus, *De Viris Ill.* cap. xi. apud *Esp. Sagr.* v. 479; see also *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 20, and Tejada y Ramiro, *Col. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 227, 253.) [M. A. W.]

MAURILIUS, ST., Sept. 13, fourth bishop of Angers, between Prosperius and St. Renatus, or René, circ. A.D. 397–427 (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 546). The Bollandists publish a life of him, the preface to which asserts that it was written in 619 by St. Magnobodus (Maimbœuf), seventeenth bishop of this see, from records left by a priest Justus (*Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 72–6). The MS. of the abbey of Vendôme, from which it was taken, is stated to be more than 600 years old (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 574–5). Another biography, apparently the one above mentioned, with alterations and additions, is published by Surius (Sept. 13) and others with the name of Venantius Fortunatus as the author. In some of the MSS. there is prefixed a spurious letter of Gregory of Tours to St. Germanus of Paris, forged to support the idea of Fortunatus's authorship. Both the life and the letter are supposed to have been the work of Raino bishop of Angers at the beginning of the 9th century (*Hist. Litt.* iii. 482–3, 574–5). This biography, though without the letter, is reproduced in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, lxxxviii. 563–76, among the works of Fortunatus, but considered by him to be apocryphal (see *Praemonitio*, col. 561–2). There also exists a metrical life of Maurilius in two books by Marbodus bishop of Rennes, to be found in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, clxxi. 1635–48. For an uncritical account of his legend, see Tresvaux, *Hist. de l'Église d'Angers*, i. 18–26. [S. A. B.]

MAURINUS, bishop of Alexandria, who wrote concerning the three days before the creation of the luminaries. (Alcuin. *De Bissext.* in *Opp.* ii. 366, ed. Froben.) [C. H.]

MAURUS (1), bishop of Utica, in proconsular Africa, who is said to have purchased his bishopric, perhaps by obtaining for money a certificate of having satisfied the demands of the inquisitors in time of persecution. He was a friend of Ingentius, and took part with him in his attempt to deceive Alfius Caecilianus in the case of Felix of Aptunga. (FELIX, Vol. II. p. 487; *Gesta Purg.* ap. *Mon. Vet. Don.* iii. p. 164, ed. Oberthür; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. p. 362.) [H. W. P.]

MAURUS (2), ST., founder and abbat of the Benedictine monastery of Glanfeuil or St. Maur-sur-Loire. He is better known, as Herzog says, to tradition than to history, but the primary authority is Gregorius Mag. (*Dial.* ii. cc. 3 sq.). His life, written by Faustus Cassinensis, and re-written with alterations by Odo or Eudes, at one time abbat of Glanfeuil, is given by Mabillon

(*Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. i. 274 sq.) and the Bolland. (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 1039 sq.) [FAUSTUS (31)]. St. Maurus, better known in France as St. Maur, was at the age of twelve years entrusted by his father Equitius, an Italian nobleman, to the charge of St. Benedict at Subiaco, or as some say, at Monte Cassino, and trained in monastic rule. By St. Benedict he was sent into Gaul about A.D. 543, and established his monastery on the Loire by the favour of King Theodebert. He carried with him the Benedictine rule, and was the chief means of its acceptance in France, but the details of his work are not given. He died A.D. 584, and his feast is Jan. 15 (Odo, Usuard., and Florus, *Martt.*). His monastery, though secularised in the 16th century, was in the middle ages one of greatest influence, and the "Congregation of St. Maur" has done much from the 17th century to elevate the tone of the monastic orders. The relics of the patron have often been translated, and the genuineness of his life in all its stages has been disputed. (Ceillier, *Sacr. Aut.* xi. 157, 170, 610; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* ix. 201; Cave, *Lit. Hist.* i. 574; Mosheim, *Hist. Ch. Ch.* cent. xvii. § 2, pt. i. c. 1.) [J. G.]

MAWRON, a bishop, whose name is added to a forged Glastonbury charter of 601, which may perhaps record or refer to a fact. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 121.) [C. W. B.]

MAXENTIUS (1), M. AURELIUS VALERIUS, son of Maximianus I. (Herculius) and Eutropia, a Syrian lady; Roman emperor A.D. 306–312. The principal events in the life of this emperor are fully given in he DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY. His career seems to have but little bearing on Church History, as he did not use any special severities against Christians as such, but inflicted the miseries of chronic persecution on his subjects of all opinions. His wickedness seems to have transcended description, and to have been absolutely unredeemed by any saving feature. His death is described by Lactantius, or the author of the Liber de Mortibus Persecutorum, as that of the last of the enemies of God (Migne, *Lactant.*; *Bibl. Lat.* vol. vii. p. 257, ch. xliii.–v.). Milman thinks (ii. p. 28) that his paganism grew more intense in his later years, after the fire in the temple of the Fortune of Rome, and the tumultuary persecution which ensued. He certainly paid great attention to divination and magic, particularly towards the end of his life, using the most hideous means of inquiry into the future. (Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 36.) [R. St. J. T.]

MAXENTIUS (2), commemorated by Gregory Nazianzen (*Epitaphia*, num. 126, 127, in *Patr. Gr.* xxxviii. 77). He gave up a position of high rank on becoming a Christian, and ended his days in sufferings. [C. H.]

MAXENTIUS (3) (MAIXENT), ST., June 26, second abbat of the monastery on the Sèvre in Poitou, which afterwards bore his name (circ. A.D. 447–515). Gregory of Tours mentions a life of him (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 37) which does not appear to have come down to us, but one is extant which may be founded on it. The Bollandists incline to place it in the 7th century at earliest (*Acta SS.* Jun. v 169). It is to be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 578–80, Paris, 1668, and in the Bollandists' collection, *ibid.*

According to an anonymous work of the 11th century, he was the author of a Life of St. Viventius, a priest in Poitou. We have no trace of it, but the editors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* think it quite possible (iii. 81). [S. A. B.]

MAXENTIUS (4), JOANNES, presbyter and archimandrite. The name of his monastery is unknown (*Sugg. Diosc.* in Labbe, iv. 1520), but it appears to have been situated within the jurisdiction of Paternus bishop of Tomi (Köstendje) the capital of Scythia Minor (Dobrudscha), who subscribed the synodical letter of the council held at Constantinople, A.D. 520, as "Provinciae Scythiae Metropolitanus" (Labbe, iv. 1525).

About A.D. 517 a controversy arose at Constantinople, in which the credit of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) was considered to be seriously involved (Hormisd. epp. 15, 16 in Mansi, viii. 418 and Labbe, iv. 1454–5). In this controversy an active part was taken by certain Scythian monks, with Maxentius as their leader. These monks earnestly contended for the position "unus de Trinitate in carne crucifixus est" as essential to the exclusion of the heresy of Nestorius on the one hand and that of Eutyches on the other (*Suggestio Dioscuri*, Labbe, iv. 1513, May 13, 519; Desprez, *Proleg. Fulgent. Rusp.* in Migne, lxv. 109). The dispute was at its height in 519, when Germanus bishop of Capua, bishop Joannes, Blandus a presbyter, Felix and Dioscorus deacons, arrived at Constantinople from Hormisdas bishop of Rome, to negotiate a reconciliation of the two churches [HORMISDAS, p. 158 a] (Baronius, *s. a.* lxxxvii.). At the same time the writings of Faustus the semi-Pelagian bishop of Riez [FAUSTUS (11)] were also the subject of fierce debate at Constantinople, the Scythian monks contending that they were heretical. Among the chief antagonists of the monks were a deacon named Victor, Paternus bishop of Tomi, and other Scythian bishops (*Sugg. Germ. Joann. Fel. Diosc. et Bland.* in Labbe, iv. 1514). Both parties had influential supporters in the imperial court, the monks being vigorously upheld by Vitalianus, who was then apparently in great favour with the emperor Justin, and held the office of magister militum (Evagrius, *H. E.* iv. 3; *Suggest. Diosc.* u. s.), and their opponents no less so at first by Justinian, who already held high office under his uncle (Vict. Tununens. s. a. 518; Justinian, *ad Hormisd.* Labbe, iv. 1516).

Soon after the arrival of the Roman legates at Constantinople the Scythian monks appealed to them to interfere on their behalf, and Maxentius, in their name, drew up "De Christo Professio," explanatory of their faith, which they sent with the appeal (Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 75, 79). They protest that it is from no disrespect to the council of Chalcedon, but in its defence that they contend for their position on the subject of the Trinity, and declare that they anathematize all who either oppose that council or hold its decisions to be imperfect. They also denounce the teaching of Pelagius and Coelestius, and the followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia, as "contra-

dictory to that of the apostle." They further pray the papal legates to hear the accusations which they are prepared to bring against Victor and Paternus (May 30, A.D. 519, Labbe, iv. 1509; *Suggest. Legat.* u. s. 1514, June 29, A.D. 519; Hormisd. *Suggest. Diosc. et al.* May 30, A.D. 519; Labbe, iv. 1519; *Suggest. German. et al.*, June 29, A.D. 519; *ib.* 1514; Hormisd. *Ep.* 67, *ad Justinian.*; *ib.* 1518). At first the legates refused to entertain their appeal; at length however, at the urgent request of the emperor Justin and of Vitalianus, they consented to hear the case, but without taking upon themselves to pronounce a decision. Vitalianus summoned the monks to appear before him and John II. the patriarch of Constantinople, but with what result does not appear (*Suggest. Diosc.* u. s.; *Suggest. Germ. et al.* June 29, 519, u. s. 1514; *Suggest. Diosc.* Dec. 1, 1519; Hormisd. *Ep.* 67, *ad Justinian.* u. s.). Failing to obtain any satisfaction at Constantinople, the monks determined to send four of their number, Achilles, John, Leontius, Mauritius, to lay the whole case before Hormisdas at Rome (Justinian, *Ep. ad Hormisd.* Labb. iv. 1516). The substitution of Maxentius for Mauritius by Baronius (s. a. 519, xcvi.) seems to be purely conjectural; there is no evidence whatever that the archimandrite then left Constantinople. The four departed for the West early in the May of A.D. 519, and the fact of their departure was duly notified to Hormisdas both by Justinian and the Roman legates as soon as it was known. Justinian then speaks of them as persons "quibus magis discordia in studio est, quam caritas et pax Dei;" and both he and the legates pray that Hormisdas would reject their appeal.

Hormisdas delaying to hear the four envoys, others were sent to join them, Maxentius, as it would appear, being one. In the meanwhile Justinian changed his opinion of the monks, and became their advocate (*Justinian. ad Hormisd.*; *Hormisd. Ep.* 66, *ad Justinian.* Sept. 2, A.D. 519, u. s. 1518). The controversy seems to have extended so as to embrace a considerable number of the clergy of the East, especially those of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Syria Secunda (Justin, *ad Hormisd.* u. s. 1520, Jan. 19, A.D. 520; *Deprec. et Supplic. ab Hieros. et al.* u. s. 1542). An active correspondence soon followed between Constantinople and Rome, in the course of which Possessor, an African bishop who had been driven into exile by the Arians, wrote to Hormisdas, especially requesting his opinion as to the orthodoxy of the writings of Faustus, and urging his request by alleging that Vitalianus and Justinian were equally anxious with himself to hear from him on the subject (Possess. *Ep. Afr. Relat.* Labbe, iv. 1530, received at Rome July 18, A.D. 520). Shortly after the despatch of this letter Vitalianus was put to death, not without suspicion attaching to Justinian as the instigator of the deed (Procop. *Hist. Arc.* 6, *Op.* ed. Bonn, iii. 46; Vict. Tununens. *s. a.* 523). Baronius does not scruple to say that his unhappy end was a divine punishment for his patronage of the Scythian monks ("luit poenas de patrocinio Eutychianis monachis praestito adversus apostolicae sedis legatos," *s. a.* 520, i.).

The deputation at Rome, finding that notwithstanding the influence which Justinian was now exerting in their behalf, the Roman legates at Constantinople were too strong for them, and there was therefore little hope of their success with Hormisdas, resolved upon an appeal to the African bishops who were then in exile in Sardinia, some of whom enjoyed a high reputation for ability as well as orthodoxy. In drawing up the appeal they again appear to have employed Maxentius. The document was subscribed in the name of their brethren by "Petrus Diaconus, Johannes monachus, Leontius monachus, et Joannes lector;" and was addressed to Datianus, Fortunatus, Albanus, Orontius, Boethus, Fulgentius, Januarius, and their fellow confessors. It was divided into eight chapters. In the first they state the object of their appeal to be to evoke an expression of opinion from the African bishops as to the orthodoxy of their faith, which they afterwards expound at some length. In the fourth they elaborately defend the position which they had maintained at Constantinople ("... Deus verbum, etiam cum propria carne, unus est ex Trinitate: non quod caro ejus sit de substantia Trinitatis, sed quia caro Dei verbi est, qui est unus ex Trinitate ... Quapropter et Deum verbum passum carne, et crucifixum carne, et sepultum carne secundum beatum Cyrillum profitemur dicentem." At the close of the fifth they solemnly protest their acceptance of the councils of Nicaea (A.D. 325), Constantinople (A.D. 381), Ephesus (A.D. 431), and Chalcedon (A.D. 451), as also of the letters of Leo, anathematizing all who "thought differently from the doctrines of the church, and, at the same time, all the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius his disciple, as well as all those who agreed with Nestorius, and all writings which were opposed to the twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril, which he published against the same Nestorius; and, in addition to these, Eutyches and Dioscorus, with their associates, and all whom the apostolic see has rightly and regularly ('juste ac regulariter') condemned." At the close of the appeal they further anathematize "Pelagius and Coelestius, as also Julian of Eclana, and those who were of similar opinion, especially the books of Faustus bishop of the Gauls, ... which were unquestionably written against the doctrine of predestination" (Petr. Diac. *De Incarnat. et Gratia*, Migne, *Patrol.* lxv. 442–451). This appeal was responded to by Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe in his well-known *De Incarnatione et Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* This reply, in which the exiled bishops express the great joy and thankfulness with which they had received the letter of the monks, and their hearty approval of the confession of faith which it contained, is addressed to the four subscribers of the appeal, and "the other brethren who had been sent to Rome from the East in the cause of the faith" (Fulgent. *Ep.* 17, *Op.* u. s. 451–493). By this time the monks, who had now been detained at Rome for fourteen months, had returned to the East. According to Maxentius, they had been driven out of the city by force, and at the instance of Hormisdas (*Resp. ad Ep. Hom.* u. *infr.* 101); but according to Hormisdas they left surreptitiously and contrary to his will (Hormisd. *Ep.* 66, *ad Justinian.* Sept. 2, 519; Labbe, iv. 1518; ep. 63 *ad Legatos*, Dec. 3, 519; *ib.* 1511). Before they left, however, they drew up a further protestation of their faith, which they caused to be affixed to the statues of the emperors (Hormisd. *Ep.* 70, *ad Possessor.*; Labbe,

iv. 1531, cf.). This, probably, was the "contra Nestorianos capitula" of the collected works of Maxentius. The title, however, hardly corresponds to the contents, which consist of twelve anathemas, the ninth of which is directed against the Eutychians, and the remaining three against Pelagius and Coelestius and their followers (Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 86). Considerable agitation followed this virtual appeal to the Roman people, and it seems to have induced Faustus the prefect of the city (Cassiodorus, *Var. saepe*) to write to Trifolius, a presbyter at Constantinople, on the questions in debate. The letter of the prefect is not extant, but the reply of Trifolius survives, though not in its entirety. From that it appears that Faustus had asked him whether such a position as that for which the monks contended was maintained by the fathers. His reply is that that teaching issued from the fountain of Arius, and was in accordance with all heresies, and he proceeds to argue against it accordingly. (Labbe, iv. 1590–1592.)

When they returned to the East, Maxentius and his friends came again to Constantinople, and from thence they sent a copy of the writings of Faustus of Riez to Fulgentius and the other exiles in Sardinia, with a request that he and his brethren would also send them their opinion as to these (Migne, *Patrol.* lxv. 145). The letter containing this request is lost; we only know it from the reply which the African bishops returned to it some time afterwards. In the meanwhile Fulgentius wrote his *De Veritate Praedestinationis*, which he addressed to Joannes presbyter and Venerius deacon, two of the Scythian monks (Migne, lxv. 603–671). In this also the bishop of Ruspe speaks of the monks in the highest terms: "Deo gratias ago, sancti patres . . . cujus ope tales estis, ut pro gratia qua salvamur magno spiritu ac fervore certetis." (l. i. c. 1).

On the 13th of August, A.D. 520, Hormisdas sent a reply to the letter which he had received from Possessor on the 18th of July previously. He greatly commends the faith of his correspondent, but speaks of the monks in no measured terms of reproach. They are monks "only in name, not in fact; in profession only, not in deed;" they are scatterers of "poison under the pretence of religion," who only "loved strife," hating the united body of the church, sowing sedition, and, instead of the obedience which rules in monasteries, loving the "obstinacy of pertinacious pride," and are just such men as those of whom the apostle says, "In the last days troublous times shall come, and men shall be lovers of themselves only, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof" (2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 5). He adds that he now writes about them as he does lest, if they should return to Constantinople, they might deceive those who did not know how they had conducted themselves at Rome. He does not, however, commit himself to any opinion as to the position ("unum de Trinitate"), but only refers to it in very general terms, saying, "The reverend wisdom of the fathers has defined what is Catholic doctrine . . . what need, therefore, to raise any further controversy, when the Christian faith is limited by canonical books, synodical decrees, and the constitutions of the fathers within fixed and immovable limits ("stabili et inconcusso termine [*marg.* tramite] limitatur,")? Nor is he much more explicit as to the writings of Faustus. He says, indeed, that he does not receive him, neither does he any one who has not been approved by the authority of the fathers, but adds, that if he agrees with "right faith and sound teaching" he is to be admitted; if not, he is to be rejected, and concludes with telling Possessor that "although what the Roman, that is the Catholic church, follows and maintains on the subject of free-will and the grace of God may be gathered from various books of the blessed Augustine, and especially from those addressed to Hilary and to Prosper; nevertheless, there are certain special documents preserved in the ecclesiastical archives, which, if Possessor has not, and wishes to see, he will send him" (Hormisd. *Ep.* 70, *ad. Possessor.* Labbe, iv. 1530–1532). This letter was widely circulated as an encyclic, and when it came into the hands of Maxentius he at once replied to it in his *Ad Epistolam Hormisdae Responsio*, Migne, lxxvii. 94–112. The reply is an every way remarkable document. The archimandrite refuses to believe it can have been written by Hormisdas, but argues that whether it was so or not, its author was "unquestionably a heretic," as he considers that to "maintain that Christ, the Son of God, is one of the Trinity is to contend about words." He also takes the writer of the letter to task for having virtually decided that, although the writings of Faustus were not authoritative, they were still to be read, and even charges him with Pelagianism for having said "proficiemus inter adversantes *propriis bonis*," on which he comments with some bitterness. As a further reason for ascribing the letter to another rather than to Hormisdas, he alleges the fact that when they were at Rome Hormisdas had communicated with him and his brethren, which he certainly would not have done had he entertained such an opinion of them as that which is there expressed. Throughout he quotes abundant evidence from the fathers that what was alleged to be heretical in him and his brethren was only contention for Catholic truth. Of course the ascription of the letter to another than Hormisdas was ironical, as its authenticity is beyond doubt.

We hear nothing more of Maxentius and the Scythian monks until after the death of Hormisdas, which occurred in the August of A.D. 523. By this time the encyclic of Hormisdas had reached the exiled bishops in Sardinia, though there is no reason to believe that they had also seen the *Responsio* of Maxentius, and they had had ample leisure for the mature consideration of the second appeal which had been addressed to them from Constantinople. They accordingly met in council, and sent the monks a reply in the form of a synodical letter. It is addressed to "Joannes presbyter and archimandrite, Venerius deacon, and the faithful men whose subscription is contained in your letter," and is subscribed by "Datianus, Fortunatus, Boethus, Victor, Scholasticus, Orontius, Vendicianus, Victor, Januarius, Victorianus, Photinus, servants of Christ." They acknowledge the receipt of the letter of Maxentius and his brethren, and say they rejoice that they "hold a right opinion on the grace of God, by whose light the free will of the human mind is illu-

minated, and by whose aid it is controlled," and at the same time express their sorrow that some should call in question the Catholic faith on the subject (c. 2). They also exhort them to be "stedfast and unmoveable," and, while holding the "true faith," to shew "all charity to brethren who think otherwise, not despairing of any one, inasmuch as he that does not hold the faith in anything to-day may know it to-morrow, God revealing it to him," adding, "let us pray for them that the Lord may work in them" (c. 26); and recommends them to urge such to "read the books of Augustine which he wrote to Prosper and to Hilary, and of which Hormisdas, the bishop of the apostolic see, of blessed memory, makes mention" in his letter to Possessor (c. 27). They then say that one of their number has already responded to their appeal in three books addressed to them by name, and that he had also written seven books in reply to the two of Faustus (c. 30). The three books have been already mentioned; the seven are no longer extant (*Ep. Synod. Episc. Afric.* Labbe, iv. 1591–1600; Deprez, *Prolegom. Opp. Fulgent.* u. s. 115).

The position for which John Maxentius and his brethren contended was afterwards formally approved by a council at Rome in 532 (Labbe, iv. 1761). It was also elaborately defended in 534 by John II. bishop of Rome, who argued that it had always been held by Catholics and in the very form in which it was maintained by the Scythian monks, quoting Proclus patriarch of Constantinople and others (Ep. 3 in Labbe, iv. 1751; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 73; Pagi, *Crit.* s. a. 533). The council of Constantinople of 553 also anathematized all who questioned it (collat. viii. anath. 10, Labbe, v. 575). Yet Baronius (*s. a.* 519 cii.) is unsparing of his condemnation of the monks as impugners of the Catholic faith. But they have found an able defender in cardinal Noris, who expends several of his most elaborate pages in refutation of the great annalist and in demonstration of the orthodoxy of John Maxentius and his friends (*Hist. Pelagiana*, ii. 18, in *Op.* i. 474–596; especially c. 20, pp. 498–504; *Hist. Controv. de Univ. ex Trinit. passe*, c. 4–8; *Op.* iii. 800–854, and Pagi (*Critic. s. a.* 519, vi.) accepts the vindication as conclusive.

Archbishop Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 14, ed. 1687, p. 256), Cave (i. 505), Bellarmine (*Scr. Eccl. s. a.* 520), and others suppose John Maxentius to have been a presbyter of Antioch. Ussher's mistake arose through his confounding the Flavian who is mentioned in the *libellus fidei* quoted in the *De Christo Professio*, and who was Flavian of Constantinople (Labbe, iv. 15, 1769), with Flavian patriarch of Antioch. Cave confounds John Maxentius with the John Scholasticus Scythopolita of Photius (cod. 95) [JOANNES (565)].

Besides the works above mentioned, Maxentius also wrote—

1. A brief *Professio Fidei*, but under what circumstances does not appear.

2. *Adunationis Verbi Dei ad propriam carnem Ratio*, also very brief.

3. *Contra Acephalos Libellus*, in which he strenuously maintains the position, "Constat *duas*, id est Divinitatis et humanitatis, in Filio Dei post adunationem esse *naturas*, ex quibus, et in quibus subsistit una et singularis Christi persona," against the Eutychians.

4. *Dialogorum contra Nestorianos* (Forbes, *Instruct. Historico-Theol.* III. xxi. 7, VIII. iii. 11; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, Div. II. i. 126, ed. Clark, 1861). The *Scholia in Dionysii Areopagitae Opera*, which Cave ascribes to John Maxentius, were written by the John Scythopolita of Photius. [T. W. D.]

MAXIMIANUS (1) I., M. AURELIUS VALERIUS (HERCULIUS), emperor of Rome A.D. 286–305 with Diocletian, 306–308 with Maxentius or Constantine; compelled to strangle himself Feb. 310, supposed in his 60th year. (Tillemont, "Diocletian," vol. iv. p. 7, *Hist. des Emp.*)

A Pannonian soldier of humble birth but great military ability and unresting activity. He was created Caesar in 285 by Diocletian, and Augustus next year; and the principal events in his history will be found under DIOCLETIAN, CONSTANTINE, and MAXENTIUS in the *Dictionary of G. and R. Biography*. The Diocletian persecution began A.D. 303, and Maximian joined in it. He is said to have been the worthy brother of Diocletian in the De Mortibus Persecutorum, and Eusebius speaks of him and of his death in the same retributive tone as of the other emperors with the exception of Constantius and Constantine (*H. E.* viii. 13).

There can be no doubt that the military talents and activity of Maximianus were of the greatest value to the Western empire and in Africa, or that while under Diocletian's influence or direction, he seconded him honestly and well. But he could not bear to resign his power; and it certainly seems a pity that he could not retain it, as Italy and Africa would then have escaped six years of his son's tyranny; but he would have been a more formidable antagonist to Constantine. He was a barbarian soldier without honour, principle, or education; crime was familiar to him, though he seems not to have practised cruelty for its own sake. He is accused of the usual sensual excesses, though not to the same extent as Maxentius. The coin from Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 15 (given at p. 981 of the *Dict. of Biography and Mythology* vol. ii.), may probably be a likeness, as the head seems to combine fierceness with active restless intelligence in no common degree. The low but wonderfully broad forehead, deep wrinkles, large well-opened eye, and short bull-neck, are highly characteristic. [R. St. J. T.]

MAXIMIANUS (2), the man from whom a special sect among the Donatists derived its name, that schism within a schism, which rent it asunder, and helped to bring about its ultimate overthrow. He is said to have been related to Donatus, called the Great, and was a deacon in the church of Carthage at the time when, at the death of Parmenian, Primian was appointed bishop of the Donatists there in his room, A.D. 391. For reasons of which we know little or nothing, Primian, whose conduct appears to have been in many respects very reprehensible, found fault with four of his deacons, described as young men of blameless character, Maximian, Rogatian, Donatus, and Salgurius, but it was Maximian whom he appears to have disliked most. He endeavoured to persuade the "Seniors" of Carthage to condemn them all, but they refused to

do so, and Primian then proceeded to excommunicate Maximian, who was ill at the time and unable to appear. The Seniors called Primian to account for this arbitrary behaviour, and requested him to meet them in order to explain it, but he refused to do so. They then sent a letter to the bishops of the district, entreating them to meet and enquire into the case. Of this letter, Maximian, who is said to have been supported by female influence in his resistance to Primian, and is accused by St. Augustine of having endeavoured to raise a hostile feeling against him among the bishops, was the bearer (Aug. *c. Emer.* 9). Forty-three in number they met at Carthage, but Primian not only refused to receive or meet them, but gathered a number of rough barbarians to oppose their meeting, and having prevailed on the civil authorities to station some of the police at the doors of the church, at which they were to join in the celebration of the Eucharist, prevented them from entering. They met, however, and their proceedings, notwithstanding the violence of the supporters of Primian, who was not himself present, resulted in his condemnation. In June or July of the same year, 393, a second meeting of Donatist bishops was held at Cabarsussum, a town of Byzacene, to consider the same subject. At this council Primian was again condemned in a more formal manner, and his deposition pronounced, and a resolution appears to have been passed that Maximian should be appointed in his place. He was accordingly ordained at Carthage as rival bishop by twelve bishops, of whom the foremost was Victorianus of Carcabia, while leading parts were taken by Felicianus and Praetextatus. But Primian was not crushed by this move, for at a council of three hundred and ten bishops, held at Bagai, April 24, A.D. 394, at which he himself presided, the supporters of Maximian, of whom none were present, were condemned, and the most opprobrious language applied to them. [FELICIANUS (4).] The Donatists of Primian's party persecuted the supporters of Maximian; a church belonging to them was destroyed by their opponents, who said that it was no church but a den. By means of legal proceedings, in which, with the connivance of the judge, and of a heathen priest, the proconsul's deputy, though on this matter the language of Augustine is very carefully guarded, Primian succeeded in depriving his rival of a house belonging to him, on the pretext of its being under the ban of ecclesiastical censure. Yet notwithstanding the defection of the Maximianists, who appear to have re-baptized those who joined them, the validity of their baptism was not denied by the other Donatists, a point of which Augustine makes frequent use in his controversy with them. The unremitting persecution carried on against the Maximianists induced many of them at length to return to the Donatist community, but of Maximian himself we hear little or nothing subsequently. Other names and not his are the most prominent in the history of the party. (DONATISM, Vol. I. p. 887; Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 16, 59, iv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 55, 57; *En. Ps.* 36. 19, 20, 23, 29; *Ps.* 124. 5; *Ep.* 43, 26, 76; 44, 71; 53, 3; 141, 6; 185, 17; *de Gest. Emer.* 9; *c. Parm.* i. 9; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 65–72; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* vol. ii. p. 310–326; Ribbeck, *Aug. und Don.* p. 206–236; Augusti, *Arch.* vol. x. p. 237.) [H. W. P.]

MAXIMIANUS (3), Donatist bishop of Bagai (al. Vaga, Morc. i. 91), who, as well as his brother Castorius, left the sect and became a Catholic, but in order not to give offence, resigned his see, which was given to Castorius A.D. 402 [CASTORIUS] (Bruns. *Conc.* i. 178; *Cod. Eccl. Afr.* 88; Aug. *Ep.* 69). He has been supposed by Baronius and Tillemont to be the same person as Maximianus who was ill-treated by the Donatists [MAXIMIANUS (4)], but this is shewn not to be the case by the language of St. Augustine, who says that at the time of the outrage, the edict of Honorius inflicting capital punishment on Donatist excesses, instead of fine or banishment as heretofore, had not been published. This was done in Jan. or Feb. A.D. 405, in consequence of the request of the council of Carthage A.D. 404 (Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* iii. p. 26; *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 5, 38; Aug. *Ep.* 185, 26, 27). But it must be confessed that the accounts of the two transactions resemble each other in more than one striking particular. (Tillem. xiii. 388–390.) [H. W. P.]

MAXIMIANUS (4), Catholic bishop of Bagai, a town of Numidia, A.D. 404–406 (Procop. *B. V.* ii. 19), who reoccupied a church which had been seized illegally by the Donatists, but restored to Catholic use by imperial decree. The Circumcellions, however, attacked him at the altar, and after inflicting on him serious wounds, threw him from a high tower, but his fall was broken by a dung-heap, and through the care of a poor man and his wife who found him lying there he recovered, though with great difficulty. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 43, 47; 88, 72; *Ep.* 185, 26.) [MAXIMIANUS (3).] [H. W. P.]

MAXIMIANUS (5), archbishop of Constantinople, A.D. 431. Some months after the deposition of Nestorius at the council of Ephesus Maximian presbyter of the church of Constantinople was elected to fill his see. The action of the council of Ephesus had thrown the churches of Constantinople into the direst confusion. A large proportion of the citizens held strongly to the side of Nestorius. The clergy, with one voice, agreed in the anathema. But when the deposition became a fact which could no longer be disputed, the excitement was continued about the election of his successor. Philippus, who had been mentioned as a successor to archbishop Atticus, was now again a favourite. But a larger number supported the candidature of Proclus, who had also been mentioned at that election, and who afterwards became archbishop. After the lapse of four months agreement was arrived at in the election of Maximian. He had led a monastic life, and had entered presbyteral orders; his action in building, at his own expense, monumental tombs for the reception of the remains of such holy men as might from time to time be called to their rest, had long obtained for him a reputation for holiness. In speech and address he was rude and unskilled, and he preferred a quiet life to business. In principles he followed the former archbishops, Chrysostom, Atticus, and Sisinnius. Pope Celestine wrote to him in highly complimentary terms on his elevation,

conseling him in a candid manner for the contrast which his address presented to that of Nestorius. The appointment was made by the unanimous vote of clergy, emperor, and people. The letter of Maximian in which he announced his succession to the pope is lost, but that to St. Cyril remains. He pronounces a high eulogium on Cyril's constancy in defending the cause of Jesus Christ, and the patience with which he had overcome the attacks of the devil. He implores him to help him with his prayers and advice in the episcopate to which he has been called; they are now brothers, and the good done by the one will belong to the other. Although he had written, conjointly with Firmus of Caesarea and Theodotus of Ancyra, to the clergy of Ancyra, to prevent them from admitting the Eastern schismatics to their communion, he did all he possibly could to procure reunion. It was the custom for the occupants of the principal sees on their election to send round a synodical letter to the most considerable bishops of the Christian world, asking for the assurance of their communion. Maximian sent this his synodical to the Easterns as to the others. Communion was refused by Helladius of Tarsus; we may conclude that it was also refused by Eutherius of Tyana, Himerius of Nicomedia, and Dorotheus of Martianopolis, as Maximian deposed them. John of Antioch approved the refusal of the bishop of Tarsus, and praised him for having declined to insert the name of Maximian in the diptychs of his church. All this did not extinguish in the breast of Maximian his earnest zeal for reunion. Pope Sixtus wrote to him several times with the object of urging him to extend his charity to all whom he could possibly regain. Maximian spared no effort; and although he was in the closest harmony with St. Cyril, he pressed him strongly to give up his anathemas, which seemed an insurmountable obstacle to reunion. He even wrote to the emperor's secretary, Aristolaus the tribune, a person who interested himself very much in the question of peace, almost complaining that he did not press Cyril enough on the point, and to his archdeacon Epiphanius. Harmony being restored, John of Antioch and the other Eastern bishops wrote Maximian a letter of communion, assuring him that they consented also to his election and to the deposition of Nestorius. Cyril wrote to him on the same subject, attributing the blessed result to the force of his prayers. A letter written to Maximian by Aristolaus, and which Maximian caused to be read aloud in his church in the presence of his people, was pronounced to be spurious by Dorotheus of Martianopolis, evidently because it took the side of Maximian so decidedly. Maximian held the see of Constantinople from October 25, A.D. 431, to April 12, 434. Of all his letters, that to St. Cyril is the only one extant.

(Mansi, v. 257, 259, 266, 269, 271, 273, 286, 351; Baluz. *Nov. Coll. Conc.* 581 sq. ed. 1681; Soc. vii. 35, 40; Liberat. Diac. *Brev.* 19; Ceill. viii. 394.) [W. M. S.]

MAXIMIANUS (6), bishop of Pudentia, a town in Numidia (Böcking, *Not. Dig. Occ.* p. 646). He was accused by two of his deacons of having been bribed by the Donatists to allow a bishop of their sect to be established in his own see. This proceeding was condemned by pope Gregory the Great, who desired that a council should be summoned to consider the case, and that if convicted Maximianus should be deposed, A.D. 592. (Greg. Mag. lib. iii. ind. x. ep. 48 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii.; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 611, ed. Oberthür; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* iii. 341.) [H. W. P.]

MAXIMIANUS (7), bishop of Syracuse and previously abbat of Gregory the Great's monastery at Rome, the authority for some of the anecdotes related by Gregory (*Homil. in Evangel.* lib. ii. hom. xxxiv. § 18, in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvi. 1257; *Dial.* i. 7 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 105, 177; lib. iii. ind. xi. *Ep.* 51 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii. 661). He was Gregory's vicar in Sicily in 591 (lib. ii. ind. x. *Ep.* 7). His preservation from shipwreck is mentioned in *Dial.* iii. 36, and his death in 594 in lib. v. ind. xiii. *Ep.* 17. He is addressed or mentioned besides in several places of Gregory's works (*Dial.* iv. 32; lib. iii. ind. xi. *Ep.* 50; lib. iv. ind. xii. *Epp.* 11, 12, 14; lib. v. ind. xiii. *Epp.* 17, 22, 32; lib. viii. ind. i. *Ep.* 3; lib. xiii. ind. vi. *Ep.* 28; Jaffé, *R. P.* 796, 890, 891, 915, 916, 918, 974, 1001, 1125, 1513; Ceill. xi. 430, 431). [C. H.]

MAXIMILLA (1). [MONTANUS (1).]
(2). [LEUCIUS (1).]

MAXIMINUS (1), ST., an early bishop of Besançon, third in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (xv. 4), fifth in the *Series* of Gams (p. 514), following after St. Germanus. According to an old codex, he was consecrated by pope Caius (A.D. 283–296), and occupied the see of Besançon six years. But yearning for the solitary life (or, according to others, driven away by the inroads of Germans), he retired to a wood six miles from the city (probably Foucherans), where he shone by the sanctity of his life and his preaching. His day of commemoration at Besançon is May 29, the same as that of his more famous namesake of Trèves. (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 4, 5; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 35, 36; Richard, *Hist. des Diocèses de Besançon et de Saint-Claude*, i. 15–17; Tillem. iv. 733, x. 464.) [S. A. B.]

MAXIMINUS (2) I., Roman emperor, A.D. 235–238. C. Julius Verus Maximinus is conspicuous as the first barbarian who wore the imperial purple, and as one of the emperors whose names are connected with the ten persecutions recorded by ecclesiastical historians. Born in Thrace of a Gothic father and an Alan mother, eight feet high and of gigantic strength, he attracted the notice of Septimius Severus by throwing sixteen of his strongest soldiers in wrestling combats, and running at full speed so as to beat the emperor's horse, was enlisted by him, and rose under Caracalla to the rank of a centurion. Under MACRINUS and ELAGABALUS he withdrew from public life, but rose into favour with ALEXANDER SEVERUS, and was made a senator and tribune of the fourth legion. His strength and stature and rough soldier-like qualities made him the idol of the army, and in their common speeches he was known as their Hercules, their Milo, or their Ajax. When that emperor, partly through attempting to enforce a more rigid discipline, partly through the parsimony of his mother Mammaea, who persuaded him to reduce their pay, fell into disfavour with

his troops, Maximinus seized his opportunity, and organized a conspiracy, which ended in the murder of Alexander and his mother at Mayence in A.D. 235. The praetorian guards elected him as emperor, and their choice was confirmed by the senate.

The hostility of Maximinus to his Christian subjects probably had its origin in the favour which they had enjoyed from the eclectic or syncretic sympathies of Alexander Severus. They were his friends, and therefore the foes of his successors. They would appear to him, as to other emperors, a secret, and therefore a dangerous, society, the natural focus of conspiracies and plots. The persecution was however limited in its range, and probably was effectual chiefly in removing the restraints which the leanings of Alexander had imposed on the antagonism of the populations and governors of the provinces.

Pontianus bishop of Rome was banished with the presbyter Hippolytus to Sardinia, and died there in A.D. 235, and, according to Baronius (*Ann.* 137, 138), his successor Anteros shared the same fate in A.D. 238. A yet more illustrious teacher, though he did not suffer, was at least affected by the persecution. Origen thought it expedient to seek safety with his friend Firmilianus, bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea. That province was under the government of Serenianus, whom Firmilianus describes (*ap.* Cyprian, *Ep.* 75) as "*acerbus et dirus persecutor.*" Frequent earthquakes had roused the panic-stricken population to their usual rage against the Christians as the cause of all disasters (Orig. *in Matt.* xxiv. 9), which was all the more keenly felt after the comparatively long tranquillity which they had enjoyed under Alexander Severus and his predecessors. From this retirement Origen addressed two treatises *On Martyrdom* and *On Prayer* to his disciple Ambrosius, a deacon of the church of Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 28) and Protoctetus a presbyter of Caesarea, both of whom were taken as prisoners to Germany (Orig. *Exhort. ad Mart.* 41).

The tyranny of Maximin brought about its natural result in the revolt in Mauritania, which for three short months raised the two GORDIANS to the throne of the Caesars. On their murder and the election of Balbinus and Maximus by the senate as their successors, Maximin, whom the tidings of the African revolt had roused to a ferocious frenzy, and who had been proportionately elated by its apparent suppression, made preparations for his defence, and marched from the Danube to the Julian Alps. The obstinate resistance of Aquileia compelled him to turn his assault into a siege, and his troops, suffering from famine and disease, became disaffected. A party of praetorian guards rose against him, and he, with his son and the chief ministers of his tyranny, were slain in his tent. Their heads were cut off and exhibited to the gaze of the citizens of Aquileia on the battlements of its walls, and Maximus and Balbinus were acknowledged by the army as his successors. (Gibbon, ch. vii.; Capitolin. *Maximini*; Herodian, vii. viii.; Zonar. xii. 16.) [E. H. P.]

MAXIMINUS (3) II. (JOVIUS), emperor A.D. 305–314. Galerius Valerius Maximinus, to give the full title which supplanted his original name of Daza, played a somewhat prominent part in the complications that followed on the abdication of DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIANUS I. Those emperors were succeeded as *Augusti* by GALERIUS, who had married Diocletian's daughter, and CONSTANTIUS, the son-in-law of Maximianus, who had before been Caesar. They in their turn appointed Caesars, and Daza, the nephew of Galerius, was chosen by him, under the name of Maximinus, with Severus as his colleague. On the death of Constantius (A.D. 306) Galerius assigned the provinces beyond the Alps to Constantine, but conferred the vacant title of *Augustus* on Severus, leaving that of Caesar to Constantine and Maximin. Severus, defeated by Maxentius the son of Maximian, was put to death A.D. 307, and the old emperor welcomed Constantine as an ally, gave him his daughter Fausta in marriage, and raised him to the Augustan rank. Galerius, after invading and devastating Italy, invested Licinius with the same imperial title, and assigned Illyricum to his government. Maximin, who was in charge of Syria and Egypt, jealous of this promotion of others to a higher position than his own, and not satisfied with the intermediate title of *Filii Augustorum* offered by Galerius to himself and Constantine by way of compromise, assumed, under the convenient plea that his troops compelled him, the title of Augustus, and added to it the epithet of Jovius, which had been borne before by Diocletian (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13, ix. 9). The long list of titles, as Germanicus, Aegyptiacus, Thebaicus, Sarmaticus, which appears in his decrees (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 17) indicates the same insatiable vanity. The death of Maximius in A.D. 310, and of Galerius in A.D. 311, cleared the stage of two of the six emperors who had together claimed the homage of the Roman world, and left room for new combinations. The first of these, as most natural from their present connexion, was a treaty between Maximin and Licinius, by which their rival claims were for a time adjusted, Maximin receiving the provinces of Asia Minor in addition to Syria and Egypt, and Licinius those of Eastern Europe. Their alliance was, however, but of short duration. Licinius had the wisdom to recognise the superior abilities of Constantine, while Maximin concluded a secret alliance with Maxentius (Euseb. ix. 9. 10; Pseudo-Lactant. *De Mort. Pers.* i. 36). The decisive defeat of the latter by Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in A.D. 312, and the betrothal of Constantine's sister, to Licinius, alarmed Maximin, and he determined on immediate action, and marched from Syria to the frontiers of Bithynia. It was still in the early spring, and his army was much weakened by the difficulties of its march. He attacked Byzantium, which yielded after a siege of eleven days, and then led his troops against Heraclea. Here he was encountered by the army of Licinius, and, after a fruitless attempt at negotiations, a battle followed, in which that of Maximin was utterly routed. Christian historians related how they had prepared for battle, the one by vowing to Jupiter that, if successful, he would blot out the name of Christian from the earth, the other by prayer to the God of the Christians that he would bless and prosper him (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 46). The tyrant fled with the haste of panic in the disguise of a slave, and in twenty-four hours reached Nicomedia, 160 miles distant from

the scene of his defeat, and, with his wife and children and a few chosen friends, sought the East, and halted to collect the remnant of his army in Cappadocia (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 47). Licinius followed up his victory by publishing a decree of toleration for the Christians, and followed on the track of Maximinus, who made no attempt at resistance, but crossed the passes of the Taurus and made his way to Tarsus. There, after a few days of despair, which he sought to drown by intoxication, he ended his days by poison. His wife escaped to the further East, but his son and daughter were put to death by Licinius (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 49, 50). As a final insult to his memory all inscriptions to his honour were destroyed and his statues disfigured and thrown from their pedestals (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 11).

The character of Maximin stands forth as pre-eminent for brutal licentiousness and ferocious cruelty, "lust hard by hate." No woman, however high her rank, was safe from the former, and in the madness of his passion he sought to force the empress Valeria, the widow of Maximian, who had sought refuge with him after her husband's death, to yield to his desires, and, on her refusal, drove her and her mother, the widow of Diocletian, into exile, confiscated her property, and put her attendants to death (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 38, 39). With these vices there was joined an abject superstition which enslaved him to the counsels of soothsayers and sorcerers, without whose advice he would not stir a step (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13). The provinces of Asia, Syria, and Egypt groaned for six years under his oppression, and of all the persecutors who were conspicuous in that last great struggle between the old and the new religion none were so infamous for their cruelties. If he joined for a time, on the advice of the dying Galerius, with Constantine and Licinius in a decree of toleration in A.D. 311, it was only to renew the persecution with greater vigour within a few months (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 17). The sufferings of the Christians in Alexandria drew the hermit ANTONIUS from his seclusion in the desert to exhort them to steadfastness in the faith. Of the martyrs of Palestine, to whom Eusebius dedicates a whole book of his history, most of them suffered by his orders, and many in his presence. Heralds were sent through Caesarea ordering all men to join in sacrifice to the gods, and on his refusal, Appian, a youth of twenty, was tortured and slain. Ulpian and his brother Aedesius were slain at Tyre, Agapius was thrown into the amphitheatre at Caesarea to fight with a bear, and was so lacerated in the conflict that he died the following day. Theodosia, a virgin of Tyre, was drowned, Silvanus tortured, and the confessors of Phaeno in Palestine sent to the mines (Euseb. *de Mart. Palest.* c. 4). Silvanus, the aged bishop of Emesa, was thrown into a den of wild beasts. Peter bishop of Alexandria, with many others holding the same office, was beheaded (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 6). The church of Antioch supplied yet more illustrious martyrs. On the application of an embassy from that city, headed by Theotecnos, which he himself had prompted, he forbade the Christians to hold their wonted meetings in its catacombs (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 2). Hesychius and Lucian, the latter a presbyter of the church, famous for his learning and his saintly life, were summoned to the emperor's presence at Nicomedia, were half starved to death, and then tempted with a luxurious banquet as the price of their apostasy, and on their refusal to deny their faith were thrown into prison and put to death (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 6). In Damascus women of ill repute were seized in the market-place and compelled, under threats of torture, to confess that they were Christians, and had polluted the very churches with their impurities, and their confession was published to excite popular hatred (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 5). Decrees, which Eusebius (*H. E.* ix. 7) copied from a pillar in Tyre, were issued, ascribing the famines and earthquakes and pestilences to the wrath of the gods at the spread of the creed which was denounced as atheistic, and decreeing, as it was alleged, at the request of the Syrians themselves, perpetual banishment against all who adhered to their denial of the state religion. Even the Armenians, though outside the emperor's dominions, and old allies of Rome, were threatened with war, because they too were Christians (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 8), and this at a time when thousands were dying of starvation in consequence of a prolonged famine followed by pestilence. From Nicomedia itself and the neighbouring cities the Christians were banished by an imperial edict, issued, here as elsewhere, as at the request of the citizens themselves (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 9). It was not till after his defeat by Licinius that the tyrant, in the rage of his despair, turned against the priests and prophets and soothsayers who had urged him on, and, as a last resource, within less than a year after his edicts of extermination, issued a decree of toleration, and ordered the restitution of property that had been taken from the Christians and brought into the imperial treasury (Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 10).

[E. H. P.]

MAXIMINUS (4), ST., fifth archbishop of Trèves, between St. Agraecius and St. Paulinus (circ. A.D. 332–349), is known to us from the part he played in the history of Athanasius. In Feb. 336 the latter was banished by the emperor Constantine to Trèves, then the seat of government of his eldest son Constantine II. Maximin received him with honour, became his zealous partisan and friend, and was thenceforth numbered among the champions of orthodoxy in the West (Hieronymus, *Chronicon*, an. 346, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxvii. 682; Athanasius, *Epist. ad Episc. Aegypt.* § 8; *Apologia ad Imp. Const.* § 3, ed. Benedict. i. 278, 297; Hilarius, *Hist. Frag.* ii. ed. Maff. ii. 634, in *Patr. Lat.* x. 644). For the probable influence of Athanasius's sojourn on the struggle between Arianism and orthodoxy, and the growth of monasticism in the West, see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 187–8. Athanasius left Trèves in June 338, and two years later Maximin was called upon to entertain and assist in like manner Paul, the banished bishop of Constantinople. His efforts resulted in the restoration of the exile to his see in A.D. 341. The following year a deputation of four Arian bishops arrived at Trèves with the design of winning over Constans to their views. They brought a creed of compromise, which they hoped would find acceptance, but Maximin, meeting them with inflexible hostility, refused them communion, and was mainly instrumental in

securing the rejection of their proposals (Hilarius, *Hist. Frag.* iii. ed. Maff. ii. 662–663, in *Patr. Lat.* x. 674–675). In 343 Maximin was present at the council of Milan (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, i. B. 111). Whether he was also at the great council of Sardica, held in 343 or 344, is not quite certain, but he was among the number of those who assented to its decisions (Athanasius, *Apol. contr. Arianos*, § 50, ed. Benedict. i. 168; Hilarius, *ibid.* ii. 647 in *Patr. Lat.* 659. As to the date of this council see ATHANASIUS, tom. i.). The prominent part he bore in the conflict with Arianism is manifest from the special excommunication pronounced against him at the heretical council of Philippopolis held by the seceders from that of Sardica (Hilar. *Hist. Frag.* iii. 27, ed. Maff. ii. 662–3). Nothing later is known of his life unless, which is improbable, he was the Maximus who, with Servatius and others, was sent by Magnentius, the murderer of Constans, on a mission to Constantius in 350 (Athanasius, *Apol. ad Imp. Const.* § 9, ed. Benedict. i. 300; Baron. *Ann.* 350, xxviii.; Rettberg, i. 187).

Maximin's cult was established from very early times. On the 29th of May his name appears in the martyrologies of Hieronymus (*Patr. Lat.* xxx. 459), Bede (*ibid.* xciv. 930), and many others, ancient and modern (see Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii.). Though most of them commemorate it as the day of his death, it really represented that of the supposed translation of his body from Aquitaine to Trèves. Sept. 12 is that assigned to his death (Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Mai. 29). To Gregory of Tours he was the patron and guardian of the city of Trèves (*Hist. Franc.* i. 35; *Vitae Patr.* xvii. 4), and his shrine in one of the suburbs was famous for its miracles, especially those wrought to vindicate the sanctity of oaths and for the punishment of the perjured (*De Glor. Conf.* xciii.; *Vitae Patr.* ibid.). The legends that collected round his name are embodied in two biographies, one written by an anonymous monk of St. Maximin in the 8th century, and to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vii. 21–25, the other by a Lupus usually believed to be the abbat of Ferrières in the 9th century, but in the opinion of Ceillier (xii. 511) and others, Lupus bishop of Châlons. It has been published among others by Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxix. 665–680. According to their story, Maximin was a native of Poitou, and had for brothers Maxentius bishop of Poitiers, Maximus, and Jovinus, and for sister Maxima. Drawn to Trèves by the favour of St. Agricius, or Agraecius, he was ordained by him, and on his death succeeded him in the see. Against the Arian heresy, then in the ascendant, he boldly contended and suffered much persecution, and particularly he summoned a council at Cologne, which judged and condemned Euphratas, the bishop of that city, who denied the divinity of Christ. (This council, always suspected from the fact that the condemned bishop figures among the orthodox prelates at Sardica about a year afterwards, is now admitted to be fictitious; see Baron. *Ann.* 346. vii. seqq., Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 131.) After many years, filled with miraculous works, he visited Rome in company with St. Martin, who on their return commended to him for instruction a youth named Lubentius (afterwards canonized, Oct. 13). At length, seized with the desire of revisiting his kindred, he died in Aquitaine after an episcopate of seventeen years and thirty days, and was buried there. His successor, Paulinus, and his fellow-citizens of Trèves, sent a deputation which brought back the body amid numerous miracles to Trèves, where it was buried in the church of St. John.

The early history of the famous monastery of St. Maximin is unknown. The earliest authentic information relating to it, after the allusions of Gregory of Tours, is the assertion of Maximin's anonymous biographer that Hildulfus, archbishop of the see, moved the coffin from its original crypt to the place where it rested in his time, owing to an influx of water, and enlarged the monastery to hold one hundred monks (cap. ii. § 9; Boll. *ibid.* p. 23; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 386). The first unimpeachable document is a grant of property by king Arnolphus, cir. Jan. 23, 888 (Hontheim, *ibid.* p. 226). For the history of this monastery see *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 523 seqq.; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 474).

The passage above cited from Athanasius's *Epistola ad Episc. Aegypt.* § 8, i. 278) has been thought to imply that Maximin was the author of some writings against the Arians. If it was so they have not been preserved, nor is there found any other allusion to them (*Hist. Litt.* i. B. 112). [S. A. B.]

MAXIMINUS (5), Donatist bishop of Sinita, or Castellum Sinitense, a town in Numidia, not far from Hippo Regius, of whom St. Augustine, who was then only a presbyter, heard that he had rebaptized a young deacon of Mutugena, a small town near Hippo. In order to ascertain the truth of the story, Augustine went to Mutugena, and heard on enquiry that the young man had been admitted to the diaconate among the Donatists, but not certainly that he had been rebaptized. He therefore wrote to Maximinus, to ask whether it were true, entreating him in the most solemn way to send such an answer as he might read publicly to his congregation at Hippo. Of the result of this appeal we are ignorant. He appears to have been one of the delegates sent by the Donatist community to Italy for the purpose of pleading their cause before the emperor Honorius at Ravenna, A.D. 406, but soon after his return to have left them and become a Catholic, though retaining his see of Sinita. This change so exasperated his former associates, that they proclaimed in the town that the house of any one who communicated with him should be set on fire. He was a member of the council of Zerta, A.D. 412, by which a remonstrance was sent to the Donatist party in general. (Aug. *Ep.* 23; 88, 9, 10; 105, 4; 141; *Civ. D.* 22, 8, 6, 11; *Carth. Coll.* iii. 141; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* iii. 30; Ribbeck, *Aug. und Don.* pp. 319, 320.) [H. W. P.]

MAXIMINUS (6), Arian bishop of Hippo Regius, who had come with the Gothic soldiers into Africa A.D. 427, 428, and held a discussion with St. Augustine on the subject of the Trinity. He said that he had come not to provoke discussion, but in order to promote peace, at the request of Segisvultus count of Africa, who had been sent by Valentinian to oppose Bonifacius. He had been challenged to discussion by Eraclius (Vol. II. p. 170), who called in the aid of Augus-

time and now he wished to reply, but in so doing to confine himself to scriptural authority. The discussion was held in public, and at its conclusion Maximinus declared himself obliged to return to Carthage. Augustine therefore at a later time replied at length to his arguments in two books, which, as well as the one which contains the discussion, exhibit the arguments in favour of the Arian doctrine and against it. We might say that the line of argument taken by Augustine resembles so strongly that which is expressed in the formulary which we call the Athanasian creed that if this were lost it might almost be supplied from the language of Augustine in this treatise. (Aug. *Coll. cum Max.* and *Contra Max.* i. ii. *Opp.* vol. viii. p. 719–810, ed. Migne; *Vit. Poss.* 17; Ceillier, vol. ix. 359–361.) On the claims of Maximinus to the authorship of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* see PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOMUS. [H. W. P.]

MAXIMUS (1), MARCUS CLODIUS PUPIENUS, Roman emperor from cir. Ap.–Aug. 238, the colleague of Decimus Caelius Balbinus. [BALBINUS in *Dic. G. & R. Biog.*] [C. H.]

MAXIMUS (2) (MAGNUS MAXIMUS), Christian emperor in the West, A.D. 383–388. There is apparently no authority for the names Flavius or Clemens sometimes given to him. On coins and inscriptions the name is simply Magnus Maximus. 1. *Authorities.* 2. *History.* 3. *Legend.*

1. *Authorities.*—Besides the narratives of the regular historians, of whom Zosimus (iv. 35–46) contains the most original matter, special notices are found in St. Ambrose, *Ep.* 24 (narrative of his embassies), 20, § 23, and 40, § 23; Symmachus, *Ep.* ii. 31; Sulpicius Severus, almost contemporary, *Chron.* ii. 49–51, *Vita S. Martini*, 20, *Dialogus*, ii. 6, iii. 11; in the heathen Pacatus, *Panegyricus Theodosio*, 24 foll. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. xiii.); Ausonius, *Ordo nobilium urb., de Aquileia*, &c. Baronius, s. a. 387, §§ 33–36, gives the long letter of Maximus to Valentinian II., and §§ 65, 66 that to Siricius on the case of Agricius and on the Priscillianists. The part relating to Agricius is also given by Hänel, *Corpus legum ab imp. lat. extra codices* (Lips. 1847, s. a. 385, p. 230). As Maximus was considered a usurper, no laws of his appear in the codes, cf. *Cod. Theod.* xv. 14, 7, *de infirmandis his quae sub tyrannis aut barbaris gesta sunt*, Milan, Oct. 10, 388. Coins of himself and of his son Fl. Victor are not very scarce; but other monuments of the reign are rare. No public inscriptions with his name are found, it would seem, in Britain or at Rome, but milestones bearing it are extant in Spain and Northern Italy, and as far south as Melfi (Mommsen, *Inscr. regn. Neap.* 6300, 6301 a. = Wilmanns 824). The inscriptions of Gaul are not yet collected.

The best modern books are De Broglie, *l'Église et l'Empire au IVme Siècle*, Paris, 1866, vol. vi. and H. Richter, *Weströmische Reich*, Berlin, 1865, pp. 568 foll., cp. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Oxford, 1880, vol. i. pp. 147–155.

2. *History.*—Magnus Maximus was a Spaniard by birth (Zos. iv. 35) and a dependant of the family of Theodosius, with whom he served in Britain. It is said that envy of the success of his old comrade and chief excited his ambition. In the year 383 he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers in Britain, where he held some sort of command, but apparently not a very high one. He afterwards tried to cloak his usurpation under pretext of yielding to the pressure of the army (Oros. vii. 34; Sulp. Sev. *Vita S. Martini*, 20), but such protestations are generally not very trustworthy. At any rate, when once he attained power he shewed no desire except to increase it. He landed in Gaul at the mouth of the Rhine, and was met by the army of Gratian somewhere near Paris. The troops came over to him, and Maximus suddenly found himself in possession of the western provinces. Gratian was killed at Lyons, Aug. 25, and it was generally reported, by the orders of Maximus himself [GRATIANUS, p. 724 b], and his generals Balio and Merobaudes also perished miserably. The Western empire was thus in great danger, since Valentinian II. was a mere weak boy, and Theodosius was occupied in the East. It shews the ascendency of St. Ambrose that he was chosen by the empress mother, Justina, to treat for peace at this difficult crisis (S. Ambr. *Ep.* 24, §§ 3, 5, 7). At the same time Marcellinus, brother of Maximus, was sent with politic clemency to the court of Treves. By these means a peace was made, and Maximus was acknowledged as Augustus and sovereign of the Gauls, side by side with Valentinian and Theodosius. The coins with the legend CONCORDIA AVGGG, i.e. trium Augustorum, struck at Treves and Constantinople, commemorate this peace (Cohen, *Med. imp.* vol. vi. pp. 463, 464).

This state of things lasted for some years, during which Maximus, who had been baptized just before his usurpation, busied himself much with church affairs, being desirous to obtain a reputation for the strictest orthodoxy. The character of the man is not clear. Richter paints him merely as a crafty, avaricious, and ambitious hypocrite, and this is not far from being the opinion of De Broglie. This is no doubt a view to which the facts easily lend themselves. It is remarkable, however, that the Western writers, Sulpicius Severus and Orosius, though treating Maximus as a usurper, give him, on the whole, a good character, Sulpicius making exception on the score of his persecution of the Priscillianists and his love of money (Sulp. *Dial.* ii. 6; Oros. vii. 34). It seems not unlikely then that Maximus was in general an able and popular ruler, at least in his own dominions, giving his subjects what they most wanted, some feeling of security and peace. With regard, however, to his treatment of the Priscillianists, we cannot be wrong in following the censure passed upon these proceedings by pope Siricius (Synod of Turin, A.D. 401, can. 6, Hefele, *Councils*, § 113), St. Ambrose, and St. Martin of Tours. Ambrose, indeed, was a political opponent, but Maximus courted Siricius, and was very obsequious to Martin. These heretics, who held a mixture of Gnostic, Manichaean, and Sabellian opinions (see the propositions condemned by the council of Toledo, Hefele, § 167), had been condemned by a synod held at Saragossa in 380. Gratian, in his last days, had shewn them some slight favour, by referring their cause to the vicar of Spain instead of the praetorian prefect of the Gauls, in consequence of a bribe administered to Macedonius master of the offices (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 49). These

opponents Ithacius bishop of Ossonuba, and Idacius, or Ydacius, bishop of Emerita, found in Maximus a more ready instrument of persecution. The Priscillianists were ordered to appear before a synod at Bordeaux in 384, where one of their chiefs, the bishop Instantius, was condemned as unworthy of the episcopal office. Priscillianus himself denied the competency of the synod, and appealed to the emperor. St. Martin besought him to abstain from bloodshed, and to remit the case to ecclesiastical judges. Ithacius, who was the most vehement of their accusers, did not hesitate to charge Martin himself with Priscillianism, but, for a time, the better influence prevailed, and Maximus promised that no lives should be taken. After Martin's departure, however, other bishops persuaded Maximus to remit the case to a secular judge, Evodius, and finally the emperor condemned Priscillianus and his companions, including a rich widow Euchrocia [EUCHROCIA], to be beheaded. Instantius and some others were exiled. A second synod, held at Treves in 385, approved by a majority the conduct of Ithacius, and urged Maximus to further measures of confiscation towards all members of the sect. St. Martin returned in order to intercede for some of his friends, and for the sake of gaining this good end communicated with the faction of Ithacius, who were then consecrating a bishop. It is perhaps at this time that we may place the curious anecdote of Martin's consenting to be fed and waited upon by the devout empress, the only instance in which he held near converse with a woman (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* ii. 6, cp. 7, § 2, "ut clausos carcere liberaret, exiliis datos restitueret, bona adempta redhiberet"). Whatever motives first dictated this injurious and fatal policy on the part of Maximus, there can be no doubt that he wished to be regarded as a champion of catholicity, and to use this merit as a political instrument. As early as the year 385 he seems to have written to pope Siricius, professing his ardent love of the Catholic faith, offering to refer the case of a priest Agricius, whom the pope complained of as wrongly ordained, to ecclesiastical judges anywhere within his dominions, and enclosing the acts or official reports of the case of "the Manichaeans," *i.e.* the Priscillianists. (This letter is only given at length by Baronius, s.a. 387, §§ 65, 66; cp. Tillemont, *Les Priscillianistes*, art. 10. The part about Agricius is given by Hänel, s.a. 385, from other MSS., thus confirming the genuineness of the letter.) At the beginning of the year 387, the struggle about the Basilicas gave him a pretext for interfering on the Catholic side with the court of Milan, a proceeding which he may well have thought would have gained him the sympathy of his old opponent St. Ambrose. He wrote a threatening letter to Valentinian II., which we still possess, bidding him desist from the persecution of the church (Soz. vii. 13; Theod. v. 14). This letter is given only by Baronius, s. a. 387, § 33–36 foll.; cp. Tillemont, *Saint Ambroise*, art. 48. Its genuineness seems not absolutely certain). Justina, in this emergency, was again ready enough to use the political skill and intrepidity of St. Ambrose, whose loyalty was unshaken by the struggle through which he had passed, and whose disinterestedness was universally recognised. Ambrose went on a second embassy to Maximus, of which he has left us a lively record in his 24th epistle. He set out, it seems, after that memorable Easter which witnessed the baptism of St. Augustine, and found the emperor at Treves. His high spirit and sincerity seems to have disappointed Maximus, who found fault with him for acting against his interest, and accused count Bauto of turning barbarians upon his territory. At the same time he refused to restore the remains of Gratian, which still remained unburied, thus clearly shewing that his mind was made up for war. The last offence was given by Ambrose's refusal to communicate with the Ithacians, and the emperor suddenly commanded him to depart (cp. *Ep.* 24, § 3, for his judgment on this party). On his return to Milan he warned Valentinian to prepare for war, but his wise councils were disregarded. A second ambassador Domninus was sent, and was entirely taken in by the soft words of Maximus, who persuaded him that Valentinian had no better friend than himself, and cajoled him into taking back into Italy a part of his army, under pretence of serving against the barbarians, who were invading Pannonia. Having thus cleverly got his soldiers across the Alps, he followed with all speed in person, and entered Italy as an invader (Zos. iv. 42). Justina and her son and daughters fled to Theodosius at Thessalonica. Maximus was thus left in possession of Italy, and shewed some change of religious policy, by the order sent to Rome to rebuild a Jewish synagogue recently burned by the Christians (St. Amb. *Ep.* 40, § 23). The fact that he listened readily to a panegyric pronounced by Symmachus is, however, no more proof that he had any leanings to heathenism, than the orations pronounced by other heathen panegyrists, such as Themistius and Pacatus, upon other Christian emperors (Tillemont's criticism on Baronius—*Théodose*, art. 43, *Empereurs*, vol. v. p. 293—applies by anticipation to De Broglie, vol. vi. p. 236, who cannot resist the temptation to make a point).

The details of the campaign that followed belong to secular history. Theodosius defeated the troops of Maximus at Siscia and Petovio, and seized the emperor himself at Aquileia, where he was put to death, after some form of trial (*Zos.* iv. 46; Pacatus, 43, 44) on 25th July, or 28th August, 388, after a reign of rather more than five years—the "lustrale justitiam" of Pacatus's panegyric of this emperor.

His son Victor, whom he had named Augustus, was put to death shortly after. Andragathius, his able general, who was accused of the murder of Gratian, threw himself into the Adriatic. It is not said what became of Marcellinus, who had been defeated at Petovio.

3. *Legend.*—The connexion of Maximus with Britain is obscure, but it has given rise to a considerable aftergrowth of legend. He is called "Rutupinus latro" by Ausonius, perhaps merely because he started from Richborough to invade Gaul. Welsh tradition has incorporated him into its genealogies of saints and royal heroes, under the name of Macsen Wledig, or Gulédig, a title considered to be equivalent to imperator. (See H. Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* p. 166 foll., ed. 2, London, 1766, and cp. Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. pp. 45, 48, vol. ii. 405.) He is usually called *Macsen*, which

rather suggests a confusion with Maxentius, but Skene quotes his Welsh name also as *Maxim*, i. p. 48.) The "dream of Maxen Wledig" in the Mabinogion (ed. Guest, vol. iii. pp. 263–294, Lond. 1849) represents him as already emperor of Rome, and brought to Britain by a dream of a royal maiden Helen Luyddawc or Luyddog, daughter of Eudav (= Octavius?) of Caer Segont, or Carnarvon, and then returning after seven years with his brother-in-law Kynan to reconquer his old dominions. Another mythical account describes Kynan as raising an army of sixty thousand men, who afterwards settled in Armorica. The desolation of Britain thus left the country exposed to the attacks of the Picts and Saxons (cp. *Mabinogion*, l. c. pp. 29 foll., R. Rees, *Essay on Welsh Saints*, pp. 104, 105, Lond. 1836; Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* § 23). A further development of the legend represents St. Ursula and her company of virgins as sent out as wives for these emigrated hosts. The term *Sarn Helen* applied to Roman roads in North Wales is also explained as referring to the wife of Maximus.

It is difficult to say what historical facts may be at the bottom of this. That the withdrawal of Roman troops by Maximus exposed Britain to invasion is an obvious fact, and is already asserted by Gildas (*Historia*, cc. 10, 11). The colonisation of Armorica by some of his auxiliaries is also possible enough. On the other hand, the name of Helen *may* merely be borrowed from the mother of Constantine, and *Sarn Helen* may be explained as *Sarn-y-lleng*, "the legion's causeway," just as the story of the cutting out the tongues of the women of Armorica by Kynan's soldiers appears to be only an etymological myth to explain the name Llydaw applied to that country. (For further references, see R. Williams, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, Llandovery, 1852, art. *Maxen Wledig*.) [J. W.]

MAXIMUS (3), PETRONIUS, emperor of the West, A.D. 455. He was a descendant of the Maximus who usurped the empire in the time of Gratian (Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* i. 4). He belonged to one of the noblest and wealthiest families of Rome, was three times prefect of the city and twice consul. To avenge the insult his wife had received from Valentinian III. (see Procopius above quoted), he caused him to be assassinated in the Campus Martius by two barbarians, officers of Aetius, though he himself is accused by Marcellinus (*Chronicon* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* li. 929) and Procopius of having instigated the murder of that general. This event took place on March 16 or 17, A.D. 455. Maximus then seized on the vacant throne, and compelled Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, to marry him a few days after her husband's death, his own wife having died a short time before. She also gave her daughter Eudocia to his son Palladius, whom he created Caesar (Idatius, *Chronicon* in *Patr. Lat.* li. 884). The outraged Eudoxia summoned Genseric the king of the Vandals as her avenger and deliverer. Her invitation was gladly accepted by Genseric, who sailed with a mighty armament for Rome. On his approach Maximus endeavoured to fly, but the people and soldiery, headed by Valentinian's officers, rose against him, stoned him, tore him limb from limb, and flung his mangled body into the river. June 12, 455, was probably the date of his death (*Chronicon Cuspinianum*), so that he reigned rather less than three months. The dates, however, of the duration of his reign given by different authors are irreconcilable, but the above seems the most probable conclusion. The whole question is discussed at length by Tillemont in a note (*Emp.* vi. 628). A fragment of one of Maximus's Novels, *De Sunma Siliquatici*, is preserved in the Theodosian Code (iii. 266, Bonn ed.), but in so mutilated and corrupt a form as to be unintelligible. The *Siliquaticum* was a tax of a *siliqua* (1-24th of a *solidus*) levied on every sale in the markets and payable in equal shares by the buyer and the seller (Ducange, *Glossar.* s. v.). [F. D.]

MAXIMUS (4). Eusebius, in his Chronicle, counts one Maximus 19th and another 26th bishop of Jerusalem. It appears to be only a transcriber's error that the second of these is omitted in the list (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 12). Eusebius owns himself unable to give the dates of these bishops. We may guess the former about 165 and the latter about 185. [G. S.]

MAXIMUS (5) I. (MAXIMINUS, MAXIMIANUS), bishop of Antioch towards the close of the 2nd century. Eusebius places him seventh in order from the apostles, between Theophilus and Serapion (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 24). Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, places his accession A.D. 178. Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, ii. 702), who is followed by Neale (*Patriarchate of Antioch*), places it . D. 186, and his death in A.D. 199. [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (6), African lapsed schismatic of the party of Felicissimus—Cyp. *Ep.* 59 xiii. (11). He and Jovinus who accompanied PRIVATUS, the late bishop of Lambaese and "vetus haereticus," to ask for re-hearing at the council of A.D. 252 at Carthage, had been most likely bishops both, as they had been condemned first by nine bishops and then excommunicated by council of 251 A.D. Often confounded by narrators and indices with Maximus (7). [E. W. B.]

MAXIMUS (7), Novatianist Roman presbyter, sent by Novatian with Augendus a deacon, Machaeus, and Longinus to announce to Cyprian and his colleagues the election of Novatian as antipope—Cyp. *Ep.* 44, which gives the account of their reception. *Ep.* 50: after this defeat Maximus is made Novatianist bishop of Carthage. *Ep.* 59: sent to Carthage *nuper* (A.D. 251), spoken of as consecrated *nunc* (*Ep.* 59 xi.) in a letter written after Id. Mai. A.D. 252, as appears by *Ep.* 59, xiii. [E. W. B.]

MAXIMUS (8), Numidian bishop addressed in Cyp. *Ep.* 62 [JANUARIUS (1)] and Cyp. *Ep.* 70. (Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt. Haer.* 1.) [E. W. B.]

MAXIMUS (9), bishop of Alexandria, fourteenth "successor of St. Mark," had been a presbyter under bishop Dionysius. During the Decian persecution, after Dionysius had been carried away by some Christians of Mareotis into Libya, Maximus with three other presbyters "kept themselves concealed in Alexandria, secretly carrying on the oversight of the brethren" (Dionys. to Domitius and Didymus, ap. Euseb. vii. 11). Familiar as they must have been with all the intricate "lanes" of the "vast

city," it is surprising that their ministrations were undetected by the inquisitorial severity of the local government, which found victims among the virgins of the church (see Euseb. vi. 41). Seven years later, when Valerian's persecution began, we find Maximus attending his bishop (who calls him his "fellow presbyter") to the tribunal of the prefect Aemilianus, as involved with him, and three deacons and a Roman lay Christian, in the charge of contumacious rejection of the gods who had "preserved the emperor's sovereignty," and whose worship was in accordance with "natural" law. He was included in the sentence of banishment which transported Dionysius to Cephro in the Libyan frontier, where he shared in the rough reception which the heathen inhabitants gave to the bishop, and also assisted him in the preaching which ere long won over "not a few" of them to "the word then sown among them for the first time." After a while, the party were removed to Colluthion, a place exposed to "molestations" of various kinds, as Dionysius well knew; and when for a moment his heart sank at the prospect, Maximus was probably the first to remind him that this unattractive spot was much nearer to Alexandria: "We shall see our dear friends of the city much oftener, and our services will be like those which might be held in one of the suburbs" (Euseb. vii. 11). Maximus would have shared in his bishop's sorrows amid the siege of that part of Alexandria which was held by Aemilianus—then in revolt against Gallienus, and suffered in consequence great scarcity—and amid the horrors of a pestilence which outlasted this civil war (Euseb. vii. 32, 21, 22), nor could he fail to partake in those other anxieties which were caused by the Sabellian controversy, and by the distressing news of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch. When Dionysius, "worn out with years," died in the early part of 265 (in March according to Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 395; and February according to Neale, *Hist. Alex.* i. 39, 83), Maximus was appropriately elected to succeed him, and appears as holding the second see in the church—for as such the "Evangelical throne" was reckoned until the council of 381—in the address of the circular sent by the council of Antioch, in 269, to "Dionysius" (of Rome) "and Maximus, and to all our fellow ministers," after the final condemnation of the heretical Paul. A letter "of Felix bishop of Rome" (A.D. 269–274) "to Maximus," explicitly asserting that Christ was the Eternal Son of God, and God incarnate, not a distinct human person "assumed" by the Son or Word, was read in the first session of the council of Ephesus (Mansi, *Conc.* iv. 1188), and connects itself naturally with the same question. Maximus died on Sunday the 14th of Pharmuthi or 9th of April, 282 (Le Quien, ii. 396), and was succeeded by Theonas.

[W. B.]

MAXIMUS (10), bishop of Jerusalem, the fortieth in succession from the Apostles. He succeeded Macarius on his death, 336 A.D. He had been a confessor in one of the persecutions (*ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας διαπρέψας ἀγῶσι*) (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 26),—according to Philostorgius (*H. E.* iii. 12) that of Maximian—in which he had suffered grievous bodily mutilation, losing one eye, and having the sinews of one arm and one thigh severed while still serving as a presbyter in the church of Jerusalem. According to Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 20), Macarius his predecessor had appointed him to the see of Diospolis (Lydda); but Maximus was regarded with such reverence at Jerusalem, that on his appointment becoming known the feeling of dissatisfaction was so strong as to threaten a popular commotion. To still the excitement Macarius resolved to appoint another bishop to Lydda, and to retain Maximus at Jerusalem as his coadjutor and eventual successor. He was strengthened in this resolution by his conviction of Maximus's orthodoxy, and his fear that on his death Eusebius and Patrophilus would make a successful attempt to get an Arian appointed as his successor (Soz. *H. E.* ii. 20). Sozomen adds (but his authority without other support is but feeble) that these two prelates did make such an attempt in Macarius's lifetime, but that they were induced to abstain, at least for a time, by excommunication, or the threat of it (*ib.*). The whole story is discredited by Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* vi. 747; *Note sur les Ariens*, xiv.), on the ground that there could have been no vacancy of the see of Lydda at that time; Aetius, who held that bishopric at the council of Nicaea, being certainly alive A.D. 332, and probably A.D. 349; and also from the unlikelihood of Macarius having, so soon after the passing of the seventh Nicene canon, usurped the rights of the metropolitan in consecrating a bishop in his province. Maximus appears to have been a man of no strength of character, honest but timid, whose simplicity made him the tool of the stronger and more designing. His career is consequently not marked with much consistency. He attended the council of Tyre, A.D. 335, being admitted to a seat, together with Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, and others, as among the least committed to the cause of Athanasius, whose presence would give an air of impartiality to its deliberations, whom, also for their close vicinity, it would not have been decent to exclude (De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, ii. 326).

The part he took at this council is variously represented. According to Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 8) and Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 6), he assented to the deposition of Athanasius; his simplicity and easiness of character having blinded him to the machinations of the enemies of orthodoxy, by whom he had been unfavourably prejudiced against its great champion. Rufinus, however (*H. E.* i. 17), records the dramatic incident that the aged confessor Paphnutius of the Thebaïd, whose mutilated form had attracted so much attention at Nicaea, when he saw Maximus vacillating took him by the hand and led him over to the small band of Athanasius's supporters, saying that it did not become those who bore the tokens of their sufferings for the faith to consort with its adversaries. Sozomen, who here, as elsewhere, is not consistent with himself, records the same incident (*H. E.* ii. 25).* We know little of the part taken by Maximus in the Arian troubles between the council of Tyre, A.D. 335, and that

* Tillemont's careful examination of the whole question of Maximus's conduct at this council deserves to be referred to (*Mém. Ecclés.* vol. vi. pp. 747-8, *Notes sur les Ariens*, xv.).

of Sardica. But it is difficult to see how he could fail to be compromised when the solemn recognition of Arius was made by the two hundred bishops assembled for the dedication of Constantine's church at the council of Jerusalem. If he had refused complicity in these proceedings it could hardly fail to have been recorded. The silence of all historians throws doubt on Rufinus's statement that Maximus remained always faithful to the cause of Athanasius. A decided return to a better mind is manifested by his refusal to attend the council of the Dedication assembled by the Eusebians at Antioch, A.D. 341, at which the sentence of the council of Tyre against Athanasius, to which he had been an assenting party, was confirmed. On this occasion he had been put on his guard in time; and, conscious of his weakness, discreetly kept away, fearing lest he might, as at Tyre, be carried away (*συναρπαγεὶς*) against his will, and led to acquiesce in measures of which he would afterwards have cause to repent (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 8; Soz. *H. E.* iii. 6). At Sardica Maximus was once more found on the orthodox side, and his name stands first of the Palestinian bishops who signed the synodical letters (Athanas. *Apolog. I. ad Const.* p. 768). A little later he proved how completely he had repented of his former vacillation by the welcome he gave to Athanasius when passing through Jerusalem on his way to resume his seat at Alexandria. He summoned an assemblage of bishops to do honour to his distinguished visitor, by the whole of whom, with two or three exceptions, he was solemnly received into communion. Congratulatory letters on the recovery of their chief pastor were written to the Egyptian bishops, and Maximus was the first to affix his signature (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 24; Soz. *H. E.* 21, 22; Athanas. *Apol. I. ad. Const.* p. 775; *Hist. Arian. ad Solit.* § 25; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 92, 625, 679). According to the very questionable story given by Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 203), the decided part taken by Maximus in support of Athanasius so extremely irritated Acacius, his metropolitan, and Patrophilus, that they succeeded in deposing him and placed Cyril, who at that time was little more than one of the better sort of semi-Arians, in his place. Jerome's statement is on all accounts to be preferred, that Maximus died in possession of his bishopric A.D. 350 or 351, and that it was then that Cyril was appointed to the vacant see. Cyril having been ordained deacon probably by Macarius, had been advanced to the priesthood by Maximus, by whom he was entrusted with the instruction of the catechumens and the delivery of catechetical lectures in the church of the Holy Cross [CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, Vol. I. p. 760 b]. A portion of a treatise, "Concerning Matter," written by a Maximus, who may probably be identified with the subject of this article, is found in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, lib. vii. c. 22, pp. 337–346. A translation is given in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Clark's Series), vol. xxii. [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (11), the Cynic; the intrusive bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 380. Ecclesiastical history hardly presents a more extraordinary career than that of this man, who, after a most disreputable youth, more than once brought to justice for his misdeeds, and bearing the scars of his punishments, by sheer impudence, clever flattery, and adroit management of opportunities, contrived to gain the confidence successively of no less men than Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ambrose, and to instal himself in one of the first sees of the church, from which he was with difficulty dislodged by a decree of an oecumenical council. His history also illustrates the jealousy felt by the churches of Alexandria and Rome towards their young and vigorous rival for patriarchal honours, the church of Constantinople; as well as their claim to interfere with her government, and to impose prelates upon her according to their pleasure. Alexandria, as the chief see of the Eastern world, from the first asserted a jurisdiction which she has never formally relinquished over the see of Constantinople, more particularly in a vacancy in the episcopate (Neale, *Patr. of Alexandria*, i. 206). The conduct of Peter, the successor of Athanasius, first in instituting Gregory Nazianzen bishop of Constantinople by his letters (*πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐγκαθίστα γράμμασιν*) and sending a formal recognition of his appointment (*συμβόλοις ἐτίμα τῆς ἱδρύσεως*—Greg. Naz. *u.s.*), and then in substituting Maximus, as has been remarked by Milman (*History of Christianity*, iii. 115 note) and Ullman (Greg. Naz. p. 203, Cox's translation), furnish unmistakable indications of the desire to erect an Oriental papacy, by establishing the primacy of Alexandria over Constantinople and so over the East, which was still further illustrated a few years later by the high-handed behaviour of Theophilus towards Chrysostom.

Maximus was a native of Alexandria[a] of low parentage. He boasted that his family had produced martyrs. He got instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith and received baptism, but strangely enough sought to combine the Christian profession with Cynic philosophy. Gregory describes him as having had no regular occupation, but loitering about in the streets, like a shameless dog, foul and greedy (*κύων, κυνίσκος, ἀμφόδων ὑπηρέτης*). More than once he earned a flogging for his misdeeds, and he was finally banished to the Oasis. We hear of him next at Corinth, with a high reputation for religion, leading about a band of females—"the swan of the flock"—under colour of devotion (*Carm.* cxlviii. p. 450). Soon after Gregory Nazianzen had taken up his residence in that city Maximus shifted his quarters to Constantinople. Gregory devotes a considerable number of the biting iambics of his poem, *De Vita Sua*, to this man, from which, as well as from his exaggerated panegyric, we gather that Maximus when he presented himself at the Eastern capital wore the white robe of a Cynic, and carried a philosopher's staff, his head being laden with a huge crop of crisp curling hair, dyed a golden yellow, and swinging over his shoulders in long ringlets. He represented himself as a confessor for the Nicene faith, and his banish-

[a] Jerome tersely sums up the strange history of this episcopal pretender to philosophy and orthodoxy: "Maximus philosophus, natus Alexandriae, Constantinopoli episcopus ordinatus, expulsus, insignem de fide adversus Arianos scripsit librum quem Mediolani Gratiano principi dedit" (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 127).

ment to the Oasis as a suffering for the truth (*Orat.* xxiii. p. 419). Before long he completely gained the ear and heart of Gregory, who admitted him to the closest companionship. Maximus proclaimed the most unbounded admiration for Gregory's discourses, which he praised in private, and, according to the custom of the age, applauded in public. His zeal against heretics was most fierce, and his denunciations of them uncompromising. The simple-hearted Gregory became the complete dupe of Maximus. So blinded was the bishop to his real character, that he adopted the extraordinary step of delivering a panegyrical oration, in the man's own presence, in full church, before the celebration of the Eucharist, inviting him to stand by his side and receive the crown of victory. This oration bears the name of Hero. Whether Maximus had this second name is uncertain. Jerome asserts that the editors of Gregory sought to hide the fact of his having thus fulsomely praised one whom not long afterwards he so violently denounced, by putting a false name at the head of the discourse (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 117). Gregory apostrophized Maximus as the noblest of philosophers, nay, he would add, and most perfect of martyrs, who proved his philosophy by listening unmoved to his own praises, of which, as of all earthly honours, he was utterly careless. He was a glorious example of the union of philosophy and faith. After attributing to him every possible virtue, he appealed to him in impassioned terms to employ his eloquence in refuting Gentile superstitions and heretical subtleties, and setting forth the orthodox faith; and referring to Micah vii. 1, in allusion to the scantiness of his own congregation, he commended it to his care and entreated him to increase his vintage of souls (Greg. Naz. *in laudem Heronis philosophi Alexandrini ob fidem in exilium missi ac post biennium reversi. Opp.* i. 409–423). All this time, Maximus was secretly maturing a plot for ousting his unsuspicious patron from his throne. He gained the ear and the confidence of Peter of Alexandria, and induced him to favour his ambitious views. Gregory, he asserted, had never been formally enthroned bishop of Constantinople; his translation thither was a violation of the canons of the church; rustic in manners, he had proved himself quite unfitted for the place. Constantinople was getting weary of him. It was time the patriarch of the Eastern world should exercise his prerogative and give New Rome a more suitable bishop. The old man was imposed on as Gregory had been, and lent himself to Maximus's projects. Maximus found a ready tool in a presbyter of Constantinople envious of Gregory's talents and popularity (*de Vit.* p. 13). Others were gained by bribes. Seven unscrupulous sailor fellows were despatched from Alexandria to mix with the people, and watch for a favourable opportunity for carrying out the plot. When all was ripe they were followed by a bevy of bishops, with secret instructions from the patriarch to consecrate Maximus.

The conspirators chose the night for the accomplishment of their audacious enterprise. Gregory, they knew, was confined by illness. They forced their way into the cathedral, and commenced the rite of ordination. By the time they had set the Cynic on the archiepiscopal throne, and had just begun shearing away his long curls, they were surprised by the dawn. The news quickly spread, and everybody rushed to the church. The magistrates appeared on the scene with their officers; Maximus and his consecrators were driven from the sacred precincts, and in the house or shop of a flute-player the tonsure was completed. Maximus repaired to Thessalonica to lay his cause before Theodosius. He met with a cold reception from the emperor, who committed the matter to Ascholius, the much respected bishop of that city, charging him to refer it to pope Damasus. We have two letters of Damasus's on this subject. In the first, addressed to Ascholius and the Macedonian bishops, he vehemently condemns the "ardor animi et foeda presumptio" which had led certain persons coming from Egypt, in violation of the rule of ecclesiastical discipline, to have proposed to consecrate a restless man, an alien from the Christian profession, not worthy to be called a Christian, who wore an idolatrous garb ("habitus idoli") and the long hair which St. Paul said was a shame to a man, and remarks on the fact that being expelled from the church they were compelled to complete the ordination "intra parietes alienos." In the second letter, addressed to Ascholius individually (*Ep.* vi.), he repeats his condemnation of the ordination of the long-haired Maximus ("comatum") and asks him to take special care that a Catholic bishop may be ordained (Migne, *Patrolog.* xiii. p. 366–369; *Ep.* 5, 5, 6).

Maximus returned to Alexandria, and demanded that Peter should assist him in re-establishing himself at Constantinople. But Peter had discovered the man's true character, and received him as coldly as Theodosius had done. Determined to carry his point he presented himself to the patriarch at the head of a disorderly mob, with the threat that if he did not help him to gain the throne of Constantinople he would have that of Alexandria. Peter appealed to the prefect, by whom Maximus was driven out of Egypt. The death of Peter and the accession of Timotheus are placed Feb. 14, 380. The events described must therefore have occurred in 379.

When the second oecumenical council met at Constantinople in 381, the question of Maximus's claim to the see of Constantinople came up for consideration. His pretensions were unanimously rejected, and the last of the original four canons of this council decreed "concerning Maximus the Cynic and the disorder which took place at Constantinople on his account, that he neither was nor is a bishop, nor they who have been ordained by him are in any rank of the clergy; all that has been done to him or by him being actually null" (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 947, 954, 959).

In the face of this decree Maximus appealed from the Eastern to the Western church. In the autumn of the same year, A.D. 381, a synod was held either at Aquileia or at Milan, presided over by Ambrose, at which Maximus's claims were considered. Having only his own representation of the facts to guide them, and there being no question that Gregory's translation was uncanonical, while the election of Nectarius was open to grave censure as that of an unbaptized layman—(Ambrose might have re-

membered the almost parallel case of his own ordination)—Maximus also exhibiting letters from Peter, the late venerable patriarch, to confirm his asserted communion with the church of Alexandria, and falsely explaining his ordination in a private house on the ground that the Arians were in possession of the basilicas—points which "dilucida testificatione docuisset"—it is not surprising that the Italian bishops should have pronounced decidedly in favour of Maximus, and refused to recognise either Gregory or Nectarius. A letter of Ambrose and his brother prelates to Theodosius (*Ep.* xiii. chap. i. § 3) remonstrates against the acts of Nectarius as no rightful bishop, since the episcopal chair of Constantinople belonged to Maximus, whose restoration they demanded, as well as that a general council of the Easterns and Westerns, to settle the disputed episcopate of that city and of Antioch, should be held at Rome. The following year a provincial synod was held at Rome, which, having received more accurate information, finally rejected Maximus's claims (Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, i. pp. 359, 378, 381, English Trans.). We learn from the passage of Jerome already quoted that Maximus sought to strengthen his cause by writing a work against the Arians, which he presented to Gratian at Milan. He appears also to have written something against Gregory, to which the latter replied in a set of caustic iambics (*Carm.* clxviii. p. 250), expressing his astonishment at one so ignorant venturing on a literary composition. The charge brought against him by Theodoret, that he was an Apollinarian, and that on that account the council of Constantinople annulled his ordination, seems quite unfounded (Theod. *H. E.* v. 8; cp. Soz. *H. E.* vii. 9). (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxii. xxviii.; *Carm.* 1 *de Vita sua; Carm.* cxlviii.; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* ix. 444–456, 501–503; Baronius, *Ann.* 380; Milman. *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. 115; De Broglie, *l'Église et l'Empire*, v. 396–407, vi. 34 ff.; Hefele, *Hist. of Councils* (Engl. Trans.) ii. 341, 345, 354, 359, 378.) [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (12), bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, and previously one of the scholars of Libanius the sophist, having Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom for his companions (Soc. vi. 3; Soz. viii. 2). He is mentioned in a work attributed to Basil of Seleucia (*Vit. S. Thecl.* ii. 15 in *Patr. Gr.* lxxxv. 592). Theodoret (*H. E.* v. 27) repeats the notices of Socrates and Sozomen, defining the Seleucia as "a city near Mount Taurus," and Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 1053, ii. 778, 1013) gives Maximus under three Seleucias. (Tillem. ix. 370, xi. 9, 549, 552, xii. 436; Ceill. viii. 17.) [C. H.]

MAXIMUS (13), one of the Oriental metropolitans of an unnamed see, personally unknown to Chrysostom, who writes to him from Cucusus in 406 to thank him for the zeal he has manifested in his cause. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 150.) [E.V.]

MAXIMUS (14), ST. (vulgarly MASSE and MOSSE), second abbat of Lérins and second or third bishop of Riez. Attracted by the growing fame of Lérins under St. Honoratus, he entered that foundation as a monk. The abbat being summoned to the bishopric of Arles, Maximus was elected in his place in the year 426 and under his rule the monastery prospered greatly He was elected to Riez in 433 or 434, and was present at the councils of Riez in 439, and the first of Orange in 441. It is not certain whether he or his contemporary at Avignon is the Maximus addressed with other bishops in the 66th Epistle of Leo as to the disputed jurisdiction of Arles and Vienne (*Patr. Lat.* lix. 883). He died about 460, on Nov. 27.

The authorities for his life are the eulogy of his successor Faustus, published among the homilies attributed erroneously to Eusebius of Emesa (xxxiv. La Bigne, *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vi.) and by Barralis in the *Chronologia Sanctorum Ins. Lerinensis* (ii. 115–119), and a life of him written by Dynamius, the patrician, about the end of the 6th century, also published by Barralis (*ibid.* 120–126), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* lxxx. 31–40). He is twice mentioned with respect by Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. viii. ep. 14, carm. xvi. in *Patr. Lat.* lviii. 612, 721). Modern accounts of Maximus are to be found in *Gall. Christ.* i. 390–391; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, ii. 357–360; Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, Nov. 27; see, too, Mansi, v. 1196, vi. 161, 441.

Some of the homilies printed under the name of Eusebius of Emesa have been ascribed from internal evidence to Maximus, notably the 12th to the 15th inclusive, on the Paschal feast, but the evidence is by no means conclusive (*Hist. Litt.* ibid.). [S. A. B.]

MAXIMUS (15), patriarch of Antioch. After the deposition of Domnus II., patriarch of Antioch, by the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus, A.D. 449, Dioscorus, then complete master of the situation, persuaded the weak Theodosius to fill the vacancy with one of the clergy of Constantinople. Maximus was selected, and was ordained, in violation of all canonical orders, by Anatolius the bishop of Constantinople, without the official sanction of the clergy or people of Antioch. This high-handed procedure on the part of his rival, the bishop of New Rome, whose pretensions to equality with the bishop of the apostolic see were becoming inconveniently pressing, excited the grave displeasure of Leo (Leo Magn. *Ep.* 104 [78] § 5, *Ad Marcian.*). As the lesser of two evils Leo received Maximus into communion and desired that he should be recognised as the canonical bishop of Antioch (Labbe, iv. 673, 682). Maximus, though owing his elevation to an heretical synod, was careful to gain a reputation for orthodoxy in the conduct of his diocese and province. He despatched "epistolae tractoriae" through the churches subject to him as metropolitan, requiring the signatures of the bishops to Leo's famous "Tome" and to another document condemning equally Nestorius on the one hand and Eutyches on the other (Leo Magn. *Ep. ad Paschas.* 88 [68], June 451 A.D.). Having thus discreetly assured his position he was summoned to the council of Chalcedon in the October of 451 A.D. and took his seat without question, and when the illegal acts of the "Latrocinium" were quashed and the deposition of the other prelates recalled, a special exception was made of the deposition of Domnus and the substitution of Maximus on the express ground that Leo had opened communion with him and recognised his episcopate (Labbe, iv. 682). The case of Athanasius of Perrha, one of the

suffragans of the see of Antioch, being opened, it was committed to him with his council to hear the charges and decide on their truth within eight months (*ibid.* 754). He pronounced for the orthodoxy of the celebrated letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris (*ibid.* 678), and of the teaching of Theodoret, of whom he had been a frequent auditor, and gave his voice for the restoration of the latter (*ibid.* 623). He also acknowledged the orthodoxy of Flavian (*ibid.* 177), and joined in the condemnation of Dioscorus for his contumacious refusal to appear after the third citation (*ibid.* 423, 426). In the controversy between the rival claimants to the see of Ephesus, Bassianus and Stephen, he declared his opinion that the consecrations of both were uncanonical, but desired that it should be left to the bishops of Asia to determine which of the two they would recognise (*ibid.* 703). The most important controversy in which Maximus was engaged at Chalcedon was that between himself and Juvenal of Jerusalem regarding the limits of their respective patriarchates. The controversy was long and bitter; at last a compromise was arrived at—κατὰ σύμβασιν μετὰ πολλὴν φιλονεικίαν—which was accepted by the council, that Antioch should retain the two Phoenicias and Arabia, and that the three Palestines should form the patriarchate of Jerusalem (*ibid.* 614–618). [JUVENALIS (2).] We find Maximus among those by whom the Confession of Faith was drawn up (*ibid.* 539–562), and he stands second, between Anatolius of Constantinople and Juvenal of Jerusalem, in the signatures to the decree according metropolitical rank to the see of Constantinople (*ibid.* 798).

The next notice we have of Maximus is in a correspondence between him and Leo the Great, to whom he had appealed in defence of the prerogatives of his see, which had been infringed by some acts of other prelates sanctioned by the papal legates. Leo promised to help him to maintain his rights against either Jerusalem or Constantinople, exhorting him to assert his privileges as bishop of the third see in Christendom (*i.e.* only inferior to Alexandria and Rome). He tells him that he has found the autograph of the letter of Cyril, a copy of which Maximus had sent him to strengthen his case, and sends him in return a copy of his admonitory letter to Anatolius, dated May 22, 452 A.D. ("refrenantes illius cupiditatem"), and begs him to circulate it. Maximus's zeal for the orthodox faith receives a warm commendation from Leo, who exhorts him as a sharer in an apostolical see, "consors apostolicae sedis," to maintain the doctrine founded by St. Peter "speciali magisterio" in the cities of Antioch and Rome, against the erroneous teaching both of Nestorius and Eutyches, and to watch over the churches not of his own patriarchate only, but of the East generally, and to send him frequent tidings of the state of things. The letter, which is dated June 11, 453 A.D., closes with a desire that Maximus will restrain unordained persons, whether monks or simple laics, from public preaching and teaching (Leo Magn. *Ep.* 109 [92]).

Two years later, 455 A.D., the episcopate of Maximus came to a disastrous close by his deposition. The nature of his offence is nowhere specified — Nicephorus in his chronicle says simply, διὰ πταῖσμα—and it is vain to speculate upon it. Leo, in a letter to his legate, Julian of Cos, March 11, 455 A.D., speaks of the sorrow it has caused him to hear of the charges brought against him; but even if, "quod absit," they should be proved by his accusers, he does not intend to exercise any jurisdiction, but leaves the settlement of the matter to the care and vigilance of the bishops, and to the justice and zeal of the emperor Marcian (Leo Magn. *Ep.* 141 [113]). We are left in ignorance how long he survived his deposition, and what became of him. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xv. passim; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 725.) [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (16), bishop of Turin, writer, reckoned as Maximus II., the third bishop, by Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiv. 12, 14, 76), who puts a Maximus I. in 390 as the first bishop. Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* iv. 1022) counts them as one (cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Jun. v. 48). He was present at the council of Milan in 451 and signed the letter to pope Leo (Leo, *Ep.* 97; Labbe, iv. 583). He was also at the council of Rome in 465, where his name appears next after that of pope Hilary, apparently on account of his seniority (Labbe, v. 86). Gennadius of Massilia, who died in 496, gives us a sketch of his works, most of which are still extant, but tells us strangely that he died in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, *i.e.* before 423. This has led some to think that there must have been two bishops of this name, but the early date given by Gennadius seems irreconcileable with the many allusions to Nestorian doctrines in the homilies on the Nativity, and the general opinion is either that he is wrong, or that "moritur" in his text is a false reading for "floruit." It may be observed that although nearly all his biographical notices end with "moritur," the one immediately preceding has "claruit" (Gennad. *de Scrip. Eccl.* c. xl. in *Patrol. Lat.* lviii. 1081). The works of Maximus are published in vol. lvii. of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. They consist of 117 homilies, 116 sermons, 3 tractates on baptism, two entitled respectively *Contra Paganos* and *Contra Judaeos*, and a collection of expositions *De Capitulis Evangeliorum*. Many of the sermons and homilies were formerly ascribed to other authors, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Leo, &c., but a great uniformity of style is observable in them, and great confidence may be placed in the collection as being throughout the work of Maximus. The sermons and homilies are very short and simple in expression. Many of them are on the great church festivals. The homilies on the Epiphany celebrate especially the visit of the Magi, but also the miracle at Cana and the baptism of our Lord. In three of the sermons, on the other hand, it is to be noticed that the birth and manifestation of our Lord are spoken of together, in the Eastern manner, and that there is no allusion to the visit of the Magi (Serm. vii. viii. ix.). Yet there are certain expressions, common to these and the homilies, which seem to prove that they are all by the same author. Maximus here therefore seems to have followed the Eastern Fathers, as indeed he does in commemorating the three events above noticed at the Epiphany, whereas his Western contemporaries Augustine and Leo confine themselves to the visit of the Magi.

Among the points of interest in the homilies and sermons may be mentioned the following: the notice of fixed lections (*e.g.* Hom. 36 and 37): abstinence from flesh meat in Lent (Hom. 44): no fasting or kneeling at prayer between Easter and Pentecost (Hom. 61). In Hom. 62, on the other hand, he mentions that the vigil of Pentecost was observed as a fast. This custom therefore probably originated in his time. St. Leo, when he mentions the fast of Pentecost, makes it clear that he means the fast immediately following the festival. In Hom. 83 he comments on the creed, which is exactly the same as the Roman creed given by Rufinus.

Among contemporary events alluded to by Maximus may be noticed the synod of Milan in 389, at which Jovinianus was condemned (Hom. 9). The seven homilies (86–92) refer to the terror of the city with regard to an impending barbaric invasion, and seem to belong to the year of Attila's inroad, 452. Another homily (94) refers to the destruction of the church of Milan on the same occasion. He refers in several places to the superstition of the people of his diocese, their observance of the Calends of January (Hom. 16), their tumults during an eclipse (Hom. 100), the idolatry still lurking among the lower orders (Serm. 101, 102). There are homilies on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, on St. Lawrence, St. Cyprian, St. Agnes, and St. Eusebius of Vercellae. There are several also on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, which are deserving of particular attention. In some of them he uses very decided language on the supremacy of St. Peter, *e.g.*, calling him the keystone of the Church (Hom. 54), the "magister navis" (Serm. 114); and speaking of him as entrusted with "totius Ecclesiae gubernacula" (Hom. 70). But in other places he speaks of St. Peter as supreme in discipline, St. Paul in doctrine, and remarks "inter ipsos quis cui praeponatur incertum est" (Hom. 72). In none of these passages does he make any allusion to the church of Rome as inheriting exclusively the supremacy of St. Peter. Gennadius mentions a work of Maximus *De Spiritali Baptismi Gratia*, and three treatises on this subject, formerly ascribed to St. Augustine, are published by Migne with the works of Maximus, on the strength of three ancient MSS. one of which belongs to the church of Turin. There seems to be nothing in their style which is against his conclusion. The first treatise dwells on the significance of the anointing of the ears before baptism; the second gives an interrogatory creed identical with the one mentioned above in the homilies, and alludes to the custom of baptizing on the third day after the profession of faith; the third speaks of the anointing of the head after baptism, by which is conferred the full regal and sacerdotal dignity spoken of by St. Peter, and also mentions the custom of washing the feet at the same time, after the example of Christ.

The three treatises, *Contra paganos*, *Contra Judaeos*, and *De capitulis Evangeliorum* are of very doubtful authorship. There is no MS. which ascribes them to Maximus, and the fact that a work by Maximus with the latter title is mentioned by Gennadius is not of much weight. The chief arguments urged in Migne are the use of the Itala Versio, and the similarity of style. The latter is not very marked, no expressions occurring which are in any way peculiar and characteristic. Maximus is commemorated in the Roman calendar on June 25th. [M. F. A.]

MAXIMUS (17), eleventh bishop of Geneva, commenced his episcopate in 513 or soon after. In 515, or the following year, he took a prominent part in the council held by prince Sigismund at Agaunum for the dedication of the new church built there (*Gall. Christ.* xii. instr. 421–424). A little later he dedicated a church which replaced a heathen temple, as we know from the still existing discourse of Avitus archbishop of Vienne, recently published (see *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 380). In 517 he was at the council of Epaon (Mansi, viii. 565), while the name of Maximus, which appears among the subscriptions without a see appended, at the first council of Lyons in 517 (*ibid.* p. 570), the fourth of Arles in 524 (*ibid.* p. 627), the second of Orange (*ibid.* p. 718), and the third of Vaison in 529 (*ibid.* p. 728), almost certainly belongs to this prelate. He is also said to have been present at a council held at Marseilles in 533. The sixty-fifth letter of Avitus is addressed to him (*Patr. Lat.* lix. 274). From a fragmentary discourse pronounced by the same prelate at the dedication of a new church at Geneva, it appears that the old one was burnt by enemies, probably a Frankish expedition (*Gall. Christ. ibid.*). [S. A. B.]

MAXIMUS (18) IV., bishop of Salona (Farlati, *Illyr. Sac.* ii. 246), mentioned in numerous letters of pope Gregory the Great between 593 and 599 (*vid.* from lib. iv. ind. xii. *Ep.* 10 to lib. ix. ind. ii. *Ep.* 125 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii.; Jaffé, *R. P.* num. 919–1282). He was elected to the see on the death of Natalis, in opposition to Honoratus, the candidate favoured by Gregory. Summoned by Gregory to Rome to answer certain accusations against him, Maximus refused, but ultimately presented himself at Ravenna, where he cleared himself before Marinian the bishop, and in the presence of the papal notary Castorius. He was then admitted to communion with Gregory, and afterwards received the pallium. [C. H.]

MAXIMUS (19), bishop of Saragossa, from about 592 to about 619.

Authorities.—(1) The short notice by Isidore (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. 46). (2) The signatures to C. II. of Saragossa, A.D. 592 (?), C. II. Barc. A.D. 599, the *Decretum Gundemari*, A.D. 610, and the council of Egara A.D. 614,—all in Tejada y Ramiro, *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. p. 686, 690, 485, 701. (3) The marginal notes existing on the Toledan MS. of the chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis, found at Toledo by the Jesuit Andreas Schott, and first published by his brother at Frankfort, 1608, in *Hispania Illustrata*, &c., iv. 117, then by Roncalli, *Vet. Lat. Scrip. Chron.* ii. 337; commonly known as *Appendix Victoris Tunnunensis.*

His Life.—All that is known of Maximus personally, beyond the bare fact of his co-operation in the four councils quoted above, is contained in Isidore's notice, which is so short that it may be quoted entire: "Maximus Caesar-

augustanae civitatis episcopus multa versu prosaque componere dicitur. Scripsit et brevi stilo historiolam de iis quae temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt, historico et composito sermone, sed de multa alia scribere dicitur quae necdum legi." From this it is evident that Maximus was alive at the time Isidore was writing the *De Vir. Ill.*, and it is also evident that Isidore had read Maximus's history, although he had read nothing else of his. With regard to the various councils at which Maximus appeared, it has been thought by some that the "Magnus" who signs the acts of the second council of Saragossa, held under Recared in 592, must be identified with the "Maximus servus ecclesiae Caesaraugustanae" who signs those of the second council of Barcelona in 599 (*Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 137). Magnus however is a distinct name, and appears elsewhere in Spanish church history, so that the identification must be regarded as an arbitrary one, and the signature of Maximus in 599 becomes the first which can with certainty be attributed to him. In 599 the thirteen bishops assembled at Barcelona passed four canons, of which can. 3, on episcopal elections, is important, and should be compared with C. Tol. IV. 19 and with the Capitula of Martin of Braga (see art. MARTINUS (2)). Among Maximus's co-signatories appears his brother-historian, JOANNES (185) BICLARENSIS. Eleven years later the name of "Maximus ep. Caesaraugustanae ecclesiae" occurs among the twenty-two signatures to the *Decretum Gundemari*, of which a full account will be found under GUNTHIMAR. In 614 we have the last record of him among the signatures to the council of Egara, a council which is not to be found in the *Coll. Hispana* proper, and the memory of which is preserved to us in one MS. only (conf. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (2) 62, Tejada y Ramiro, *l. c.*). In or about 619, according to Risco's calculation (*Esp. Sagr. l. c.* p. 140), we must place the death of Maximus.

His Works.—Of the various miscellaneous works in prose and verse which Isidore attributes by hearsay to Maximus we have now no remains. It is possibly otherwise with the *Historiola* itself. Up to the 16th century it was regarded as hopelessly lost. About 1590, as a consequence of the revival of historical study which marked the century, a daring attempt was made to circulate a forged chronicle representing itself as the lost work of Maximus, and attached to another forgery, the *Chronicon Dextri.* These and other historical frauds gave rise to endless disputes, until the whole question was set at rest by the learning and courage of the great antiquary Nicolas Antonio (d. 1688). From 1700 onwards the chronicle of Maximus was once more regarded as lost. About the very time however when the Jesuit forger Roman de la Heguera was concocting the pseudo-Maximus, another Jesuit had become possessed of a MS. at Toledo containing certain marginal notes which do in all probability represent a series of fragments from the lost chronicle. The Jesuit was Andreas Schott, the collector of the materials afterwards published by his brother in two vols. at Frankfort under the title *Hispania Illustrata*, and the MS. was a MS. of the African chronicler, Victor of Tununa. These marginal notes relate entirely to Visigothic history, especially to the history of Tarraconensis, and we may even say to that of Saragossa. That, on the one hand, they have been used by Isidore in the *Historia Gothorum*, and on the other that it is impossible they should have been derived from the *Historia Gothorum*, is conclusively shewn in the admirable Dissertation on the Histories of Isidore, in which Dr. Hugo Hertzberg first drew special attention to these notes; and to the use made by Isidore of some chronicler writing in north-eastern Spain and possessed of special information relating to that part, and to the coincidences between the notes and the statements concerning Tarraconensis in the *Historia Gothorum*. The identification of the author of the chronicle from which the marginal notes in Victor of Tununa and the Tarraconensian statements in Isidore are derived, with Maximus of Saragossa is a further step. But no student of the evidence can deny that such an identification has probability on its side. A critical edition of the notes is very much to be desired, and would render current a scanty but valuable supply of fresh information on Visigothic history during the fifth and sixth centuries. (Conf. *Die Historien und die Chroniken des Isidorus von Sevilla*, Inaug. Diss. von Hugo Hertzberg, Göttingen, 1874, pp. 65–72; Gams, *l. c.* p. 63; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 73, ii. 396, Berlin, 1877; for the history of the "false chronicles," Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Vet.* i. 315, ed. 1788, and *Censura de Historias Fabulosas*, a posthumous work of the same author, Valencia, 1742; also Godoy, Alcantara, *Historia Critica de los Falsos Chronicones*, Madrid, 1868.)
[M. A. W.]

MAXIMUS (20), Roman presbyter and confessor (see MOYSES) A.D. 250, who took the lead among the confessors after Moyses' death, and then Novatianised. Not the same as the Novatianist emissary and bishop with whom Rettberg confounds him. He was afterwards reconciled to Cornelius and became his strong supporter. One of the loculi in the catacomb chapel of Cornelius bears his name, MAΞΙΜΟΣ ΠΡ (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* vol. i. Tav. xix. 5, p. 296). It is mentioned (*Ep.* 49) that at his restoration he resumed his seat among the presbyters at once. See Cyp. *Epp.* 27, 28, 31, 32, 37, 46 (the *Ep.* in which Cyprian urges their return), 49 (their reception), 51, 53 (their letter to Cyprian), 54 (his reply, sending them his *De Lapsis* and *De Unitate*), 55 (5). The statement that he was martyred under Valerian (Baron. ad Nov. 19, Baluz. ap. Routh, iii. p. 38) is answered by Tillemont, vol. iii. The Liberian catalogue, Mommsen p. 632, has this entry: "'vi. Id. Jul. et in Maximi [sc. cæmeterio] Silani.' Hunc Silanum Novati furati sunt." There is no cemetery of Maximus. Did the Novatianists attempt to claim him still?
[E. W. B.]

MAXIMUS (21), Carthaginian acolyte with AMANTIUS. (Cyp. *Ep.* 77, 78, 79.) [E. W. B.]

MAXIMUS (22), deacon and archimandrite of Antioch, who in 438 refused to communicate with his bishop John on the ground that the Nestorians whom John had received were not genuine converts. He requests Cyril to put forth an exposition of the Nicene creed. (Cyril. Alex. *Epp.* 57 al. 49, 58, 69 al. 52, 70 al. 53, in

Patr. Gr. lxxvii.) He was also addressed by Proclus (*Ep.* 11 in *Patr. Gr.* lxv. 879). See also Ceillier, viii. 296, 364, 407; Tillem. xiv. 504, 620, 624, 626, 637, 640, 641, 792.

[C. H.]

MAXIMUS (23), called among the Greeks Theologus, confessor and martyr, Aug. 13 (Mart. Rom.), was during the earlier part of cent. vii. the leader of the orthodox party as opposed to Monothelitism. He was born of a noble family about the year 580 A.D., and attained the high office of first private secretary in the imperial court under Heraclius. His mind was more absorbed, however, in religious controversy than in the work of ordinary life. Upon the outburst of the Monothelite controversy under Heraclius, he left the imperial service and devoted himself to the support of the orthodox party. He entered the monastery of Chrysopolis (Scutari), where he became abbat upon the election of Pyrrhus to the bishopric of Constantinople A.D. 639. He travelled twice at least into the West, partly impelled by fear of Persian invasion, partly by orthodox zeal. Thus we find him in 633 present in Egypt with Sophronius, afterwards patriarch of Jerusalem, and uniting with him in opposition to Cyrus patriarch of Alexandria, and the council held in that city to patch up a union with the Monophysites. [CYRUS (4).] He again withdrew into Africa about A.D. 640, where he held a celebrated discussion with his predecessor Pyrrhus, who had been driven from his episcopal throne. This debate took place about 645 A.D. in presence of the African bishops and Gregorius prefect of Africa. It is well worth a careful study as the most elaborate exposition which we possess of the nature and tendencies of Monothelitism. Upon the termination of the discussion, Pyrrhus acknowledged himself convinced, renounced the errors of Monothelitism, and was received into communion by the pope. Maximus was present at the Lateran council in 649. In 655 he was arrested at Rome and carried captive to Constantinople, where, with the two Anastasii, one a Roman deputy and the other an attached disciple of Maximus, they were accused of various political crimes and ordered to sign the Type. Upon their refusal they were banished to Thrace. In 662 they were recalled to Constantinople, when another attempt was made to induce them to recant, after which they were flogged and their tongues and right hands cut off. They were then banished to the Lazian region, where Maximus died on August 13th, 662. His disciple Anastasius died a few weeks before him, while the Roman deputy Anastasius survived some years, and died in 666. To this latter we owe an account of the death of Maximus in an epistle addressed to Theodosius presbyter of Gangra, where he quotes some fragments of the writings of St. Hippolytus against Beron, which he had seen in manuscript at Constantinople (Du Pin, *H. E.* t. ii. p. 16, Dub. Ed. 1724). Maximus was a very able, learned, and acute thinker. He was one of the most voluminous writers of his age. Neander bestows a very lengthened notice upon him *H. E.* v. 236–266 ed. Clark, which will be found the best modern exposition of his teaching on the doctrines of the Trinity, Redemption, and Christ's nature, as well as upon eschatological questions. Du Pin *l. c.* gives an analysis of his works, which Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graeca*, and Cave, *Hist. Litter.*, also describe. The Bollandists in August t. iii. 97–132 give a lengthened account of the life and sufferings of Maximus and the Anastasii. They make a most careful attempt to fix the chronology of his life, wherein they differ in some points from Cave. The works of Maximus have been often published. The best collected edition is that by Combefis in two volumes, Paris 1675, with his life and acts prefixed. Some treatises discovered in more modern times, dealing with the Monothelite controversy, will be found in Mai's *Vett. Scriptt. Collect.* t. vii. p. 192. He also wrote a treatise on the Paschal Controversy, which Petavius published in his *Uranologion*, Paris 1630. Scaliger published notes on this in his work, *De Emendat. Temp.* lib. 7, p. 736 ed. 1629. Some minor treatises which escaped the notice of Combefis will be found described in Cave, and Du Pin *l. c.*; cf. also Ceillier, xi. 760–772 for an analysis of his works.

[G. T. S.]

MAXIMUS (24), an ecclesiastical writer, placed by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 27) in the reign of Severus, and episcopate of Victor, that is to say, in the last ten years of the 2nd century. Eusebius there states the subject of his work to be the question much noised among heretics, what was the origin of evil, and whether matter had been created. Elsewhere (*Praep. Ev.* vii. 22) Eusebius names the title of the work, "Concerning Matter" (περὶ τῆς ὕλης), and preserves a long extract from it, from which it appears that the work was written in the form of a dialogue. The same fragment is given in the Origenian Philocalia (24), and there is a note, which we accept as by the compilers, Basil and Gregory, stating that the passage had been extracted by them from the work of Eusebius, and that it was also to be found verbatim in the dialogue of Origen against the Marcionites (see ADAMANTIUS). Actually we find in that dialogue (sect. iv.) the work of Maximus largely made use of, but not copied verbatim. Routh, who in his *Reliquiae Sacrae* (ii. 87) has given far the best edition of the remains of Maximus, pointed out that the same fragment is to be found in the dialogue on free will ascribed to Methodius, and further, that there are other things common to the work on free will and the dialogue against the Marcionites, which may be reasonably supposed to have been derived by both authors from Maximus. That Methodius should so largely appropriate another man's work without acknowledgment, is so contrary to modern ideas of literary morality, that one is tempted to inquire whether there may not be some error in the ascription of one or other of the works, and whether what we know as the dialogue on free will may not be only a larger fragment of the treatise *Concerning Matter*. But that the latter work is rightly ascribed to Maximus the testimony of Eusebius is decisive; and we have the testimony of St. Jerome in his *Catalogue*, that Methodius was the author of a work on free will, while Photius has preserved for us large extracts from what he knew as the work of Methodius on free will, which place beyond doubt that it incorporated much of Maximus. The style, moreover, of the

opening of the dialogue on free will resembles Methodius, and differs from that of the part concerning matter. We leave, then, Methodius in undisputed possession of the rhetorical introduction to his dialogue, but it seems to us that the context clearly shews that the part which belongs to Maximus begins earlier than the portion quoted by Eusebius and printed by Routh. It must include the statement of the views of the speaker who maintains matter to have existed from eternity, destitute of qualities, and also the announcement of the presence of the third speaker, who afterwards takes up the controversy, on the hypothesis that matter had been from the first possessed of qualities.[a] In Methodius, the defender of the eternity of matter is apparently represented as a Valentinian, for his speeches are marked Val.; and so also in Adamantius. In Maximus he seems to be no heretic, but a sincere inquirer after truth. He propounds the difficulty concerning the origin of evil; if evil was at any time created, then something came out of nothing, since it is assumed that evil did not exist before; and God who created it must take pleasure in evil, which we cannot admit. He then offers the solution that, co-eternally with God, there existed matter, destitute of form or qualities, and borne about in a disorderly manner; that God took pity on it, separated the best parts from the worst, reduced the former to order, and left the latter behind as being of no use to Him for His work, and that from these lees of matter evil sprang. The most successful part of the orthodox speaker's reply is where he shews that this hypothesis does not relieve God of the charge of being the author of evil. He asks, Are evils substances or qualities? His friend answers, Qualities. Then since you say that matter was originally destitute of qualities, these must have come out of nothing, the thing which you are unable to conceive; and God must have been the author of them, and therefore of evil. The third speaker then takes up the discussion on the hypothesis that matter had from the beginning possessed qualities whence evil emanated. The orthodox speaker replies, If both substances and qualities existed from the first, what was there left for God to create? His friend answers, God is a creator in that He changed the qualities of part of matter, and changed them for the better. The orthodox speaker replies, Then what about the evil qualities which God did not change? Was He not able or not willing to change these also? That He was not able you will not dare to say. But if He willingly left uncorrected what it was in His power to make better, He becomes the author of evil. Nay, His interference with matter made things worse, since through His work consciousness of evil arose; for if He had not made man, there would have been no knowledge of evil.

Galland conjectures that Maximus, the author of the dialogue, is the Maximus who was 26th bishop of Jerusalem, and whom Eusebius, in his Chronicle, places about the reign of Commodus. It does not absolutely disprove this conjecture, that Eusebius, in neither place where he speaks of the writings of Maximus, mentions that he was a bishop; but we think it likely that Eusebius found in the book which he used no mention of the author's dignity, and that he knew no more than ourselves whether or not he was identical with the bishop of Jerusalem. [G. S.]

[a] The former is the Platonic doctrine. Πλάτων τὴν ὕλην σωματοειδῆ ἄμορφον ἀνείδεον ἀσχημάτιστον ἄποιον ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει, δεξαμενὴν δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ οἷον τιθήνην καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ μητέρα γίγνεσθαι (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 11. See also Hippol. *Philos.* i. 19).

MAXIMUS (25) of EPHESUS. A "master of theurgic science," commonly reckoned among the Neoplatonic philosophers. The interest of the life of Maximus consists not in any permanent worth of character or capacity as a philosopher, but in the fact that he supplied an essential link in the transit of the emperor Julian from Christianity to paganism. The account given by Eunapius, in his life of Maximus, enables us to see exactly how this was. Julian, while still under tutelage and in early youth, with the natural self-will of a vigorous mind, had already rebelled in secret against his Christian instructors, and betaken himself to Greek philosophy as a liberal and congenial study; and this bent was not disallowed by the emperor Constantius, who thought it safe when compared with political ambitions. But to suppose that philosophy at that era indicated nothing more than quiet intellectual research would be a very erroneous opinion. Philosophy was then a name of power, to which all whose sentiments flowed with a strong current towards the traditionary heathenism had recourse for self-justification; and it was perfectly natural that Julian, when once he had attached himself to this venerable study, should instinctively seek for more practical advantages from it than the mere increase of theoretical wisdom. Maximus, though flashy and meagre as a philosopher, was for that very reason better supplied with an ostentatious show of practical power than any of his philosophic rivals. The amiable rhetorician Libanius, the aged sage Aedesius, could please Julian, but evidently were lacking in the force which could move the world. But when Aedesius, compelled by increasing infirmity, resigned Julian to the tuition of his two followers, Chrysanthius and Eusebius, Julian began to be struck with the terms in which those two professors of philosophy spoke of their old fellow-pupil Maximus. Chrysanthius, indeed, alone of the two seemed to admire Maximus; Eusebius affected to depreciate him; but this feigned depreciation was better calculated than the loudest admiration to excite the interest of Julian in Maximus. For what Eusebius spoke of in this slighting manner was a certain miraculous power possessed by Maximus, of which he gave one or two casual instances. Wisdom, as Eusebius justly remarked, was without doubt more valuable than the power of making the statue of a goddess break into a smile, or the lamps in her hand kindle spontaneously. But Julian had imbibed plenty of abstract wisdom, and had never seen miracles like those with which Maximus was credited; so he bade Eusebius stick to his learning, gave to Chrysanthius a tender farewell, and hurried off to Maximus. That skilful adept, after a solemn preparation of his imperial pupil, in which he was aided by Chrysanthius, described to Julian the revered religious authority of the hierophant of Eleusis, whose sacred rites were among the

most famous in Greece, and urged him to go thither. He went, and was imbued with a teaching which combined a mysterious exaltation of the power of the Greek deities with hints of his own personal aggrandisement. By such acts as these, and by his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, he distinctly and formally passed over to paganism, though his having done so was still unknown to the world. When Julian had assumed the purple, and, Constantius being dead, was sole master of the Roman empire, he did not forget the philosophers whose instructions had thus far guided him. He sent for Chrysanthius and Maximus; they consulted the sacrificial omens together; the signs were unfavourable, and dissuaded them from accepting the invitation. Chrysanthius trembled, and refused to go; the more ambitious Maximus declared it to be unworthy of a wise man to yield to the first adverse sign, and went. He was received by Julian with extraordinary honours, but by his haughtiness and effeminate demeanour in this access of prosperity, drew down upon himself the censure even of the heathen, among whom was the partial panegyrist Eunapius. After the death of Julian, he was severely and even cruelly treated by the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and though released for a time, was at last beheaded by order of Valens in the year 371, on a charge of having conspired against him.

However inconsiderable the value of Maximus as a philosopher, he must always be notable as a principal actor in one of the most curious episodes of ancient history. His personal appearance is described by Eunapius as impressive. The four extant letters of the emperor Julian to him (Nos. 15, 16, 38, 39) are composed in that strain of indiscriminate panegyric which tells so little about the real character or views of the man whom it concerns. For other authorities respecting the life of Maximus, besides EUNAPIUS, see the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. [J. R. M.]

MAXIMUS (26), philosopher, addressed by Athanasius in 369. (*Pat. Gr.* xxvi. 1085; Ceillier, iv. 144, 428; Tillem. viii. 254, 413; art. MAXIMUS ALEXANDRINUS in *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.* ii. 986.) [C. H.]

MAXIMUS (27), a philosopher; a correspondent of St. Basil, who addressed to him one of his earliest letters (*Ep.* 9 [41]), placed by Garnier (*Vita S. Basilii*, c. vii. § iv.) A.D. 361 or 362, before the ordination of Basil to the priesthood and when he was living in retirement. Basil regrets to be unable to send Maximus the works of Dionysius of Alexandria which he had asked for. This Maximus is distinguished by Garnier and Tillemont (SAINT BASIL, note xvi.) from the Maximus of the next article. Garnier identifies him with the cynic philosopher who intruded into Gregory Nazianzen's episcopal seat at Constantinople. [MAXIMUS (11).] [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (28) (designated in the title of the letter σχολαστικός), certainly a different person from the preceding, though confounded with him by earlier editors. From the one letter to him extant (Basil, *Ep.* 277 [42]), evidently towards the close of Basil's life, we gather that he was at that time young, rich, eloquent, and of high birth, and that he had embraced a life of Christian self-restraint and humility. [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (29) (probably different from either of the preceding), to whom Basil addresses a letter of consolation on the death of his wife. (Basil, *Epist.* 301 [346].) [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (30) (MAXIMINUS), governor of Cappadocia, succeeded by Antipater, A.D. 371. Although while in office he had persecuted the orthodox, assisted by one Palmatius, A.D. 372 (Basil, *Epist.* 98 [259]), when the next year he fell into trouble he had no warmer advocate than Basil. We have three letters of Basil in his behalf to laymen of influence, begging them to befriend him in his extremity; to Abargius (*Ep.* 147 [356]); to Trajan (*Ep.* 148 [376]), and one also inscribed to Trajan, but from internal evidence addressed to some other influential laymen (*Ep.* 149 [377]). From these letters we gather that Maximus having been removed from his governorship and accused of embezzlement of public funds by the new vicar who was his enemy, the unfortunate ex-governor had been stripped of all his property, both that which he had inherited from his father and that which he had acquired himself, had been forced to flee from Caesarea, and to wander from place to place, subjected to the greatest miseries and deprivations, and was in danger of losing his citizenship. At the time Basil wrote his calamities were brought to a climax by the arrival of the vicar with a troop of soldiers to apprehend him and put him on his trial. Basil therefore entreats those to whom he writes to use their powerful influence in behalf of one whom he describes as in every respect excellent, and his very reverend brother, when his trial comes on. [E. V.]

MAXIMUS (31), a literary man (grammaticus) of Madaura or Madaurae, a town of Numidia, not far from Tagaste, whither Augustine was sent as a boy for education (*Conf.* ii. 3). He wrote a letter to Augustine, when bishop of Hippo, to the effect that having discarded the old polytheistic superstitions, he had come to the conclusion that the same Deity was common to all religions alike, but that he could not endure with patience the notion that obscure Christian martyrs, with barbarous and uncouth names, men who had suffered death for their crimes, should be preferred to the immortal deities who were worshipped in public, while the God of the Christians was surrounded by mystery and hidden from public view. On this and other points he sought anxiously to Augustine for guidance and instruction, expressed not in such philosophical language as was sometimes his wont, but in plain terms (*Ep.* 16). Augustine's reply is an exquisite specimen of courteous rebuke to a worldly-minded and heartless pedant, A.D. about 390 (Aug. *Ep.* 17). [H. W. P.]

MAXIMUS (32), a physician of Thenae, a town on the sea-coast of Byzacene (*Thein*, Shaw, p. 112; Ant. *Itin.* 48, 8). He had been an Arian, but had returned to the Catholic faith, and St. Augustine, together with Alypius, wrote to him to express their pleasure at this change, but regret that his example had not been

followed by his family, and entreating him to set before them with all the force of his authority the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which he describes in terms closely resembling those of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds (*Ep.* 170). There is also a fragment of a letter, probably addressed to Maximus, setting forth the seven steps, as he calls them, of Christian progress, viz. 1. Fear of God; 2. Submission to Scripture; 3. Course by which sin is acknowledged and its remedy found in Christ; 4. Denial of self; 5. Charity towards others; 6. Purification of heart and perfection of love towards God; 7. Peace of mind. (*Ep.* 171.) [H. W. P.]

MAZABANES (Μαζαβάνης, Μαζαββάνης, Μαζαβάνος), bishop of Jerusalem, standing thirty-fifth in order of succession, between Alexander and Hymenaeus (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39, vii. 5). The commencement of his episcopate is placed by Clinton A.D. 250. If this be correct he can have only held the office two years, according to Epiphanius, ἕως Γάλλου καὶ Οὐλουσιάνου, A.D. 252. (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. 20; Niceph. *H. E.* v. 26.) [illegible]

MAZBERCHTENSES (in one MS. MAZBUTHAZI), a name apparently for a sect of Nazarenes in a fragment attached to the commentary of Ephraemus Syrus on the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, published by Moesinger, Venice, 1876, under the title of *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro*, see p. 288; cf. also Neander, *H. E.* i. 482, ed. Bohn, Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 3. The name is probably to be identified with MASBOTHAEI, q. v. [G. T. S.]

MAZDAK (MAZDEK, MEZDEK), a native of Persepolis (Mirkhoud), or according to others of Nishapur in Khorassan, and Archmagus of Zoroastrism. He announced himself early in the reign of Kobad, A.D. 487, as a reformer of the Zoroastrian religion. His principles were in reality identical with those of Manichaeism, with a mixture of those asserted by the more advanced school of modern communism. Property, marriage, and rank were according to him mere human inventions. Adultery, incest, and theft were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature. His views were embraced by vast numbers among the Persians. He numbered even the Roman emperor Anastasius I. among his converts, and extended his missions into North Africa, where an inscription was found at Cyrene in 1823, which proves that his teaching had been eagerly embraced by the remains of the ancient Gnostics. In it Mazdak was enrolled with Thoth, Saturn, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Epicurus, John, and Christ as the teacher of true Gnostic wisdom. (Mirkhoud, ed. De Sacy, p. 353; Hyde's *Relig. Vet. Pers.* cap. 21; Malcolm's *Hist. of Persia*, i. 104; Le Beau's *Bas-Empire*, vii. 322, 338; Gesenius, *de Inscript. Phoen.-Graec. in Cyrenaica*, 1825; Hamaker, *Lett. à Raoul Rochette*, Leyden, 1825; Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, pp. 342–346.) [MANICHAEISM.] [G. T. S.]

MECHELL, ST., son of Echwydd, and the founder of Llanfechell in Anglesey, was buried in the churchyard of Penrhos Llugwy in the same county, where there was lately a stone with the inscription, "Hic iacit Maccui Decceti" (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308; Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, no. 154 and p. 90; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 166). "Hic iacit" is the favourite British formula, while "requiescit in pace" is more common on the Continent. The inscription is probably of the 7th century. Mechell was commemorated 15th Nov. [C. W. B.]

MEDARDUS, ST., June 8, fourteenth bishop of Noyon, whither he transferred the see from Vermand, and first bishop of Noyon and Tournay combined, was born about the beginning of the reign of Childeric I., at Salency, in the district of Vermand. About 530 he succeeded Alomerus as bishop of Vermand, and in the following year, that town having been destroyed by irruptions of barbarians, he moved the see to Noyon. In 532 his friend Eleutherius bishop of Tournay died, and he assumed the government of the two bishoprics, which remained henceforth united until A.D. 1146. Though he is frequently alluded to in the works of Gregory of Tours, and Venantius Fortunatus has left two biographies of him, we know very little of his episcopate except the miracles which were ascribed to him in common with all the eminent ecclesiastics of the age. But passing allusions and his posthumous fame make it evident that he ranked high among the prelates of his time. When queen Radegund fled from her husband, Clotaire, resolved to forsake the world and become a nun, she repaired to Noyon, and begged Medardus to consecrate her and present her with the veil. But deterred by the fact that she was married, and the violent opposition of the Frank nobles, who even dragged him from the altar, he hesitated. Thereupon the queen entered the sacristy, put on nun's raiment, and addressed the bishop with words of such earnest exhortation that he was overcome, and laying his hands upon her head consecrated her as a deaconess. This took place shortly before his death, and nothing further is known of his episcopate unless we believe the late story of Clotaire's visit to him in his last illness. His death is usually placed in 545, but by some, with less probability, in 561. Faustinus succeeded him as bishop of the two sees. Gregory of Tours briefly notices his death (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 19).

The authorities for what is known of Medardus are allusions in Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iv. 19, 21, 52; v. 35, 50; ix. 9; *Lib. de Glor. Conf.* xcv.; *Vitae Patr.* xix. 2); two lives by Venantius Fortunatus, one in prose (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxxviii. 533–40; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 79), and the other in verse (Boll. *ibid.* pp. 78, 79), neither of them containing much of historical worth, a passage in the same author's life of queen Radegund (lib. i. 12; *Pat. Lat.* lxxii. 655), and the *Vita S. Radegundis* of Baudonivia i. 12, *Pat. Lat.* lxxii. 655). A supplement to Fortunatus's prose life was composed by an anonymous monk of the abbey of St. Medardus at Soissons, a little after the church had been destroyed by Northmen (A.D. 886). He may have been Rodoinus, prior in the time of Louis the Pious. It is printed in Boll. (*ibid.* pp. 82–6). See Ceillier, xii. 364, and *Hist. Litt.* v. 661 for a criticism of this pro-

duction, which adds nothing to our knowledge. Another life, longer, but containing small and doubtful additions to the older accounts, was written by Radbodus II. bishop of Noyon and Tournay, in the 11th century (Boll. *ibid.* pp. 87–94; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cl. 1490–1518; cf. *Hist. Litt.* viii. 457–9). This again was retouched with the like unfruitful results (*Hist. Litt. ibid.*). Mention also should be made of a little anthem in honour of St. Medardus and Gildardus, which has been attributed to Gregory of Tours, but is probably not genuine (Surius, Jun. 8; cf. Ceillier, xi. 384; *Hist. Litt.* iii. 389). Among modern accounts of him may be mentioned the long and digressive narration of Jacques le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église Cathédrale de Noyon*, 296–408; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 210–12; ix. 979; Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, Juin 8, and the *Commentarius Praevius* of the Bollandists. Other literature pertaining to him, but valueless for historical purposes, is noticed in the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, v. 662; vi. 176.

Tradition makes Medardus the founder of the ceremony of crowning the *rosière* at Salency, to which Fortunatus is supposed to allude in these two lines of his metrical biography:

> Te inter mundanos vepres gradiente, fatemur,
> Calcatis spinis, promeruisse rosas.

The ceremony still survives at the chapel of St. Médard at Salency (cf. Le Vasseur, *ibid.* p. 346, 351; Barthélemy, *Monographie de l'Église Notre Dame de Noyon*, p. 234). [S. A. B.]

MEDWINUS, MEDWY, MEDVINUS, one of the reputed messengers from king Lucius to pope Eleutherus, and returning as one of the evangelisers of Britain in the 2nd century. (Cressy, *Ch. H. Brit.* bk. iv.; Ussher, *Wks.* v. cc. 3, 4.) [ELFAN.] [J. G.]

MEGETHIUS, the Marcionite interlocutor who defends the doctrine of three principles in the dialogue against the Marcionites (Sect. i.). [ADAMANTIUS (2).] [G. S.]

MEGILDULFUS, a name assigned to an early abbat of Malmesbury in the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 10, where he is made to succeed bishop Daniel of Winchester, who is named among the abbats. Forthere is made his successor. It would seem probable that the name really represents Maildulf, the founder, and that it has been confusedly mixed up with those of bishops and other abbats of the time, either from pure carelessness or from the desire of making up a list that would cover a long blank in the monastic history of Malmesbury. [MAILDUF.]

See a paper by W. de Grey Birch in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1871, p. 318. The name does not appear in William of Malmesbury, or in the list given in the *Monasticon*, vol. i. [S.]

MEL, MELL, MELUS, MEIL (MAEL, MAELUS, MAOL, MOEL), first bishop of Ardagh, co. Longford, and usually said to have been nephew of St. Patrick by Conis, and Darerca St. Patrick's sister. His memoir, collected from the *Lives of St. Patrick*, is given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 259 sq.), the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 4 Feb. i. 780 sq.), and O'Hanlon (*Ir. SS.* ii. 360 sq.). With his brothers Munis, Melchuo, and Rioc, he came to Ireland with St. Patrick from Britain, and taught the faith. He founded his monastery at Ardagh and became bishop there about A.D. 454. He died A.D. 488 (*Ann. Tig.*), and his feast is always Feb. 6. [J. G.]

MELANIA (1), a Roman lady in the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century. She was of Spanish extraction, and was daughter of Marcellinus, who had been consul. She was born about A.D. 350. She was married, but her husband died when she was only 22 years old, leaving her with three children, of whom two died immediately after their father. Being full of ascetic enthusiasm, she did not indulge either grief or maternal affection, but, rejoicing that she was now more free to serve Christ, she determined to make a pilgrimage to sacred places of Egypt and Palestine. She left her remaining son to the charge of the urban praetor, and, though the winter was beginning, sailed for the East (Jerome, *Ep.* xxxix. 4; *Chron. Ann.* 377, vol. viii. ed. Vall.). This was about the year 372. She seems to have been acquainted with Jerome and his friends, who at that time formed an ascetic society at Aquileia. Her slave Hylas accompanied Jerome to Syria (Jerome, *Ep.* iii. 3), and Rufinus, from whom Jerome had then recently separated (*ibid.*), was with her in 374 in Egypt, and possibly in Palestine (Jerome, *Ep.* iv. 2). During their stay in Egypt the persecution of the orthodox by the emperor Valens arose. Rufinus was imprisoned. Melania, who had only been in Egypt six months, went with a large body of exiled bishops, clergy, and anchorets to a place near Diocaesarea in Palestine, where she supported them at her own expense. It would seem that she was joined by Rufinus after a time, and that they went together to Jerusalem. There she established herself at the Mount of Olives, where, says Jerome (*Chron.* year 377, properly 375), she was such a wonderful example of virtues, and especially of humility, that she received the name of Thecla. She formed a community of fifty virgins; she was the means of reconciling to the church a large body of heretics called Πνευματομάχοι. Her house was open to all. Amongst those who visited her was Evagrius (q. v.), whom she persuaded to embrace the monastic life (A.D. 388). She had intimate relations with John bishop of Jerusalem, and no doubt shared with Rufinus first in the friendship of Jerome and Paula when they settled at Bethlehem in 386, and afterwards in his contention with them. In 397 she returned to Italy, Rufinus still accompanying her, the object of her journey being to confirm her granddaughter Melania the younger (q. v.) in the practice of asceticism. She visited Paulinus at Nola, and was received by him with great honour, and brought to him a piece of the true cross set in gold, sent by John bishop of Jerusalem. She then took up her abode at Rome, where she no doubt assisted Rufinus through the controversy relating to his translation of Origen's works. She lived probably with her son Publicola and his wife Albina and their two children, the younger Publicola, and the younger Melania, with her husband Pinianus. Palladius, when he came to Rome to plead the cause of Chrysostom,

stayed with them. She desired to induce her granddaughter Melania and Pinianus to break off the marriage tie, and to take vows of separation, and was much displeased that, though they were willing to take a vow of continency, they would not separate from each other's society. In her vehement enthusiasm she spoke of her conflicts with those who resisted her asceticism as "fighting against wild beasts." In the year 408, Italy being threatened with the invasion of Alaric, and her son Publicola having died, she determined to leave Rome. Rufinus went with her, having quitted Aquileia on the death of his father; and she was accompanied by her daughter-in-law Albina, the younger Publicola, and Melania and Pinianus. She had made a journey to Africa in 400, carrying a letter from Paulinus to Augustine (Aug. ep. xiv.), and it was now determined that she should go to Sicily and thence to Africa, in both which countries she had estates. In Sicily Rufinus died. She passed on to Africa with the others; and, after in vain attempting to induce Melania and Pinianus to embrace the monastic state, she went on to Jerusalem. There she returned to her former habitation on the Mount of Olives, and forty days after she died at the age of 60. (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* c. 118; Paulinus, ep. 29, 31, 45, 94.) [W. H. F.]

MELANIA (2), granddaughter of foregoing, and wife of Pinianus. She was daughter of Publicola son of Melania, and was born at Rome about the year 383. She married when exceedingly young, yielding to the wish of her father, though she was already imbued with the ascetic teachings of her grandmother, then living at Jerusalem. Melania the elder having come to Italy in 397 with a view to breaking off the marriage, the young husband and wife were induced to take a vow of continence, but refused to separate. They accompanied the grandmother, when she left Rome (A.D. 408), to Sicily and Africa; but, when she returned to Jerusalem, they remained at Sagaste, attaching themselves to the bishop Alypius and enjoying the friendship of Augustine. On the death of the elder Melania the remains of her estates, which were still considerable, became the property of her granddaughter. She gave away those in Gaul and Italy, but kept those in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; and this led to the attempt of the people of Hippo to induce Pinianus to become a priest of their church. In the scene in which a promise was exacted from them to remain at Hippo, Melania shewed great courage [PINIANUS]. When through the rapacity of the rebel count Heraclian she was denuded of her property, and was thus set free from the promise to remain at Hippo, she accompanied her husband to Egypt, and, after staying for some time among the monastic establishments of the Thebaid and visiting Cyril at Alexandria, eventually went to Palestine, and, together with her mother Albina, settled at Bethlehem in the year 414. There they attached themselves to Jerome, and to the younger Paula, who then presided over the convent. By this time their ascetic convictions had so developed that they were willing to accept that separation which the elder Melania had in vain urged in her lifetime. Pinianus became the head of a monastery and Melania entered a convent. By the settlement of Melania at Bethlehem, the feud was extinguished which had separated the followers of Rufinus from those of Jerome; and although in his letter to Ctesiphon (cxxiii. 3, ed. Vall., date 415) Jerome still has a bitter expression about the elder Melania, in his last letter to Augustine (cxliii. 2, ed. Vall.) in 419, Albina, Pinianus, and Melania are joined with Paula in their reverential greetings. Their intercourse with Augustine was maintained, and it was in answer to their questions on the Pelagian controversy that Augustine wrote his treatise on *Grace and Original Sin*, A.D. 418. It would appear that Melania lived on for many years. She is said by Photius to have come to Constantinople in the year 437 and to have obtained his conversion, and his baptism at the hands of Proclus. (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 119, 121; Augustin, ep. 125, 126, and *De Grat. Christi*, ii. and xxxii., Surius, p. 380, Dec. 31; Photius, *Cod.* 53, p. 44.) [W. H. F.]

MELANTIUS (MELANIUS), 18th bishop of Rouen (572–584) during the exile of Praetextatus, and (cir. 589–601) after the death of Praetextatus (*Gall. Chr.* xi. 11); believed to have been the accomplice of queen Fredegund in the death of Praetextatus (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* vii. 19, viii. 31, 41). He was one of the Gallic bishops to whom pope Gregory the Great in 601 commended the monks whom he was sending to Britain to join Augustine (lib. xi. ind. iv. *Ep.* 58 in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii.; Jaffé, *R. P.* num. 1408). [S. A. B.]

MELANUS, ST., the saint of two Cornish parishes, St. Mellion and St. Mullyan. A St. Melanius, bishop of Rennes in Brittany, was at the council of Orleans, A.D. 511, and died after A.D. 530 (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 73, 87). There was also a chapel to him at Lamellion in Liskeard. [MELANIUS.] [C. W. B.]

MELCHITES (MELCHITAE), name given by the Monophysite party to those Oriental Christians who followed the decrees of Chalcedon. It signifies in Syriac royalist or imperialist, and was intended to suggest that the orthodox party were ruled in religious matters by the emperor's (Marcian) will alone. It is the name by which the orthodox Greek church is known in Arabic writers of the middle ages. Cf. Albîrûnî's *Chronicle*, p. 282; Neale's *History of Holy Eastern Church*, t. ii. p. 7; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* p. 119. [G. T. S.]

MELCHIZEDEK. From the notices in Philaster (*Haer.* 52), Pseudo-Tertullian (24), and Epiphanius (55), we gather (see the article on HIPPOLYTUS, p. 98) that the anti-heretical compendium of Hippolytus, next after the article on Theodotus of Byzantium, who denied our Lord's divinity, contained an article on another Theodotus, a banker, a disciple of the former. This Theodotus is also mentioned in the "Little Labyrinth" (Eus. *H. E.* v. 28). Like his namesake he held Jesus to have been mere man until at his baptism Christ descended on him, but he added the doctrine that Melchizedek was a heavenly power still higher than Christ. He insisted on the inferiority implied in the declaration

that Christ was a high priest after the order of Melchizedek, which he interpreted as indicating that the work of intercession and advocacy which Christ was to do for men, Melchizedek had been doing for angels and heavenly powers. He laid stress also on the declaration that Melchizedek was without father, without mother, without descent, whose beginning and end were incomprehensible. It is plain that Theodotus recognised the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a fact worth taking notice of, since we know that the Pauline origin of that Epistle was not acknowledged at the time by Hippolytus and other members of the Roman church. This notice of the heresy of Theodotus is briefly repeated by Hippolytus in his larger work against heresy (*Ref.* vii. 36, p. 258). Epiphanius gives to the school of Theodotus the name of Melchizedekians, and the name accordingly figures in later works on heresy. "Praedestinatus" as usual (34) invents an orthodox champion (Dionysius bishop of Jerusalem) for the confutation of this heresy; but there is no real reason to think that Theodotus left any sect surviving him. There is clearly no historical continuity between his teaching and the people called Melchizedekians by Timotheus Presbyter (Cotel. *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 392), whose story is that their locality was Phrgyia, that they were neither Jew nor heathen, for though they kept the Sabbath they did not use the rite of circumcision: that they were called Ἀθίγγανοι, for that they would not touch, or allow themselves to be touched by, one outside their sect; nor would they take anything directly from the hands of such a person, but insisted that the object should be placed on the ground.

Epiphanius in his article gives traditional names for the father and mother of Melchizedek (concerning whom see also Philaster, 148); mentions the opinion of HIERACAS (*q. v.*) that he was the Holy Spirit; of certain Samaritans, that he was Shem; and of some of the orthodox, that he was the Son of God. On these and other patristical opinions about Melchizedek see DICT. OF BIBLE.

In the mythology of *Pistis Sophia* Melchizedek the great officer of light (παραλήμπτωρ) plays an important part (pp. 35, 292, 327–9, 337, 365). [G. S.]

MELDANUS (MEALLAN, MEDAN, MELLANUS), bishop and confessor at Inchiquin in Loch Corrib, co. Galway. His fame rests on his connexion with the visions of St. Furseus [FURSEUS (1)]. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 269 sq.) has compiled a memoir from the ancient *Life of St. Furseus.* His feast is Feb. 7.

Meldanus, son of Ui Cuinn, and founder of a monastery on Inis-mac-ui-cuinn in Loch Oirbsen, was spiritual adviser of St. Furseus, who was educated at his monastery. There is no account of his accompanying St. Furseus to Gaul, but St. Furseus is said to have taken his relics with special veneration to Peronne, where he is still honoured. In the visions enjoyed by St. Furseus before he left Ireland (or in England, as Bede says, *E. H.* iii. 19), the two saints, Meldan and Beoan, appeared and spoke with him [BEOAN (2)]. He must have died before A.D. 627, as he was evidently amongst the beatified when St. Furseus saw him. (Baring-Gould, *Saints*, Feb. 7, p. 193, saying he "died at Peronne;" O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 242 sq.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 79 c. 20, 90, n. 19; O'Flaherty, *Iar-Conn.* 22, by Hardiman.) [J. G.]

MELETIUS (1) (Μελέτιος, MELITIUS), a bishop in Pontus, highly spoken of by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 32), who calls him τὸ μέλι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, having become acquainted with him in Palestine, whither Meletius had retired for seven years in the persecution of Diocletian. It is stated in Philostorgius (*H. E.* i. 8) that he was bishop of Sebastopolis, and attended the council of Nicaea in 325, but his name is not in the list of the Nicene fathers (Mansi, ii. 692). Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* viii. 14) and Nicetas Choniata (*Thes. Fid. Orth.* v. 7) make the same statement on the authority of Philostorgius, Nicetas making this historian assert that Meletius sided with Arius at the council. But this is scarcely credible from the manner in which Meletius (evidently the Meletius of Eusebius) is mentioned by St. Basil and St. Athanasius (Basil, *Spir. Sanct.* 29, § 74; Athan. *Epist. ad Episc.* ol. *Orat.* i. *ad Or.* § 8; cf. Tillem. v. 787, vi. 641, 647, ix. 684). Meletius of Sebastopolis, who died cir. 330, seems to have been confused with the later Meletius of Sebaste, afterwards of Antioch (cf. Tillem. x. 460). Le Quien (*Or. Christ.* i. 425) makes him the first known bishop of Sebastopolis, and Sebastopolis a suffragan see of Sebaste. [C. H.]

MELETIUS (2) (MELITIUS), bishop of Lycopolis. The council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) attributes to this man "rashness and levity of character," and blames him for "previous insubordination" (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 9). The accounts of Meletius (or Melitius) and of the origin of his "insubordination" as given by three documents discovered by Maffei at Verona (see Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, iii. p. 381, &c.; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. § 40) and by Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxviii. 1–4) vary considerably. Modern ecclesiastical historians have usually followed the first-named documents, which are supported as to their main statements by the independent testimony of Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arianos*, §§ 11, 59; *Epist. ad Episc. Aegypti et Libyae*, c. 22) and Socrates (i. 6, &c.); while the narrative of Epiphanius is considered too Meletian in its colouring and contradicting well ascertained facts.

Meletius was ordained bishop not long before the beginning of the Arian controversy. The see of Lycopolis stood next in rank to that of Alexandria, of which Peter, afterwards martyr, was then bishop (A.D. 300–311). Meletius took advantage of Peter's flight from persecution (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 24) to intrude into his and other dioceses, ordain priests, and assume the character of primate of Egypt. A protest was raised against his conduct, and sent to him by four aggrieved but incarcerated Egyptian bishops, Hesychius, Pachomius, Theodore, and Phileas. They urged that his act—the act of one whom they term "dilectus comminister in Domino"—was unnecessary and uncalled for; that it had been carried out without consulting them or Peter; and that it involved a breach of that ecclesiastical rule which forbade one bishop from intruding into the diocese of another. Meletius took no notice either of the protest or of

Peter. The bishops were martyred, and Meletius went to Alexandria. There he was received by the two elders, Isidore and the afterwards famous Arius; probably at their instigation he excommunicated two visitors appointed by Peter, and replaced them by others. The archbishop of Alexandria then wrote forbidding his flock to have fellowship with Meletius until the character of these acts had been investigated. A synod of Egyptian bishops assembled under Peter, and deposed Meletius (A.D. 306) for his acts of irregularity and insubordination.

Athanasius and Socrates affirm indeed that the degradation of Meletius was specially due to his having "denied the faith during persecution and sacrificed;" but in this they probably express not so much a fact as the popular belief which could not otherwise explain why orthodox bishops were imprisoned and martyred, while Meletius passed through the length and breadth of the land unhindered. The council of Nicaea, however, in its comments upon, and condemnation of, Meletius, takes no note of impiety; and the statement of Epiphanius—Meletius "was orthodox in his belief, and never dissented from the creed of the church in a single point. He was the author of a schism, but not of alterations ot belief"—is probably true of the bishop, if not of his followers.

Meletius retorted upon his deposers by separating himself and his followers. Peter, in his turn, is reported to have preached against the Meletians, and to have rejected their baptism (Sozomen, i. xv.); Meletius retaliated by abusing Peter and his immediate successors Achillas and Alexander (see Athanasius and Socrates, op. cit.).

Matters continued thus till the whole question was considered by the council of Nicaea. The second, fourth, and sixth canons have reference directly or indirectly to the Egyptian schism; and in a synodical epistle addressed by the bishops assembled there "to the holy and great church of the Alexandrians and to the beloved brethren throughout Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis," the "contumacy of Meletius and of those who had been ordained by him" is dealt with (Socrates, i. 9; Theodoret, i. 9). The line adopted was one of "clemency;" although Meletius is described as "strictly speaking wholly undeserving of favour." He was permitted to remain in his own city and retain a nominal dignity; but he was to exercise no authority either to ordain or nominate for ordination. In dealing with those who had received appointments from him, the council decreed that such persons should first be confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, and then be admitted to communion and retain their rank and ministry. Under the circumstances they were also to be counted inferior in every diocese and church to those who had been previously ordained and established by Alexander. The power of proposing or nominating whom they pleased was taken from them, nor were they to do anything at all without the concurrence of the bishops of the Catholic and Apostolical Church under Alexander. Should church preferments become vacant through death, then they who had been recently admitted to orders might be advanced, provided that they were worthy, and the popular election were ratified by Alexander

To the recipients of these concessions and privileges there was one exception — Meletius himself; "To him," said the bishops, "we by no means grant the same licence, on account of his former disorderly conduct. If the least authority were accorded to him, he would abuse it by again exciting confusion."

It is doubtful whether Meletius was at the council or not; but he did not resist its decrees. At Alexander's request he handed in a list of his clerical adherents, from which it appeared that his followers included twenty-nine bishops, and in Alexandria itself four priests and three deacons. Meletius retired to Lycopolis, and during Alexander's lifetime remained quiet; but the appointment of Athanasius to the see of Alexandria was the signal for union of every faction opposed to him, and in the events which followed Meletius took a personal part. The uncompromising sternness of Athanasius was contrasted with the "clemency" of the council and of Alexander; Arian and Meletian, schismatic and heretic banded together against the one man they dreaded, and so pitiless and powerful was their hate that it wrung from him the comment on the pardon accorded to Meletius by the council of Nicaea—"Would to God he had never been received!"

The date of the death of Meletius is not known; but before his death he nominated, contrary to the decree of the Nicene council, his friend John as his successor (Sozomen, ii. 21), a rank accorded to him and recognised by that council of Tyre (A.D. 335) in which the Eusebians and others deposed Athanasius (*ib.* ii. 25). "In process of time," says Sozomen (ii. 21), "the Meletians were generally called Arians in Egypt." Originally, —differences of opinion in doctrinal theology parted them; but the adopting joint measures of attack or defence gradually led the Meletians to adopt Arian doctrines [see ARIUS] and side with Arian church politics. The Meletians died out after the 5th century; the monks described by Theodoret (i. 9) being among the latest and most eccentric of the sect: "They neglected sound doctrine, and observed certain vain points of discipline, upholding the same infatuated views as the Jews and Samaritans."

In addition to the authorities mentioned, consult Walch, *Ketzerhistorie*; Neander, Bright, and the usual Church historians. [J. M. F.]

MELETIUS (3), bishop of Antioch. This man, at the time of his translation to Antioch bishop of Sebaste in Armenia (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 28; Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 31), or—according to Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 44)—bishop of Beroea in Syria, was held in high repute for his "exemplary life." "The sweet calm look, the radiant smile, the kind hand seconding the kind voice," were recalled after his death as features of one beloved by all (Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio in fun. Mag. Meletii*).

Meletius came to Antioch in troublous times (A.D. 361). The see had been vacated through the disorderly translation of Eudoxius to Constantinople (A.D. 360); and the city was still a focus for theological rancour and dispute. The Eustathians (see EUSTATHIUS of Antioch), under the venerated priest Paulinus, represented the orthodox party with whom Athanasius was in communion the Eudoxians were Arian or semi-

Arian. Meletius owed his appointment to the joint application to Constantius of both parties. On the one hand the Eudoxians, believing him to be firmly attached to their tenets, looked to him "to attract the inhabitants of Antioch and of the neighbouring cities, to conform to their heresy" (Sozomen); on the other, the supporters of apostolical doctrine, "aware of his sound principles, as well as of his great virtues," took zealous measures to ensure the decree of his election being signed; and, when completed, entrusted it to the care of Eusebius bishop of Samosata, "a noble defender and champion of the truth" (Socrates). The imperial command was issued, and the arrival of Meletius was greeted by an immense concourse, curious, critical, and excited by hopes or fears. The report was spread abroad that he maintained the doctrines of the council of Nicaea; and he was desired to take part with other bishops "of rhetorical ability" in explaining to the multitude the words of Prov. viii. 22. George bishop of Laodicea delivered an unmistakably Arian address; Acacius bishop of Caesarea "steered a middle course between the impiety of the Arians and the purity of the apostolical doctrines, differing greatly from the one and yet not preserving the characteristic features of the other;" Meletius followed. He at first confined himself to moral subjects and the principles enforced by the ecclesiastical canons; avoiding all doctrinal questions, and "saying neither too much nor too little." He was listened to with general approbation; but the discussion of morals and canons was not what friend or foe wanted. He was entreated to give a brief synopsis of his doctrine; and his declaration "the Son is of the same substance as the Father," at once and unequivocally proclaimed him an upholder of the essential doctrine of Nicaea. A scene of great tumult followed; the applause of the Catholics was met by the cries of the infuriated Arians. The Arian archdeacon sprang forward and stopped the bishop's mouth with his hand. Meletius instantly extended three fingers towards the people, closed them, and then allowing only one to remain extended, expressed by signs what he was prevented from uttering. As the archdeacon freed his mouth to seize his hand, Meletius used his regained liberty of speech to exclaim: "Three Persons are conceived in the mind, but we speak as if addressing One" (Theodoret and Sozomen). Eudoxius, Acacius, and their partisans were furious; they reviled the bishop and charged him with Sabellianism; they met in council and deposed him; and they induced the emperor, "more changeable than Aeolus," to banish him to his native country, and to appoint Euzoius, the friend of Arius, as his successor.

The Catholics, of course, repudiated Euzoius, but they did not all become adherents to Meletius. The Eustathian section of their body could not conscientiously unite with one who, however orthodox in faith, had received consecration from Arian bishops; neither would they communicate with his followers who had received Arian baptism. Schism followed. The Meletians withdrew to the Church of the Apostles in the old part of the city; the followers of Paulinus met in a small church within the city, this concession being made by Euzoius out of personal respect for Paulinus.

The death of Constantius (A.D. Nov. 361), and the decrees of toleration promulgated by Julian, permitted the banished bishops to return. An effort was at once made, especially by Athanasius and Eusebius bishop of Vercellae, to establish unity in the church as a means of resistance to the pagan emperor; and this was one of the principal objects of a council held at Alexandria in A.D. 362 (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 727). The schism at Antioch was there gravely considered. Finally, it was ordered that Paulinus and his followers should unite with Meletius; and that the church, thus united, should in the spirit of the fullest toleration receive all who accepted the Nicene creed and rejected the errors of Arianism, Sabellianism, Macedonianism, &c. Eusebius of Vercellae and Asterius of Petra were commissioned to proceed to Antioch, taking with them the synodal letter (*Tomus ad Antiochenos*), which was probably the work of Athanasius.

The prospects of peace had, however, been fatally imperilled before the commissioners reached the city. Lucifer bishop of Calaris had chosen to go direct to Antioch instead of attending the council of Alexandria. He appears to have repeatedly exhorted both Meletians and Eustathians to unity; but his sympathies were strongly with the latter; and, when the former opposed him, he took the injudicious step of consecrating Paulinus to be bishop. "This was not right," Theodoret justly protests, and the consequences were what might have been expected; the act increased the dissension, and was the means of prolonging the schism for eighty-five years (Theodoret, iii. 5). When Eusebius reached Antioch, he found that "the evil had, by such unwise measures, been made incurable;" remonstrance was useless, and, in fact, accentuated the antagonism to such a degree that Lucifer severed himself from communion with the Alexandrian church (see LUCIFER). The long connexion of Athanasius with the Eustathians made him unwilling to disown Paulinus, who accepted the synodal letter; and further attempts at union were for the time given up.

The short reign of Julian was one of great distress to the Christians at Antioch. Meletius remained at his post, and is said to have accompanied to the place of martyrdom two officers, who in A.D. 363 were put to death for refusing to lay aside the Christian standard of the labarum (Ruinart, quoted in Bright's *Hist. of the Church*, p. 123, note *k*). The same year Jovian succeeded the Apostate, and a truer toleration was instituted by an emperor who did not hesitate to announce his preference for the Homoousian faith (Socrates, iii. 24). Meletius is said by Socrates to have been held in high estimation by Jovian; and his influence at court was soon craftily utilised by the Acacians. They were known for a "readiness to accommodate their opinions to those invested with supreme authority;" they now persuaded Meletius that they assented to the Nicene creed; and the orthodox world witnessed the presentation to Jovian of a declaration in which Catholic and Acacian attested side by side a common faith in God and a common hatred of the Anomoians. Jovian's reply, according to Anomoian the same liberty of opinion as to Acacian, was a proof that he understood the new supporters of Meletius better

than the bishop [ACACIUS]. Jovian's death (A.D. 364), and the edict of Valens, expelling a second time the bishops expelled by Constantius and recalled by Julian, once more drove Meletius into exile. Two devoted Antiochians, Flavian and Diodorus, rallied the persecuted who refused to communicate with the Arian Euzoius, and assembled them in caverns by the river side and in the open country. Paulinus, "on account of his eminent piety" (Socrates, iv. 2), was left unmolested.

During the fourteen years which followed, the few facts which throw light upon the state of religious parties at Antioch seem to exhibit suspicion and imputation, bitterness and alienation as rife amongst the followers of Meletius and Paulinus. Basil (*Ep.* 89) recommended Meletius to write to Athanasius, who was grieved with the failure of his previous efforts. If Meletius did so, he probably could not avoid expressing his regret that the advice of the council of Alexandria had not been more firmly pressed upon Paulinus by Athanasius. But as Athanasius would not sever the old ties between himself and the Eustathians, Meletius must have felt that nothing could be done towards union so long as that party was backed in their disunion by the great archbishop. The death of Athanasius (A.D. 373) did not advance matters towards a solution. His successor Peter and Damasus of Rome spoke in A.D. 377 of Eusebius and Meletius as Arians (Basil, *Ep.* 266). The Western bishops and Paulinus in fact suspected Meletius and the Easterns of Arianism on account of their assertion of "three Hypostases;" the Easterns in their turn imputed Sabellianism to the Westerns. "All the charitable pains taken by the council of Alexandria appear to have been thrown away" (Bright, p. 159).

Gratian became sovereign of the whole empire in A.D. 378, and he at once proclaimed toleration to all sects, with a few exceptions (Socrates, v. 2). The Arians of Antioch must have been among these exceptions (Theodoret, v. 2). Sapor, a military chief, went there to dispossess the partisans of Euzoius, and to assign the Arian churches to the orthodox party. On his communicating the imperial mandate to Paulinus, that aged and venerable man promised to communicate with Damasus. His intention was somewhat scornfully treated by Flavian. Meletius is said to have taken a kinder line (Theodoret, v. 3). He addressed Paulinus thus: "As God has committed to me the care of this flock, and to you the charge of another; and as our respective sheep hold the same doctrines of religion, let us, my friend, unite our flocks; let us throw aside all contests for superiority, and tend with equal diligence the sheep entrusted to us. If the episcopal chair of this city be to us a matter of contention, let us place the holy Gospel upon it, and let us seat ourselves on each side of it.* If I die first, you shall become the only ruler of the flock; if you die first I will—as far as I am able—tend the flock alone." This offer, whether made by Meletius himself or by his partisans (Socrates, Sozomen), was declined; Paulinus and his followers declared it to be contrary to the canons to admit as coadjutor one who had

* In the ancient church, the Book of the Gospels was considered the symbol of Christ Himself.

been ordained by Arians. Sapor pacified the Meletians by handing the churches over to them; and the mutual animosity of the two parties was for the time allayed by the action of the six principal presbyters of the church. They bound themselves by oath not only to use no effort to secure consecration for themselves when either Paulinus or Meletius should die, but also to permit the survivor of these two to retain undisturbed and sole possession of the see.

In A.D. 379 a council at Antioch, under Meletius, accepted the synodal letter of Damasus (A.D. 378), which, known as "the Tome of the Westerns," was sent in the first instance to Paulinus; and two years later (A.D. 381) Meletius—though disowned by Rome and Alexandria—was appointed to preside at the council of Constantinople (the second great council). The bishop was greeted by the emperor Theodosius with tokens of the warmest affection; and, in explanation of "demonstrations of affection such as would be shewn by a dutiful son on beholding a beloved father after a long separation," the emperor recounted his vision in which he had seen the bishop of Antioch investing him with imperial robes and placing a crown upon his head (Theodoret, v. 6, 7).

During the session of the council, Meletius died. His remains were conveyed to Antioch with care and reverence; the cities through which the escort passed received them with honour and singing of psalms; they finally rested by the side of Babylas the Martyr.

The schism, in pursuance of the agreement already mentioned, ought now to have ended. Paulinus was still alive, and should have been recognised as sole bishop. The Meletian party, however, irritated by his treatment of their leader, secured the appointment of Flavian; and thus a fresh division arose, "rending the church of Antioch into rival factions not grounded on any difference of faith, but simply on a preference of bishops" (Socrates, v. 269).

The history of the Meletians, as a separate party, becomes now merged into that of the Flavianists [FLAVIAN]. It need only be recorded here that the schism was practically ended in Flavian's lifetime.

In addition to the authorities quoted or referred to, consult Herzog's *R. E.* and Ceillier, *s. n.*, as well as the usual church histories.

[J. M. F.]

MELETIUS (4) (designated in the superscription of the letter ἀρχιατρός), a friend of St. Basil, residing in a remote and solitary place, who had invited Basil to visit him A.D. 375. Basil regrets his inability. (Basil, *Epist.* 193 [369].) [E. V.]

MELETIUS (5), a young recruiting officer, styled by Basil his "much-desired son," ποθεινότατος υἱός, by whom Basil sent letters to Amphilochius of Iconium in the spring of 375 A.D. (Basil, *Epist.* 200 [397].) [E. V.]

MELETIUS (6), a presbyter much trusted by Basil, who speaks of him as his fellow-labourer in the gospel, who had subdued his fleshly appetites at the expense of his bodily health. In 375 Basil sent letters by him to the monks of Pontus, of whom he had been the superior, begging them not to listen to the

calumnies by which he was attacked (Basil, *Epist.* 226 [73]), and also to Elpidius, one of the bishops of the seaboard, asking him to appoint a time and place for a congress of the neighbouring bishops (*Epist.* 205 [322]). [E. V.]

MELETIUS (7), a relative of Gregory Nazianzen by marriage; it is not quite certain whether the husband of his sister or of one of his nieces, whom he regarded as his own daughters, the word *γαμβρός* denoting equally brother-in-law and son-in-law. He is stigmatised in Gregory's will for retaining possession of a farm at Apenzinzus which was really the property of Euphemius. [EUPHEMIUS (2).] (Greg. Naz. *Test.*) [E. V.]

MELITO, bishop of Sardis, the capital of Lydia, held, in the third quarter of the 2nd century, a foremost place among the bishops of Asia, both in respect of personal influence and of literary activity. Shortly before the end of that century his name is mentioned by Polycrates of Ephesus, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Eus. *H. E.* v. 24), as one of the luminaries of the Asiatic church by whose authority its Quartodeciman practice had been commended: "Melito the eunuch, whose whole walk was in the Holy Spirit, who lies in Sardis, waiting for the episcopate from heaven, in which he shall rise from the dead." This notice falls in well enough with the supposition that Melito had died some twenty years previous to its date. Melito, being last on the list, may be supposed to have been the latest of those included in it; and we may infer that he died a natural death, since it is not said of him, as it is of some of the others, that he suffered martyrdom. It may be doubted whether the description "eunuch" is to be understood literally, or whether it only means that Melito passed his entire life in virgin continence; and in behalf of the former view it might be argued that such continence could hardly have been so unusual in a bishop of the time as to gain for Melito a special epithet. On the other hand, it may be mentioned that, in speaking of the virginity of the apostle John, Tertullian (*de Monog.* 17) applies to him the epithet "spado," and Jerome (on Isaiah, c. 56, vol. iv. p. 658) calls him "eunuchus." Zahn (p. ciii.) supposes these epithets to have been derived from Leucius (see LEUCIUS), and that the work of Leucius was older than Polycrates. If so, the use of the word by Polycrates in a similar sense could be accounted for. At all events this use of the word is illustrated by the fact that the Encratite work of CASSIANUS (*q. v.*) on continence had for its second title *περὶ εὐνουχίας*.

The next extant mention of Melito is in the "Little Labyrinth" (see HIPPOLYTUS, Vol. III. p. 98), a work some twenty years later than the letter of Polycrates (Eus. v. 28). Melito is there appealed to as one of the writers, older than Victor of Rome, who had spoken of our Lord as being God as well as man. The extant fragments well bear out this assertion, the marvel that the attributes of two natures should be united in one person being to all appearance the topic on which Melito had most delight in enlarging.

A reference to Melito contemporary with that last cited, or a little earlier, was made in a lost work of Tertullian, and is known to us through a citation by Jerome in the article in his catalogue (c. 24) on Melito. He says, "Hujus elegans et declamatorium ingenium cavillatus Tertullianus in septem libris quos scripsit adversus ecclesiam pro Montano dicit eum a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari." The notice sufficiently shews the high reputation which Melito bore in the time of Tertullian. Of Melito's relations to Montanism we shall speak presently.

Our fullest information is derived from the notices in Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 13, 26), who gives a list of the works of Melito with which he was himself acquainted, together with three extracts. We thus learn that Melito was a very voluminous writer. We speak first of his apology presented to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, though chronologically this may have been the latest of his works. At least Eusebius mentions it at the end of his list with the words, *ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον*. The name *βιβλίδιον* (libellus) is the proper technical name for a petition addressed to the emperor. The Apology of Melito is placed under the year 170 in Jerome's translation of the chronicle of Eusebius, and though this notice is absent from the Armenian, this is probably one of the many inaccuracies of that version. The date may be more securely inferred from one of the passages preserved by Eusebius. Melito, addressing Marcus Aurelius, and speaking of Augustus, says, "Of whom you have become the much wished-for successor, and shall be so with your son if you keep that philosophy which took its beginning with Augustus," &c. That he here says "with your son," not "with your brother," is evidence that the date is later than the death of Lucius Verus, in 169. Commodus was associated in the empire with his father in 176. The passage which we have quoted does not determine whether this association had already taken place or was only anticipated. In the year 177 persecutions of Christians were raging violently all over the empire. Melito's memorial seems to have been written at the very first beginning of that persecution. The Christians seem to be suffering more in their property than in their persons, and Melito is able to express a doubt whether the emperor had sanctioned the cruelties inflicted on them, and a belief that, when he had examined into the case, he would interfere in their favour. Melito declares that Nero and Domitian were the only emperors who had sanctioned persecutions of Christians, and it is probably from this passage that Tertullian derives his argument that only bad emperors had persecuted the Christians. On the other side, as forbidding interference, Melito quotes the letter of Hadrian to Fundanus, and letters of Antoninus, at a time when Aurelius himself was associated in the government, to the people of Larissa, of Thessalonica, and of Athens. One extract from the Apology preserved in the *Paschal Chronicle* (p. 483, Dindorf) gave rise to some discussion in the early Socinian controversy. "We are not worshippers of senseless stones, but adore one only God, who is before all and over all, and [over] His Christ truly God the Word before all ages." The second "over" given in Rader's edition of the Chronicle does not appear in the latest edition (Dindorf's).

An Apology under the name of Melito is extant in a Syriac translation in one of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum. It bears the heading, "The oration of Melito the Philosopher held before Antoninus Caesar, and he spoke to Caesar that he might know God, and he shewed him the way of truth, and began to speak as follows." It is likely that the Syriac translator, finding in his Greek original that the Apology was "addressed" to the emperor, made a blunder in supposing that it was delivered before the emperor *viva voce*. This Apology was printed in Syriac, with English translation, by Cureton (*Spicileg. Syr.*) and by Pitra, with a Latin translation by Renan (*Spicil. Solesm.* vol. ii.). This Latin translation has been revised in Otto's *Apologists*, vol. ix. Although this Syriac Apology has the appearance of being complete, it contains none of the passages cited by Eusebius, and its character seems to be entirely different from that of the work known to Eusebius. The latter work, as far as we know it, had mainly the practical object to induce the emperor to stop the persecution of Christians by shewing that they did not deserve the treatment inflicted on them. The Syriac Apology is a calm argument against the absurdities of polytheism and idolatry, such as might have been written with the hope of making a convert of the emperor, but does not exhibit any of the mental tension of one suffering under unjust persecution. On the whole we conclude that the Syriac Apology is not the same as that from which Eusebius has given extracts. The question then arises, did Melito write two apologies? In proof that he did, appeal has been made to the *Paschal Chronicle*, which records an Apology of Melito both under the years 164 and 169. But an examination of the passages shews that it is clear that they only exhibit a double mention of one Apology; so that the hypothesis that there were two remains without historical confirmation. The double mention in the Chronicle was probably caused by the double mention in Eusebius, iv. 13, 26. Though the ascription of the Syriac Apology to Melito is probably an error, yet the document is likely to be not much later than the age of Melito. There are slight, but we think decisive, traces of the use of Justin Martyr's Apology: this work must therefore be placed later. It is addressed to an emperor Antoninus, under which name might have been addressed Pius, Aurelius, Caracalla, or Elagabalus. It is probable that one of the two last is intended. The writer's point of view seems to be Syrian. In his enumeration of heathen idolatries he does not mention, as we might expect from Melito writing in Asia Minor, Cybele, or the Ephesian Diana; while he speaks in much detail of Syrian objects of worship, and seems to shew a personal acquaintance with the city of Mabug, the Syrian Hierapolis. The admonition, "If they wish to dress you in a female garment remember that you are a man," is more suitably addressed to Elagabalus than to any of the other emperors we have mentioned. From other arguments used we cannot draw any certain inferences. Thus the emperor is not allowed to excuse himself for the retention of idolatry by the necessity of consulting the wishes of his subjects, or of following the usages of his fathers. One passage more may be reckoned as yielding a presumption of Syrian authorship. The writer speaks of the world as destined to suffer from three deluges—one of wind, one of water, one of fire; the first two already past, the third still to come. The deluge of wind is that by which the tower of Babel was supposed to have been destroyed (see the Sibylline verses quoted by Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* ii. 31, and also Abydenus, quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* ix. 14). Cureton (*Spic. Syr.* p. 94) quotes the phrase "flood of wind" as occurring in the work called *The Cave of Treasures* (see ADAM, BOOKS OF, Vol. I. p. 36). The same phrase is found in the Ethiopic book of Adam (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wiss.* 1853). It has been contended that the language in which the apologist here speaks of the deluge of fire shews acquaintance with the Second Epistle of Peter; but it seems to us that this can by no means be positively asserted. On the New Testament allusions in this Apology see Westcott, *N. T. Canon*, p. 219.

Against placing the Apology so late as Elagabalus, may be urged that its conclusion, if interpreted most naturally, speaks of the emperor as having children; and though the force of the argument may be evaded by supposing the apologist to be merely expressing a wish on behalf of the emperor's unborn successors, yet it is simpler to refer the work to the time of Caracalla, who spent some time in Syria. There seem also to be traces that Tertullian, who was acquainted with the Eusebian Apology of Melito, also used this one. Such perhaps may be the identification of Serapis with Joseph, and the remark that the old heathen gods were practically held in less honour than the emperors, as was proved, for instance, by the fact that their temples had to pay taxes.

We turn now to other works of Melito. First in the list of Eusebius is mentioned a work in two books, *περὶ τοῦ πάσχα*. The date is limited by the opening sentence which Eusebius quotes: "In the proconsulate over Asia of Servilius Paulus, at the time that Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there took place much dispute at Laodicea about the Paschal celebration *ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρόν* in those days, and these things were written." Rufinus here reads "Sergius Paulus," and this appears from other authorities to have been the real name of the proconsul in question. He was afterwards city prefect, and had his second consulship in 168, from which it may be inferred (see FUSCIANUS) that he was made city prefect in 167. The appointment being usually for life, Waddington and Le Bas infer (*Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, ch. ii. § 148 in *Voyage Archéol.* t. iii. p. 731) that his proconsulate was earlier, probably within the limits 164–166.

There is some difficulty in the words which we have left untranslated. If we explain them as saying that the martyrdom of Sagaris took place at Easter, the following words, "in those days," are superfluous and unmeaning, unless we transpose the *καί*, and read the last clause, "And in those days these things were written." On the other hand, if we understand it that there was a coincidence that year between the Easter celebrated by both parties, why should there have been a dispute? And was the

moment when persecution had cut off a leading bishop just the time when Christians from other cities would court danger by crowding to the spot, and would engage in disputes as to their respective customs? The best solution we can offer is that the Paschal disputes took place, not the year of the martyrdom of Sagaris, but the year following. In the years 164 and 167 the astronomical full moons fell on Sundays, March 26 and 23 respectively. According to our present rules, both these days would be Easter Sundays; and it is quite possible that all parties in Asia Minor might have united in Paschal celebrations on both days. Supposing that Sagaris was martyred on either day, next year there would be a new proconsul, and the Asiatic churches might have peace. Christians might come together at the Easter season from all the Asiatic cities to celebrate the anniversary of the martyrdom of Sagaris, and the diversities in the Paschal celebrations of different cities would be forced into notice.

The appeal of Polycrates to the authority of Melito leaves no room for doubt that the latter, in his work on Easter celebration, took the Quartodeciman side. Eusebius tells us that the work of Melito drew forth another, no doubt on the opposite side, from Clement of Alexandria. It has been conjectured that Melito was the Ionian whom Clement (Eus. *H. E.* v. 11) enumerates as among his teachers. It would be foreign to this article to discuss the points at issue in the Quartodeciman disputes. Suffice it here to say that the extant fragments of Melito refute the notion that Quartodecimanism was inconsistent with the reception of the fourth Gospel. In one passage Melito speaks of our Lord's three years' ministry after His baptism, which he could not have learned from the synoptic Gospels. In another he accounts for the fact that it was a ram, not a lamb, that was substituted as a sacrifice for Isaac, by the remark that our Lord, when He suffered, was not young like Isaac, but of mature years. Possibly here there may be an indication that Melito held the same theory concerning our Lord's age as Irenaeus and other Asiatics, derived no doubt from John viii. 57. At all events the whole passage shews that Melito believed strongly in the atoning efficacy of Christ's death, and looked on Him as the sacrificial lamb. The word he uses is *ἀμνός*, as in the Gospel, not *ἀρνίον*, as in the Apocalypse.

The next work of Melito from which Eusebius has given an extract is a work in six books, called "Selections," addressed to a friend named Onesimus, who had asked Melito to make selections from the law and the prophets of passages treating concerning our Saviour, and concerning all our faith, and also to give him accurate information as to the number and order of the Old Testament books. Melito relates that he had gone up to the East to the place where the things were preached and done, and had accurately learned the books of the Old Testament. His list is as follows: The five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four of Kings, two of Chronicles, Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. The last, no doubt, includes Nehemiah and possibly Esther, which otherwise finds no place in the list. This list gives the Hebrew canon adopted by our own church; but if it be compared with the list of Josephus, it will be seen that there are some differences in the order of the books, and that the number of twenty-two books is not attempted to be made out. The expressions which occur in the extract, "the Old Books," "the Books of the Old Testament," shew clearly that the church of Melito's time had a *New* Testament canon.

Besides the three works from which he has given extracts, Eusebius enumerates the following works of Melito as having come to his own knowledge. The titles only enable us imperfectly to guess at the contents of the books, and in some cases there is uncertainty about the titles themselves. (4) *τὰ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν*. Jerome, who translates "De vita prophetarum librum unum," appears to have read *περὶ πολιτείας τῶν προφητῶν*, and this reading is adopted by Otto. Jerome's "librum unum" is certainly wrong. If only a single work is spoken of, the *τά* shews that it must have been in more books than one. But it is more likely that two separate works "on Christian Conversation" and "on the Prophets" are coupled together by Eusebius, because in the Caesarean Library they were contained in the same volume. It is to be noted that one of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth is described by Eusebius as *διεγερτικὴ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας*. If we join the words together we might be inclined to imagine the book to be anti-Montanist, dealing with the unsaintly lives of the Montanist prophets in the same way as Apollonius (Eus. *H. E.* v. 18). But the things which Apollonius reprehends are not likely to have exhibited themselves so early as the time of Melito. (5) *περὶ ἐκκλησίας*. It has been conjectured that the breaking out of Montanism may have made it necessary to insist on the authority of the church. (6) *περὶ κυριακῆς*. Possibly the Quartodeciman controversy led to discussion about the Lord's Day. This word *κυριακή*, used in Rev. i. 10, is found also in Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians, c. 9, and in the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to Soter (Eusebius, iv. 33). (7) *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*. Some MSS. of Eusebius read *πίστεως* instead of *φύσεως*, and so Rufinus and the Syriac list given by Cureton: Jerome omits this altogether. (8) *περὶ πλάσεως*. This book on the formation of man, and the preceding one on the nature of man, if that be the reading, are conjectured to have been directed against Gnostic theories. (9) *περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως αἰσθητηρίων*. The "obedience of faith" is a Pauline phrase, but what was the subject of a treatise on the obedience of faith of the senses, has perplexed ancient as well as modern readers of this list. An obvious solution is that a *περί* may have dropped out of the text, and that there were two treatises, one on the Obedience of Faith, one on the Senses: this is Jerome's solution. The Syriac translator, or the text which he followed, substitutes *ἀκοῆς* for *ὑπακοῆς*, and he renders "on the hearing of the law of faith." The rule of preferring the more difficult reading is in favour of the present text of Eusebius but we

do not care to repeat any of the conjectural explanations that have been given of the special object of this treatise. (10) περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ νοός.* This work was probably akin to No. 7 on Human Nature. On the trichotomy compare Irenaeus, V. 9. Some Syriac fragments from this treatise were published by Cureton (xiii. Otto). (11) περὶ λουτροῦ. We have no means of verifying or refuting Piper's conjecture that in this work on Baptism the question of the validity of heretical baptism already came under discussion. In an extant fragment (No. xii. Otto) Melito treats the ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως (Ezek. xlvii. 3, LXX.) as a prediction of baptism, and in the same passage says that two things confer forgiveness of sins, suffering for Christ and baptism. This passage has very unreasonably been imagined to bear the stamp of a later age, when the merits of martyrdom were unduly exalted. The very first time a catechumen suffered martyrdom it could not but be felt that however strongly baptism might be regarded as ordinarily necessary to the forgiveness of sins, it must not be held to be so exclusively necessary as to oblige us to despair of the salvation of those to whom, though unbaptized, Christ had given grace to confess Him and to die for Him. (12) περὶ ἀληθείας. This may have been an apologetic work in commendation of Christianity. A work of Apollonius with the same title is mentioned by Eusebius, No. 27, in juxtaposition with a work πρὸς Ἕλληνας. It has been conjectured that the Syriac Apology already mentioned may be identical with this work. (13) περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ. It would seem that some transcribers stumbled at the use of the word κτίσεως in reference to our Lord. Several MSS. read πίστεως, and this reading was adopted by Rufinus, who breaks up the work into two, *De Fide* and *De Generatione Christi*. Jerome omits the former word altogether. But there is nothing to take offence at. Ancient writers with one consent apply to our Lord the Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ of Prov. viii. 22. For a full discussion of this verse see Athan. *Or. Cont. Ar.* ii. 44. (14) περὶ προφητείας. A work with the same title written, or intended to be written, by Clement of Alexandria, was directed against the Montanists (*Strom.* iv. 13, p. 605), and this may also have been the design of this work of Melito. It must be borne in mind, however, that we do not know for certain that the Montanist controversy had broken out before the death of Melito. Whether through carelessness or through variety of reading, Jerome translates the words of Eusebius, λόγος αὐτοῦ περὶ προφητείας, De prophetia sua librum unum, as if he had read περὶ πρ. αὐτοῦ. And so Rufinus seems to have read, who connects the clause with the preceding "De generatione Christi et de prophetia ejus." (15) περὶ φιλοξενίας. (16) ἡ κλεὶς. What was the nature of this work we have no information, and are left to conjecture. For a long time it was supposed that we had excellent means of knowledge. A Latin work, bearing the title *Melitonis Clavis Sanctae Scripturae*, was mentioned by Labbe in 1653 as preserved in the library of the Clermont College, and as akin to the *Formulae Spiritalis Intelligentiae* of EUSEBIUS (see Vol. II. p. 256). This work several times missed a chance of publication. It had been consulted by Sirmond; it had been copied by Le Quien for Grabe, in whose *Spicilegium* it would have been inserted if death had not prevented; copied again by Magnus Crusius and by Woog, the former of whom failed to carry out an expressed intention of publishing it, the latter published only some specimens, which produced no favourable impression of the work. Galland sought information about it, but did not include it in his collection. Neither did Routh, who was able to use the copy made for Grabe. At length Pitra, whose attention had been caught by Labbe's note, made it his ambition to recover such a treasure as a 2nd century work on the interpretation of Scripture; and he gives a most interesting account of his nearly twenty-five years' search, his successive disappointments, and his ultimate success. The Clermont Library had been dispersed, the MSS. had been purchased by a Dutch collector, Gerard Meermann, on whose death they were sold by auction, and the copy of the *Clavis* suffered the ignominy of only fetching two florins. Pitra could not learn who had been the purchaser. It was long afterwards that in idly turning over in the Strasburg Library a MS. of little promise containing various notes on books of Scripture, he had the delight of finding a transcript of the long-sought work of Melito. It was not long before this first success was followed by others; and when at length Pitra was able to publish the fruits of his researches (*Spicileg. Solesm.* vol. ii.), his work rested on the authority of no fewer than eight MSS.

Alas! it is painful to have to relate that the object of so much research has proved to be quite unworthy of the toil bestowed on it, and instead of being the translation of a Greek work of the 2nd century, is an original Latin medieval composition. It is a dictionary of the allegorical interpretations of Scripture, arranged not alphabetically, but according to subjects, giving under each word the different allegorical uses that it serves in Scripture, with quotations of the passages. An example taken at random will sufficiently illustrate: MENSES. (1) Apostoli, "per singulos menses reddent fructus suos" (Rev. xxii. 2). (2) Perfectio, "et erit mensis ex mense" (Isa. lxvi. 28). (3) Actiones, "sicut servus desiderat umbram, sic et ego habui menses vacuos" (Job vii. 3). (4) Ecclesiae multiplicatae, vel ordines vel dignitates angelorum, "non computetur in diebus anni" (Job iii. 6). (5) Collectiones animarum, "Quis mihi tribuet ut sim juxta menses pristinos" (Job xxix. 2). Routh had observed that if the work came from Melito, which he would not venture to deny, it must at least have been extensively interpolated, and that by a Latin writer. (And in fact there are explanations connecting the word hostia with hostis, virga with virgo.) There are passages written after the rise of Monasticism. Thus on the number three is the explanation, "Tres ad trinodam fidelium professionem, id est clericorum, monachorum et conjugum." Steitz made a careful examination of the *Clavis* as published by Pitra (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1857, p. 584), the result of which was to shew that the hypothesis of

* See in Otto, p. 376, for a curious example of the confusion here caused by the insertion of a marginal note into the text.

interpolation is untenable, and that the work is, as has been said, entirely medieval and Latin. The obligations to the works of Gregory the Great are most extensive; nor is Pitra's hypothesis tenable that it was Gregory who helped himself largely from the writings of Melito. There are many of the things common to Gregory and the *Clavis* which are clearly later than Melito; as, for instance, the number nine is illustrated by a reference to the nine orders of angels, first heard of in the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius. The *Clavis* too uses as Scripture the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, which the genuine Melito rejects. It is still more important to remark that of Pitra's MSS. the majority do not name Melito at all as the author. There is reason to think then that it was by no fraudulent design of the author that the *Clavis* came to be ascribed to Melito, but through the bold conjecture of some transcriber who dignified this anonymous work with the name of Melito, well known in the middle ages, as will appear when we come to speak of other spurious works ascribed to him. The *Clavis* then having been shewn to have no connexion with Melito, we have no right to assume that the real "Key" was a work of the same kind, and though it may very probably have dealt with the interpretation of Scripture, any assertion on the subject must rest on mere conjecture. (17) (18) *τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου*. Jerome understands this of two distinct treatises. The form of expression would rather indicate that both subjects were discussed in a single treatise in more books than one. It is easy but precarious to speculate on the controversies which Melito here dealt with. Origen, in Psalm. 3 (xi. 411, Lomm.), tells that Melito had spoken of Absalom as a type of the devil making insurrection against the kingdom of Christ. The reference may be to the present work. (19) *περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ*. It would be natural to translate this, On God Incarnate, and it will presently appear that we have other evidence that Melito wrote on the Incarnation. And so the words were understood by the Syriac translator. When Melito speaks of the two natures which our Lord combined, there is no trace of anthropomorphism in the attributes which he ascribes to the Divine nature. Thus in a Syriac fragment he is described as in his divine nature, "invisibilis, incomprehensibilis, incommensurabilis, impassibilis." On the other hand Origen, commenting on Gen. i. 26 (vol. viii. 49, Lomm.), and arguing against the Anthropomorphites, says "of whom is Melito, who has left a certain treatise, *περὶ τοῦ ἐνσώματον εἶναι τὸν θεόν*." Here occurs the doubt: Had Origen himself read the treatise of Melito, or did he know nothing but the title, and rashly jump to the conclusion that Melito held views akin to those which he was at the moment combating? If Melito be the author of the Syriac apology no fault can be found with the spirituality of his conceptions of God. It does not seem possible now absolutely to determine the question. We are ourselves inclined to believe that Origen made a mistake, and that the subject of Melito's treatise was the Incarnation. But it is not at all impossible that a writer as orthodox as Melito may have held the opinions which Origen imputes to him. The views of Tertullian, for example, about the soul are materialistic, and he expressly ascribes "body" to God, though using the word in the sense of substance. "Quis negabit Deum corpus esse etsi Deus spiritus est?" (*Adv. Prax.* 7). Gennadius, if he may be accounted an authority, classes Melito and Tertullian together as holding that there was something corporeal in the Trinity (*De Eccles. Dog.* 4).

Eusebius does not put forward the list we have copied as a complete list of Melito's works, but it is long enough to shew Melito's great activity as a writer, and the wide range of subjects which his writings embrace. We now supplement the list of Eusebius by a few notices from later writers. (20) ANASTASIUS (see Vol. I. p. 110), writing in his Hodegus against the Monophysites, quotes a passage from the third book of the treatise of Melito on the Incarnation, *περὶ Σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ*. Against the supposition that this is the same work as No. 19, may be urged that Eusebius would probably not have used the singular number in speaking of a treatise in more books than one. The work quoted by Anastasius was directed against the Marcionites, who defended their docetic views concerning our Lord's body by the same arguments as those urged by the Monophysites. Melito, who receives from Anastasius the epithets *θεῖος καὶ πάνσοφος ἐν διδασκάλοις* and *θεόσοφος*, defends the position (in conformity with what is told of him in the "Little Labyrinth") that our Lord was perfect God and perfect Man; His manhood being exhibited in the thirty years previous to His baptism, His deity in the miracles of the three subsequent years. (21) From a work, *εἰς τὸ πάθος*, which is probably different from any in the list of Eusebius, Anastasius has cited a sentence, Ὁ Θεὸς *πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλιτίδος*. The first words were of importance in the controversy as to the admissibility of such phrases as "God suffering." Routh connects the last words with the saying of an anonymous elder quoted by Irenaeus, v. 17; but in this we cannot follow him. A Syriac fragment (xvi. Otto) we accept as preserving largely the context of these words. (22) (23) Two other Syriac fragments are from works bearing the titles *De Cruce* and *De Fide*, which may or may not be the same as works mentioned already. And lastly, there are some Greek fragments edited by Routh from a *Catena* commenting on the sacrifice of Isaac as a type of the sacrifice of Christ, which we do not know how to assign to any particular work. In the last fragment Melito compares the reading of the LXX with another, which he introduces with the words, "the Syriac and the Hebrew says." The singular number would lead to the supposition that he knew the Hebrew through the Syriac, if not through a Greek translation of the Syriac. Piper, who on this passage deserves to be consulted, refers, p. 68, to Eusebius of Emesa as giving the same reading in the same words, only substituting "say" for "says."

It only remains to speak of spurious writings ascribed to Melito. We content ourselves with a bare mention of a commentary on the Apocalypse, the ascription to Melito apparently having been made only by the fraud or ignorance of some transcriber, and not to have been intended in the work itself, which is a compilation from

various writers, some as late as the 13th century. But through two works with which Melito's name was connected, it became widely known in the West, though with various disguises of form, such as Mileto, Miletus, and Mellitus, the last being the most common form. The two works are *de passione S. Joannis* and *de Transitu b. Mariae*. The similarity of the prefaces to each bespeaks common authorship, and these prefaces sufficiently explain the nature and object of the works. He warns the brotherhood against a certain Leucius, who wrote acts of the apostles John, Andrew, and Thomas, in which he related many true things concerning their miracles, but much falsehood as to their doctrine: in particular falsely asserting that they had held the doctrine of two principles—the one, the good principle, being the maker of man's soul; the other, the evil one, being the maker of the body, which therefore through necessity involves the soul in sin. This Leucius he describes as having been a fellow disciple of his own with the apostles, but as having departed from the way of righteousness. It is plain then that when the Pseudo-Melito wrote, the acts of LEUCIUS (*q. v.*) were in circulation, and that this writer wished to neutralise their mischief by publishing an expurgated edition, the facts being retained and the heretical doctrine cleared away. He attempted to authenticate his work by affixing to it the name of Melito, whom he evidently supposes to have been a personal disciple of the apostle John. Leucius is accepted as also, as his Acts represent him, a disciple of the apostles, but is discredited as having fallen into heresy. In one MS. Pseudo-Melito is made to display considerable knowledge of the genuine writings. He tells the Laodiceans that having already addressed to them two short works, *De Vita Prophetarum* and *De Incarnatione Dominica*, also a book *de Ecclesia*, he now writes to them *De Obitu Genetricis Domini*, chiefly because, as she remained a virgin, notwithstanding the birth of Christ, so the Church, though bringing forth spiritual children to Christ, yet retains the merit of virginity. But it is likely that this passage belongs to a transcriber and not to the original author; for Melito would hardly have been reckoned as a personal disciple of St. John by one with so much knowledge of his writings as is here displayed. The treatise on the Incarnation, it will be remembered, is not named by Eusebius or by Jerome, and is only known to us through Anastasius.

A comparison of the two prefaces shews that the work *De Transitu Mariae* is the later of the two; for in it he refers to his having previously written about Leucius. In this latter work Melito is correctly described as bishop of Sardis, and the work is addressed to the brethren at Laodicea. In the former work, as we have it now, Melito is described as bishop of Laodicea, and the work is addressed to the bishops and churches throughout the world. We can scarcely doubt that the inscription of both writings had been originally the same, and that one of them was unskilfully altered by a transcriber who wished to represent the book as intended not for the use of a single church but of the whole world.

Pseudo-Melito is not the only person who attempted to adapt the Leucian Acts to Catholic use. Under ABDIAS an account has been given of another work of like nature which in part agrees even verbally with that of Mellitus. Yet we have every reason to believe them to be independent reproductions of the same original. Abdias did not copy from Mellitus, for he gives several stories in full which the latter abridges so much as to leave them scarcely intelligible; neither does Mellitus copy from Abdias, from whom he would not even have learned the name of Leucius, to say nothing of his full knowledge of the nature of the heretical doctrine of that writer, which heretical doctrine Abdias expurgates less perfectly than Mellitus. Mellitus and Abdias then must have had a common original; and their verbal agreement shews that that original must have been in Latin. The use made of Leucius (see that article) by Augustine and his contemporaries shews that a Latin translation of Leucius must have been current at least in the 4th century. It would seem then that we might restore to a certain extent this Latin Leucius by taking the things common to Abdias and Leucius. This Latin Leucius may no doubt have enlarged on its Greek original; for instance, it would be fatal to Zahn's claim of a second-century date for the Greek Leucius if we suppose it to have contained a statement common to Abdias and Mellitus that after the fall, at St. John's prayer, of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, a basilica was built in the apostle's name, in which also his death took place. It is also possible that the Latin Leucian Acts had received interpolations before Abdias and Mellitus worked on them. The composition of Abdias is placed by Von Gutschmid between 550 and 600; that of Mellitus is probably not earlier; and by that time the Latin Acts may have been a couple of centuries in circulation.

The work on the Passion of St. John was first published by Florentini in his Martyrology, 1688. It was reprinted by Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. T.* iii. 604–623). What are substantially the same Acts had however been published in the Sanctuarium of Mombritius, only without the introduction or any mention of Melito's name.

The contents of the work *de Transitu B. V. M.*, are given in the *Bible Dictionary*, ii. 264, in the article MARY THE VIRGIN, together with some references, which need not here be repeated, to works where the story is to be found. Suffice it here to say that in the later forms of the story, not Melito but John the Apostle is the relator. See the *Dormitio Mariae* in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 95, and Wright's *Syriac Apocrypha*, p. 24. It deserves to be mentioned that the Gelasian decree has the two entries "Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphi," "Liber qui appellatur Transitus, id est assumptio sanctae Mariae, apocryphus." It will be observed that in neither place is Melito's name mentioned. It is probably the same work that is referred to, but still without mention of Melito's name, in the spurious homily ascribed to Jerome and addressed to Paula and Eustochium (vol. xi. p. 93), which contains the words "ne forte, si venerit in manus vestras illud apocryphum de transitu ejusdem virginis, dubia pro certis recipiatis."

The remains of Melito are given by Routh (*Rel. Sac.* i. 113–153), and more fully by Otto (*Corp. Apol. Chr.* ix. 375–478). The reader may

also consult with advantage Piper (*Stud. und Krit.* 1838, p. 54), Westcott (*N. T. Canon*, p. 218), Lightfoot (*Contemp. Rev.* Feb. 1876). [G. S.]

MELLITUS, the first bishop of London, and third archbishop of Canterbury. Mellitus was not one of the original missionaries who accompanied Augustine to Britain, but was sent by St. Gregory, in the year 601, to strengthen the hands of the newly consecrated archbishop, and to convey to him the pall. Mellitus, as soon as he appears in history, is called an abbat, and it has been supposed that he was, as Augustine himself had been, abbat of the monastery of St. Andrew. There is, however, as Mabillon remarks, nothing to shew whether he was abbat of St. Andrew's or of the patriarchal church in the Lateran assigned to Benedictines, or merely bore the title as the head of the monastic mission to Britain. Under this title, however, he was commissioned by St. Gregory, as soon as the success of the Kentish mission was assured, to lead a second expedition. Mellitus, accompanied by Laurentius, whom Augustine had sent to Rome, as well as by Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, left the city on or about the 22nd of July, 601. They carried letters of commendation to the bishops of Vienne, Arles, Lyons, Gap, Toulon, Marseilles, Chalons on the Saone, Metz, Paris, Rouen, and Angers; to Theoderic, Theodebert, and Clothair, kings of the Franks, and also to queen Brunichild. The addresses of these letters probably indicate the route that the missionaries intended to take, and there is no reason to doubt that they followed it, for there is no evidence to support Ussher's conjecture that they visited Columbanus at Luxeuil on the way. To Augustine Mellitus brought not only the pall, but the answers which St. Gregory sent to the questions laid before him by Laurentius, and a supply of church furniture, "all things which were needed for worship and the ministry of the church, sacred vessels, altar-cloths, church ornaments, priestly and clerical robes, relics of saints and martyrs, and several books (universa quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra, et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolicorum ac martyrum reliquias et codices multos) (Bede, *H. E.* i. 29). Some account of the portions of St. Gregory's benefaction, which were preserved at Canterbury in the 15th century, is given by Elmham (ed. Hardwick, pp. 96 sq.). Augustine, having received from the pope authority to consecrate bishops for the newly converted nation, chose Mellitus for the see of London. That city, which was properly the capital of the East Saxons, was at this time under the dominion of Ethelbert king of Kent, who had prevailed on the dependent kings of the East Saxons to receive Christianity, and who now founded the church of St. Paul as the cathedral of the new bishopric. No distinct date is given by Bede for the consecration of Mellitus; the event, however, must have occurred some time between the winter of 601, when he arrived from Rome, and the early summer of 604, to which the death of Augustine is with the greatest probability to be referred. Of this period of Mellitus's episcopate nothing is known; but his name occurs in some of the more than questionable charters of the Canterbury monasteries, which are attributed to this date. He is mentioned as confirming the charter of Ethelbert to St. Augustine's (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 4; Elmham, p. 114; *Mon. Angl.* i. 127), and in the great privilege of Augustine himself (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 5; Elmham, p. 119; *Mon. Angl.* i. 127), in both which documents he is described as bishop, Laurentius continuing to be a simple presbyter. There is in the archives of St. Paul's a charter of Ethelbert, purporting to be a grant of Tillingham in Essex to Mellitus (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 972); but this document bears marks of later and factitious garbling. The estate of Tillingham, however, unquestionably was a very early possession of St. Paul's, and continues to the present day appropriated to the maintenance of the fabric. If the donation recorded in the grant be historical, it will prove that Ethelbert's authority extended not only over the city of London, but over the whole kingdom of Essex.

Mellitus continued undisturbed in his see during the reign of Ethelbert. He joined in the letter addressed by Laurentius to the Irish bishops (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 4), and in the year 610 undertook a journey to Rome to treat with pope Boniface IV. on matters necessary for the welfare of the English church. The precise object of this journey is not mentioned by the historian, who, however, tells us that Mellitus was present at a council held on the 27th of February, 610, and that he confirmed the decrees with his subscription, and subsequently carried them with him for the English church to observe. The purpose of this council was to secure the peace of the monastic order (de vita monachorum et quiete ordinationis), and two versions of a decree, both of them probably spurious, are extant, in which attempts to restrain the monks from undertaking the priestly office are forbidden (Labbe, *Conc.* v. 619; Mansi, *Conc.* x. 504; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 64, 65). Bede adds that, besides the decrees of the council, Mellitus brought with him letters from the pope to Ethelbert, Laurentius, and the whole clergy and people of the English. Of these letters, that to Laurentius is certainly lost, and the epistle preserved by William of Malmesbury and Eadmer, addressed to Ethelbert, and ordering the association of monks with the clergy of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury, is almost as certainly fictitious (W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. i.; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 65). The monks of St. Augustine's also shewed a bull of Boniface IV., dated Feb. 27, 611, addressed to Ethelbert, mentioning the request presented by Mellitus, and confirming the privileges of St. Augustine's (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, pp. 129–131; Thorn, ap. Twysden. c. 1766; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 67–69).

The connexion of Mellitus with the foundation of Westminster is of course apocryphal, and the whole legend is, at the earliest, not much earlier than the Conquest. According to this story, the abbey founded on Thorney Island under the influence of Ethelbert and Sebert was built during the pontificate of Mellitus; and, when he was ready to consecrate it, it was found to have been already miraculously consecrated by St. Peter himself (Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. ii. § 73; *Mon. Angl.* i. 288 sq.). Unfortunately nothing whatever is known of the early history of Westminster,

which emerges, and that with some uncertainty, in the days of Dunstan. When, however, the foundation had been amplified by the Confessor, and it was necessary to find for it an ancient founder, it was not unnatural to refer the original foundation to the first bishop of London. In the same way, when the life of St. Erkenwald was written, his early education was ascribed to Mellitus as the apostle of the City of London. Baronius goes so far as to suppose that one part of Mellitus's business at Rome was connected with the consecration of Westminster. Elmham, whose authority on such a point is worthless, assigns to the year 615 a second visit of Mellitus to Rome for the purpose of securing the introduction of monks at Christchurch (ed. Hardwick, p. 134).

On the death of Ethelbert, the whole fabric of the newly-founded church was in danger of dissolution. Mellitus and Justus fled to Gaul, and Laurentius was only saved by a miracle from the disgrace of following them. Bede tells very circumstantially the story of Mellitus's flight. The sons of the Christian king Sebert had continued to be pagans. Seeing the bishop celebrate the holy communion and give the eucharist to the people, they presumptuously asked, "Why do you not give us the white bread which you used to give to Saba our father and still give to the people?" The bishop replied that if they would be baptized they should have the bread. They refused the sacrament of initiation, but still demanded the bread. On Mellitus's persistence in refusing it, they banished him. He fled to Kent, and afterwards to Gaul, from whence he was recalled by Laurentius after the conversion of Eadbald. The Londoners, however, declined to receive him as their bishop, and Eadbald was not strong enough to force him upon them. He probably remained at Canterbury until the death of Laurentius in 619, when he succeeded to the vacant see. According to Bede, Mellitus and Justus, after the death of Laurentius, received hortatory letters from pope Boniface V., and some such letters are referred to by the English bishops, who, in or about the year 805, wrote to pope Leo III. on the question of the pall (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 559); but no remains of the letters are preserved. Mellitus is said, in the ancient list of palls, preserved among the Canterbury archives and by Gervase and Ralph de Diceto, to have received the pall from St. Gregory, a fictitious story, which Gervase accounts for by supposing that that pope sent to St. Augustine three palls for three archbishoprics, Canterbury, London, and York, and that they were used by the first three archbishops. But the explanation is itself based on a mistake, and there can be no doubt that Laurentius and Mellitus received no pall at all, which may account for their not having consecrated any bishops.

Mellitus held the archiepiscopal see from 619 to 624; his activity was no doubt impaired by gout, and this fact is nearly all that is preserved about him. Bede mentions that he consecrated a church to the Blessed Virgin within the precincts of St. Augustine's monastery (*H. E.* ii. 6), and that, on the occasion of a great fire at Canterbury, in a place termed the "martyrdom of the four crowned martyrs," he was carried to the spot and obtained by his prayers a wind which drove the flames southwards and saved the city (*H. E.* ii. 7). Elmham adds a few questionable details, especially his friendship with Rufinianus abbat of St. Augustine's. Bede gives the exact day and year of his death, April 24, 624 (*H. E.* ii. 7). He was buried at St. Augustine's. Some relics of Mellitus were preserved in St. Paul's in the year 1298 (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* sec. ii. pp. 84–87; Bede, *H. E.* i. 29, 30; ii. 37). A life of Mellitus by Goscelin is still in MS. (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 219, 220), and an abridgment of it is printed in Capgrave's *Legenda*, ed. 1516, p. 228). Some small and late pieces, written in honour of the archbishop, are also extant (Hardy, *ut supra*, p. 220). [S.]

MELLO, -ONUS, MELLANIUS, MELO, MELONINUS, MALLO, bishop of Rouen, a Briton, but with obscure legend. It is contained in *Vita S. Mellonis* (Capgrave, *Nov. Leg. Angl.* f. 229 sq.; see also *Gall. Christ.* xi. 6; Usuard., *Mart. Auct.* Oct. 22; Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Oct. t. ix. 570; Tillem. iv. 32, 486, 487; Ussher, *Wks.* v. 174; Cressy, *Ch. H. Brit.* v. cc. 14, 15; Ord. Vital. *Hist. Eccl.* v. c. 8). According to the legend, St. Mello passed over into Brittany and thence to Rome, where he was converted, baptized, and sent as bishop to Rouen (presumably to be its first bishop) by pope Stephen I., in A.D. 256. There in old age he died and was buried, about A.D. 280. His feast is Oct. 22. Gams (*Ser. Ep.* 613) gives his dates as from about A.D. 260 to about 311 or 312. [J. G.]

MELTIUS, subdeacon of Carthage sent by Cyprian to Cornelius with an acolyte named Niceforus to confirm the steadfastness of Cyprian's adhesion and to convey his letter of expostulation to the Novatianising Roman confessors, after first obtaining Cornelius's sanction (Cyp. *Ep.* 46, 47). He conveyed also second copies of *Epp.* 41 and 43 in order to circulate them. [E. W. B.]

MEMMIUS (ST. MENGE), first bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône. Gregory of Tours, the first author who mentions him, says: "The city of Catalaunum boasts for its patron St. Memmius, who is said to have raised one from the dead." He goes on to relate miracles he had himself witnessed at the tomb, and particularly the cure of one of his own servants of fever (*De Glor. Conf.* lxvi.). Rabanus Maurus, in his Martyrology, says it was read of him that he was sent into Gaul by St. Peter with other saints (Aug. 5, *Pat. Lat.* cx. 1161). Ado's account is much the same, though, for a reason we do not know, the notice appears on Dec. 21 instead of Aug. 5, his usual day of commemoration (*Martyrologium, Pat. Lat.* cxxiii. 416). Usuard has the same story (*Martyrologium*, Aug. 5, *Pat. Lat.* cxxiv. 333), and it is incorporated with additions into a valueless life published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 11–12). Flodoard, however, makes him a contemporary of St. Sixtus of Rheims, whose date is fixed at about 290 (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* i. 3). (Boll. *ibid.* 7–9; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 860–1; Tillem. iv. 498; Ceill. xii. 697.) [S. A. B.]

MEMNON, bishop of Ephesus at the period of the council of Ephesus, 431 (Le Quien, i.

677). He was ordained at Ephesus (Mansi, vii. 294). The bishops in his jurisdiction, whom he assembled for the council, were above thirty, and the Nestorian party accuse him of intimidating them to support him and Cyril by besetting their lodgings with rude country peasants (iv. 1278). They charge him also with being the originator of all the dissensions by refusing them, at the beginning, the use of the churches, the martyries, and the ἀποστόλιον (1234 D). He approved the letter of Cyril to Nestorius (1139). The Nestorian party pronounced him deposed (1267), and petitioned the emperor for his expulsion (1383 B). Count John committed him to custody (1398). But he was afterwards liberated by the emperor's order (Coteler. *Eccl. Gr. Mon.* i. 41 C). His letter to the clergy of Constantinople is preserved (Mansi, iv. 1438). He is constantly found acting with Cyril at the council, and is usually mentioned with him (iv. 1123, 1214, 1306, 1310, 1311, 1315, 1318, 1319, 1322, 1363, v. 611, 711, vi. 871, 902, vii. 701; Soc. vii. 34; Evag. *H. E.* i. 5; Tillem. xiv. 295, 296, 378, 384, 393, 397, 411, 419, 420, 423, 430–434, 456, 465, 483). More of him will be found under the article BASSIANUS (cf. Tillem. xv. 460). [C. H.]

MEMORIUS (MEMOR), an Italian bishop, but of what see is not known, father of Julian the Pelagian, a pious and good man, who endeavoured, though in vain, to restrain his son's erroneous notions. He was an intimate friend of St. Augustine, and wrote to him, asking some questions about music, and requesting him to send him his treatise on that subject. (August. *Ep.* 101 al. 131, A.D. 408 or 409; *c. Jul.* lib. i. cap. 4 § 12; Mercator, in August. *Opp.* vol. x. App. ii. p. 1738, ed. Migne.) Ughelli (vi. 301) and Cappelletti (xx. 19, 123) make him bishop of Capua. [H. W. P.]

MENANDER, a Samaritan false teacher who lived in the early part of the second century. Our knowledge of him is probably all derived, either directly or indirectly, from Justin Martyr. What he tells directly (*Apol.* i. 26, 56) is, that Menander was a native of the Samaritan town Capparatea; that he was a disciple of Simon, and, like him, had been instigated by the demons to deceive many by his magic arts; that he had had success of this kind at Antioch, where he had taught, and had persuaded his followers that they should not die; and that when Justin wrote some of them survived holding this persuasion. Justin wrote a special treatise against heresies, and from this, in all probability, was derived the somewhat fuller account given by Irenaeus (i. 23, p. 100). According to this, Menander did not, like Simon, declare himself to be the chief power, but taught that that power was unknown to all. He gave the same account as Simon of the creation of the world—viz., that "it had been made by angels" who had taken their origin from the ENNOEA of the supreme power. But he put forward himself as having been sent by the invisible powers to mankind as a Saviour, enabling men, by the magical power which he taught them, to get the better of these creative angels. He taught that through baptism in his own name his disciples received a resurrection, and should thenceforward neither die nor grow old, but should abide in immortal youth. Irenaeus evidently understood this language in its literal sense, and the history of heretical sects shews that it is not incredible such promises may have been made by Menander to his disciples; but what Justin tells of the continuance of a belief which the experience of the past must have disproved, assures us that a spiritual interpretation must have been found for this language. Cyril of Jerusalem (C. I. 18) treats the denial of a literal resurrection of the body as a specially Samaritan heresy.

Irenaeus (iii. 4, p. 179), having spoken of Valentinus and Marcion, says that the other Gnostics, as had been shewn, took their beginnings from Menander, the disciple of Simon; and there is every probability that it was from the Samaritan Justin that Irenaeus learned his pedigree of Gnosticism, viz., that it originated with the Samaritan Simon, that it was continued by his disciple Menander, who taught at Antioch, and that there Saturninus (and, apparently, Basilides) learned from him.

The name Menandrianists occurs in the list of Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22). Tertullian evidently knows no more than he has learned from Irenaeus (*De Anim.* 23, 50; *De Res. Carn.* 5). The same may be said of all later writers, and it is scarcely worth while to mention the imaginary condemnation of these heretics by Lucius of Rome, invented by "Praedestinatus." [G. S.]

MENDAEANS. [SABIANS.]

MENEFRIDA, ST., a daughter of Brychan, the saint of the parish of Minver, near the Padstow estuary, in Cornwall. William of Worcester (108) quotes from a calendar at Bodmin, "Sancta Menefrida virgo non martir, die 24 Novembris F. littera." In 1434 the parish wake was altered from July 24 to 13 (Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.* 441). A manor of Ros-minvet occurs in Domesday. [C. W. B.]

MENNAS, patriarch of Constantinople between Anthimus and Eutychius, A.D. 536 to 552. On the deposition of Anthimus, Mennas, superior of the great convent of St. Samson at Constantinople, was elected to the see. Constantinople at the time was witnessing the unwonted presence of the pope himself, and it was by the hands of Agapetus that Mennas received consecration. The pope had presided at the council at Constantinople for the decision of the case of Anthimus. Mennas accepted the council of Chalcedon; he was a Catholic, and well known for his knowledge and integrity. [ANTHIMUS.] On May 2, 536, he presided at a council assembled by Justinian at Constantinople at the request of eleven bishops of the East and of Palestine, and of thirty-three other ecclesiastics, to finish the case of Anthimus, and to decide the cases of Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, and the Eutychian monk Zoara. The request had been made to pope Agapetus, but he died at Constantinople on the 22nd of April in that year, before the council could be held. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the council. The result was that search was made for Anthimus and he could not be found; he was forbidden to resume his episcopate of Trapezus, and was deposed from his rank; the others were also anathematized. Mennas obtained from Justinian

the passing of a law, dated August 6, 536, confirming the acts of this council. He also sent the acts to Peter of Jerusalem, who held a council to receive them. On Sept. 13, 540, pope Vigilius wrote to Mennas, as well as to the emperor Justinian, by the hands of Dominicus the patrician. He endeavours to carry on the influence which Agapetus had held over the affairs of the church of Constantinople. He confirms the anathemas pronounced by Mennas against Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, Anthimus, and other schismatics, while at the same time he will offer communion again to all who should come to a better mind. Mennas died on the 5th of August, 552, just before the second great council of Constantinople, called the 5th General. It was in the midst of the angry discussions about the "Three Chapters." Mennas had signed the declaration of faith addressed to pope Vigilius by Theodore of Corsaria and others to satisfy his protests and to preserve the peace of the church. [VIGILIUS.]

In the controversies which gave rise to the Lateran council, held in 649 A.D., a Monothelite writing was brought forward by Sergius patriarch of Constantinople, who sent it to Theodore bishop of Pharan in Arabia as a genuine work of Mennas, supposed to be addressed to pope Vigilius. But in the second session of the third great council of Constantinople, Nov. 10, 680 A.D., as soon as this document was read, the Roman legates exclaimed against it, and proved a discrepancy of date. After examination the piece was rejected. Information came that the author of the treatise was alive, and that it was the monk George. He was brought into the midst of the 14th session of the council, April 14, and made to confess that he had composed it at the instance of Stephen, disciple of Macarius patriarch of Antioch. Paul of Constantinople had caused the same addition to be made to a Latin copy, by Constantine, a presbyter of his church. Constantine was also summoned and made a confession similar to that of George, adding that his accomplice was the deacon Sergius. The deacon was finally called, and admitted the fact. Anathema was then pronounced on the false treatise of Mennas to Vigilius, and on those of Vigilius to Justinian and Theodora, which were involved in the same fate, as well as on all who had composed and copied them, or had tampered with the Acts of the 5th general council.

Mansi, viii. 869, 870, 960, ix. 157, &c., x. 863, 971, 1003, xi. 226, &c.; Liberatus, *Brev.* xxi. in *Patr. Lat.* lxviii. 1039 (see also the dissertations at the end of that volume). Vigil. Pap. *Epist.* in *Patr. Lat.* lxix. 21, 25; Agapet. Pap. *Epist.* in *Patr. Lat.* xlviii.; Evagrius, iv. 36 in *Patr. Graec.* lxxxvi, Part 2, 416, &c.; Ceillier, xi. 121, 194, 968; xii. 922, 947, 953.

[W. M. S.]

MENOPHANTUS, Arian bishop of Ephesus, named by Philostorgius (*H. E.* ii. 14) among the disciples of Lucian the martyr. He subscribed the decrees of the council of Nicaea in 325 (Mansi, ii. 694, 699), though he was one of the Arian party (ii. 818). In 343 he was one of the seceders from Sardica to Philippopolis (Mansi, iii. 138) and was excommunicated by the Sardican fathers (Athan. *Ap. c. Ar.* §§ 36, 48, 49, *Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* § 17; Mansi, iii. 63, 66). In 356 he was one of the synod of Antioch which intruded George into the see of Alexandria (Soz. iv. 8; Mansi, iii. 232). He is mentioned by Hilary of Poictiers (*Ad Const.* i. 5, *Frag.* ii. 7, 8, 14, in *Pat. Lat.* x. 560, 637, 638, 642). See also Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 674; Tillem. v. 770, vi. 251, 253, 333, 394, 646, vii. 270, viii. 95, 106, ix. 493.

[C. H.]

MENSURIUS, bishop of Carthage at the beginning of the fourth century, during the persecution under Diocletian A.D. 303, and also during the disastrous sway of Maxentius in Africa A.D. 311. His behaviour during these times, during the former of which he was accused of "tradition," and even of direct persecution, is described above (Vol. I. pp. 881, 882). (Opt. i. 17, 18; Zos. ii. 14; Aug. *Brevic. Coll.* iii. 13, 75; 14, 26.) [DONATISM, FELIX (187), LUCILLA.]

[H. W. P.]

MERCELINUS, or **MERCELMUS**, son of Penda king of Mercia by his wife Kineswitha, who is called "sanctus" by Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* p. 637), and made to succeed his brother Merewald as king of the West-Hecani, or inhabitants of Herefordshire.

[S.]

MERDDIN. [MERLINUS.]

MEREWALD, a son of Penda king of Mercia, who either succeeded or acted under his father as king of the Western Hecani in Herefordshire. He was married to Eormenburga or Dompneva, daughter of Eormenred of Kent, and by her was father of Mildred, Milgitha, Milburga, and Merefin (Flor. Wig. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 534, 630, 635, 638). Merewald is not mentioned by Bede; and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he only occurs as advising his brother Ethelred on the foundation of the abbey of Medeshamstede, in a passage which is one of the interpolations of the Peterborough annalists (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 313). Hence the uncertainty as to his exact date. It would seem, however, most probable from his traditional relation to early Mercian Christianity that his period of royal sway should be placed after his father's death. The author of the life of St. Milburga furnishes several particulars about him which require historical confirmation. According to this authority Merewald was the third son of Penda, and reigned conjointly with his brother Wulfhere. He was brought to the faith by a Northumbrian priest named Edfrid, who was sent by divine direction to a place named Redeswode to convert both king and people. Edfrid arrived at Redeswode at sunset, and spent the night in the open air. During the night a lion approached him, but when Edfrid presented him with some of the bread which he carried, the lion became more gentle than a lamb. On the morrow he arrived at the place where Merewald was staying, and was entertained by a knight. The next night the king had a dream, which none of his attendants could interpret. The knight who entertained Edfrid suggested that he might explain it; he was sent for, and the king told his dream: he thought that he had been attacked by two savage dogs, but had been delivered by a venerable person with shaven head, who carried a golden key. Edfrid explained that the dogs were satellites of Satan, into whose

hands he would fall if he did not renounce paganism. The venerable keybearer was St. Peter, in whose honour a church ought to be erected forthwith. Merewald directly became a Christian, and was baptized in the year 660; he founded the church, and placed Edfrid at the head of it. Merewald and Eormenburga subsequently spent their lives in chastity. (Capgrave, *Legenda*, *s. v.* St. Milburgae; ed. 1516, ff. 231, 232.) [S.]

MEREWENNA, ST., a daughter of Brychan, whom Leland calls an abbess (*Coll.* iii. 409, iv. 82), the saint of Marhamchurch in Cornwall, a name altered from the mediaeval name Merwynchurch. The name of the manor in the Exeter Domesday is Maronacirca. The parish feast is on the Sunday after old Lammas Day, 12th August. A Merewinna was buried at Romsey (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ii. 78, p. 175), and Sir H. Nicolas gives "Merwine, virgin and abbess, 13 May." [C. W. B.]

MERIADOCUS, ST., bishop of Vannes in Brittany in the seventh century; he is said to have been consecrated priest in 659 (*Acta Sanctorum*, 7th June, ii. 36). The church at Camborne in Cornwall was dedicated to him, though a later dedication to St. Martin has driven Meriadocus out of memory, but the saint's well is still known; see Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 28. There exists a Cornish miracle play called "Beunans Meriasek," the life of St. Meriasek (the Cornish language softening *d* into *s*), bishop and confessor, which was edited by Whitley Stokes in 1872, whose preface gives a full account of Meriadoc; and see *Revue Celtique*, i. 486. Several saints were connected with Camborne, and in the will of Reginald Mertherderwa, 1447 (Anstey's *Munimenta Academica*, ii. 559), St. Derwa and the bridge of St. Derwa are mentioned (see v. DERWA; a Derwela is mentioned in R. Rees, 256). [C. W. B.]

MERINTHUS. A heretic of this name is mentioned only by Epiphanius and by those who have copied him. Epiphanius two or three times (*Haer.* 28 and 51, p. 427) joins together the names Cerinthus and Merinthus; but frankly owns his ignorance about the latter name, which for all he knows may designate the same person as the former. And it is likely that this was in truth the case; for we may adopt the conjecture of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. T.* 344) that μήρινθος (laqueus) was a controversial nickname used by the opponents of Cerinthus, instances being of perpetual occurrence in ancient controversy, where the name of an opponent was slightly altered in order to make it more susceptible of sarcastic comment. [G. S.]

MERINUS, MERENUS (MIRENUS, MIRINUS, MIRREN), abbat, bishop, and confessor, best known as patron of Paisley, Renfrewshire. His legend is given in *Brev. Aberd.* Sept. 15 (Prop. SS. p. est. f. cvi.), representing him as a disciple of Comgall at Bangor, and as dying at Paisley, where the church was dedicated to him. This would bring his date to about the end of the 6th century. His feast is usually Sept. 15. (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 397 et al.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 2, 463; *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. 67 sq.) [J. G.]

MERISTAE [see GENISTAE], one of seven Jewish sects mentioned by Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 80). We can only guess as to what these people were, for no other very early writer mentions them; and the earliest who do evidently know no more about them than ourselves. But the most plausible guess is that of Jost (*Judenthum*, i. 414), repeated by Renan (*Évangiles*, p. 450), that this was the form in which was translated to Justin the Hebrew name for heretics (Minim, מין = pars). See MINEI. [G. S.]

MERLINUS. The prophecies of Merlin had great influence in the middle ages. Henry I. was not displeased to be regarded as the "Lion of Justice" mentioned in them. Llewelyn was encouraged by them in his struggle against Edward I. Some of them were applied by the poet Lawrence Minot to the victories of Edward III., and Owen Glendower agreed to partition England with Hotspur and Douglas in reliance on a prophecy of Merlin (Hall, p. 28) that the Dragon, Lion, and Wolf should overthrow the Moldewarp, *i.e.* mole. At last the prediction of the coming of a Welsh prince from across the sea to restore the rule of the Britons over the Saxons was fulfilled by Henry Tudor landing at Milford Haven before the battle of Bosworth, and the prediction probably drew the Welsh to Henry's side. The Tudor dynasty laid some stress on this, as we can see in Spenser, and this was the reason why Henry called his eldest son Arthur. In the time of Henry I., nearly contemporary with the Turpin romance of Charlemagne in France, Geoffrey of Monmouth undertook a Latin translation of Merlin's prophecies from the British tongue at the request of Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards inserted it in his History of the Britons, of which it forms the seventh book. The two romances had a marked effect on the two great nations that were then forming.

These prophecies were naturally increased or corrected as history went on, and we find curious interpretations applied to them, as, for instance, by Joannes Cornubiensis in the version printed by Greith in his *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, 1838, pp. 92–106, which shews that there was a Celtic original. These prophecies represent the enduring hate of the Welsh to the English conquerors, and were naturally put into the mouth of one of their ancient bards, who was for that purpose made the subject of many legends. The real bard was probably the Merddin, son of Morvryn, whose patron, Gwenddolew, a prince in Strathclyde, and an upholder of the ancient faith, perished A.D. 577 at the battle of Arderydd, fighting against Rhydderch Hael, who had been converted by St. Columba to Christianity. Merddin is here said to have undesignedly killed the son of his sister Gwenddydd, to have become deranged in consequence, and to have fled into the wood of Caledon, where he is said to have met with St. Kentigern. The life of St. Kentigern says that there was at the court of Rhydderch Hael a madman named Laloicen, who uttered predictions. Laloicen means the "twin" (llallogan), perhaps referring to Merddin's sister Gwenddydd. When the northern Kymry were pressed backwards and southwards into Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, they took the story of Merlin with them and relocalized i

in their new abodes. Merddin is now represented as a Christian, and said to be buried in Bardsey, the island of the Welsh saints; but much of his career is passed in Cornwall, which was long under the same dynasty as South Wales, even after the English got possession of the coast at Bristol, and broke the connexion by land between the two districts. As the mass of tradition grew into the shape in which we find it in Nennius, and later on in Geoffrey, Merlin becomes a wholly mythical character, the prophet of his race. The earliest shape of Nennius's work may date from 796, but the Vatican MS. attributes the book to Mark the Hermit (Appendix ad Opera edita ab Angelo Maio, 1871, p. 96), and gives the date as 946, the fifth year of king Edmund. It is evident that the narrative grew, and that we have several editions of it, and that several stories are blended together. Thus the history of Vortigern is interrupted to introduce a long account of the miracles of Germanus, and the legend of Patrick is shewn by the Vatican MS. to be a similar insertion. In Nennius mention is made of a boy born without any human father, who prophesies to Vortigern about the struggle between the Britons and Saxons, and who is called Embres Guletic, *i.e.* Ambrosius the Ruler—probably a reference to the Ambrosius Aurelianus mentioned in Gildas. It is not till Geoffrey of Monmouth that we find the boy called Merlin, and made the confidant of Utherpendragon and of Arthur, and able to bring the stones of Stonehenge from Ireland. Nennius does not mention Merlin among the early bards, and the poems attributed to him were really composed in the 12th century, when there was a great outburst of Welsh poetry (Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, § 4). Among these poems there is a dialogue between Merddin and his sister Gwenddydd ("The Dawn"), which contains prophecies as to a series of Welsh rulers. The story of Merlin made an impression abroad as well as in England. Layamon alludes to several of his prophecies, and they soon became matter of popular fame. There is a *Vita Merlini* in Latin hexameters, also attributed, though wrongly, to Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was printed by the Roxburghe Club, 1830. The later English forms of the story have been printed by the Early English Text Society. The one fact embodied in the legend is the long-continued enmity of the Kymry to the English invaders; but even this almost disappears when the story became part of the great romance of Arthur. [C. W. B.]

MERNOC, son of Barurchus, is mentioned in the legend of St. Brendan (*Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, 576, 578). The Calendars mention a bishop and confessor Marnok at 25th October. [C. W. B.]

MEROBAUDES, FLAVIUS. The facts of the life of Flavius Merobaudes are to be gathered from the scanty but strikingly concurrent testimony of a contemporary chronicler, Idatius, a contemporary poet, Sidonius Apollinaris, a contemporary inscription on the pedestal of a statue raised in his honour, and lastly his own writings. (See authorities at the end.)

He was probably born about the end of the 4th century A.D., and was by birth a Spaniard of the province of Baetica. His family was ancient and noble. The name Merobaudes is connected by Sismondi with the ancient title of the Frankish chiefs, who first passed into Northern Gaul from the mouth of the Elbe, and even with that of the Merovingian dynasty. It was borne (but possibly in the form Mellobaudes) by a distinguished Frankish general in the time of Gratian. The pronomen Flavius may have been assumed, according to custom, by the family or individual members, when they became connected with the Roman imperial system, for the sake of its old and proud associations. The two names together may then well represent one of the many families of mixed provincial origin, whose fresh vitality and power helped to invigorate the frame of the decaying empire.

The commotions with which Spain, like other outlying provinces of the empire, was at this time becoming more and more convulsed, and which in later life he was employed to quell by arms, may have determined Merobaudes to "flee from his native Baetis and seek the thirsty salt-fens of Ravenna" (Sidon.), but perhaps not before he had gained the excellent education, which he undoubtedly received, in the land which had already produced the two Senecas and Lucan, and could boast such cities as "facunda" Corduba and Hispalis. Then, as in Rome's greater days, the legal training required to make a successful public speaker, advocate, and officer, was an indispensable qualification for entry into the vast civil service of the empire, and even if the five years' curriculum of the famous school of law at Berytus was not a type of the course passed through by such students generally, the thoroughness of Merobaudes's education is attested alike by the character of his own writings, and by the terms "rhetor, scholasticus, professio dicendi" applied to him, the latter by himself, and expanded in the inscription above referred to ("a crepundiis par virtutis et eloquentiae cura, ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinae natura") and bore fruit not only in obvious and successful imitation of his predecessor, Claudian, but possibly also in the notes to Cic. Topica, of which Boethius quotes at least two instances by "Merobaudes rhetor." How long, after this moral and intellectual training, he continued to practise the profession with which his name is most commonly connected, is uncertain. If the Flavius Merobaudes, whose faithful service to the state won him the highest personal and official position under the emperor Gratian, was an elder relative of his, this might alone determine him to fly to Ravenna, as the residence of the court and administrative centre of the Western Empire. The same connexion may also partly account for the fact of his rise to a high place in the imperial favour, and his employment in military service, in which, according to the inscription, he managed to distinguish himself most highly, not only with his sword, but with his pen ("inter arma literis militabat, et in alpibus acuebat eloquium"), and was elevated to the very high rank of a "vir spectabilis" and "comes sacri consistorii," that is, member of the imperial cabinet, with social precedence of all except the "illustres," the highest officers of the empire, and equality with the three great proconsuls of Africa, Asia, and Achaia.

But the most important step in Merobaudes's

career is connected with a remarkable incident in the history of the time. The great general Aetius, after the death of his rival Bonifacius, had been compelled by the empress Placidia to retire into Pannonia. Two years later, in A.D. 433, he suddenly reappeared at the head of an enormous and irresistible army of Huns, and demanded his pardon. Placidia and her son, the young emperor Valentinian III., had no alternative but complete submission, and Aetius was at once made a patrician, and invested with the whole military power of the empire, which he wielded faithfully and successfully in its defence for nearly twenty years. Just at this juncture Merobaudes produced his Panegyric on Aetius. The considerable fragments which remain, and which are further described below, shew a vigour, style, and rhythm which abundantly establish its literary merit, but its extraordinary success was undoubtedly due to the fact that it furnished an adequate and appropriate expression of the feelings of the Roman world, at the moment when all, emperor and subjects, found themselves suddenly obliged to do homage to a single unprincipled and irresistible master. The author himself bears witness (in the preface) to the truth of the inscription, which states that "Rome joined with its emperors, Theodosius and Placidus Valentinianus, Lords of the World, in conferring upon Flavius Merobaudes the high and time-honoured distinction of a statue of brass in the Forum Trajanum in reward for his military services in the field and for his Poem." The statue was dedicated on July 29, 435 A.D., in the Poets' Corner of Rome, already adorned with a statue to Claudian, and soon to be enriched with another to Sidonius. Merobaudes's fortunes were for the time established. From the emperor of the East he received the honour of a consulship; his minor poems imply acquaintance and even intimacy with the imperial family of the West, while he maintained his popularity and ingratiated himself with Aetius by perhaps more than one revision and extension of the Panegyric. He also married (it is not known at what time) a daughter of the patrician Asturius, and when that general was superseded in his command in Spain about the year A.D. 442 Merobaudes was appointed to succeed him, and within a very short time was enabled to inflict a heavy blow on the Bagaudae, or peasant-insurgents, of Ara Coeli in Hispania Tarraconensis. That nevertheless "the determined ill-will of his enemies compelled his speedy recall by a special imperial order" (so to interpret "sacra praeceptio") shews that he did not escape the fate which often attends popular and successful public servants. Of the subsequent life and end of Merobaudes nothing is known. If the "ill-will of his enemies" succeeded in involving him in the downfall of his hero Aetius in A.D. 454, he may still have used his leisure in the congenial task of editing (as Jeep suggests) his predecessor and model, Claudian, and even after the adverse remarks of Milman and Niebuhr, it may fairly be concluded from his extant works that he lived and died, not only an accomplished scholar and soldier, but a well-instructed member of the church of Christ.

2. The extant works of Merobaudes consist almost entirely of five poetical fragments, first identified and edited by B. G. Niebuhr in 1823 from eight much mutilated leaves of a palimpsest in the library of the monastery of St. Gall, defects being supplied conjecturally (see his preface, and authorities below).

The first fragment is an elegiac poem of twenty-three lines, describing in terms of courtly and affected flattery the imperial family of the West at a banquet. Niebuhr recognizes allusions to the young emperor, Valentinian III., his famous mother, Galla Placidia, his elder sister Honoria, wife Eudoxia, and apparently his eldest daughter, a new-born infant, whose baptism is thus described:

> En nova jam suboles, quae vix modo missa sub auras
> Mystica jam tenero pectore sacra gerit,
> Vagitu confessa. Deum sentire putares;
> Mollia sic tremulo moverat ora sono.

It seems, however, to be historically improbable that these particular persons can ever have met in the way implied. Honoria was closely confined at Constantinople at the time when this birth must have taken place.

The second and third fragments, consisting of fourteen and seven elegiac lines respectively, describe the gardens of the emperor, then married and still in early manhood (and so probably about the year A.D. 438), and of a "vir illustris," whom Niebuhr identifies with Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, Praefectus Urbis in A.D. 424, consul A.D. 438.

These elegiacs are throughout classical and pure in style and prosody, "ovans" being once admitted at the end of a pentameter.

The fourth fragment consists of forty-six correct and flowing hendecasyllabics, commemorating the first anniversary of the birthday of a son of Aetius, perhaps the Gaudentius afterwards betrothed to the daughter of Valentinian III. (see Fragm. 1) and carried away into Africa by Genseric after the sack of Rome by the Vandals. His baptism as an infant is fully and accurately dwelt upon.

The fifth poem is the famous Panegyric on Aetius, and with its preface is in length and historical importance the most considerable. The preface is a flattering address to Aetius in fluent and forcible prose. shewing, however, naturally a somewhat greater deviation than the poems from classical standards. It congratulates him on being proof against the criticism of the world, recites his high civil and military capacities, acknowledges the rich rewards which the following poem has already won for its composer, and ends abruptly in a graphic description of one of Aetius's latest victories. It is obvious from its reference to the statue and consulship that this preface was added some time after the Panegyric was first written; and indeed if Niebuhr is right in assigning portions of the poem (he apparently assigns the whole) to a date later than Aetius's third consulship, A.D. 446, the whole Panegyric must have been enlarged, if not entirely rewritten, a proceeding not unlikely in itself. in order to give as complete a view as possible of Aetius's career.

This poem consists of eight more or less disconnected fragments, comprising about 197 hexameter lines, almost entirely correct and classical in prosody and rhythm, and written with a spirit and style, which inclines Niebuhr

and Thierry to rank it at least as high as the poetry of Claudian. It may be briefly summarized as follows:—Fragm. 1. Account of Aetius's triumphs in the region of the Danube, Tanais, Caucasus, Rhine, Armenia, Southern Gaul, and Spain. Fragm. 2. Genseric, having conquered Libya, wishes to make a lasting peace, on which the poet congratulates Rome and Aetius. Fragm. 3. After an "annosa pax," a goddess hostile to Rome resolves to stir up war anew, and Fragm. 4 charges a war-fiend to do her bidding. Fragm. 5. All eyes at this crisis turn to Aetius, to save his country and conduct the war. Fragm. 6. Details of Aetius's early training and proficiency in war in the camp of Alaric. Fragm. 7. His exploits in Gaul compared favourably with those of Julius Caesar. The storming of a stronghold. Fragm. 8. Triumphant victory. The treaties concluded by Aetius. The whole ends abruptly. For its historical value, see Hansen's *Life of Aetius*. It contains nothing to prove its writer pagan or Christian.

It remains to consider the somewhat complicated critical question of the authorship of the short poem of thirty hexameter lines, beginning "Proles vera Dei," entitled "De Christo" or "Laus Christi," and for 250 years supposed to be the only relic of the writings of Merobaudes. This poem appears first in John Camers's edition of Claudian, Vienna, 1510, as "Claudiani Laus Christi," and as added by him for the first time (with three other short poems) to Claudian's printed works. It appears also that Camers in editing Claudian had before him the Codex Veronensis. On the other hand there is no trace of the poem in question in the Veronensis or any other of the best MSS. of Claudian (see Jeep), and G. Fabricius, while acquainted with Camers's edition and occasionally criticising its correctness, distinctly states that he (Fabricius) copied the "Laus Christi" with the heading "Carmen Merobaudis Hispani scholastici" from an ancient MS. sent to him by Oporinus. The accuracy of this statement has never been questioned (though the poem is printed in most editions of Claudian among his *Opera Minora*, *Epigrammata*, &c.). The description of Merobaudes harmonizes well with his history, and perhaps the most serious objection to regarding the authorship as settled is a certain crudeness, want of arrangement, and obscurity of expression, which does not harmonize well with Merobaudes's known powers as a writer. Jeep suggests that Merobaudes, in editing Claudian, may have himself added this poem as a production of his own. The poem speaks of the eternal pre-existence of the Son of God, His work in Creation, His Incarnation,

> (Christus) dignatus iniquas
> Aetatis sentire vices et corporis hujus
> Dissimiles perferre modos, hominemque subire
> Ut posses monstrare Deum,

the visit of the Magi, Christ remitting sins and raising the dead, the descent to the "Manes," Ascension, and abiding work on earth, ending with the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity and universal significance of Christ's Atoning Death.

The phrase "hominem subire" may have a special significance in reference to the Nestorian controversies of the time.

3. Authorities: (*a*) for the Life of Merobaudes, *Corp. Inscript. Latin.* vol. vi. part 1, No. 1724 (Berlin, 1876); Idatii *Chronicon* in *Bibliothec. Patrum*; Sidon. Apollinaris, *Carm.* ix. *ad Felic.* 293–298 (note by Sirmond.); *Bibliothec. Hispan. vetus* by Nic. Antonio, Matr. 1788, Bk. ii. ch. 3, pp. 252–4: (*b*) for the works of Merobaudes, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzantina*, by Imm. Bekker, vol. xxix. Bonn, 1836, which incorporates B. G. Niebuhr's edition, with preface, published at Bonn, 1824; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxi. Paris, 1847; G. Fabricius, *Poet. vet. Eccles. Opera Christiana*, Basle, 1564; and lastly, L. Jeep's exhaustive critical edition of Claudian, 2 vols. Lips. 1876–9, and his article in *Rhein. Mus.* 1873, vol. xxviii. pp. 298–303. [A. C. M.]

MEROCLES (MIROCLES, MYROCLES, MEROCLETES), according to Gams (p. 795), the first well-authenticated bishop of Milan, from 304 to 315 A.D. He was one of the nineteen bishops who formed the assembly at Rome, A.D. 313, under the direction of Constantine, to try the case of Caecilianus (CAECILIANUS, Vol. I. p. 367; DONATISM, p. 882). He was also a member of the council held at Arles in the following year on the same subject. The title of confessor is given to him by Ennodius, and St. Ambrose mentions him as one of his faithful predecessors in the see of Milan. An epigram cited by Baronius records that he built a church there in honour of St. Anatolinus, but of his personal history nothing is known. The letter of Constantine to Melchiades bishop of Rome concerning the council is addressed, according to the received copies of the passage in Eusebius, to a person named Mark, a name for which it has been conjectured, but without sufficient reason, that Merocles should be substituted. He is commemorated in the Roman Calendar on Dec. 3. (Opt. i. 23; Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5; Tillemont, vol. v. 693, vi. 13; Ennodius, *Vit. S. Epiphan. Ticin.* ed. Migne, vol. lxiii. p. 208; S. Ambrose, *Ep.* 21, ed. Caillau, viii. p. 349; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 94.) [H. W. P.]

MEROVEUS (MEROVECHUS), second son of Chilperic I. by Audovera, displayed during a short life the characteristic turbulence and faithlessness of the Merovingian race. In the year 576 his father entrusted him with the conduct of an army directed against Poictiers. On the pretence of celebrating Easter he lingered at Tours while his forces pillaged the neighbourhood. Then feigning a desire to visit his mother, who was immured in a neighbouring monastery, he betook himself to Rouen, where he induced his godfather, the bishop Praetextatus, to marry him to the notorious Brunechilde, his uncle Sigebert's widow. The pair took refuge from Chilperic's indignation in the church of St. Martin in that city, nor could his father entice them out till he had sworn not to attempt to separate them. The bishop was deposed at the council of Paris (577) for his part in the proceeding. The rest of Meroveus's life was spent in plots, begun with the bishop at Rouen, to seat himself on his father's throne, and in flight from his father's vengeance on their discovery. Suspected on account of troubles at Soissons, he was arrested by Chilperic and soon afterwards tonsured and ordained priest. He finally lost

his life near Rheims in 577 and was buried at Paris in the church of St. Vincent (afterwards Saint-Germain-des-Près). (See Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 28; v. 2, 3, 14, 19, 49.) [S. A. B.]

MESOTES, in the Valentinian system, the middle region, higher than the highest heaven, but below the Pleroma. This region is the special home of that which is psychical, as the Pleroma is of the spiritual, and the lower region of the choical. In the middle region now dwells Achamoth, but hereafter, when she shall be permitted to enter the Pleroma, the Demiurge, who, as not being spiritual, cannot attain so high, will be exalted to the middle region from his present position in the Hebdomad (Iren. i. 5, 6). This doctrine of a middle region is found in Basilidian as well as in Valentinian speculation. [See HEBDOMAD and PISTIS SOPHIA.] [G. S.]

MESROBES, one of the most celebrated patriarchs and historians of Armenia. He was born in A.D. 354 at the town of Hasecasus, now Mush (Tozer's *Turkish Armenia*, p. 286), and was educated under Nerses Magnus, the fourth patriarch of Armenia from St. Gregory the Illuminator, to whom also Mesrobes acted as secretary, an office which he likewise filled in the court of king Varaztad till dethroned by the Romans A.D. 386 (Langlois, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* t. v. part ii. pp. 297–300). He then took holy orders and sought a solitary life. He became coadjutor to the patriarch Sahag in 390, when he devoted himself to the extirpation of the remains of idolatry which still existed in Armenia. Under Mesrobes a great revival of Armenian literature took place. From the introduction of Christianity Syriac had become the dominant language, a knowledge of it being deemed a necessary qualification for holy orders (cf. Agathang. Hist. Tiribat.; Zenob. *Hist. Daron.* in Langlois, *l.c.* pp. 179, 335, *Disc. Prelim.* p. xiv.; Goriun, *Hist. de S. Mesrop*; Vartan, *Hist. d'Arménie*, p. 51, Venice, 1862). Mesrobes devoted himself to the revival of the ancient Armenian culture, some fragments of which can yet be traced in Moses Chorenensis. He was an accomplished Greek, Persian, and Syriac scholar, but wished to revive a national literature. His first step was to restore, if not to invent, an alphabet for the Armenian tongue instead of depending on the Syriac character. For this purpose he induced the patriarch Sahag, alias Isaac, to convoke a national council at the city of Vagharschabad to consider the question, at which the king Vram-Schapouh assisted. Thereat he learned that a Syrian bishop, one Daniel, possessed an ancient Armenian alphabet, to whom he sent a priest named Abel, who brought it back. It is supposed to have consisted of twenty-two or twenty-seven letters. With this as a basis and with the help of various other persons who possessed some traditionary knowledge of ancient Armenian, as Plato chief librarian at Edessa, and two learned rhetoricians, Epiphanius and Rufinus, he composed the alphabet which the Armenians adopted in A.D. 406, the seven vowels having been made known, as it was said, by direct revelation from heaven (cf. Langlois, *l. c. Disc. prélim.* p. xv.; Moses Choren. *Hist. Armén.* lib. iii. cap 52, 53, and for minute details of the whole question, Karékin, *Hist. de la Litt. Armén.* p. 8 sqq. Venice, 1865; *Jour. Asiat.* 1867, t. 1, p. 200). Mesrobes attracted great numbers to his schools and picking out the ablest pupils sent them to study at Edessa, Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and even Rome, whence they brought back the most authentic copies of the Scriptures, the Fathers, Acts of the councils, and of the profane writers. In fact these young scholars imbibed such a rage for Greek studies that they endeavoured to adapt the Armenian tongue to the rules of Greek grammar and for this purpose translated into Armenian the grammar of Dionysius the Thracian, an edition of which with a French translation was published at Paris in 1830. This Hellenising movement among the Armenians of century 5 was analogous to similar ones in centuries 6, 7, 8, among the Persians and Monophysites, and in century 9 among the Arabs, movements to which we thus owe the preservation of some of the most precious monuments of antiquity, as Tatian's long-lost *Diatessaron*, published at Venice out of the Armenian in 1875, cf. *Quarterly Review* of April 1881, art. on the "Speaker's Commentary on the New Test." (cf. Renan, *Hist. des Lang. Sémit.* p. 297). Among the disciples of Mesrobes were all the leading writers of Armenia, among them, Leontius presb. and mart., Moses Taronensis, Kioud of Arabeza, afterwards patriarch, Mamprus lector, Jonathan, Khatchig, Joseph of Baghin, Eznig, Knith bishop of Tertchan, Jeremiah, Johannes of Egegheats, Moses Chorenensis, Lazarus of Barb, Goriun biographer of Mesrobes, Elisaeus (Langlois, *l. c.*; Neumann's pref. to *Hist. of Vartan* in Public. of Orient. Trans. Fund, London, 1830). The Armenian church through their labours possessed a vernacular edition of the Bible in 410. Mesrobes also invented an alphabet for Georgia similar to the Armenian but containing twenty-eight letters. Both alphabets had the letters arranged after the Greek order. The Armenians attribute to him also the settlement of their liturgy. Sahag died Sep. 9, 440, and was succeeded by Mesrobes, who only held the episcopal see till Feb. 19, 441, when he died. The Life of Mesrobes by Goriun was published by the Mekhitarite Fathers at Venice in 1833, and was translated into German and published by Dr. B. Welte, Tubingen, 1841. In Moses Choren. *Hist. Armén.* lib. iii. capp. xlvii. lii.–liv. lvii. lviii. lx. lxi. lxvi. lxvii. copious details of his life will be found. See also an article by Petermann *s. v.* Mesrob, in Herzog's *Real Encyklop.* [G. T. S.]

MESSALIANI. [EUCHITES.]

METANGISMONITAE. In the course of the Arian controversy cavil was raised on the text, "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me," and the question was asked, How can the greater be contained in the less? To this Athanasius replied (*Or.* 3. *cont. Ar.* p. 436) that such a question betrayed a material conception of the Deity, as if they who asked it thought of the Persons of the Godhead as empty vessels, filled the one from the other (*ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγγείοις κενοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων πληρούμενοι*). There is no sufficient evidence that any of the Arians them-

selves used this illustration, much less that they who used it constituted a distinct sect; but Philaster, who loved to lengthen his list of heretical sects, counts as 51st in his list those who taught a *μεταγγισμός*, that is to say that the Son was in the Father as one vessel (*ἀγγεῖον*) in another. Augustine (*Haer.* 58), who copies Philaster, gives to these heretics the name Metangismonitae, and "Praedestinatus" as usual invents an imaginary bishop, Diodorus of Nicomedia, who confuted them. Concerning Philaster it may be noted that in rejecting a theory which put limitations on any Person of the Deity, he uses language nearly coincident with that of the Athanasian creed, "qualis immensus est Pater, talis est et Filius, talis est et Spiritus Sanctus;" and also that a statement in his present text, that these heretics were led by their false prophets to separate from the Catholic church, owes its origin to the error of a copyist, who has inserted in c. 51 a line really belonging to c. 49 on the Cataphryges. [G. S.]

METHODIUS (called also Eubulius), commemorated June 20 (Basil, *Menol.*) and Sept. 18 (*Mart. Rom.*), a Lycian bishop highly distinguished as a writer, bishop first of Olympus, afterwards of Patara, at the beginning of the 4th century. Jerome states (*Catal.* 83) that he was bishop of Olympus and was translated elsewhere; and that he was bishop of Olympus is also testified by Socrates (vi. 13) and Maximus (*in Schol.* Dionys. Areop. 7). On the other hand, Leontius of Byzantium calls him bishop of Patara, and it is as bishop of Patara that he is known to all the later Greek authorities. We therefore reject Jerome's unsupported statement that it was to Tyre Methodius was translated, as probably due to a transcriber's error, Tyre for Patara, in the authority which Jerome followed. The only other mode that has been suggested for reconciling the authorities is quite inadmissible, namely, that before going to Tyre, Methodius ruled at the same time over both Olympus and Patara. These cities were not only remote from each other, the one on the east, the other on the west coast of Lycia, but were separated by Myra, itself a celebrated see. It is most improbable that Tyre should have borrowed a bishop from a place so distant as Lycia; but if Methodius ever became bishop of Tyre it would be as such, and not as bishop of Patara, that he would be known to later times. There is some difficulty in making room for Methodius among the known Tyrian bishops. The only place for him is after the death of Tyrannio, who suffered in the early part of the Diocletian persecution; and as Methodius is himself said to have been a martyr, we might suppose that after a short episcopate he suffered at the end of the same persecution. But then it is scarcely possible that Eusebius, when mentioning the martyrdom of Tyrannio, should have failed to say anything as to that of his successor. Methodius was an assailant of Origen, of whom Eusebius was a great admirer, and Valesius has imagined that this may have generated a dislike which caused Eusebius to say nothing about Methodius in his Ecclesiastical History. This might sufficiently explain silence as to the literary performances of Methodius; scarcely however silence as to his martyrdom if it took place, but certainly not if Methodius when he suffered was bishop of Tyre.

As to the death of Methodius, Jerome states that "he was crowned with martyrdom at the end of the last (*i.e.* the Diocletian) persecution; or as some affirm under Decius and Valerian, at Chalcis in Greece." The earlier date may at once be set aside as inconsistent with the facts that Methodius wrote against Porphyry, and that Eusebius speaks of him as a contemporary (ap. Hieron. *Apol. adv. Rufin.* I. vol. ii.).

The martyrdom of a Lycian or Phoenician bishop at a place so remote as Euboea must also be pronounced incredible. The places were not even at the time under the same ruler, Greece being under the government of Licinius and the Eastern provinces under Maximin. Accordingly Sophronius, the Greek translator of St. Jerome, substitutes for Chalcis "in Greece," "in the East," whence some modern critics have concluded that Methodius suffered at Chalcis in Syria. But no weight can fairly be attached to this correction of Sophronius; and it is more probable that a Methodius whose name tradition had preserved as a martyr at Chalcis under Decius was wrongly identified with the better known Lycian bishop. The evidence remaining that the latter was a martyr at all is weak, and the silence of Eusebius is a difficulty; but Theodoret calls him bishop and martyr, as do the late Greek writers, while the Menaea make the mode of death decapitation.

Methodius wrote much, and his works were widely read and highly valued. Jerome several times refers to him: Epiphanius calls him *ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ σφόδρα περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνισάμενος*; Gregory Nyssen, or Anastasius Sinaita (for the authorship is disputed) *ὁ πολὺς ἐν σοφίᾳ*; Andrew of Caesarea, *ὁ μέγας*; Eustathius of Antioch, *ὁ τῆς ἁγίας ἄξιος μνήμης*, and he is quoted besides by Theodoret, besides many later writers. Photius has preserved copious extracts (*Codd.* 234–237); other shorter extracts are to be found in Catenae, and others are given in the Nitrian MSS. (see Wright, *Cat. MSS. Syr. in Brit. Mus.*). The works of which we have knowledge are as follows:

(1.) The only one that has come down entire is the *Symposium*, or Banquet of the Ten Virgins. This work reveals Methodius as an ardent admirer of Plato, from whom he probably derived his preference for the dialogue form of composition, and whom in the present case he has not only imitated in several particular passages, but has taken from him the whole idea of his work, thus entering into direct and somewhat audacious rivalry with him. As in Plato's Symposium the praises of Love are celebrated, so here are proclaimed the glories of Virginity. The imitation of the form of Plato's work is even kept up in not presenting the dialogue directly, but as reported by one who had been present at it. Eubulius, or Eubulium, receives from a virgin Gregorion an account of a banquet in the gardens of Areté, not under Plato's plane-tree, but under an agnus-castus, in which ten virgin guests, at their hostess's command, pronounce ten successive discourses in praise of chastity. At the end of the banquet the victor Thecla leads off a hymn, to which the rest standing round as a chorus respond. The dialogue concludes with a discussion between Eubulius and Gregorion as

to whether is to be preferred, the chastity which knows no concupiscence, or that which feels the stings of lust and triumphs over them. The name Eubulius is found also in Methodius's dialogue on the Resurrection, and from one passage it appears that Epiphanius was right in thinking that this interlocutor was intended to represent Methodius himself. With all Methodius's admiration for Plato and imitation of his form, he has caught very little of his style or spirit. He has little dramatic power, and except that the dialogue form occasionally enables him conveniently to state the case for opposing views, there is little to distinguish one speaker from another. In one case, that of Theophila, his ill-success in sustaining the character of a virgin is even offensive. Photius, who quotes the work as περὶ ἁγνείας, says that it has been much falsified by Arian and other heterodox interpolations; and Bishop Bull accepts this account as relieving him from the necessity of discussing particular passages in the treatise. Of the general soundness of Methodius on the question of our Lord's Divinity there can be no doubt; and we have not found anything in the writings ascribed to him which an orthodox man might not have written, especially before the Arian disputes had made caution of language necessary. Elsewhere (*Cod.* 162) Photius mentions Methodius with Athanasius and other great names as one from whose writings Andrew had produced extracts garbled and falsified so as to teach heresy. (See EUSEBIUS OF THESSALONICA, vol. ii. p. 373.)

(2.) In the Catalogue of Jerome he gives the first place to the writings of Methodius against Porphyry. He elsewhere refers to them (in *Comm. in Dan. Pref.* c. 13, vol. v. pp. 618, 730; Apol. ad Pammach. vol. i.; Ep. 70 ad Magnum, i. 425), stating in the last-mentioned place that the work of Methodius ran to 10,000 lines. Philostorgius (viii. 14) rates the reply of Apollinarius to Porphyry as far superior to that either by Eusebius or by Methodius. All three replies have perished.

(3.) *On the Resurrection.*—This work has been lost, but large extracts have been preserved by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 64, and by Photius, *Cod.* 234, see also Johan. Damasc. *De imag. Orat.* 2. The text as given by Combefis and reprinted by Migne suppresses the heretical portions of the Epiphanian extracts. This work, as well as that first mentioned, is in the form of a Platonic dialogue, and is in refutation of Origen. In this case, too, the dialogue seems not to have been presented directly, but as related by Eubulius to a "most excellent Theophilus," who acts as judge. The speakers on the orthodox side are Eubulius and Auxentius, while the views of Origen are set forth by Proclus and a physician Aglaophon, whose name is affixed to the dialogue in the Syriac citations. The Origenist speakers deny the materiality of the resurrection body. One of them urges that to insist literally on the resurrection of the same matter would lead to countless difficulties. Was a man only to rise with the emaciated body he might have at the moment of his death, or was he to get back all the flesh he had lost before, the blood that had been drawn from him in blood-letting, the hair and nails that had been cut off in his lifetime? Suppose the body of a man to be eaten by an animal, and the flesh of that animal by another man so as to become food for his body, to whom would the common flesh belong in the resurrection? [For ingenious solutions of these difficulties, see Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii.] The fact is, the matter of a man's body is in a state of constant flux; the only sameness is in the form, and it is therefore enough if we believe that the same form shall rise again, and that, no doubt, beautified and glorified. Bodies must be adapted to the element in which they are to live; if we had to live in water our bodies might be like those of fishes; as it is in heaven we shall have to live, our bodies will be spiritual; and so St. Paul teaches: "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body;" "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God." The Origenist speaker teaches that man had been originally in Paradise, that is to say, in the third heaven (2 Cor. xii.), having there none but a spiritual body; that having sinned he was cast down to earth, where God made him "coats of skins," that is to say, by way of punishment clad him in our present gross material bodies, which act as a clog and fetter on the soul and out of which spring our temptations to sin; for without the body the soul cannot sin. When we rise therefore to dwell where sin cannot be, we shall be like the angels, liberated from the flesh which has burdened us here. In reply, Methodius acutely points out the inconsistence of teaching that the soul cannot sin without the body, and also that the body had been imposed on the soul as a punishment for sins previously committed. Further, it is absurd to call the body a fetter. Criminals are fettered to prevent their committing more crimes, but here we are asked to believe that God put a fetter not on the evil but on the good. For the body is no fetter on sin; soon after the fall Cain is found committing murder. And in truth the body is an instrument for good as well as for evil. Paradise and the third heaven are not identified (2 Cor. xii.); two distinct revelations are spoken of. It is said that we shall hereafter be as the angels, that is, like them, not subject to change or decay; but not that we shall be angels, or as they are, without earthly bodies. God does not make mistakes; if He had meant us to be angels He would have made us so at first. His creatures are diverse: besides angels, there are thrones, principalities, and powers. By death He does not design to turn us into something different in kind from what He at first meant us to be; but only as an artificer, when a work of his has become polluted with stains which cannot otherwise be removed, melts it down, and makes it anew; so by death we shall be remade free from the pollution of sin. And so in like manner we are not to think that the world will be destroyed, but made into a new and purer earth, fit to be the abode of the risen saints.

(4.) *De Pythonissa.*—Jerome tells us that this work, now lost, was directed against Origen. We may presume, therefore, that its scope was the same as that bearing the same title by Eustathius of Antioch, namely, to refute the opinion held by Origen after Justin Martyr that the soul of Samuel was under the power of Satan, and was evoked by the magical art of the witch of Endor. Methodius's view, however, could

not have been the same as that of Eustathius, for a passage at the close of Photius's extracts from the treatise on the Resurrection implies a belief that the appearance of Samuel was real.

(5.) *Xeno.*—Socrates (vi. 13), expressing his indignation against the reviling of Origen by worthless writers who sought to get into notice by defaming their betters, names Methodius as in time the first of Origen's assailants; adding, however, that he had afterwards by way of retractation expressed admiration of him in a dialogue entitled Xeno. No dialogue bearing that title has been preserved, but we believe the dialogue referred to by Socrates to be identical with that next to be mentioned. One would like to know whether the praise of Origen was expressed by Methodius in his own person, or only in that of one of the speakers in his dialogue. There is nothing, however, in Methodius's confutations of Origen inconsistent with his having felt warm admiration of the man; and he has certainly followed him in his allegorical method of interpretation.

(6.) Περὶ τῶν γενητῶν.—This work "on things created" is only known by extracts preserved by Photius (*Cod.* 235). It is a refutation of Origenist doctrine as to the eternity of the world, the principal arguments with which Methodius deals being that we cannot piously believe that there ever was a time when there was no Creator, no Almighty Ruler, and that there cannot be a Creator without things created by Him, a Ruler without things ruled over, a παντοκράτωρ without κρατούμενα. Further, that it is inconsistent with the unchangeableness of God to suppose that, after having passed ages without making anything, He suddenly took to creating. It is evident from the extracts that the work is written in the form of a dialogue, and that the orthodox speaker deals with his opponent by the Socratic method of question and answer. Photius's extracts begin with a discussion of the text, "Cast not your pearls before swine;" and we have near the commencement the phrase, μαργαρίτας τοῦ ξενῶνος. It is hard to get good sense by translating "pearls of the guest-chamber;" and with the knowledge we have that one of Methodius's dialogues was called Xeno, we are disposed to think that Xeno was one of the speakers in this dialogue, and that we are either to translate "Xeno's pearls," *i.e.* the pearls of which Xeno presumably had made mention before, or else to believe that the words τοῦ Ξενῶνος have got transposed and ought to be prefixed to the extract, the whole being taken from a speech by this interlocutor. Photius says that Methodius calls Origen a centaur, and interpreters have been puzzled what he could have meant. It has been guessed that it was because Origen mixed up sacred and profane literature. We certainly find in the extracts preserved that the orthodox speaker addresses his Origenist interlocutor as ὦ Κένταυρε, but without the slightest air of uttering a sarcasm, so that if it were not that we have been able to find no example of such a proper name, we should be disposed to think that the explanation of the matter is that the name of the Origenist speaker in this dialogue was Centaurus.

(7.) *On Free Will.*—Of this dialogue we have spoken already. [See MAXIMUS (24).] Jerome states that several other works of Methodius were then in circulation, among which he names commentaries on Genesis and on the Song of Songs; the catenae besides contain extracts purporting to be from commentaries on the Psalms, on Habbakuk, on the Apocalypse, and other books. Theodoret (*Dial.* vol. iv. 87, Migne) quotes from a discourse of Methodius "concerning martyrs." Of doubtful or spurious works ascribed to Methodius may be mentioned, a homily on the meeting with Simeon and Anna at the Temple. This is generally rejected both for reasons of style and because we have reason to think that the system of church festivals which it assumes was not in existence in the time of Methodius. On the date of the introduction of the festival Hypapante in connection with this homily, see DICT. CHR. ANT. p. 1140. But we cannot endorse the suggestion that the homily is the work of a later Methodius. The preacher expressly claims to be the author of the Symposium on Chastity; so that if the homily be not genuine it is not a case of mistaken ascription but of forgery, and a forger need not be of the same name as the author whom he personates. A homily for Palm Sunday, εἰς τὰ βαΐα, in one MS. ascribed to Chrysostom, is in another attributed to Methodius. To us the language on the subject of the Trinity seems clearly post-Nicene. We think favourably of fragments published by Gretser from a Homily on the Cross. On a passage which speaks of the Cross as to be found in the military "Vexilla," an argument has been founded that the homily could not have been written before the imperial adoption of the Christian symbol; but this passage is really derived from Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 55). Now Methodius used the writings of Justin Martyr, whom in one place he quotes by name and in another silently copies (*Apol.* 19). A book of "Revelations" ascribed to him is certainly not his, and was probably the work of Methodius of Constantinople, who lived at the early part of the 9th century. Concerning him and other Methodii see Leo Allatius, *Diatribe de Method. Script.* published in the second part of Fabricius's edition of Hippolytus; Fabricius, *Bib. Graec.* vii. 260; Ceillier, iii. 62, xii. 424. Carel's thesis on Methodius, Paris, 1880, may also be consulted.

The works of Methodius were first published by Combefis in 1644, the Symposium by Leo Allatius in 1656, and independently the year after by Porsinus. Combefis gave then in 1672 a more complete collection of the works in his *Novum Auctarium.* This was reprinted by Galland, vol. iii., and by Migne, vol. xviii. The latest edition is by Jahn: S. Methodii opera, and S. Method. Platonizans, Halis. Sax. 1865.

[G. S.]

METRIKOS, Valentinian aeon (Iren. i. 1). In order to find names for these aeons the technical adjectives of the system were pressed into the service. The adjectives *patrikos* and *metrikos* were probably derived from earlier systems, since we find in the system of JUSTINUS the angels distinguished into paternal and maternal. [G. S.]

METRODORUS. The library of Photius contained (*Cod.* 115) an anonymous tract against

the Quartodecimans, in which, among other things, was discussed, whether our Lord, immediately previous to the Last Supper, ate the Jewish passover. The author decided in the negative, holding that the passover day was only the next day, the day of the crucifixion; Photius himself, following the authority of Chrysostom and others, was of the opposite opinion. In the same volume was included a work of which the title ascribed the authorship to one Metrodorus, concerning whom Photius had been able to learn nothing else. This work contained a calendar of Paschal full moons and Easter days for 533 years, beginning with the first of Diocletian; that is to say, for a cycle of 532 years, and one year more, indicating the beginning of a new cycle, when the same days would be repeated in the same order. Although the calendar professed to be the result of accurate calculation, Photius declares that it does not appear to have been used by the church nor by ancient tradition. The next book on the list of Photius is a treatise on technical chronology, without author's name, but addressed to a certain Theodorus. A section of this work contained refutations of Metrodorus, but of what opinions of his we are not informed. The author took the view already mentioned that our Lord, on the night He was betrayed, did not eat the Jewish passover.

The Metonic cycle of 19 years is based on the assumption that 19 solar years contain an exact number (235) of average lunations; so that after 19 years the moon's changes will take place on the same days of the solar month; and the Paschal full moon will fall on the same day in the first year and in the twentieth. Now as these will not be the same day of the week, the Easter Sundays of the two years will be different. But since in 28 years any day of the solar year returns to the same day of the week, it was seen that if we put together 28 Metonic cycles of 19 years we get a cycle of $(28 \times 19 =)$ 532 years, after which the Paschal full moon returns, not only to the same day of the solar month, but also to the same day of the week, so that not only the full moon, but the Easter Sunday will be the same for the 1st year and the 533rd. This cycle was introduced into the West by Victorius A.D. 462. Syncellus ascribes its invention to Anianus, an Alexandrian monk and chronologer, who lived at the end of the 4th century. Against this statement the fact has been objected that in the next century Cyril of Alexandria introduced the use of a cycle of 95 years, which aims at the same object as the cycle of 532, but accomplishes it not quite perfectly. After 95 years the Easter Sundays of common years return to the same days, but those of bis-sextile years move one day. It has been thought that Cyril would not have adopted the less perfect cycle if he had known of the other, but as the shorter cycle may have been practically more convenient, we think that there is scarcely sufficient ground for rejecting the statement of Syncellus. According to his account Anianus had such faith in the absolute accuracy of his cycle that he carried his calculations backwards by its means up to the creation of the world. In point of fact, 235 lunations differ from 19 Julian years by nearly an hour and a half, so that after 28 repetitions of the Metonic cycle the difference would amount to over forty hours, and the full moons given by the cycle would be some two days wrong.

Concerning Metrodorus we cannot be expected to know more than Photius. It has been inferred that he was an Alexandrian from his use of the era of Diocletian, which for a considerable time was in current use in Egypt. This era was particularly suitable to the purpose of Metrodorus, since the first year of Diocletian was also the first of a Metonic cycle. As to the date of Metrodorus, we are disposed to take the view of Van der Hagen (*De Cyclis Paschal.* p. 43), that he lived at a time when the error of the 19 years cycle had accumulated so as to become sensible, and that he was one of the private calculators who then began to publish corrections of the current church calendar, professing to be founded on more accurate computation. In this way we can account for the disparaging estimate which Photius seems to have formed of the work of Metrodorus, and for the fact that it encountered controversy. On this supposition Metrodorus would be a chronologer of the 6th or 7th century. [G. S.]

METRONIA, a Roman lady in the 4th century, who was left a widow when young and remained a widow for forty years. Her example is urged upon her granddaughter Ageruchia by Jerome in his letter *De Monogamia* (123, ed. Vall.). [W. H. F.]

MEUBREDUS, ST., of whom William of Worcester (141) says, "Sanctus Mybbard heremita, filius regis Hiberniae, aliter dictus Colrogus, ejus corpus jacet in scrinio ecclesiae de Kardynan . . . et ejus dies agitur die jovis proxima ante festum Pentacostes." The parish of Cardinham is near Bodmin in Cornwall. [C. W. B.]

MEUGAN, MEUGANT (MEIGANT), Sept. 25, Welsh bard, son of Gwyndaf Hên and Gwenonwy, daughter of Meurig prince of Glamorgan. He is thus related to many other Welsh saints (Rees, *Essay on Welsh Saints* 123, 164–5; Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Oct. xi. 617). He belonged to the colleges of St. Illtyd at Llantwit Major and of St. Dubricius at Caerleon, and died in the island of Bardsey. He founded Llanfeugan or Llanvigan, co. Brecon, and is patron of St. Maughan's in Llangattock -vibon -avel, co. Monmouth, and Capel Meugan in Llandegfan, co. Anglesey (Rees, *W. SS.* 269; Williams, *Em. Welsh.* 320). To Meugant there are attributed two extant poems (both in *Myv. Arch.* i. 159, 160, and one in Skene, *Four Anc. B. of Wales*, i. 497, ii. 5, from *Black Book of Carmarthen*, ii. fol. 4a) dated in *Myv. Arch.* A.D. 600–650. Of these Stephen (*Lit. Kymr.* 207 sq. 294) thinks the *Elegy on Cynddylan* genuine, but the *Ode* as late as the 12th century, on account of its language being more modern, and also its mentioning Owain Gwynedd, who died A.D. 1169 (see also *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Ass. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 52; Todd, *Book of Hymns*, i. 106 sq.). [J. G.]

MEURIG, son of Tewdrig king of Morganwg and Gwent. On the abdication of Tewdrig, Meurig succeeded, and was much engaged in war with the Saxons, but his beneficence to Llandaff and Llancarvan is best known from the *Book of Llandaff* and Welsh annalists. The

first synod of Llandaff is said to have been convened by St. Oudoceus for the trial and excommunication of king Meurig on account of murdering Cynfeddw, Cynuetu, or Cynetu, contrary to his oath of peace. After lying under the ban for two years, he made amends in fasting, prayer, and alms-giving, presenting four villages to the church of Llandaff (Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* i. 125; Boll. *Acta SS.* 2 Jul. i. 284). He died A.D. 575, aged 90 years. He founded Merthyr Tewdrig, now Mathern, co. Monmouth, in honour of his father, while Ystrad Meurig in Llanafan, co. Cardigan, may mark his own place of burial. (*Lib. Land.* pass.; Cressy, *Ch. H. Brit.* xii. 8; Rees, *Camb. Br. SS.* 354 et al.; Rees, *W. SS.* 164–5, 184; Williams, *Em. Welsh.* 322.) [J. G.]

MEVENNUS, MEVEN, MEVENNIUS, MEVANIUS (MAEN, MEEN, MEIN, MAIANUS, MAINUS, MAJANUS, MAVENNUS), Welsh saint in Armorica. Fullest notice is by Baertius (Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Jun. 87–91), giving, with Praevius Commentarius and notes, the Life compiled by Albert le Grand from breviaries and other sources; the historical touches are meagre. He is said to have been nephew of St. Samson of Dol, and accompanied him to France, where he founded the monastery of St. Méen, which Judicael king of Brittany destroyed in A.D. 638; it was restored in the time of Charlemagne, and again in that of Louis I. He died near the close of the 6th century, or, as some say, later. His feast is June 21, but sometimes June 15. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* ii. pt. i. 78, 88; Cressy, *Ch. H. Brit.* 224, 253–4. He is probably identical with the following. [J. G.]

MEWANUS, ST., the saint of St. Mewan near St. Austell Bay on the south coast of Cornwall, called Santmawant in the Exeter Domesday. A St. Meven was patron of a monastery in Armorica (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 319–20; for the name Mawan, see 77, 81; 207, 251). The monastery of St. Méen (Mevanius, a cousin of St. Samson) was connected with Bodmin as late as 1177 (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 78, 88). [C. W. B.]

MICHAEL (1), in the system of JUSTINUS, the first of the paternal angels (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26, p. 151). In the Ophite system (Iren. i. 30, p. 111) Michael is given as one of the names of the serpent. [G. S.]

MICHAEL (2) (called SYNCELLUS and SYNGELUS), presbyter of Jerusalem and syncellus of the patriarch Thomas, cir. 802. He was addressed by Theodore Studita (lib. ii. *Ep.* 213 in *Patr. Gr.* xcix. 1640), and was the author of two extant Greek works, *Encomium Dionysii Areopagitae* and *Encomium in SS. Archangelos et Angelos*, as to the editions of which, and other sources of information concerning Michael and his inedited works, *vid.* Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xi. 186, ed. Harles. [C. H.]

MIGETIUS, ST., Aug. 7, twenty-sixth bishop of Besançon, between St. Donatus and Ternatius in the latter half of the 7th century, was, according to Adso, the biographer of St. Waldebertus, abbat of Luxeuil, vir magnarum virtutum, and a friend of St. Waldebert. The two agreed that the one who first died should be buried by the survivor. Accordingly, on the death of his friend about 665, Migetius repaired to Luxeuil and celebrated his obsequies. In Adso's Life the bishop's name is Nicetius, but the dates seem to render it probable that Migetius was the bishop referred to (Adso, *Vita S. Waldeberti*, § 8, in *Pat. Lat.* cxxxvii. 692–3; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 279). St. Migetius probably died about 670. (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 16; Richard, *Hist. des Diocèses de Besançon et de Saint-Claude*, i. 121–2.) [S. A. B.]

MILBURGA, daughter of Merowald king of the Western Hecani [MEROWALD] by Eormenburga or Dompneva; and sister of St. Mildred and St. Milgitha. According to her biographer, whose work, still in MS., is abridged by Capgrave (*Legenda*, ed. 1516, f. 232), Milburga was the eldest of the family and the founder of the monastic institute within her father's dominions. She built a nunnery at Wenlock, then called Winwick, and undertook the office of abbess, to which she was consecrated by archbishop Theodore (Harpsf. *Hist.* p. 82). She refused to marry, and on one occasion, whilst residing outside of her monastery, in a place called Stoches, she was delivered, by a miraculous rising of the river Corf, from the violent attack of a rejected suitor. The same place witnessed a miracle by which Milburga banished the geese which were doing injury to her fields, and the fields thus defended were freed for ever from the mischievous intrusion. Another story told of her is the not uncommon miracle of hanging her veil on a sunbeam; another records the prolonging of the life of a widow's son in answer to her prayer, during which she appeared enveloped in flames. At the age of sixty she died, commending her nuns to God, and the blessed virgin, on the 25th of June; Harpsfield, however, from the history of her miracles, gives February 23 as the day; and on February 23 her day was observed according to the Kalendar of the Hereford Missal. Sir Harris Nicolas mentions May 26 as likewise dedicated to her, but this may be a misreading of Capgrave. The Bollandists calculate that the year of her death, counted from that of her father's marriage, would fall about 722. She was buried at Wenlock, where many miracles wrought by her relics were recorded in a work written by a certain Odo, who has been identified with the cardinal bishop of Ostia (1088–1101), but whom Fabricius recognises as Odo prior of Canterbury, who became abbat of Battle in 1175.

The relics of St. Milburga were translated in 1101. Earl Roger of Montgomery had given the site of her monastery at that time to the Cluniacs (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 274). William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* iv. § 171) gives an account of the discovery of her remains by a boy running over the pavement; and the History of her miracles says that a man named Raimund, working in the church of the Holy Trinity, found a document in which the place was described by a priest named Alstan, and that her coffin was found bound with iron after the manner of the English. See Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 274, 275; *Mon. Angl.* v. 74, 75; Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl.* ed. 1622, p. 83; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* § iii. pt. 1, pp. 420, 421; *Acta SS.* Bolland. Febr. tom. iii. pp. 388–391.

The churches of Stoke St. Milburgh, and Beckbury in Shropshire, of Wexford, Warwickshire, and Offenham, Worcestershire, are dedicated to St. Milburga; Parker, *Anglican Church Kalendar*, p. 262. [S.]

MILCHO, MILCHON, MILCHU, MILCHUO, MILCO, MILCON, MILCUO (Milec, Miliac, Milioo, Milioc, Miliuc, Miluc, Maelchu, Melicon, Michul), son of Buan or of the family of the Dal-Buain in Antrim. He is called magus, but more properly was a regulus of Dalaradia in the north-east of Ulster, and father of St. Bronach of Kilbroney, bishop Guasacht in Granard, and the two Emerias. He was St. Patrick's master in slavery for six years, and remained a heathen, afterwards preferring death to becoming a convert to his former servant. With slight variation he appears in all the Lives of St. Patrick (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* pass.). He lived about A.D. 390, and must have died about A.D. 432 or 433. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 489 sq.; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 373, 407–8; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* i. 216 sq.) [J. G.]

MILDRED (Milthritha, Mildthritha), **ST.**, daughter of Merowald the son of Penda by Eormenburga or Dompneva, and sister of Milburga and Milgitha (Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* 534, 630, 638). According to her biographer Gotselinus, she was sent by her mother to Chelles to be educated under the abbess Wilcoma; and having refused to marry a kinsman of the abbess was shut up by her in a furnace in which her life was miraculously preserved. After further persecution she determined to leave the convent; wrote a psalter, which she sent with some of her hair to her mother by a messenger, to whom, by word of mouth, she entrusted her complaints. Eormenburga sent ships to fetch her daughter, but the abbess refused to let her go. Mildred then escaped secretly, and having returned to fetch some vestments and precious relics, notably "clavis crucifixionis Dominicae," which she had left behind, effected her retreat to the ships, sailed and landed at "Ippleesfee" or Ebbs fleet, where she impressed her foot miraculously on the squared stone on which she landed, and which afterwards effected miracles of healing; an oratory was afterwards built on the spot. She was made abbess of Minster in Thanet, where she had a band of seventy nuns, and was consecrated to the office by archbishop Theodore. According to another tradition preserved by Simeon of Durham, she succeeded her mother in the office of abbess, and was blessed by Deusdedit [Eormenburga]. The biographer tells some stories of her resistance to diabolical machinations, and of a vision of the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove. On her death she was succeeded by Eadburga or Bugga [Bugga].

St. Mildred is best known as abbess of Minster, and in fact gave her name to the monastery which her mother had founded in the honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was by Eadburga that the church was rebuilt and the bones of St. Mildred translated, and although the new church was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, it was better known as St. Mildred's. Until the Kentish hagiology has been subjected to a much more searching criticism than is possible whilst the writings of Gotselinus are still in MS., it is impossible to say what credit can be given to the scanty data of the legends of St. Mildred and her sisters. It would be, however, hypercritical to question their existence or their connexion with the localities to which they are referred. The numerous dedications of churches to St. Mildred, and the frequent use of her name as a baptismal name, prove that her cultus was far too widely extended and too deeply rooted to be the mere result of a monastic legend. Mr. Parker, in the *Anglican Church Kalendar*, mentions as dedicated to her churches in Bread Street and in the Poultry in London, and others at Preston, Canterbury, and Whippingham, to which may be added one at Oxford, now demolished.

The earliest evidence of St. Mildred's historical character is, if the act be genuine, afforded by the famous privilege of king Wihtred of Kent, issued in the council of Bapchild at an uncertain date between 696 and 716; among the witnesses who attest the document are the names of five abbesses, the first of which is "Signum Mildrithae Abbatissae," Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 24[illegible]. The next certain authority is that of Florence of Worcester, who mentions her both in his Chronicle and in the genealogies. Between these two distant dates lies the region of disputed charters; and, after the date of Florence, or contemporary with it, the legenda preserved by Gotselinus.

The charters in which St. Mildred is mentioned are preserved among the Canterbury charters by Thorn and Elmham; in the first, Wihtred, in the fifth year of his reign, 696, grants protection to her monastery in Thanet (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 39; Elmham, p. 289); in the second, Ethelbert, son of Wihtred, during his father's life, grants to Mildred and her venerable sisterhood, land for one plough about the river Limene, and three acres at Hammespot (Kemble, *C. D.* No. [illegible]; Elmham, p. 298), dated July 11, 724. But these are rejected by Kemble as spurious. Other grants not less suspicious follow; in one, Ethelbald king of Mercia grants freedom from toll in the port of London (Elmham, p. 305; Kemble, *C. D.* Nos. 84 and 97); and in another, dated in 748, the same king grants to Eadburga large immunities, mentioning especially the new dedicated church into which St. Mildred had been translated (Kemble, *C. D.* 98; Elmham, p. 314). These immunities were confirmed by Offa and Eadbert (Kemble, No. 106; Elmham, p. 321, 322).

To these scanty and suspicious materials the legend, as given by Gotselinus, is now added, and on this basis rises the posthumous history of the saint, some portion of which may be trustworthy. Thorn, writing in the 14th century (ap. Twysden, 1907, 1908), states that the abbess Eadburga translated the remains of St. Mildred to the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was dedicated by archbishop Cuthbert, and was close to the chapel of the Virgin built by Dompneva. On the death of Eadburga, Sigeburga succeeded as abbess of Minster; and after her Selethritha, after whom, owing to the devastation by the Danes, the history of Minster is a blank, until, in the year 1011, the name of an abbess, Leofwina, appears among the Danish captives. This seems to shew that the monastery had subsisted throughout the evil days, and possibly it may have enjoyed the immunities supposed to be guaranteed by the questionable

charters referred to above. These immunities subsequently led to a great dispute as to the possession of St. Mildred's relics. Two stories were told about this; the canons of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, a house founded by Lanfranc, asserted that these remains were translated to Lyminge, by an abbess Eadburga, daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, and thence translated by Lanfranc to St. Gregory's (Elmham, p. 224; Lewis, *History of Thanet*, p. 91). On the other hand, the monks of St. Augustine's averred that they had been translated to St. Augustine's by abbat Elfstan, with the leave of Canute, obtained when he was on his journey to Rome, about 1026 or 1027; a permission which had been secured by prayer and intrigue, and which carried with it the bestowal of the lands and immunities of Minster. On the controversy Gotselinus wrote a "Libellus contra inanes usurpatores sanctae Mildrithae." On this subject, which brings out some curious material of legend, and on the miracles of St. Mildred, see Thorn, cc. 1901–1911; *Acta SS.* Boll. July, tom. iii. pp. 512–524; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 376–384. On the translation of some of her relics to Deventer in Holland, *Acta SS.* ut s. p. 514.

The day assigned to the commemoration of St. Mildred was July 13 (Capgrave, fo. 223); the 20th of February was the day of her depositio at St. Augustine's in 1262 (Thorn, c. 1905). By a bull issued in 1368 the feast of St. Mildred was ordered to be kept in Thanet as a double feast (Elmham, p. 68). [S.]

MILGITHA (MILDGITHA, MILDWIDA), daughter of Merowald king of the Western Hecani, by Eormenburga or Dompneva; and sister of SS. Mildred and Milburga. She is recorded in the English martyrology as having been a nun at Eastry in Kent, and as dying in 676. The 17th of January was the day of her commemoration, and nothing more seems to be known about her. See Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* pp. 534, 630, 638, and *Acta SS.* Bolland. Jan. 17, tom. ii. p. 176; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 277. [S.]

MILO, thirty-fifth archbishop of Trèves, between St. Leotwinus, or Lutwine, and St. Veomadus (circ. A.D. 713–53), a degenerate son of his predecessor, rose to the episcopate by the favouritism of Charles Martel, whose companion in arms he was. With Trèves he also held Rheims, whose bishop, Rigobertus, the Mayor of the Palace had driven into exile in Gascony. Through his long usurpation the latter diocese was reduced to a terrible state of desolation and poverty, and presumably that of Trèves was not more fortunate. Hincmar speaks of him as "tonsura clericus, moribus habitu et actu irreligiosus laicus" (*Vita S. Remigii* in *Pat. Lat.* cxxv. 1129–30). Much the same is Flodoard's account of him (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 12 in *Pat. Lat.* cxxxv. 116–8) and that of the *Gesta Treverorum*, which, however, gives him the credit of following at first in his father's footsteps before he became a tyrant (*Pat. Lat.* cliv. 1150–4). Boniface of Mainz was affected by the scandal, and consulted the pope, apparently suggesting strong measures. Zacharias, whose reply is extant, seems to have declined a contest. "Concerning Milo and his likes, who much trouble the churches of God, pray, according to the Apostle's word, in season and out of season. If they follow your admonitions they shall save their souls. But you who pray duly shall not lose your reward (*Epist. S. Bonifacii*, lxxxvii., Würdtwein, p. 251). In 753, he was killed by a wild boar while hunting at Arno, close to Trèves. In addition to the authorities above mentioned, see *Gall. Christ.* ix. 26–7, xiii. 388; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 307, 470; and for documents relating to the diocese during his time, Hontheim, *Hist. Trev. Dipl. et Pragm.* i. 109–119. [S. A. B.]

MILRED, the fifth bishop of Worcester (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 622). He succeeded bishop Wilfrith in 743, 744, or 745; for the death of that prelate is referred by the different authorities to these several years; and sat until 774 or 775. He was thus contemporary with Ethelbald king of Mercia, during his latter and more unhappy years, and with Offa during the first half of his reign. The first charter to which his name is attached is an Anglo-Saxon grant made to Worcester by Ethelbald, undated, but bearing the attestation not only of Milred but of his predecessor Wilfrith. If this be genuine, and it seems to be accepted by Kemble as such (Kemble, *C. D.* no. 95), Milred must have been consecrated during Wilfrith's life, according to a practice not unusual at the time; and if this were so, we might thus account for the varying dates assigned to his promotion. In the year 747 Milred was present at the great synod held at Clovesho by archbishop Cuthbert (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360; Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 90), but his name is not attached to the important charter by which Ethelbald freed the monasteries of his kingdom from secular services, at Godmundslaech in 749 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 387).

Towards the close of the year 755, in which St. Boniface suffered martyrdom, Milred is found writing to his successor Lullus a letter which is preserved among the remains of St. Boniface's correspondence (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 267, 268). From this we learn that Milred had during the preceding year visited Boniface in Germany, and there made acquaintance with Lullus. The writer desires to have a particular account of the death of Boniface, and also asks for the counsel and continued friendship of Lullus; he sends a few presents, and excuses himself for not sending "librum pyrpyri metri," because archbishop Cuthbert has not returned it. The letter is important, as shewing that Boniface's intercourse with his native country had not been restricted to epistolary correspondence.

The name of Milred is appended to a few of the charters of Ethelbald; besides the grant already referred to, in which Ethelbald grants two shops in London to the church of Worcester, he attests a joint grant of Ethelbald and Cynewulf of Wessex to abbat Eanberht [EANBERHT] (Kemble, *C. D.* no. 100), and the name is attached to a spurious grant to the monastery of St. Mildred (Elmham, p. 314; Kemble, *C. D.* 98).

After the accession of Offa in 757, Milred's name occurs more frequently, and it is no doubt to his influence with that king and with the subreguli of the Hwiccas that the large endowments of the see of Worcester and its subject monasteries are to be ascribed. Some of the

existing charters are regarded as spurious, but although in some points they fail to stand diplomatic tests, it is more likely that the failure is owing to mistakes of transcription or to interpolation than to wholesale fabrication. In 757 Milred received from Eanbert, Aldred, and Uhtred, of the Hwiccas, land at Tredington for the church of St. Peter, which was then the cathedral monastery of Worcester (Kemble, *C. D.* 102); this grant is attested by Milred and confirmed by Offa. Milred attests a confirmation by Offa of Ethelbald's grant to Minster (Kemble, *C. D.* 112; Elmham, p. 321); a grant of Uhtred to Ethelmund in 767 (Kemble, *C. D.* 117); another to the church of St. Mary at Worcester in 770 (*ib.* 118) of land at Salwarp; and undated grants of Aldred to Beornheard (K. *C. D.* 125) of land at Huntenatun; of Offa to Milred himself, of land at Wick on the west of the Severn (K. *C. D.* 126); of abbat Ceolfrith to the church of St. Peter, conceding the old monastery of Heanburh and Sture in Usmere; of Uhtred to the church of St. Mary (*ib.* 128); of Offa to Milred himself, of land at Pirigtun (*ib.* 129). The last charter to be noticed is one granted by Milred himself, in which he secures the monastery of Withington to the abbess Ethelburga for life, with reversion to the church of St. Peter at Worcester (Kemble, *C. D.* 125). A good deal of interest attaches to these documents, as they shew how the mother church of the diocese was gathering in the endowments of the small hereditary monasteries of the kingdom, whilst they prove that side by side with the ancient church of St. Peter, a great monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and more distinctly monastic in its rule, was growing up, ultimately to supplant the older church in its character of a cathedral. The last-mentioned charter is dated in 774, the last year of Milred's pontificate. His death is referred by Florence of Worcester (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 544) to the year 775; the Chronicle places it in 772, but Florence probably wrote from local authority, and in this place may be regarded as correcting the faulty chronology of the Chronicle. His successor was Weremund, whose name is attached to a charter dated in the 13th indiction, *i.e.* A.D. 775 (K. *C. D.* no. 120). [S.]

MILTIADES (1), an active Christian writer of the second century. Eusebius tells us (*H. E.* v. 17) that, besides leaving other records of his diligent study of the divine oracles, he composed a treatise "against the Greeks," another "against the Jews," and an "Apology" addressed to the rulers of this world on behalf of the school of philosophy to which he belonged. It is a natural inference from the plural "rulers" in the above that there were, when Miltiades wrote, two emperors on the throne, probably Aurelius and Verus. Valesius, however, understands by "rulers" provincial governors, laying, as it seems to us, undue stress on the statement of Jerome that Miltiades wrote in the reign of Commodus. The Apology may be supposed to have been a learned plea for toleration of Christianity, the purity of whose doctrines may have been favourably contrasted with the teaching of heathen philosophy. Though it has not come down to us, it seems to have had at the time a high repute. The writer of the "Little Labyrinth" (Eus. v. 28) names Miltiades in company with Justin, Tatian, and Clement as among the writers in defence of the truth or against contemporary heretics who, before Victor's episcopate, had distinctly asserted the divinity of Christ. Tertullian (*Adv. Valentin.* 5) names Miltiades in company with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus as a writer against heresy, giving him the appellation, evidently intended in an honourable sense, "Sophista Ecclesiarum." St. Jerome, who twice mentions Miltiades (*Catal.* 39, *Ep. ad Magnum*, vol. i. p. 427) gives no clear indication that he knew more of Miltiades than he had learned from Eusebius.

Great obscurity hangs over the relation of Miltiades to Montanism, owing to a strange confusion, either on the part of Eusebius himself or of his copyists, between the names Miltiades and Alcibiades. In *H. E.* v. 2 Eusebius tells a story about one of the Lyons confessors named Alcibiades, and, going on to speak about Montanism, mentions an Alcibiades as among its leaders. After the death of Montanus, his sect seems to have been known in Phrygia by the name of its leader for the time being; and in an anti-Montanist document preserved by Eusebius, v. 16, the sect is called the party of Miltiades. This is the reading of all the MSS.; yet having regard to the earlier passage just mentioned, editors are disposed here to substitute Alcibiades for Miltiades. If we are not permitted to think that there might have been Montanists of both names, it would seem to us more natural to make the opposite correction. In ch. 16 there was nothing to lead copyists astray; in ch. 2 Eusebius, having named an Alcibiades just before, might easily by a slip of the pen have repeated the same name. This view is strengthened by the fact that at the close of the Muratorian fragment, a name transcribed as "Mitiades" occurs as that of one the ecclesiastical use of whose writings was totally rejected by the church. This would be explained by the supposition that Miltiades was the name of a Montanist who had written records of Montanist prophesyings or some other document, to which that sect had ascribed inspiration and had admitted it into their church use.

But the case is complicated by worse confusion in the 17th chapter of Eusebius. He begins by saying that the anti-Montanist document already quoted mentioned Miltiades as having written against Montanus; and then, having given extracts from the document, goes on to give the account we have already used of the other works of Miltiades. But the extract, according to the reading of all the MSS., names not Miltiades but Alcibiades as the author of an anti-Montanist treatise, "that a prophet ought not to speak in ecstasy." Here editors find it absolutely necessary to correct the Alcibiades of the extract into Miltiades in order to make Eusebius consistent with himself. Yet this leaves it unexplained why transcribers should go so strangely wrong. To us much seems to turn on the question, Did Eusebius transcribe his extracts from earlier writers with his own hand, or did he employ a scribe? On the latter supposition it is possible that the extract as actually copied by the scribe might reveal that Eusebius had made a slip in the account of it, which he had dictated from memory. In the present case Eusebius might remember

that the document contained mention of a Miltiades, and, being familiar with the church writer of the name, might have connected him in his mind with the authorship of an anti-Montanist treatise. But the extract as copied by the scribe seems to shew that the document had mentioned Miltiades but as the name of a soon-forgotten Montanist leader, and that the work against that sect had been written not by Miltiades, but by an equally forgotten Alcibiades. If this be the true account of the matter, the memory of Eusebius played him no worse trick than such as we have constant experience of. [G. S.]

MILTIADES (2) (MELTIADES, MELCIADES, MILCIADES, MELCHIADES), bishop of Rome after Eusebius, from 2nd July, A.D. 310, to 10th or 11th January, A.D. 314, during a little more than three years and six months, the see having been vacant before his ordination for ten months and fourteen days. The year 311, commonly given as that of his accession, rests on an apparent error in the Liberian Catalogue, being inconsistent with the duration in the same catalogue assigned to his reign. (See Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischof.* p. 257.) The long vacancy before his appointment is accounted for by the circumstances of his predecessor's death in exile, and the divided state of the Roman church at the time. [See EUSEBIUS.]

The pontificate of Miltiades was marked by the accession, and so-called conversion, of Constantine the Great, and the definite termination of the Diocletian persecution. It was to him, after his accession, that the possessions of the Christians at Rome, including the cemeteries, were at length restored by Maxentius: "Melchiades was recorded to have sent deacons with letters from the emperor Maxentius and from the praefect of the Praetorium to the praefect of the city, that they might recover possession of what had been taken away in the time of persecution, and which the aforesaid emperor had ordered to be restored" (Augustin. *Brevic. Collat. cum Donat.*; *die* iii. c. 34): It was between the July and November of the year 310, according to Lipsius (*Chron. der röm. bisch.*), but usually said to have been in the following year—that Galerius issued his edict of toleration, the first of the series, to which the names also of Constantine and Licinius were affixed. It was probably in the spring or summer of 312 that the two latter emperors issued a second tolerating edict, which is referred to in the more celebrated one of the following year. Constantine, after the defeat and death of Maxentius (28th Oct. 312), having entered Rome in triumph, and having thence gone to Milan, promulgated in 313 with Licinius, who met him there, the full edict of toleration known as "the Edict of Milan," which Licinius, after his defeat of Maximian, proclaimed in the June of the same year at Nicomedia in the East. All these important events were during the episcopate of Miltiades, who would be a personal witness of Constantine's entry into Rome after the battle of the Milvian bridge, with the labarum borne aloft, and the monogram of Christ, which he believed to have been revealed to him in vision, marked upon the shields of his soldiers. But the pope's name does not become prominent until the complications which soon arose in connexion with the African Donatists. They arose as follows: Constantine sent from Gaul two successive letters to Anulinus proconsul of Africa, in the first of which he ordered the restoration to Catholic Christians of all their possessions that had been taken from them during persecution, and in the second exempted all the clergy from civil functions (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5, 7; *Cod. Theodos.* 16, t. 2, l. 1). Both the letters expressly confined these benefits to the Catholic church, over which Caecilianus presided. This the party of Majorinus, the rival bishop (called afterwards the *Donatists* from Donatus, who succeeded Majorinus, see DONATISM; CAECILIANUS), took much amiss, and went with a great multitude of followers to Anulinus, handing him an open document (*libellus*), together with a bundle of papers in a sealed bag, which they desired him to transmit to the emperor (*Ep.* Anul. *ad* Constant. Labbé, tom. i. p. 1428; Augustin. *Ep.* 88, Benedict. ed.). The papers contained charges against Caecilianus, their object being to procure his condemnation, and obtain for themselves the imperial support. With this view they begged Constantine to appoint some bishops of Gaul to judge the case. Gallic bishops are asked for because, their country having been exempt from persecution through the favour of Constantius, they were not implicated in the questions at that time in dispute.

Constantine, according to Optatus, was greatly annoyed at being called upon to settle disputes among the clergy, and replied in an angry strain (*pleno livore respondit*), saying, "You demand a judgment from me in this world, when I myself expect the judgment of Christ." But he complied with the request, nominating three Gallic bishops as judges, Maternus of Cologne (*Agrippina Civitas*), Rheticius of Autun (*Augustodunum*), and Marinus of Arles, to whom he sent the documents received from Africa, commanding them to repair with all speed to Rome, there to adjudge the matter in conjunction with Miltiades. To him also he wrote a letter which is still extant, having been preserved by Eusebius, in which he again expresses the great annoyance caused him by the dissensions of bishops, and, after naming the commission he had issued to the Gallic bishops, desires earnestly a full consideration and settlement of the case. This letter is addressed, not to Miltiades alone, but to him and Marcus. Who this Marcus was is not known. He is supposed by Valesius (*in not. ad lib.* x. *Euseb.*) to have been a leading Roman presbyter, and probably the same who afterwards became pope. The emperor may have become acquainted with him when in Rome, and selected him on his merits as the pope's colleague: or he may have been an assessor on the ground of some position which he held.[a] Baronius, anxious to make out that the pope alone was called upon to adjudicate the case, makes the untenable suggestion (scouted by Valesius) that "and Marcus" (καὶ Μάρκῳ) is an error of transcription for "hierarch" (ἱεράρχῃ). This emendation is not only unsupported and impro-

[a] Reasons for supposing Merocles of Milan to be intended are given under ROME, COUNCILS OF, A.D. 313 in *D.C.A.* and MARINUS.

bable in itself, but also inconsistent with the contents of the letter, which is addressed throughout to persons in the plural. There is no evidence, in this or other acts of Constantine, that he regarded the bishop of Rome as the sole or necessary judge of ecclesiastical causes on appeal. He did not indeed presume to judge them himself—he was careful to refer spiritual cases to the spirituality—and in this case he naturally and properly referred the chief cognisance of a case arising in Western Africa to the Roman see, though not to the pope singly, but to him assisted by assessors whom he named himself. Though only the three bishops of Gaul are named in the letter as colleagues of Miltiades and Marcus, it appears from Optatus that fifteen Italian bishops were added to the conclave, summoned, we may suppose, by Miltiades himself, so that he might hear the case canonically in synod with the assistance of the Gallic assessors. Constantine had, in his letter, desired him to cause the case to be heard "as the most holy law of God, as you know, requires," and was afterwards fully satisfied with the mode of procedure. The synod thus constituted met on Friday the 2nd October, A.D. 313, in "the house of Fausta," the wife of Constantine, in the Lateran, and had three sittings. Caecilianus, as the accused, and Donatus of Casae Nigrae, as the principal accuser, appeared before it. The emperor, in his letter to Miltiades and Marcus, mentions his having ordered Caecilianus to repair to Rome with ten supporters and ten accusing bishops. The result was that Caecilianus was unanimously acquitted, and Donatus condemned. Against the latter the sentence was pronounced, "That he confessed having rebaptized and laid hands on lapsed bishops, *quod ab ecclesia alienum est*." The acquittal of Caecilianus was declared, according to Optatus, by Miltiades in the following words: "Since it appears that Caecilianus is not accused by those who have come with Donatus according to his profession, and that he has not been convicted by Donatus in any part of his own accusation, I judge that he is deservedly to be retained in full ecclesiastical communion." The proceedings of the conclave seem to have been marked by great forbearance, and desire of union. None of the Donatist party were condemned, except Donatus of Casae Nigrae himself, as being the main author of the schism. All the rest had even letters of communion sent them on condition of their acknowledging Caecilianus: and it was provided that, when there were two rival bishops in any African see, he that had been first ordained, of whichsoever party, might be allowed to retain it, the adherent of the other finding him a see elsewhere (Augustin. *Ep.* 43, Benedict. ed.). Augustine, in the letter referred to, which is our authority in this instance, expatiates on the equity and gentleness of Miltiades and his colleagues, which he contrasts with the temper of the African synod, which had previously condemned Caecilian, saying of Miltiades himself, "O excellent man! O son of Christian peace! O father of the Christian people!" The decisions of the conclave were duly transmitted to Constantine, who was himself fully satisfied with them, and hoped that the dispute was ended (*Ep. Constant. ad vicar. Africae; ejusd. ad Episc. Syrac.*—Labb. i. p. 1445; Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5) Moved, however, by the continued complaints of Donatus and his party, who alleged that the proceedings at Rome had been unfair and secret, and pleaded also the small number of bishops who had pronounced sentence (*ib.*), he ordered angrily fresh investigations to be made in Africa, and summoned the general synod of Arles (A.D. 314) with a view to a final settlement. In all these further proceedings the bishop of Rome does not appear to have been consulted by the emperor, or regarded as possessing any position of supremacy. Constantine, as has been already observed, professed great reverence for the episcopate in general, and recognized the right of the clergy to settle cases purely ecclesiastical; but he took upon himself to set in motion and regulate ecclesiastical proceedings, to delegate their administration to such ecclesiastics as he chose, and certainly shewed no peculiar deference to the Roman see. Nor do we find any protest on the part of the church of his day against his mode of procedure. Further, Augustine, writing afterwards (c. A.D. 398), refers to the objection of the Donatists of his day that the bishop of Rome, with his transmarine colleagues, had no right to usurp to himself the judgment of a case that had been settled in a synod of seventy African bishops under their primate; and he meets the objection, not by asserting any such inherent right in the Roman see, but by saying, "But what if he did not himself usurp it? It was the emperor who, being requested, sent judges to sit with him, and decide what was just on the whole case" (August. *Ep.* xliii. c. v. 14).

The fact that the conclave under Miltiades met in the Lateran palace (in the house of the empress Fausta) is adduced by Baronius (A.D. 312) as a conclusive proof of the truth of the tradition that Constantine had made over that palace to the pope as a kind of princely residence. But the fact itself proves nothing of the kind. It is quite possible indeed that, when the new emperor visited Rome after his victory over Maxentius, he may have endowed the see, as he is said to have done, with new possessions; but the subsequent traditions to this effect are no sufficient evidence; nor is it known with any certainty when the popes came into permanent possession of the Lateran.

Miltiades was, in the time of St. Augustine, accused by the African Donatists of having, as one of the presbyters of pope Marcellinus, with him given up the sacred books and offered incense under the persecution of Diocletian. Augustine treats the whole charge as unsupported by documentary evidence, and probably a calumny [MARCELLINUS]; and we find no mention of any such charge against Miltiades during his life, when the party of Donatus was likely to have made a strong point of it, had it been known of them.

Further, in the conference with the Donatists held A.D. 411, by order of the emperor Honorius, of which the *Breviculus* of St. Augustine is a summary, the charge was alleged, but all proof of it broke down. Being challenged to bring evidence, the Donatists could only succeed in shewing that among the deacons sent by Miltiades to recover the church property restored by Maxentius, there were two called Strato and Cassianus, and that two persons bearing those

names had been traditors. To this it was replied, that there was no proof of the identity of the parties, and that, even if there had been, Miltiades himself would not have been implicated (Augustin. *Brev. Collat. con. Donat.* c. 34).

Miltiades, having, as has been said above, received back from Maxentius the alienated church property, was buried, like his predecessors since Pontianus till the commencement of persecution, in the cemetery of St. Callistus on the Appian Way. There also he had deposited the remains of his immediate predecessor Eusebius (*Depos. Episc. Liber.*). But neither of these two popes (according to early recensions of the Pontifical) lay in the old papal crypt of that cemetery, but each in a separate *cubiculum* apart from it. De Rossi accounts for this by supposing the approaches to the old crypt to have been blocked up by the Christians so as to save it from profanation; and the state in which the passages leading to it have been found confirms this supposition. He has identified positively the *cubiculum* of Eusebius [EUSEBIUS], but that of Miltiades only conjecturally (see Northcote and Brownlow, *Rom. Sotter.* p. 146). Miltiades was the last pope buried in this cemetery.

The Felician Catalogue states that he was an African; that he forbade the faithful to fast on Thursday or Sunday, because the pagans kept these days as fasts; and that he directed the consecrated oblations called *Fermentum* to be carried to the various churches. For the meaning of the word *Fermentum*, and the custom referred to, see Art. on INNOCENTIUS I.

One spurious epistle, addressed to the bishops of Spain, is assigned to this pope. No genuine writings of his remain. He is commemorated as a saint on the 10th of December in the Roman Calendar. [J. B—y.]

MINAS (MENNAS), patriarch of the Jacobites or Monophysites of Alexandria, succeeded Chail or Michael, A.D. 766. His episcopate was chiefly marked by the intrigues of one of his own clergy, whose story reads like an Eastern romance. Minas, as we are told, refused to promote a deacon named Peter to the episcopate. Bent on revenge, Peter betook himself to the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, got money through his help on false pretences, and informed the khalif Almansor that Minas was learned in "chymistry," and had filled his churches with gold and silver vessels "by means of the art of making gold." Almansor sent him home with a letter, ordering him to be made patriarch. The prefect or emir of Egypt, being friendly to Minas, allowed him to consult his brethren as to whether they should submit. But when the synod met in church, Peter appeared, wearing a patriarchal "cidaris" or crown, the gift of the khalif, whose name was inscribed on it. Supported by a guard, he entered the sanctuary, and began to recite "the opening prayer of the liturgy, a prayer of thanksgiving and for peace." Two bishops sprang upon him, tore off his "cidaris," and thrust him out of the sanctuary. But this act of violence provoked the emir, who ordered Minas to surrender the gold and silver vessels of his churches. The patriarch answered, "Our churches have been so often despoiled that we have only chalices of glass and wood." "Have you not, then, a book of alchymy?" "I have not." He and his fellow-bishops were set to work at the docks, and endured this penal labour for a year. Afterwards they were cast into prison: but a new turn in their fortunes now arrived. Peter, flushed with success, had threatened to bring a charge against the emir. He was thereupon imprisoned, and the prelates were released. A new emir, finding Peter in chains, sent him to Bagdad; there he professed Islam, took the name of Abulhari, and was sent back to Egypt with large powers. But before he arrived, Almansor had died, and Peter's commission was valueless. He was treated by his own people as a renegade and a Judas. In vain, although with apparent sincerity, he besought the prayers of "certain bishops;" they deemed his case too flagrant for their intercession. Maximus died in the same year, 775, on the last day of Tybi, *i.e.* January 25. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 237 ff.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 462; Neale, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* ii. 122. [W. B.]

MINEI, mentioned by Jerome (*Ep. ad August.* i. 740) as the name by which the Jewish Christian sect of Nazarenes was known among the Jews themselves. This is evidently the Hebrew word מִינִים (see Vol. II. p. 605*b*, and for further information, Buxtorf's *Lexicon*). The most probable account of it is that it is a general name for heretics, derived from מִן, *pars*, and this explanation is confirmed if we adopt the suggestion that Justin Martyr's MERISTAE is a translation of this word. But some have suggested that the word might have been at first a name for the followers of Manes; while again, seeing that it came to be specially applied to the heretical adherents of Jesus of Nazareth, others have guessed it to be a Rabbinical acrostic (מאמיני ישו נוצרי). (Jost, *Judenthum*, i. 414.) [G. S.]

MINERVINA. [CONSTANTINUS, Vol. I. p. 625.]

MINERVIUS (MINERIUS), a monk of the diocese of Toulouse in the beginning of the 5th century. He and his brother Alexander, having been educated for the bar, had taken the monastic vow, and had specially addicted themselves to the study of Scripture. The brothers in the year 406, hearing that their bishop Exuperius and two presbyters of the diocese, Riparius and Desiderius, were sending their friend Sisinnius to Jerome at Bethlehem, wrote him a letter with many questions on passages of Scripture. Jerome put off writing to them till close upon the time for the return of Sisinnius. He then answered their two principal questions, on the meaning of "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed," and "We shall be caught up into the clouds." He quotes many commentators and decides in favour of the reading "We shall all sleep but we shall not all be changed," that is, as he interprets it, into the glory of Christ. To the second passage he gives a spiritual meaning—"We shall be caught up to be among the apostles and prophets, who are the clouds beyond which Christ has passed." He promises to answer the other questions on a future occasion, which apparently never came. But in the same year, 406, he dedicated to these two monks his *Commentary on Malachi*. That they were brothers is inferred from the words

in the preface to the *Commentary on Malachi*, "Non tam sanguine quam religione concordes." (Jerome, ep. 119, and *Com. in Mal.*, *Opp.* vol. vi. 941, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

MINUCIUS FELIX, MARCUS, one of the earliest and most pleasing of the Latin Christian apologists. It may be said that nothing is known of his personal history except what may be gathered from his own book. The earliest writer to mention him by name is Lactantius (*Institut.* v. 1), who describes him as a lawyer, "non ignobilis inter causidicos loci," but it may be doubted whether Lactantius is here speaking from independent knowledge, or merely drawing a natural inference from the introduction to the book itself, where Minucius tells how he had taken advantage of the court holidays to leave Rome for Ostia, "ad vindemiam feriae judiciariam curam relaxaverant." St. Jerome three times mentions Minucius (*Ep.* 48 *ad Pammach.* vol. i. p. 221; *Ep.* 70 *ad Magnum*, vol. i. p. 427; *de Vir. Illust.* cap. 58, vol. ii. p. 883), and describes him as "insignis causidicus Romani fori;" but it seems clear that Jerome drew this description from Lactantius, whom he quotes. It has been attempted to deduce the date of Minucius from the place which Jerome assigns him in his list of illustrious men; but besides that Jerome in that list does not always observe chronological order, and that the relative position of Minucius and others is different on the different occasions where he is mentioned, there is no evidence that Jerome really knew more of the matter than we know ourselves. Still more may the same be said of Eucherius, who speaks of Minucius (*Ep. ad Valer.* in *Patr. Lat.* l. 719). Suffice it therefore here to say that the *gens Minucia* was widely spread at Rome, and that an inscription (Gruter, p. 918) makes known that among its families there was one with the cognomen Felix.

Turning then to the only work of Minucius which has come down to us, and which both Lactantius and Jerome speak of as known by the title "Octavius," we find it to be a dialogue modelled on the type of the philosophical works of Cicero, whose writings, and in particular the *De Natura Deorum* and the *De Divinatione*, Minucius has evidently carefully studied. It opens, as do Cicero's similar works, with a short introduction relating the occasion of the following discussion. Minucius, mourning for his lately deceased friend Octavius, recalls to mind in particular a conversation of his which had resulted in the conversion to Christianity of their common friend Caecilius. He tells how Octavius, long united to him in intimate friendship, had come to Rome, partly on business, partly in order to visit him, and leaving at home his wife and his children, then at that most engaging age when they were making their first essays at speech. He gives a charming description of the morning walk on the beach taken by the three friends after they had gone from Rome to Ostia; he tells of their enjoyment of the gentle sea-breeze and the pleasant sand beneath their feet; he tells how they watched the alternate play of the waves, and how they stopped to observe the boys' game of duck and drake, until at last they sat down for rest and for serious discussion on large stones which had been placed for protection of the baths. The occasion of this discussion was, that at the beginning of the walk the heathen Caecilius, as they were passing an image of Serapis, had saluted it, as was customary, by kissing hands, whereupon Octavius charged Minucius with culpable negligence in having allowed his friend to continue in such degrading superstition. Caecilius, justly regarding this rebuke to Minucius as impliedly containing a more severe reproach to himself, challenges Octavius to a formal dispute. The little treatise then divides itself into two parts, containing first a lively attack by Caecilius on the Christian doctrines and practices, then a reply, about twice as long, by Octavius, refuting and retorting the heathen arguments. On comparing the two speeches, their complete correspondence exhibits the careful workmanship of the treatise, each of the points of the attack being dealt with in the defence, and each in its proper order. The end is that Caecilius confesses himself vanquished, or rather victorious, since he gladly ranges himself on the conquering side, and rejoices to be a sharer in his friend's victory, which has brought himself to triumph over error.

The following is an abstract of the arguments used by Caecilius on the heathen side. He censures the presumption of the Christians, who, though unlettered men, venture to pronounce positively on questions about which the greatest philosophers have doubted; he denies that there is any good ground for believing in the existence of a God, since the chance concourse of atoms will sufficiently account for the origin of the world, while the prosperity of the wicked and the misfortunes of the good shew that the world is governed by no Providence. Then shifting his ground, he urges the duty of worshipping the gods whom their ancestors had worshipped, and the folly of rejecting what universal experience and the consent of all nations had found to be salutary. Each nation had its peculiar god: the Romans, the most religious of all, worshipped gods of all nations, and so had attained the highest prosperity. The power of their deities had been exhibited in many oracles and prodigies; only one or two philosophers had ventured to deny their agency, and one of these, Protagoras, had in consequence been banished by the Athenians. Was it not then deplorable that the gods should be assailed by men of the dregs of the people, who, collecting credulous women and silly men, banded them in a fearful conspiracy, cemented by secret and detestable rites? Tales are repeated, for some of which the authority of Fronto is cited, of the initiation of Christian neophytes by partaking of the blood of a slaughtered infant, of scenes of promiscuous incest at their meetings, of the Christian adoration of an ass's head, or even of the priest's genitals. If these things were not true, at least the obscurity in which they shrouded their rites shewed that they were such as they had cause to be ashamed of. These members of an illegal society dreaded to bring their doctrines into the light of day; they had no altars, no temples, no images, and they were not even in their manner of worship like the Jews, the only nation besides themselves who worshipped that wretched lonely God who had not been able to save His own people from captivity; yet wished to meddle with everything and pry into

every thought and every action. Nor was this the only absurdity of Christian doctrine. They threatened destruction to the world, which always had lasted and was bound together by fixed laws, and they said that one day it would be burnt up. Yet for themselves, who were not eternal like the world, but were seen to be born and die, they dared to hope for immortality, and expect that their dust and ashes would live again. In the prospect of this imaginary life they gave up all enjoyment of their real present life, trusting in a God whose impotence was exhibited in their daily sufferings, from which He was unable to save His worshippers. In fine, if the Christians had any modesty, let them give up philosophy, of which their want of education had made them incapable; or if they must philosophize, let them follow that greatest of philosophers, Socrates, whose maxim was "What is above us we have nothing to do with," otherwise the result will be either the destruction of all religion or the adoption of anile superstition.

In reply Octavius demands that a hearing shall not be refused to the arguments of the Christians because of their low worldly condition. Reason is the common property of all men. It is the rich who, intent on their wealth, are too often unable to lift their eyes to things divine. Some of those afterwards recognised as the greatest philosophers, were at first despised as poor and plebeian. He then establishes, by the ordinary arguments from the order of the universe, the existence and providence and unity of God, confirming his conclusions by the authority of various philosophers, whose opinions respecting the Deity he extracts from Cicero's treatise. In proof how natural is the belief in God's unity, he appeals to the common use of the singular Deus, both in the mouths of the vulgar and in the writings of the poets. He shews that the gods whom the heathen worshipped were but deified men, and he exposes the absurdity of the fables commonly told of them, the folly of image-worship, and the cruelty and licentiousness of the rites by which the gods were honoured. He shews the falsity of the assertion that the Romans owed their prosperity to their religion, since it was by a multitude of irreligious acts that their empire grew, and because their original native gods, to whom, if to any, must be ascribed the origin of their greatness, had been deposed from their position by the adoption of gods of the conquered peoples. He traces the source of all idolatry to the operation of the demons who, having lost their first estate, desired to draw others into the same ruin as themselves, who inspired oracles, wrought fictitious cures and other pretended miracles with a view to deceive men, and who were also the inventors and instigators of the calumnies against the Christian religion. All this was attested by their own confession when exorcised by Christians. Turning then to the different charges made against the Christians, Octavius not only denies and refutes them, but retorts them on the heathen, who had been the more ready to believe that others had been guilty of them because they had done the like themselves. If the Christians had not temples, or images, or altars, it was because they would not degrade the majesty of the infinite God by limiting Him to a narrow place. Man himself was God's best image, a holy life the best sacrifice that could be offered Him. God is invisible, but so is the wind whose effects we witness; so is our own soul; the sun itself, the source of all light, we cannot look at. As for the Christian doctrines which Caecilius had represented as absurd and incredible, different heathen philosophers had taught a future destruction of the world by fire or otherwise; some of them had taught a transmigration of souls, a doctrine quite as difficult as that of the resurrection of the body, and less natural. The doctrine of a future life is recommended by countless analogies of nature; and though men whose lives are bad dislike to believe in future retribution, and prefer to think that death ends all, yet the current popular belief in Pyriphlegethon and Styx, a belief derived from information given by demons and from the Jewish prophets, shews how deep-seated is the conviction in men's minds that the time will come when it shall not be well with the wicked. Nor is it to be thought that God deals ill with His worshippers because He does not give them a larger share of prosperity in this life: the Christians do not covet earthly riches; they look on trials as their discipline, persecutions as their warfare, in which they are not deserted by their God, but combat under His eye. The Romans honour with their praises such sufferers as Mucius Scaevola and Regulus, yet the heroism of these men has been repeatedly surpassed by that of Christian women and children. In fine we need not be disturbed by the failure of sceptical philosophers to arrive at any certain knowledge of truth. These men's lives gave the lie to their professions of wisdom; we, whose excellence is in life and not merely in word, may boast that we have succeeded in finding what they sought in vain, and have only cause for gratitude that a revelation was reserved for our hands which was denied to them.

From this analysis of topics it will be seen how meagre Minucius is in his exposition of Christian doctrine, differing in this respect from all the other apologists. The doctrine of the unity of God, of the resurrection of the body, and of future retribution, go near to make up the whole of the system of Christian doctrine which here comes before us. The doctrine of the Logos which is so prominent in the apologies of Justin, Athenagoras, and Tertullian is passed over in silence; our Lord's name is not mentioned, and though from the manner in which Octavius repels the charge that the Christians worshipped a man who had been punished for his crimes, it may reasonably be inferred that he believed our Lord to be more than man, yet this is not plainly stated. Minucius clearly shews that the topics which he omits are excluded, not from disbelief in them or ignorance of them, but from a designed limitation of the objects of his work, because at the end, when Caecilius has declared himself satisfied on the main questions of the existence of God and of Providence, and of the general truth of the Christian religion, he asks for another conversation, not because he has still remaining doubts which need to be removed, but because he desires to be taught some things which are necessary to perfect instruction. This con-

clusion is confirmed when we find reason to think that Minucius was acquainted with Justin's *Apology*. It cannot be accident that Minucius does not imitate the entire unreserve with which Justin speaks of Christian doctrines and Christian rites. The work of Minucius, though in form that of a Christian addressed to Christians, was doubtless intended mainly to influence intelligent heathen; and we must infer that in the West at least the feeling prevailed when Minucius wrote which made Christians fear to cast their pearls before swine. It may be added that one striking difference between Minucius and Justin is the complete absence from the former of the argument from prophecy, yet the inspiration of the Jewish prophets is incidentally recognised (c. 35). Minucius never mentions the writings of either Old or New Testament, and has scarcely any coincidence of language with them. There is (c. 29) an echo of Jer. xvii. 5, and perhaps (c. 34) one of 1 Cor. xv. 36, 42.

Concerning the date of Minucius Felix it has been generally agreed that it must have been before A.D. 250, somewhere about which time Cyprian published his *De Idolorum Vanitate*, in which large use is made of Minucius. Schultze, indeed, who places Minucius in the reign of Diocletian (*Jahrbücher für prot. Theol.* 1881, p. 485), denies the genuineness of this work of Cyprian on the ground of difference of style. But we cannot so easily reject a work attested by Jerome and by Augustine; and we cannot think that the use by Minucius of such a general phrase as "reges et principes" gives sufficient warrant either to Keim to infer that there must have been then more occupants than one of the imperial throne, or to Schultze that there must have been not only Augusti, but Caesares. A nearer determination of the date of Minucius depends on settling his relation to Tertullian. The dialogue of Minucius and the apology of Tertullian have in common so many arguments, sometimes urged in nearly the same words, that there is no room for doubt that one of the two used the work of the other, but which was the follower is a point on which critics have held opposite opinions, though some of the reasons that were given on both sides were far from conclusive. In fact the difficulty of the problem is mainly caused by the excellent use which both writers have made of their materials, whencesoever obtained, and the thoroughness with which they have incorporated them. We have already remarked on the perfect workmanship of the dialogue of Minucius. Tertullian's *Apology* is equally excellent in its way, though its plan is entirely different. It is in short an advocate's speech, written for presentation to heathen magistrates, whom it was desired to convince that Christians did not deserve to be persecuted. It is more loosely constructed, and evidently more hastily written, than the work of Minucius, but it bears a strong stamp of originality. Many points briefly touched on in Minucius are expanded in Tertullian, so that we must either hold that Minucius has abridged Tertullian, or else that Tertullian has used the suggestions of Minucius as the groundwork of developments of his own. This has furnished the best argument for the priority of Tertullian. Tertullian, it has been said, is one of the most original of writers, Minucius quite the reverse. We have already mentioned his obligations to Cicero; his work is also largely indebted to Seneca, besides containing traces of his reading of Juvenal and other writers. Is it not then most natural to believe that in the same way as he has drawn his arguments for Theism from Cicero, he has taken his defence of Christianity from Tertullian? It may be further said that in the matter common to the two writers there are considerable differences both as to the arrangement and as to the form of expression. If Tertullian were the original, Minucius would have a change of arrangement forced on him by the plan of his work, while the changes in form of expression either improve the Latinity or make the sentence more pointed; whereas if Minucius were the original, Tertullian's changes can hardly be assigned any other object than to disguise his obligation. Notwithstanding, a very careful comparison of the common matter by Ebert (*K. Sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften; philol.-histor. Classe*, Bd. v.) led him to the result that Minucius is the original, and the ability with which he argued the case obtained for a time general acceptance of his opinion. Ebert remarks with truth that many authors of great originality (Shakespeare and Handel for instance) have not scrupled to borrow extensively, and that Tertullian's own treatise against the Valentinians is an example how he could combine considerable originality of treatment with wholesale unacknowledged borrowing from Irenaeus. In the majority of passages common to Minucius and Tertullian it is easy for an ingenious man to argue for the originality of either, but Ebert has the merit of finding a crucial test of relative priority. Minucius may be said to have almost worked with Cicero open before him, but there is no evidence that Tertullian, when he wrote his Apology, had recently read Cicero. Examine then whether the common passages contain traces of Cicero. If they do, it may be safely asserted that Minucius derived them directly from Cicero, Tertullian from Minucius. If they do not, it may be pronounced incredible that Tertullian could borrow extensively from Minucius, and yet through mere accident fail to appropriate any of that large portion of Minucius which is derived from Cicero. On applying this test, our report of the result is the opposite of Ebert's, the traces of Cicero in the common passages being not very numerous, and the inferences from them being disputable. We can find only one case where Ebert appears to be successful in establishing a derivation of Cicero through Minucius into Tertullian. Caecilius (c. 7) gives as an example of the power of the heathen gods, "testes equestrium fratrum in lacu statuae consecratae, qui anhelis, spumantibus equis atque fumantibus de Perse victoriam eodem die qua fecerant, nuntiaverant." This reference is clearly taken from Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* ii. 2), where the same story is told. Octavius in his reply (c. 27) ascribes to the operation of demons this and the other heathen miracles quoted by Caecilius in the same context, "De ipsis illa quae paullo ante tibi dicta sunt, ut Jupiter ludos repeteret ex somnio, ut cum equis Castores viderentur, ut cingulum matronae navicula sequeretur." Tertullian (c. 22) ascribes to the operation of demons, "Phantasmata Castorum, et aquam cribro gestatam, et navem

cingulo promotam." It is clear here that Minucius copied from Cicero, not Tertullian, but by no means clear that Tertullian is copying any one directly, and not drawing from the common stock of popular tradition. He did not find in Minucius the "Aquam cribro gestatam." And in another case of coincidence, it is almost certain that Tertullian did not use Minucius. Minucius has clearly copied from Cicero the story how Simonides, on being questioned by Hiero as to the nature of God, asked for time to deliberate, and always when the time came for giving his answer, asked for still longer and longer time for deliberation. Tertullian has the same story, but tells it of Thales and Croesus. If Tertullian were copying Minucius, why should he change the names? On the other hand Tertullian might easily, without any borrowing, use a popular story so apposite to his subject, and it is notorious how constantly popular versions of good sayings alter the names of the persons to whom they are ascribed. Ebert confirms his conclusion by producing passages where Tertullian appears to have blundered in copying Minucius. In some instances he makes out a strong case, but in all there is room for controversy; and on the other hand there are cases where Minucius seems plainly to have misunderstood Tertullian. Thus his ascription of atheism to Epicurus, "deos fingit otiosos *aut nullos*," is at once explained by comparison with Tertullian's language, "deum otiosum et, ut ita dixerim, neminem." Again Minucius says of Socrates "ad nutum et arbitrium adsidentis sibi daemonis vel declinabat negotia *vel petebat*," while Tertullian more accurately describes the daemon of Socrates as "daemonium dehortatorium." Again other instances are adduced by Schultze, who calls attention also to two important facts: (*a*) that Minucius has coincidences not only, as already observed, with Tertullian's *Apology*, but with other works of the same writer; (*b*) that Minucius in copying from Cicero, as if to disguise his obligation, makes exactly the same kind of verbal changes that he is accused of doing in copying from Tertullian. If we place Minucius before Tertullian, we can hardly place him back less than twenty years, for audacious plagiarism from a recently published work is not credible. Now all other evidence leads us to regard the Greek as the prominent element in the Roman church of the 2nd century. That so early as 180, it should include a man so highly educated in Latin literature as Minucius is what nothing else that we know would lead us to expect. Keim (*Celsus*, p. 156) places the composition of the Octavius a little before 180, his reasons being (*a*) that it appears from cc. 29, 33, 37, that two emperors were on the throne, who may be assumed to have been M. Aurelius and Commodus; (*b*) that the book bears signs of having been written in the embitterment of a great persecution, and so may be believed to have sprung out of that storm of the year 177, from which other apologies date their occasion; (*c*) that it was intended as an answer to the work of Celsus, which Keim places in the year 178. All these reasons seem to us inconclusive. (*a*) On the use of the word "reges," we have already commented. (*b*) We must subscribe to Teuffel's opinion, incomprehensible though Keim pronounces it to be, that the tone of the Octavius indicates a time when Christians were not suffering external persecution. That they had had such to undergo is plainly related; possibly the dialogue is supposed to have taken place at a season of such persecution, but probably a considerable interval separated the supposed time of the dialogue, when the children of Octavius were but learning to speak, from the time of composition, which we take to have been after the death of Octavius. The *Apology* of Justin is pervaded by a sense of the writer's personal danger. He was deeply indignant that Christians should be sent to execution with no crime laid to their charge but that they bore the name of Christian. When a Christian expostulated before the tribunal on the injustice of such a proceeding, he got no other reply than, "I think you must be a Christian too," and on his answering in the affirmative was himself ordered to execution. At such a time, Justin puts his life in his hand; commits to writing the expostulation he is not allowed to utter *viva voce*; he puts his name to it, Justin, the son of Priscus, of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, and states at the same time that he was himself one of the people who had been unjustly persecuted and calumniated. And to this noble beginning corresponds the tension of mind through the whole treatise. We find nothing like this in the Octavius. The author makes known his name, profession, and religion, without any apparent sense of personal risk, and his tone is as calm as if he had been a Christian rhetorician living after the victory of Constantine. (*c*) On comparing carefully all the coincidences with Celsus, which Keim has noted, we can find none decisive; the agreement is only in topics which might well have been independently used by different heathens of the time, while on the contrary Minucius so fails to notice anything distinctive in Celsus, that if the argument *ex silentio* can ever be relied on, we may pronounce it impossible that Minucius could have known the work of Celsus. The very first point in Celsus, that the Christian religion was condemned by the law, is met by Tertullian (c. 4) and not by Minucius. For similar reasons we must set down Minucius as unacquainted with Athenagoras. It is to be noted that Minucius is silent on the topic on which Tertullian dwells, viz., that Christians are responsible for the public calamities.

The analogy of Cicero's philosophical treatises gives us a right to believe that though the dialogue is imaginary, the interlocutors are real persons. Nothing is known of Octavius (whose name is given more fully as Octavius Januarius) except what we gather from the work itself. He is represented as having come to Rome by sea, and it is probable that he lived in Africa. He acknowledges the prejudices of his pagan days, and recalls how he had then undertaken the defence of parricides and other atrocious criminals, yet had not thought the Christians worthy of a hearing. He further tells how, with a mercy which was really cruelty, he had tortured Christians who confessed their faith, in the hope of making them save themselves by apostasy. It appears then that he had been an advocate, and it would seem that he had held some magisterial office. Caecilius, of whom we are told that he also bore the name

Natalis, has been identified with the Caecilius who converted St. Cyprian, and also with the confessor Natalius, who became a bishop of the Theodotians (Eus. *H. E.* v. 28), but neither conjecture has much to recommend it. But recently new evidence has been obtained. The dialogue would seem to describe him as a native of Cirta and fellow townsman of Fronto, of whom he speaks as "Cirtensis noster," while Octavius refers to him as "Fronto tuus." Now at Cirta (now Constantine in Algeria) the French have found no fewer than six inscriptions containing the name of Caecilius Natalis (Mommsen, *Lat. Insc.* viii. 6996 and 7094–7098). This Caecilius was the chief magistrate of Cirta in 210, and afterwards, on the completion of five years of office, he raised at his own expense a triumphal arch in honour of Caracalla, brazen statues in honour of "Indulgentia domini nostri" exhibited "ludos scenicos" for seven days, and in other ways exhibited munificence. See an article by Dessau (*Hermes*, 1880, p. 471). We see no good reason for refusing to identify this Caecilius Natalis with the Caecilius of the dialogue. He is not likely to have been a Christian when discharging the functions just described; the conversation related by Minucius would therefore have occurred somewhat later than 215; and the composition itself might be a score of years later. We thus fall back on the opinion which was held by the best critics before the publication of Ebert's memoir, that the work of Minucius was written in the peaceful days of Alexander Severus, say A.D. 234.

The Octavius has been preserved only in a single MS., which had originally belonged to the Vatican Library, but passed to the Royal Library at Paris, on being presented by pope Leo X. to Francis I. While still at Rome it was published in 1542 by Sabaeus, then curator of the Vatican Library, but as the 8th book of Arnobius *adv. Gentes*, owing apparently to a confusion between octavus and Octavius. The mistake was repeated in two other editions, and was only set right in 1560 by Baudouin (Balduinus), who published an edition at Heidelberg, under the real author's name, and with a dissertation prefixed, establishing his authorship. We do not attempt to enumerate all the editions which have been published since, merely mentioning as useful for the student's purposes an edition in Gersdorf's *Bibl. Pat. Ecc.*, Leipzig, 1847, one with variorum notes in the third volume of Migne's Pat. Lat., an excellent edition by Holden, Cambridge, 1853, and lastly that by Halm, Vienna, 1867, founded on a new collation of the MS., and which may therefore be regarded as the best authority for the text, but containing none but critical notes.

Jerome (*u. s.*) states that there was current in his time under the name of Minucius a book *De Fato*, which, however, difference of style proved not to be his. The subject was one on which Minucius (c. 36) had intimated an intention of writing. [G. S.]

MIRO (MIRIO, MIRUS), king of the Suevi in Spain from A.D. 570 to A.D. 583.

Authorities.—Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 42, vi. 43; *Joannes Bicl.* apud *Esp. Sagr.* v. 377, 380, 383; Isid. *Hist. Suev.* ib. 506; Acts of the Second Council of Braga; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 620; *Formula Honestae Vitae*, by Martin of Braga; Pref. *Esp. Sagr* xv. 383.

Miro represents a period in the history of the Suevian kingdom of Gallicia, when, having renounced the Arianism imposed upon them in the 5th century by the necessities of their then existing relations to the Visigoths (see art. REMISMUND), the Suevi entered into alliance with the Franks on the one hand and probably the Eastern empire on the other, with the view of checking the power of the Arian Westgothic King LEOVIGILD, which at the beginning of Miro's reign threatened the absorption of the Suevian state in the kingdom of Toledo, a result actually achieved two years after Miro's death. The known facts of his reign, which, although few in number, are often contradictorily given by the authorities, are as follows. In 572 the second council of Braga, a kind of supplementary council to the more important gathering of 561 [MARTINUS (2)] was held, and the king is specially mentioned as contributing to its assembly. Some time in the same year Miro conducted an expedition against the Rucсones in Cantabria, one of the restless Basque tribes, with whom Suevi and Goths alike were perpetually at war. (On the identification of this tribe and the various forms in which their name appears, compare Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 405.) Four years later Miro's great West-Gothic contemporary Leovigild, in the course of those early campaigns which established his power over the peninsula, appeared on the borders of Gallicia. Miro sued for peace, and obtained it for a short time, on what conditions we are not told. In 580 the Catholic rebellion of HERMENIGILD against his father Leovigild broke out, and the rebellious son became the centre of Frankish, Suevian, and Byzantine policy in the peninsula. In 580 we hear of envoys sent by Miro to Guntchramn of Burgundy, Leovigild's worst enemy, and intercepted and detained on the way by Leovigild's ally, Chilperic of Soissons. According to Gregory of Tours, Hermenigild awaited his father's attack upon him in Seville, "relying upon the help of the emperor and of Miro king of Gallicia." And in 583 Miro did actually set out from Gallicia at the head of an army destined to raise the siege of Seville, then closely invested by Leovigild. He was, however, met on the way by Leovigild, and either forced to retreat, or to lend help *against* Hermenigild. According to Gregory of Tours, who is evidently best informed on the matter, he withdrew homewards, and died shortly after his return from the effects of the bad air and water of southern Spain. The two Spanish sources, Joannes Biclarensis and Isidore, say that he died before Seville, and describe him as assisting Leovigild in the siege of the town. On the reconciliation of these conflicting accounts, compare Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. 571; and Görres, *Kritische Untersuch. über den Aufstand und das Martyrium der Westgoth. Königssohnes Hermenigild*, in Zeitschrift für Hist. Theol. 1873, I. Miro's relations to Martin of Braga, the Catholic leader and organizer of Gallicia during his reign and that of his father, seem to have been intimate and friendly. Martin's principal work, *Formula Vitae Honestae*, is dedicated to him, and the *Exhortatio Humilitatis*, printed among Martin's works, is also probably addressed to him (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. Appendix). [M. A. W.]

MITHRAS (MITTRAS, MITRHAS, MITRAS, MYTHIRAS, MYTRAS, MYTRA, MYTTRAS, NABAZES—MITRA, Cautus Pates, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. ii. num. 464, ed. Momms.; Μίτρα, Herod.; Μίθρας, Xenoph.; Μίθρη, Strab.; Μίθρης, Lucian; Μείθρας, Hieron.; MITHRA, Tertull.; MITRA, Sanscrit.; MEHER, or MITRA, Persian, cf. Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, cap. v.; Ἥλιος Ἀνίκητος, Mommsen, *l. c.*, where will be found numerous inscriptions identifying him with Jupiter, Serapis, &c.).

The worship of Mithras, or the sun-god, was the most popular of all heathen cults, and the principal antagonist of the truth during the first four centuries of our period. Though its introduction into Rome well-nigh coincided with the rise of Christianity, yet its origin must be sought in the remotest antiquity. The researches of modern scholars have taught us whence it came, and their industry has enabled the most unlearned to trace in the pages of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Zend-Avesta* its onward march from India, through Persia, to Greece, Rome, and Britain. Nay, more, Rawlinson, in his *Ancient Monarchies* (ii. 322, 328), pushes the worship still further back, and makes it one of those primitive beliefs belonging to the southern branch of the Aryan race before it had separated into two divisions and adopted the conflicting creeds of Zoroastrism and Brahmanism (cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, i. 238). In any case a glance at the *Vedas*, as edited and translated by Müller, and at the *Zend-Avesta* as translated by Bleeck (pp. 139, 256), will prove the worship of Mithras the sun, and also of Homa or Soma the moon, to be common to both. The curious inquirer may consult for its history at this early period, besides the authorities already named, Rawlinson's Herodot. t. i. p. 271, 426, *Essay on Religion of Ancient Persians*; Haug, *Essays on Parsee Relig.* p. 230; and his *Aitareya-Brâhmanam*; Burnouf, *Comment. sur le Yasna*, 210–222, 349–352; Colonel Rawlinson, "Notes on Early History of Babylonia," in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* xv. 254; J. D. Guigniant's *Rel. de l'Antiq.* vol. i. 2nd part, p. 728; Guizot and Milman, notes to Gibbon, cap. viii.

In historic times we first meet with a notice of Mithras in Herodot. i. 131, where he is identified, though wrongly, with the Assyrian Mylitta, the Arabian Alitta, and the Greek Aphrodite, the real representative of Venus in the later Pantheon of Persia being Tanata or Anaitis (Rawlinson, Herod. *l. c.*; cf. Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 98; Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 631; Windischmann, *Ueber die Pers. Anahita oder Anaitis*; Loftus, *Chald and Susiana*, p. 372; De Vogüé, *Melang. d'Archéol. Orient.* pp. 41–68. Cf. for other references to the Persian cult in classical writers, Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5; Strab. *Geog.* xi. 14, xv. 3; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 30, *De Isid.* c. 46; Lucian. θεῶν ἐκκλησία, *Opp.* Paris, 1840, p. 762; Statii, *Theb.* i. 719, 720). In Persian records his name occurs somewhat later; we find it first in the Achaemenian inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon, A.D. 405 (Norris, "Mem. on Behistun Inscrip." in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* xv. 159–162; cf. Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.* t. iii. 361), where his symbol was a disk or circle, for which the Sassanian princes usually substituted a six-rayed star (Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.* iii. 320, 352, *Seventh Mon.* p. 628, note). We may just note here that some of the modern authorities quoted deny that in the *Veda* and *Zend-Avesta* Mithras is identical with the sun; while others, as Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarch. l. c.*, support this view. Upon this question, however, we cannot enter, as being entirely beyond the scope of this Dictionary. The cult of Mithras rapidly spread from Persia over the West of Asia, amalgamating, as it did, so easily with the sun-worship of that region. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 24) it was introduced to the knowledge of Western Europe by the Cilician pirates, who celebrated his rites upon Mount Olympus, A.D. 70, but this date is probably too late. There was another and more likely channel through which the knowledge of Mithraism may have reached Rome. The *Zend-Avesta* was translated into Greek at Alexandria during the 3rd century B.C., about the same time as the Septuagint version was made (Müller, *Chips*, i. 151). Now we find during the 2nd century B.C. decrees of the senate prohibiting the practice of Egyptian rites at Rome; we may therefore infer that Mithraism found a place among them one hundred years earlier than the ravages of the Cilician pirates (cf. Mommsen's *Hist. of Rome*, ed. Dickson, t. iii. 437; t. iv. part ii. p. 561). It was not, however, till the reign of Augustus that it became a fashionable cult at Rome, and began to extend itself even as far as Britain. From this time forward it became the most popular of all cults in Rome, though its progress in Greece and other parts of the empire was but slow till the 2nd century (Ste. Croix, *Myst. du Pag.* ii. 123; *Acad. des Inscript.* xvi. 272, 273). The emperors from Augustus to Diocletian and Constantine specially favoured it, as appears from the frequency with which its symbols appear on the coins of the Lower Empire. The golden age of Mithraism at Rome seems to have been from A.D. 180–240. Commodus supported it, and is even accused of mingling human sacrifices therewith. Septimus Severus, A.D. 193, married Julia, daughter of Bassianus priest of Mithras at Emesa; she was the mother of Caracalla A.D. 211. Her sister again married Julius Avitus, by whom she had daughters, who were the mothers of Elagabalus and Alex. Severus, both of whom were educated in Phoenicia, and the former of whom was consecrated as a Mithraic priest, a consecration to which Gibbon (cap. vi.) ascribes his accession to the imperial crown. (Upon the prevalence of Mithraism in Phoenicia, see Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 103, 104, 144, 145, 852; *Rev. Archéol.* 1869, t. ii. pp. 222, 223.) The prevalence of this worship all over the Roman empire is abundantly proved by the vast number of Mithraic remains, monuments, caves, &c., which have been found, for an account of which cf. Mommsen's *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Indices to vol. iii. v. vii. *s. v.* Mithras, and J. de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, or *Mém. sur le Culte de Mithra*, Caen, 1833, who in cap. vii. analyses more than eighty which have been found specially in the Tyrol and Transylvania. (Cf. *Rev. Archéol.* 1860, t. i. p. 313, upon Mithreum, discovered at Ostia; De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1870, pp. 125, 153, for that found under S. Clemente at Rome.) Several of them have been discovered in England. A very perfect specimen of a Mithraic cave was

discovered some sixty years ago at the great Roman station of Housesteads in Northumberland, and is described in a learned paper by the Rev. John Hodgson, M.A., in *Aeliana Archaeologia*, i. 274–320. In this memoir the subject is exhaustively treated, so far as the knowledge of the time enabled the writer to go. The date of this cave was A.D. 253. Among the symbols used in Mithraic worship were the signs of the zodiac. A relic of Mithraism in England still remains in the porch of St. Margaret's church at York, where these celestial symbols are found, evidently copied in mediaeval times from some Mithraic monuments (cf. Macgregor's *Inquiry into the Age of St. Margaret's Church at York*, in *Aeliana Archaeol.* t. iii., where much information is given on this whole subject; Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, pp. 79–86).

During the 4th century the worship of Mithras of course shared in the general downfall of heathenism, though its symbols and legend appear on the coins of Constantine to the end of his reign. Julian seems to have supported it, and perhaps even submitted to all the preliminary austerities demanded from its votaries (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. *Opp.* Migne, *P. G.* t. xxxv. col. 591, 619, and *Orat.* xxxix. t. xxxvi. col. 339; Rendall's *Julian*, pp. 51, 78, et pass.). In Soc. *H. E.* iii. 2 will be found an account of a riot which arose at Alexandria in A.D. 361 upon the discovery of human skulls in a Mithraic cave, which ended in the death of George, the celebrated Arian bishop of that town [GEORGIUS (4)]. This narrative lends countenance to the report that human sacrifices formed part of Mithraic worship. The testimony of the ecclesiastical historian alone might be distrusted, but on this point is distinctly confirmed by profane authorities, as Lamprid. *Vit. Commodi in Hist. August.*; Porphyry, *de Abstin.* ii. 56; cf. *Aelian's Archaeol.* i. 306; Ste. Croix, *Myst. du Pagan.* ii. 135. Indeed, as Porphyry (*de Abstin. l. c.*) expressly states, even at Rome in his own time human sacrifices still prevailed in the worship of Jupiter Latialis. In the *H. E.* of John of Ephesus in the 6th cent., ed. by Cureton and translated by Payne Smith (p. 209), will be found an instance of human sacrifices in heathen mysteries at Antioch so late as the last half of the 6th century (cf. Windischmann's *Mithra*, p. 68). The worship of Mithras prevailed in Rome till Jerome's time, as we find mention in a letter to Laeta about the education of her daughter, of the destruction of a Mithraic cave and its "portentuosa simulacra" by the hands of her relative Gracchus, A.D. 376 [GRACCUS], *Corp. Ins. Latt.* t. vi. pars i. num. 1675, ed. De Rossi. It flourished again at Rome during the temporary revival of paganism under the usurper Eugenius, A.D. 392–394, De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1868, p. 49; cf. *Rev. Archéol.* 1868, t. xvii. p. 451, t. xviii. pp. 44, 47; De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1867, p. 76, and for 1877, p. 114; Henzen in *Bull. de l'Inst. Corr. Arch. de Rome*, April 1868. The early fathers, Justin, Tertullian, Origen, frequently mention Mithraism, which they regard as a demoniacal imitation of Christianity (Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 70; Origen, *adv. Cels.* vi. 22; Tertull. *de Praescrip. Haeret.* 40; *adv. Marcion.* i. 13). The ablutions performed in the secret rites of Mithras, and the feast celebrated by the Persians on the 16th March in his honour, doubtless easily lent themselves to a competition with baptism and the holy communion. Justin Martyr (*l. c.*) seems, however, to go too far when he asserts that the rites of Mithraism were imitated from Christianity. The Iranian branch of the Aryan family brought with them from India the feast of Soma or Homa, or the moon-god, which to this day is celebrated with an intoxicating drink in India (Haug's *Aitareya-Brâhmanam*; Em. Burnouf, *Essai sur le Véda*, cap. xi.; H. H. Wilson's *Relig. Festivals Hindus*, *Opp.* t. ii. p. 199; Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, ii. pp. 297, 469; Eug. Burnouf, *Sur Zend-Avesta*, in *Jour. Asiat.* Dec. 1844; Müller, *Chips*, i. [illegible] 156, 178, Maury, *Rel. de la Grèce*, iii. 126). On March 16 the Persians celebrated the feast of Mithras, on which day alone they were allowed to get drunk (Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* 244–247; Ctesiae, *de Reb. Ind.* ed. Müller, p. [illegible]; Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarch.* ii. 339). This practice would easily form a basis for a reformed Mithraic communion feast. A full discussion, however, of the Mithraic mysteries, their nature, their various degrees, and their relation to Christianity, would fill a volume. The curious reader may consult the second volume of a work quoted above (Sainte-Croix, *Myst. du Paganisme*, ed. Silv. de Sacy, Paris, 1817) for an elaborate treatment of the whole subject, specially a note by J. de Hammer, on p. 125, where he maintains that identically the same secret rites are still practised by the Fakirs of India, as formerly were used in the Mithraic ceremonial. On the ceremonial and degrees of Mithraism an interesting statement will be found in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. Litt.* v. [illegible]–210. For references to Mithraic baptism and communion, cf. Tertull. *de Praescr. Haeret.* xl., and *de Baptismo*, v. In Porphyry's treatises *de Antro Nymph.* and *de Abstin.* lib. iv. are many details concerning this cult. He mentions treatises by Pallas and Eubulus on the same subject. Cf. also the apology of Jul. Firm. Maternus for many of the formulae used therein [MATERNUS].

Hitherto we have treated of this worship as openly hostile to Christianity, but it also entered into combinations with heretical forms thereof. Thus it combined with Gnosticism. We have gems with Mithras, or Mithraic symbols—the lion, bee, stars, lunette—inscribed on one side, and the Gnostic symbol Abraxas on the other (Montf. *Antiq. Exp.* ii. 228, pl. 48, fig. 15, pl. [illegible] fig. 2). Basilides, too, adopted it into his system, as Jerome tells us in his Comment. on Amos [illegible] 9, that he identified Abraxas and Meithras (the common reading of the name as Montfaucon remarks) with the Almighty, and both of them with the days of the sun's course, which exactly equal the numerical value in the Greek alphabet of the two names, as in the following table:

Ἀβραξάς.	Μείθρας.
Α = 1	Μ = 40
Β = 2	Ε = 5
Ρ = 100	Ι = 10
Α = 1	Θ = 9
Ξ = 60	Ρ = 100
Α = 1	Α = 1
Σ = 200	Σ = 200
365	365

(Cf. art. on Abrasax and on Basilides, Vol. I. p. 279 of this Dictionary, which puts forward another view. King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 354–362; Salmasii, *Ann. Climact.* pp. 569–576, ed. 1647.) Mithraism apparently, too, combined with Manichaeism (*Acta* Archelai, ed. Zacagn. p. 63; Ste. Croix, *Myst. du Pag.* ii. 136–140), where a dramatic representation is referred to as forming part of the Mithraic ceremonial (cf. also August. *contra Faust.* lib. v. 11, viii., ix., viii. 5, and *Aelian. Archaeol.* ix. 319). Besides the authorities already quoted, see a learned monograph by Windischmann in *Abhand. für die Kunde des Morgenland.* t. i. 1859. In this will be found all the classical and patristic references to the subject down to the time of Martianus, Capella, and the Pseudo-Dionysius, and also a discussion of its Indian and Persian origin (cf. also Lajard, *Mém. sur le Culte de Mith.* Paris, 1847; Hammen-Purgstall, *Mithriaca*, Paris, 1833; De Brog. *L'Église et l'Empire*, t. iii. 156, ed. 1868; Beugnot, *Destruct. du Paganisme*, t. i. p. 160; Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mytholog.* ii. 193; Boissier, *Rel. Rom. d'Aug. aux Anton.* i. 395; Spiegel's *Erân das Land. zwisch. Ind. u. Tigr.* pp. 235–238; Beausobre, *Manich.* i. 107; King's *Gnostics*, pass. and the latest treatise on the subject, Prof. Stark's (Heidelberg) *Zwei Mithraeen der Grossherzogl. Alterthümersammlung in Karlsruhe* 1864). At the conclusion of Hodgson's Essay quoted above, from *Aeliana Archaeol.*, is a full list of the older authors who have treated of this topic. Montfauc. *Antiq. Expliq.* t. i. par. ii. cap. iii.–vi. ed. 1722, has numerous illustrations of the subject.

The figure of Mithras is sometimes found combined with the head of Oceanus with Neptune's trident or with a human eye. These are only remnants of ancient Indian tradition. In the Vedas Mithras is almost invariably associated with Varuna, who presides over the firmament, and is at the same time Regent of the Waters and Ocean (cf. J. Mullinger in *Archaeologia*, t. xix. p. 70; J. A. Davies in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v. 209, 2nd ser.; Northcote's *Rom. Sott.* ii. 356; Müller's *Chips*, i. 42; Colebrooke's *Philos. of Hindus, Opp.* t. ii. pp. 28, 391; Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, t. ii. pp. 297, 469, t. v. p. 72). Mithras is generally represented as a young man clothed in Persian dress and stabbing the shoulder of a bull, which is at the same time attacked by an attendant dog, scorpion, serpent, &c. (cf. Montfaucon's plates). Several explanations of this symbol are put forward in Hodgson's Essay in *Aelian. Archaeol.* quoted above. It probably represented the recreative power of the sun upon the earth. Stark, *l. c.* p. 43, offers a somewhat different explanation: cf. Hyde's *Rel. Vet. Pers.* c. iv. p. 114. The name of Sunday was derived from Mithraism, as Augustine notes (*cont. Faust.* xviii. 5). The Hindus also attach a certain sanctity to that day for the same reason (H. H. Wilson's *Festivals of Hindus, Opp.* t. ii. p. 199). [G. T. S.]

MIXIS, Valentinian aeon. (Iren. i. 1.) [See Hedone.] [G. S.]

MOCHAEI, MOCHAI, MOCHAIUS, MOCAIUS, MOCHAOI, MOCHAUS, MOCHAY, MOCHOE (Machui, Mochobus, Mocheus, Mochua; also Caelan, Caolan, Coelanus, Kelanus), abbat of Nendrum or Mahee Island, in Loch Cuan, now Strangford Lough, co. Down. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 187 sq. His life is connected with that of St. Patrick, and there is no separate legend; but the variety in the name-forms has occasioned much obscurity. When St. Patrick was in the north-east of Ireland seeking in vain the conversion of his former master Milcho, he baptized, specially instructed, and tonsured him. When St. Patrick left, he gave his disciple the "baculus volans" which was long preserved at Nendrum; and also a copy of the gospels, "cum aliis sacri ministerii utensilibus" (Colgan, *Trip. Vit.* i. c. 53). In the Lives of St. Patrick, he is also said to have been promoted to the episcopate by St. Patrick, and made first bishop of Nendrum (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 73 c. 37, 125 c. 53). Accepting this and the authority of his Acts, now lost, Ware (*Ir. Bps.* 194, ed. Harris) and Ussher (*Works*, vi. 529) make St. Cailan or Mochaei first bishop of Down about the close of the 5th century; so also Cotton (*Fast.* ii. 197, 218); but Lanigan (*E. H. Ir.* i. 422–3), calling Cailan abbat of Antrim and first bishop of Down, distinguishes him from St. Mochay. But Mochaei's episcopate is very doubtful. After his conversion by St. Patrick he retired to the island in Strangford Lough, which still bears his name, "Mahee Island," and founded a monastery and school, where St. Finnian of Moville and St. Colman Muilinn of Derrykeighan, his brother, were among his pupils. Reeves (*Eccl. Ant.* 188–9) and Todd (*B. of Hymns*, i. 100–3) thus fix his dates: birth about A.D. 420, conversion A.D. 433, and death A.D. 497 (*Ann. Tig.*). His feast is June 23. [J. G.]

MOCHAEMHOG, MOCHAEMOG, MOCAEMOGUS, MOCHAEUOCUS (Mochoemhog, Mochoemoc, -us, Mochoemog, Mochoevog, Mochomogus, Mocoemog, Mothemogus, Coemhghin, Pulcherius), abbat of Leamokevoge, in the parish of Two-Mile-Burris, bar. Elyogarty, co. Tipperary. (On the place past and present, see O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 485–6; *Four Mast.* by O'Don. i. 266 n.) There are published two Lives of the saint, probably neither written by a contemporary—the first given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 589–96) ex codice Kilkenniensi, printed also in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra* (380–91, ex cod. Armach.); the second by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 13 Mar. ii. 276–86) ex MS. Kilkenn., collated with Colgan's. (For MS. Lives and general authorities, see Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 253, pt. ii. 849; O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 647; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 339.)

Mochaemhog was one of the chief saints of Leinster, and received from St. Ita the name of Coemhghin or Mochoemog, "meus pulcher juvenis" (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 590 c. 6, 596, n. [9]), latinised Pulcherius. From the care of St. Ita he was put under St. Comgall at Bangor, and studied in the company of St. Lachtan of Achadh-ur, St. Molua of Clonfert-mulloe, St. Finnbhar of Inisdoimble, and St. Luchernus. Thence, after advancement to the priesthood, he went first to Anatrim and then to Liath-mor, where in a dense forest he founded his monastery and lived for many years, numbering among his friends St. Colman of Doiremor, St. Cainnech of Achadh-bo, St. Dagan of Inbher Daoile, &c. The account of his life is of peculiar interest, shewing the rela-

tions of the monastic saints with the secular governors of Ireland, and also indicating some noteworthy phases of the religious faith of the day. The stories of divine interference on behalf of the saint are comparatively few, and only such as are common in narratives of the kind. He died A.D. 656. His feast is March 13. His principal dedication is Leamokevoge, co. Tipperary. (Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* iii. 23 sq.; Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 374, representing him as transmuted into KEVOCA, a female saint in Scotland; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 338 sq.; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2 ser. 278; *Four Mast.* by O'Don. i. 266–7 n.) [J. G.]

MOCHALLAEUS, MOCHALLIUS, bishop, nephew of St. Patrick by Darerca his sister. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 227 n. [a].) [J. G.]

MOCHIMUS (*al. lec.* MOZYMUS, MOSCHIMUS, MOCHOMEUS), a Mesopotamian presbyter, who wrote at Antioch an excellent treatise against Eutyches, besides other works which Gennadius had not seen (Gennad. *Scr. Eccl.* cap. 71; Ceill. x. 582). Cave (i. 445) gives his period cir. 457; Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. 259) places him cir. 494, when Gennadius finished his catalogue. Dupin (i. 499 ed. 1722) identifies him with the oeconomus of Hierapolis. [C. H.]

MOCHONNA, MOCHONN, MOCONNA (DACHONNA, DUNCHANNA), of Derry; commemorated Mar. 8, Colgan (*Acta SS.* 565–6) has a memoir: "De St. Mochonn qui et Dachonna antistite Dorensi," but the results are doubtful. He flourished at the end of the 7th century, being present at Flann Finn's synod of Tara A.D. 697 [FLANN (1)], whose acts he subscribed as "antistes Dorensis," and died A.D. 706. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* 503) places him among the prelates of Derry, but in *Ord. Surv. of Londond.* p. 27, this is considered "manifestly an error," and his place is "one called Doire Moċonna or Derry of Mochonna, and Doire disirt Daċonna or Derrydisirt of Dachonna, evidently from this saint." (Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* i. 141; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 267; Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Mar. i. 748 praet. and 3 Mai. i. 364 praet.) [J. G.]

MOCHONNA, bishop. [CONAN (3).]

MOCHTA, of Louth, one of the best known saints in the East of Ireland. His anonymous Life is given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 729–737, Mar. 24), and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 19 Aug. 736–747; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 117, ii. 849; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* i. 156), but it is largely fabulous. His history is much obscured by some authors identifying him with the monk Bachiarius [BACHIARIUS].

Mochta was a Briton, called by St. Adamnan (*Vita S. Col.* Praef. ii.) "proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, S. Patricii episcopi discipulus" (Reeves, *St. Adamn.* 6), and accounted the last survivor of St. Patrick's disciples. According to the Life, he was brought to Ireland in infancy, educated by a Druid, raised to the episcopate by the pope, and received most friendly by St. Patrick on his return with twelve disciples. His first monastery was at Kilmor, "in Metheorum nemoribus," where he wrote a rule; but his chief foundation was at Louth, which St. Patrick is said to have vacated in his favour. There he had a famous school, and monastery. On this feature of the ancient Irish monasteries, see Todd, *St. Patr.* Introd.; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. c. 2; Smith and Cheetham, *D. C. B.* voce "Monastic Bishop.") Of the historical points in his life we have few notices. He died probably A.D. 535. His official position at Louth is also uncertain; though classed among the bishops of Louth he was probably only presbyter-abbat. His only genuine remains are a fragment quoted in *Ann. Ult.* and *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 534. "Sic ipse scripsit in Epistola sua, 'Mocta (Macutenus, *Ann. Ult.*) peccator presbyter, sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem';" O'Curry (*Lect. Ir. MS.* 19, 20, 88) says it is "uncertain whether it was a book of general Annals or a Sacred Biography." His chief feast is Aug. 19. His shrine was violently seized and plundered by Flann, son of Foircheallach abbat of Lismore, in the year 803 (*Ann. Inisf.*), but recovered in 805 (*ib.*); in 817 (*Ann. Ult.*) Cuana abbat of Louth sailed with it into Munster. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 94, 162, 167 et al.; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* i. ii.; Todd, *St. Patr.* 29 sq.; Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 415–6; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iii. 78; O'Conor, *Proleg.* 113, and *Ep. Nunc.* 108; Reeves, *St. Adamn.* 6, 82, 461.) [J. G.]

MOCHUA (1). [CRONAN (1).]

MOCHUA (2), MOCCUA (CRONAN, MOCHURO), abbat of Balla (Ballagh, in the barony of Clanmorris co. Mayo). An Irish Life, translated into Latin by O'Sullivan, is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 1 Jan. i. 47–9) and reprinted by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 789–90), but is largely fabulous; there is a Life on vellum in the *Book of Lismore* (O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 197, 340), and one in the Burgundian Library in Brussels (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 480. See also Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 848 app.).

Mochua abbat of Balla was the son of Becanus or Began, in Ulster, and educated by St. Comgall at Bangor. Prior to St. Comgall's death in A.D. 602, he went to Connaught and founded Balla, which derived its name from the enclosed well which is said in the legend to have appeared as his signal to rest. At the age of 56 or 76 he died, March 30, A.D. 638 (*Ann. Tig.*). He is said to have been an eminent architect and builder; the importance of his monastery is attested by the remains of a round tower about 50 feet high. (*Gen. Hy-Fiachr.* 197, 215; Petrie, *Ir. Arch.* 453; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 255; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 70, 3rd edition.) [J. G.]

MOCHUA (3) (CRONAN), of Clondalkin, co. Dublin, was brother of Garbhan of Kinsaley [GARBHAN (2)] and other saints, and commemorated Aug. 6. He is usually called the first abbat of Clondalkin, but in *Kal. Drum.* (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 20) he is "holy bishop and confessor." Clondalkin was evidently a place of much ecclesiastical importance; the round tower of 84 feet high still remains, and the Antiphonary of Clondalkin is carefully preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. (Archdall, *Mon.* 132; Camden, *Brit.* iii. 480, ed. Gough; Reeves, *Culdees*, pt. ii. § 5.) [J. G.]

MOCHUA (4), of Ferns. [CRONAN (10).]

MOCHUA (5) (CUAN), abbat and patron of Timahoe, Queen's Co. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 1 Jan. i. 45–7) treat *De St. Mochua sive Cuano abb. in Hibernia.* He was son of Lonan "ex Lugne trahens originem;" till 30 years of age was a soldier, then became a monk, retired from the world, founded Teach Mochua and died at Molana, on the Blackwater, co. Waterford. He flourished about the 6th century (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 23; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 366). The round tower at Timahoe, though now a ruin 30 feet high, is of singular interest and beauty, as the ornamentation is unusually abundant, but belongs to a period much later than St. Mochua. (See Petrie, *Ir. Arch.* 239 sq.) [J. G.]

MOCHUMMA (DOCHUMMA, CUMMINE, CUMINEUS), bishop of Nendrum (Neпdротма, now Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough), died A.D. 659 (*Ann. Tig.*), and commemorated Jan. 31. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 580; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 149, 376.) [J. G.]

MODANUS (MODANE), abbat or bishop in Scotland. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 4 Feb. i. 502–4), Colgan (*Acta SS.* 252–3), Bp. Forbes (*Kals.* 401–2), and O'Hanlon (*Ir. SS.* ii. 288–93) attempt to give a critical account of the Modan or Modans, but can come to no general conclusion beyond the statements of the Scotch authorities. The primary authority is the *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. li. lii.) at Feb. 4, calling him abbat. According to the legend, he evangelised around Falkirk, and after going westward to the Gareloch in Dumbartonshire, and perhaps northward through Argyleshire, as far as Loch Etive, died at Roseneath in Dumbartonshire. Before coming to Falkirk he may have been at Dryburgh, or at least its proximity. His date is unfixed, in the seventh or ninth century; his feasts are Feb. 4 or 5 and Nov. 14. Dempster (*H. E. Scot.* ii. 459) attributes to him *De Episcopi Officio*, ll. iii. (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 400 sq. et al.; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 282; Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Ap. iii. 411, 14 Mai. iii. 263, 30 Aug. vi. 565.) [J. G.]

MODESTUS (1), after Jerusalem had been sacked by Chosroes II., A.D. 614, and Zacharias the patriarch had been carried as prisoner into Persia, to prevent the patriarchal see remaining destitute of episcopal government, Modestus, the abbat of the monastery of St. Theodosius, was consecrated vicar (τοποτηρήτης) of the captive bishop, "revera si non Episcopus loco tamen Episcopi" (Baron. ad ann.). Eutychius attributes the appointment to Heraclius (Eutych. *Annal.*; Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cxi. 1091). Modestus had previously shewn great heroism and religious zeal, when, after the pillaging of the monastery of St. Sabas by the invaders and the murder of the greater part of the inmates, forty-four in number, he repaired to the place, and collecting the relics of the slaughtered monks from the smoking ruins of the cells, he interred them with religious care in the burial-place of the convent; exhorting by his words, and encouraging by his example, those brethren who had escaped the massacre to return to the monastery and remain at their posts. We learn these particulars from the dedicatory letter of Antiochus, the monk of St. Sabas, to Eustathius, prefixed to his Homilies, or *Pandectes Scripturae*, printed by Migne (*Patrol. Graec.* lxxxix. pp. 1421 sq.), and by Baronius, in a Latin translation (sub ann. 614, no. 24). The same letter speaks of his appointment as Zacharias's vicar, and describes the zeal he manifested in reinstating the sacred buildings which had been sacked and burnt by the Persian troops aided by the hatred of the Jews. Like "a second Bezaleel, or a new Zerubbabel," he restored from their ruins the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, the Holy Cross, and the Anastasis, and rebuilt from its foundations that of the Assumption. He also made the monasteries habitable, and recalled the scattered monks. According to Eutychius (*l.c.*) the funds for the restoration of the churches were furnished by Heraclius out of the taxes of Damascus. He also acted as the almoner of John "the Almsgiver," patriarch of Alexandria, in the distribution of the large sums raised by him for the relief of the destitute Christians at Jerusalem. Zacharias was restored, bringing back with him the wood of the True Cross, which had shared his captivity, A.D. 628. It is uncertain whether, on his return, Modestus retired from his vicarship or acted as his coadjutor. On Zacharias's death, March A.D. 633, he succeeded him, but died in the December of the following year, having only occupied the see independently for nine months (Eutych. *Annal.* p. 1091). The Greek Menaea commemorate his name Dec. 16th. Photius (*Cod.* 275) gives fragments of two homilies of Modestus: (i.) εἰς τὰς μυροφόρους, and (ii.) εἰς τὴν Ὑπαπαντήν; and mentions that he had read a third (iii.) εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου, which he does not consider deserving of special notice, from its dissimilarity to the author's other writings. All three are printed (the last-named for the first time in full) by Migne (*Patrol. Graec.* vol. lxxxvi. part ii. pp. 3267–3312). A letter is mentioned as extant by Pagi (anno 616, no. 5). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 258; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 576.) [E. V.]

MODESTUS (2), a 2nd century writer against Marcion, whose work, now lost, was highly commended by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 25). It was still extant in the time of St. Jerome, who states that there were in circulation other writings under the same name, which he said were rejected as spurious (*Catal.* 32). [G. S.]

MODESTUS (3), the prefect of the Praetorium, persecutor of the Catholics under the emperor Valens (Soc. iv. 16; Soz. vi. 18; Theod. *H. E.* iv. 18; Tillem. vi. 510, 555, 562, 574). He was commissioned by Valens to offer Basil the choice between deposition and communion with the Arians. [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA, Vol. I. p. 289 a.] A severe sickness having supervened, which he regarded as a judgment for his insolent behaviour to the holy man, he entreated him to visit his sick bed, humbly asked pardon for his behaviour, and commended himself to his prayers. He attributed his recovery to St. Basil's intercessions, and regarded him in consequence with the greatest reverence (Greg. Naz. pp. 352, 353). From this time forward Basil's influence with Modestus

was so great that persons came from a great distance to request letters from him to the prefect. Six of these letters remain to us (Basil. *Epp.* 104 [279], 110 [277], 111 [276], 279 [274], 280 [275], 281 [278]), in which Basil claims immunity from taxes for all the ministers of the church, begs for a lessening of the taxes for the impoverished inhabitants of the Taurus range, commends to him a friend who had been summoned to the capital by legal charges, and other friends. In all these letters Basil addresses Modestus with the respect due to his high official position, and expresses much gratitude for his readiness to listen to his requests. [E. V.]

MODIANUS, Numidian bishop addressed by Cyprian in *Ep.* 62 (A.D. 253) [JANUARIUS (1)]; and in *Ep.* 70. (Syn. Carth. *de Bap. Haer.* 1.) [E. W. B.]

MODUARIUS, a deacon of Unilas, the bishop appointed by Chrysostom over the converts among the Gothic tribes of the Danube. Shortly after Chrysostom's deposition he brought the intelligence of the bishop's death, and the urgent request of the king of the Goths, τοῦ ῥηγὸς τῶν Γότθων, that a successor might be speedily sent. Chrysostom on receiving the intelligence wrote to Olympias from Cucusus in 404, urging her to take measures to delay the appointment, as he had no confidence in the selection of those then in power. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 14 ad fin.) [E. V.]

MODWENA (MONENNA, MONYNIA), July 6, Irish virgin, of Killevy, at the foot of Slievegullion, co. Armagh, presents a history which is evidently in the utmost confusion, and probably beyond disentanglement, extending, as in some form it does, from the days of St. Patrick to those of King Alfred of Wessex, that is, from the fifth to the ninth century. It is most probable that several legends are combined, and the difficulty is to distinguish between them. Hardy (*Descrip. Cat.* i. 94–99, ii. 849) mentions ten lives, and gives a more detailed account of three. (1) *Vita S. Modvennae, virginis Hibernicae*, per Galfridum Edys, Burtonensem monachum. MS. Cotton., Cleopat. A. ii. vell. small 4to, 11th cent. This is Conchubran's *Vita S. Monennae*, quoted from and summarised by Ussher (*Wks.* vi. 248–9). It is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 6 Jul. ii. 296–308, with Prologus Auctoris), and called *Vita S. Moduennae pluribus nominibus nuncupatae*, auctore Conchubrano. (2) *S. Modvennae Vita, et Tractatus de Miraculis ejus.* MS. Bibl. Reg. 15 B. iv. ff. 76–8, by Geoffrey, abbat of Burton-on-Trent, A.D. 1114–1151. It is based on Conchobran's Life, and is the first to mention Aelfred, son of Aethelwulf's, visit to Ireland. (3) *Vita S. Modwennae*, MS. Cott. Tiber. E. i. ff. 199 b–204 b. It is given by Capgrave (*Nov. Leg. Ang.* f. 234), and appears to be an abridgment of the preceding, as the first (1) appears to be abridged in the first Life printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 6 Jul. ii. 290–6; *Vita S. Modwennae* (*seu Darercae*) virginis, auctore anonymo. ex MS. Salm.).

After allowing for Moninna, better known as Darerca, the reputed sister of St. Patrick [DARERCA], and also for the story of King Alfred of Wessex's visiting Ireland in his youth (b. A.D. 849) and being cured of some inveterate ailment by Moninna (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 250; Turner, *Ang. Sax.* i. c. 8), we find two series of dates which probably point to two individuals in the 6th and 7th centuries, but no conclusions can be arrived at with certainty.

I. The elder, whose death is noted in *Four Mast.* A.D. 517 ("St. Darerca, of Cill-Sleibhe-Cuilinn, whose first name was Moninne, died on the 6th of July; nine-score years was the length of her life"), may be the subject of the first part of the legend. She received the veil from St. Patrick, associated with herself eight virgins and a widow with her son, had a house at Rooskey (co. Louth), visited St. Ibar in the Aran Isles, and also at Begery, was the friend of St. Brigida of Kildare, and had her chief residence at Killevy, co. Armagh. It is perhaps to meet any chronological difficulty that her age is extended to one hundred and eighty years.

II. The younger fills the chief part of the legend. She was daughter of Maugtheus, abbess for some time at Foghart, near Dundalk, then removed to Killevy, co. Armagh. She is next brought into contact with Aldfrid king of Northumbria, who spent some years in exile in Ireland, and afterwards placed St. Modwenna at Whitby, under St. Hilda. After her return to Ireland she visited Rome, founded a monastery at Burton-on-Trent, and then went to Scotland, where her brother, St. Ronan, was preaching the faith. There she founded seven churches, died at Longforgan, Perthshire, about A.D. 660 (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 404–7; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* c. xviii. § 9; Nicolson, *Ir. Hist. Libr.* 48, ed. 1736; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 37–8; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xi. c. 10; Reeves, *S. Adamn.* 177–8, and *Eccl. An.* 304 n.; Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 249, 382; Earl of Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Arch.* by Miss Stokes, i. 109–11, describing and illustrating the remains at Killvey.) [J. G.]

MOERAGENES, the author of a life, in four books, of Apollonius of Tyana, quoted by Origen (*Adv. Cels.* vi. 41), and spoken slightingly of by Philostratus (*Apoll.* i. 3). [G. S.]

MOLAGA (MOLLOG), Jan. 20, abbat of Tegh-Molagga. The only printed life is given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 145 sq.), translated from Irish into Latin, and adapted (Hardy, *Descrip. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 850), but evidently unhistorical. In the Irish martyrologies, at Jan. 20, he is Loichein, or Lochen. He was born at Liathmuine, near Fermoy, co. Cork, of poor and aged parents named Dubhligh, baptized by St. Cumin Foda. His first foundation was at Tulachmin, probably near his birthplace, but he left it in consequence of a contest with the Druids, and visited the north of Ireland, passed over into Scotland, then into Wales to St. David at Menevia (though the chronology disallows it), who presented him with a bell. He returned to Ireland by Dublin, and appears to have had a house at Llannbeachaire [see DOMHNOG for the legend and identification], but died at Tulachmin after the middle of the 7th century, and was buried at Labba Molaga (Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* iii. 82 sq.; *Roy. Hist. and Arch. Ass. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 303; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* ii. pt. iii. c. 69, pp. 238–9, tracing his pedigree). In county Cork his name is found at Templemolaga, near

Mitchelstown, where his church is a venerable little ivy-clad ruin, on the banks of the Funcheon, and has beside it the saint's well, Tobermolaga. About four miles north-east is the townland of Labba Molaga, *i.e.* Molaga's bed (for an account of whose ruins, with plates, see the Earl of Dunraven, *Notes on Ir. Arch.*, by Miss Stokes, i. 62–4; also *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 434). At Teach-molaga, now Timoleague, in the same county, the roofless walls of the old abbey and church are still standing. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 355; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 145–7, 3rd ed.; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 304.) [J. G.]

MOLAISRE, MOLAISI, MOLAISSE, MOLAISSIUS, MOLAISSUS, MOLASH, son of Cairell, abbat and bishop of Leithghlinn, or old Leighlin, co. Carlow, commemorated April 18. [LASERIAN (2).] [J. G.]

MOLAISSE (MACLAISRE), Aug. 12, known from his association with the life of St. Columba (Reeves, *St. Adamn.* 252, 287). He was abbat of the monastery on Inishmurray, and built his church, which is one of the few remains of Cyclopean masonry still preserved in the west of Ireland. (For full account, with plates, see Earl of Dunraven, *Notes on Ir. Arch.* by Miss Stokes, i. 46–54.) He is called Mac Laisre the learned, and died A.D. 803. [J. G.]

MOLIBBA, MOLIBHA, MOLIOBA, MOLIBAEUS (LIVINUS), nephew of St. Coemgen and his successor at Glendalough; commemorated as bishop on Jan. 8. He flourished in the 7th century. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 368, 584; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 131; Cotton, *Fast.* ii. 214; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 218.) [J. G.]

MOLING, June 17, surnamed LUACHRA, LUACHRAËNSIS, LUAIM, ILLUACHAIR, and also called DAIRCELL, TAIRCHEALL, bishop and confessor, famed both as an ecclesiastic and a politician of the 7th century. The only ancient life published is in the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 17 Jun. iv. 333), who give an article *De S. Molingo*), in which Baertius discusses many of the questions involved in the tradition. This life was known to Ware (*Ir. Writ.* i. c. 13), and others are mentioned as existing in the Burgundian library, Brussels, some in Irish and some in Latin (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 477 sq. viii. 372 sq.; Hardy, *Descrip. Cat.* i. pt. i. 365, pt. ii. 850). Legends regarding St. Moling are preserved in the Irish *Book of Leinster* (early in 12th century), and *Book of Lismore* (15th century), and Ware probably had access to old material now lost (O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 340, 647, and *Lect. Anc. Ir.* iii. 34–36, 45).

St. Moling belonged to the Ui Deagha of the Hy-Cennsealach, co. Wexford, where he probably was born, but an Ossorian tradition places his birth at Mullinakill, par. Jerpoint, co. Kilkenny. He was first received as a monk at Glendalough, co. Wicklow, then founded a monastery at Tigh-Moling, now St. Mullins, co. Carlow, probably early or in the middle of the 7th century. He became bishop of Ferns, co. Wexford. Ware and others place him second in the list and immediate successor of St. Maedhog, who died A.D. 632, but to allow for the succession of the other bishops, they must suppose that St. Moling soon resigned his seat at Ferns, and retired to Tigh-Moling. It is more likely that he was sixth in the succession (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 223 c. 5.; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 220; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* iii. 132, 134), having followed Diratius, A.D. 691, and occupied till his death, A.D. 697. (On the succession at Ferns, see Ware, *Ir. Bps.*, Ferns, p. 437; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 223; Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 425, Ind. Chron. A.D. 670; Cotton, *Fast.* ii. 328 sq.). In *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 697, he is said to have died ιιη Bριτοηeη, "inter Britones," interpreted by Haddan and Stubbs (*Counc.* ii. pt. i. 6) as "either in Iona or Strathclyde." He is best known for the freeing the men of Leinster from the Borumha or Boarian tribute. According to the Irish account which is given in the ancient historical tale called *Borumha-Laighean*, or Origin of the Boromean Tribute, in the *Book of Lecan*, and in Libr. Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS. classed H. 2, 18, this oppressive tax had been imposed upon the Leinstermen in the end of the 1st century of the Christian era by Tuathal Teachtmhar (d. A.D. 106) on account of a wrong done to him by Eochaidh Aincheann, king of Leinster. (See O'Curry, *Lect. Ir. MS.* 230 sq.; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* ii. pt. iii. c. 56; *Gen. Hy-Fiach.* by O'Don. 32; Keating, *H. Ir.* i. pt. i. c. 7.) During the reign of forty Irish monarchs, and as the fruitful cause of unspeakable bloodshed, this tax had been paid, until, about A.D. 690, Finachta Fleadhach, monarch of Ireland (d. A.D. 695), was induced by St. Moling to remit it entirely for himself and successors for ever. But in this transaction it is curious to find the name and influence of St. Adamnan, abbat of Hy, employed to prevent the remission, and St. Moling, on the other hand, obtaining his end by means of an equivocation (Reeves, *S. Adamn.* xlix.; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 298–9 n. [x]). St. Moling is usually regarded as one of the four prophets of Ireland. The *Evangelistarium of S. Moling*, a copy of the Gospels in its case or shrine, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (O'Curry, *ib.* 23, 335–6; *Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* iv. 272–4; Westwood, *Pal. Sacr. Pict.*, Ir. Bibl. MSS. p. 4). [J. G.]

MOLIO, MOLIOS, MOLOE, MOLUE (MAOLIOSA, MAELJOS, MULUY), patron of Holy Isle in Lamlash Bay, Isle of Arran, is said to have preached both at Lamlash and Shisken, in Kilmory, dying at last at the latter, where his grave is still shewn (*Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 245, 254; Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 407 sq.). For his cave at Lamlash, with its Runic inscriptions and other antiquities, see Wilson, *Prehist. Scot.* i. 127, ii. 277 sq.; Munch, *Chron. Man.* 117, 118, calling him MACLIOSA and MACLIOS. [J. G.]

MOLOCUS, -OC, -OCH, -OCHUS, -ONACHUS, -ONATHUS, -UOCUS, Scotch abbat, and probably bishop of Lismore in Argyleshire. (Dempster, *H. E. Scot.* ii. 449*; Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Jun. vii. 677-80.) [LUA (2).] [J. G.]

MOLONACHUS, -ACH, -ACHE, -AH, -ATHUS, bishop of Lismore, Argyleshire, called by the Scotch annalists the pupil of St. Brendan, and commemorated June 25; dated A.D. 629 by Dempster, A.D. 688, who ascribes to his pen *Acta Brandani magistri*. (Dempster, *H. E. Scot.*

ii. 455; Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 155, 203, 238, 409; Boll. *Acta SS.* 25 Jun. vii. 677–80.) [J. G.]

MOLUOC, -US, MOLUAG, MOLUOG, MOLOCH, MOLONCH, abbat, probably bishop of Lismore, Argyleshire, in the sixth century, commemorated June 25. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 481, 492; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* i. 121, n.[a], ii. pt. i. 141; Reeves, *S. Adamn.* 371.) [J. G.]

MOMAEDOG, MOMHAEDOG, MOMEDOC (MAEDOCUS, MAIDDOCUS, MAIDOCUS, MEDOC, MIDA), bishop or abbat of Fiddown, bar. Iverk, co. Kilkenny, was son of Midna, son of Metus, descended from Labhraidh Lorc, and thus related to St. Colum of Tirdaglas; his feasts are Mar. 23, and specially May 18. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 727, giving a short memoir, *De S. Maidoco sive Mo-Moedoco abbate Fedh-Dunensi;* Boll. *Acta SS.* 23 Mart. iii. 438, 18 Mai. iv. 133 praet.) [J. G.]

MOMILLUS, Cyp. *Ep.* 57 (ap. Morcelli). See MONNULUS. [E. W. B.]

MONAN, -E, -US (MINNANUS, MOYNENN, MYNNANE), Scotch saint, called archdeacon, and bishop of St. Andrew's, also martyr as companion of St. Adrian on the Isle of May. He has his legend given in *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. lix.–lx.), but it is very probable that he is really identical with the Irish St. Maeineann, bishop of Clonfert, who died March 1, A.D. 571. According to the Scotch legend he was born in Pannonia in Hungary, accompanied St. Adrian in the ninth century to Scotland, preached on the mainland at Invery in Fifeshire, and was martyred with his companions on the May. His relics were conveyed to Invery (Camerarius, *De Scot. Fort.* 109). He was a favourite saint in Scotland, as his name appears on March 1 in all the kalendars; his chief dedication is St. Monance, Fifeshire. (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 412–13, et al.; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* ii. 682–4, iii. 63; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 23, 311–14; Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Mart. i. 87–9, 324–6.) [J. G.]

MONENN (MON-NENNIUS, MONINDE, MONINNINE) presents in the immense variety of name-forms, about thirty in number, much confusion, so that it is questioned in how far the bishops of Cluain-conaire and Clonfert, and the abbat of Rosnat in Alba, are to be regarded as different persons or the same. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 437 sq. et al.) treats them as all different, but Lanigan (*E. H. Ir.* i. 434) and Todd (*B. of Hymns*, i. 102 sq.) prefer reducing them to two, Monennius, bishop of Clonfert, and Monennus, Nennius, or Nennio, abbat of the Monasterium Rosnatense or Candida Casa in Scotland. (Grub, *E. H. Scot.* i. 20; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 706 sq., iii. 10 sq., 63; Innes, *Hist. Scot.* 114, 124, 155, Sp. cl. ed.) [J. G.]

MONNICA, ST. The name of this most celebrated of Christian mothers was certainly spelt as above, Monnica not Monica, on the evidence of the oldest MSS. of the writings of St. Augustine. We are not aware that the etymology of the name has been ascertained. The less accurate spelling suggests a connexion with μόνος; may the other possibly have to do with μόννος = μάννος, monile?

The birthplace of Monnica, nowhere explicitly named, may be assumed to be Tagaste, the home of her husband, Patricius. Her family was, probably, like his, in point of social grade, "curialis" (*Possidii Vita Aug.* c. 2), that is, it contributed a member or members to the senate of the colonia. Her parents' names are not known. They were Christians, and of consistent life; their home was (*Conf.* ix. 8) "domus fidelis, bonum membrum Ecclesiae." Monnica was born 331 or 332.

Her early domestic training was pure and severe, under the strong hand of an aged and trusted Christian nurse, who had once carried the child's father in her arms. By her Monnica and her sisters (no brothers are mentioned) were taught to abstain entirely from drinking, even water, between meal-times, with the aim of guarding them beforehand against habits of intemperance when, after marriage, they should become "dominae apothecarum et cellariorum" (*Conf.* l. c.). Yet Monnica, when scarcely past her early childhood, was on the verge of a confirmed love of wine, as she confessed long after to her son. Trusted to draw wine from the cask (cuppa) in a jug (laguncula), she sipped first little and then more, and was checked at last only when a maid, who had attended her to the cellar, in an angry moment called her "meribibula" to her face, and thus awoke her to her disgrace and danger (*Conf.* l. c.).

She was married, at what precise age we do not know, to Patricius of Tagaste, a "vir curialis;" a man passionate (ferox), immoral, and not formally a member of the church; though not therefore to be classed as a pagan, but perhaps rather as what in the language of modern missions would be called an "adherent."[a] With him Monnica lived, a wife most patient and faithful, till at the age of forty she was left a widow, tenderly attached to his memory, and longing to be laid at death in his grave (*Conf.* ix. 11). He was rough and eager, but not ungenerous; and she was permitted to win him to the Saviour before his end. A curious picture of the manners of that time and region appears (*Conf.* ix. 9) when Monnica is described as surrounded by her married female friends, and seeing on some of them, "quarum viri mansuetiores erant [Patricio]," the marks of blows, inflicted even on their faces, and counselling them to adopt, for protection, her own method of calm and unwavering submission. The mother of Patricius was an inmate of the home, and her also Monnica completely won to respect and affection, in spite of the slanders of the female slaves, by a union of filial obedience with vigour as a mistress.

She bore children more than once, perhaps often; for Augustine not only mentions a brother expressly (*Conf.* ix. 11, &c.), but was the uncle of many nephews and nieces (*Vita Benedictina Aug.* c. i.). Augustine was born when Monnica was twenty-three years old, and when, as we gather from his language about her whole influence, she was already a Christian in the noblest sense, strong in the power of spiritual holiness, and ardently prayerful for the salvation of her child, and therefore for his personal

[a] See *Conf.* vi. 16 for a statement that Augustine's *parentes*, not only his mother, procured his initiation as an infant catechumen.

acceptance of the faith. It is noticeable, as a sign of popular Christian opinion and usage at the time, that she did not bring him as an infant to baptism, but merely to the initiation of a catechumen (*Conf.* i. 11; vi. 16), the sign of the cross and the salting with salt. Monnica evidently thought her son an unfit subject for baptism until he gave evidence of a true change of will.[b] In early boyhood, in extreme illness, he implored to be baptized, and she hastened to procure it; but he suddenly recovered, and she again resolved upon delay (*Conf.* i. 11).

Monnica joined cordially with Patricius in securing the highest education for Augustine, and in stimulating his studies; and even during her widowhood made every effort to maintain him in them, believing, with clear-sighted wisdom, that their effect ought to be only favourable to his enlightenment. But the developments of both his impurity and his unbelief meanwhile caused her agonising distress, which was aggravated by his cynical conduct, at least on some occasions. There was a time when she declined his presence beneath her roof and at her table, "aversans et detestans blasphemias [filii]" (*Conf.* iii. 11); but a memorable dream altered her decision. She saw a radiant being (juvenem splendidum, hilarem, atque arridentem sibi) approach her as she stood on a wooden beam (regula), bewailing her son's spiritual ruin; and he bade her be consoled, for where she was, thêre too her son should be. Augustine tried to parry the omen by the suggestion that it might portend his mother's unbelief; but she instantly rejoined that the words were not "Where he is, there thou shalt be," but "Where thou art, there he shall be." This was nine years before his conversion. About the same time she received also the famous consolation from a bishop, wearied (substomachans taedio) with her entreaties that he would reason with her son: "Go, prythee; the son of those tears cannot perish" (*Conf.* iii. 12).

When Augustine resolved to migrate to Italy she sorely bewailed it (atrociter planxit), and resolved not to leave his side; and when by a singularly heartless stratagem he escaped her, affecting to bid a friend good-bye on board ship, and persuading her to spend the night in a chapel dedicated to Cyprian, she would not give him up. Beside herself at first with grief (insaniebat dolore, *Conf.* v. 8), she took ship before long and followed him, and on a stormy voyage was the consoler of the terrified sailors, assuring them that she had seen a vision which promised safety (*Conf.* vi. 1). By the time of her arrival Augustine was already at Milan, and under the influence of Ambrose, but not yet won to the orthodox faith (non manichaeus, sed neque catholicus christianus); but she calmly assured him of her certainty that she should see him a believer before she died (*Conf.* l. c.).

The ministrations of Ambrose she attended with great and reverent delight (diligebat illum virum sicut angelum Dei), and gave a striking proof of her feeling in submitting at once to his judgment on a point that must have touched her nearly. She had been used to bring oblations of vegetables, bread, and wine, to the shrines of the African martyrs, and began the like practice at Milan. But Ambrose had forbidden the usage, partly because it was much abused to intemperance, partly (a significant fact) because it so closely resembled the pagan parentalia. Augustine owns that probably his mother would have yielded to none but Ambrose in such a case; but to him she yielded without a murmur. Ambrose on his side fully understood Monnica's strength of Christian character, and delighted to praise her to her son (*Conf.* vi. 2).

At Milan she was a most devout and diligent worshipper; liberal in alms; daily attending the Holy Supper (nullum diem praetermittebat oblationem ad altare [Domini]), and twice daily present in the church, not to gossip there (non ad vanas fabulas et aniles loquacitates), but to hear the word and to pray (*Conf.* v. 9). During the struggle of Ambrose with the Arian empress-mother Justina (385) Monnica was the most devout among the host of worshippers who gathered for vigils and prayers in the church (*Conf.* ix. 7). The hymns of Ambrose were greatly loved by her, and treasured in her memory; the dialogue De Beatâ Vitâ closes with some noble words from Monnica, introduced by a quotation from the hymn "Fove precantes, Trinitas."

The final crisis of her son's conversion was instantly reported to her by Augustine and Alypius, to her extreme delight (exsultat et triumphat, *Conf.* viii. 12). It must not be forgotten that this final crisis was the resolution of Augustine not only to be baptized but to accept the life of celibacy; and Monnica's joy shews that in this as in other respects she shared some distorted religious theories of her age, as certainly did her great and heavenly-minded son.

Between his conversion and baptism she retired with him to Cassiciacum, the campagna of his friend Verecundus. The dialogues De Ordine and De Beatâ Vitâ give us a charming picture of this interval of retirement, spent in holy intercourse and in lofty thought lighted up with eternal truth. Monnica appears as an interlocutor in both dialogues, conspicuous for strength of native sense, and occasionally speaking with a vigour and esprit which are evidently reported from the life, and shew her as a woman who might have shone at any period for intellectual gifts. "We fairly forgot her sex, and thought that some great man was in our circle" (*de B. V.* § 10).

At the close of the dialogue she speaks of the bliss of the Eternal Vision: "This, beyond dispute, is the blessed life, the perfect; at which we must look to be enabled to arrive, hastening on in solid faith, joyful hope, and burning love" (*de B. V. ad fin.*). In the dialogue De Ordine Augustine speaks of his mother's "ingenium, atque in res divinas inflammatus animus" (*de Ord.* ii. § 1).

She was now near the end. Her son, an orthodox believer, was about to return with her to Africa. They were lodging at Ostia, and making the last preparations for the voyage (*Conf.* ix. 10). Augustine, in a memorable passage, records a conversation with his mother, spoken as they sat at a window looking out on the viridarium of the house; a delightful col-

[b] We are aware of the discussions raised upon this incident. See e. g. Wall on Infant Baptism, Part ii. ch. iii. § 11. But we think the narrative in the Confessions does *not* imply that *Patricius* interfered to defer Augustine's baptism.

loquy (colloquebamur soli valde dulciter), rising from theme to theme of subtle but holy thought to reach the height of the beatific vision. And the "colloquy" was surely no mere monologue on Augustine's part, if he has drawn his mother truly in the two dialogues to which we have just referred. It closed with a solemn utterance from her: "she had done with the wish to live; her son was a believer, and fully consecrated; what did she there?" (*Conf.* ix. 10). Five days later she was taken ill (decubuit febribus), and at once recognised the end. Her long-cherished wish to lie in the grave of Patricius was gone. "Nothing," she said, "is far from God. There is no fear lest He, at the last day, should not know whence to raise me up." "So on the ninth day of her illness, in the 56th year of her age, and in the 33rd of my own, that devout and saintly soul was released from the body." She died in the presence of Augustine, of another son, of her grandson Adeodatus, so soon to follow her, and of many others (omnes nos) (*Conf.* ix. 11, 12).

Most affecting is Augustine's confession of his struggles with grief, and with what was surely a mistaken dread of its unreserved indulgence before God. The burial was tearless (cum ecce corpus elatum est, imus redimus sine lacrymis). Then followed another time of conflict, and a vain effort for relief at the bath. Then sleep came and a calmer waking, and now Augustine, like his blessed mother, found help in an Ambrosian hymn, "Deus creator omnium;" and at length he was able to weep without misgiving. He records his prayers for the departed soul, and begs those of the reader; as certainly Monnica herself would have done. Neither the mother nor the son had fully grasped the simplicity of the profound assurance that "to depart" is "to be with Christ, which is πολλῷ μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον." But they possessed the passport to that unseen bliss.

We may dispense with any long summary of Monnica's character; equally strong, lively, and tender by nature, and refined by grace to extraordinary elevation. Augustine lavishes his unique eloquence upon her heavenly tone of life and influence, and the intensity of her longings for the salvation of the souls she loved. He calls her his mother both in the flesh and in the Lord. His whole being was due, under God, to Monnica. Christians who knew her "dearly loved her Lord in her, for they felt His presence in her heart" (*Conf.* ix. 10). She was an eager student of the Scriptures (*de Ordine*, i. § 32).

In Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 228, is printed (from Riese's *Anthologia Latina*, fasc. ii. p. 127) an epitaph of Monnica, bearing the name of *Bassus, exconsul;* probably Anicius Bassus, consul A.D. 408, and therefore a contemporary of Augustine's. The lines are:

In tumulo Monicae. (sic.)
Hic posuit cineres genetrix castissima prolis
Augustine tui altera lux meriti,
Qui servans pacis caelestia iura sacerdos
Commissos populos moribus instituis.
Gloria vos maior gestorum laude coronat
Virtutum mater felicior subolis.

In the last couplet Monnica and her son are, apparently, addressed together. The pentameter, with its startling metrical licence (a feature however not uncommon in the verse of inscriptions), apostrophises Monnica as "Mother of Virtues," and Augustine as her yet "happier offspring;" happier, it may be, as a *celibate* saint. This epitaph is an interesting proof of the religious reverence accorded from the first to Monnica.

In the same pages of Brieger's *Zeitschrift* is mentioned also the *translation of the bones of Monnica* from Ostia to Rome, in 1430, in the reign of Martin V., and at the expense of Mapheus Veghius. The relics were deposited in a chapel dedicated on the occasion to Augustine, and on the sarcophagus were inscribed the following lines, a curious and instructive advance upon the older epitaph in their ascription of mediatorial powers to Monnica:

Hic Augustini sanctam venerare parentem,
Votaque fer tumulo, quo jacet illa, sacro.
Quae quondam gnato, toti nunc Monica mundo
Succurrit precibus, praestat opemque suis.*

This translation is dated, in the Roman Martyrology, April 9. Monnica appears as a saint in the Roman calendar, Sancta Monica vidua, April 4.

She appears not infrequently as a figure in mediaeval art. Ary Scheffer's picture, painted 1845, "St. Augustin et sa mère Ste. Monique," gives a noble modern realisation of Monnica, as she sits holding the hand of her son and, with him, gazing upwards.

"Together 'neath the Italian heaven
They sit, the mother and her son,
He late from her by errors riven,
Now both in Jesus one:
The dear consenting hands are knit
And either face, as there they sit,
Is lifted as to something seen
Beyond the blue serene."

Such, we believe, is the ordinary interpretation of the picture; as if it represented the colloquy at Ostia. But an interesting passage in Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, p. 314, seems to shew that Ary Scheffer had in view some moment before Augustine's conversion; perhaps that recorded *Conf.* vi. 1, when Monnica assures Augustine, while he still hesitates to accept the faith, that she should see him a believer before her death. [H. C. G. M.]

MONNULUS (*v. l.* MUNNULUS, MONULUS, MONTULUS, MANNULUS, MOMILLUS, &c.), African bishop Conc. 2 Carth. sub Cyp. A.D. 252. *Cyp. Ep.* 57, *Sentt. Epp.* 10, bishop of Girba, the imperial factory of purple on the traditional island of the Lotophagi, Menine. [E. W. B.]

MONOGENES, in the Valentinian system, both the name of one of the decad of aeons, and also an alternative appellation of the primary aeon Nous. The double use of the name probably indicates successive steps in the development of the system. (Iren. i. 1.) [G. S.]

MONOIMUS (a form, possibly representing the Jewish name Menahem), an Arabian Gnostic of the second century. Until recent times, his name had been only preserved by a brief notice in Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 18); but the recovery

* v. l. *sibi*, as the epitaph appears in Papebroch, *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, t. i. p. 491; to which authority reference is made in Brieger's *Zeitschrift*.

of the lost work of Hippolytus against heresies has shewed that it was from this work Theodoret had derived his knowledge. Hippolytus there gives a short abstract of the doctrine of Monoimus, together with an extract from a letter of his to Theophrastus, whether an actual letter to an unknown Theophrastus, or a rhetorical address to the Aristotelic philosopher of the name, we cannot determine. On a hasty glance at the system described, it might seem one of mere pantheism, but a closer examination shews Christian elements in the scheme, so that it is rightly classed as a heresy, and not as a form of heathenism. There is, for instance, an express quotation of the Epistle to the Colossians, and a probable reference to the prologue of St. John's Gospel. The starting point of the speculation is the ascription in the New Testament of the work of creation to the Son of Man, whence it was inferred that the first principle was properly called Man. It follows that it is a mistake to look for God in creation; we must seek Him in ourselves, and can best find Him by the study of the involuntary operations of our own soul. The relation between the "Man" and "Son of Man" exists from beyond time. The latter is derived from the former, but, it would seem, by an immediate and eternal necessity of His nature, just as from fire is necessarily derived the light which renders it visible. Thus, concerning the first principle, the Scriptures speak both of a "being" and a "becoming" (ἦν καὶ ἐγένετο), the first word properly applying to the "Man," the second to the "Son of Man." in order to illustrate how in this first principle are combined unity and multiplicity, perfect simplicity with the most contradictory attributes, we are referred to the Greek letter ι, the single stroke of which represents units, and which also represents the number ten. Then again from the units all other numbers flow. The process of creation is further illustrated by a mathematical theory of the generation from numbers of the regular solids, and from those the elementary bodies are supposed to be formed. A type of the activity of the Son of Man, who works all the transformations of nature, is found in Moses' rod; which was also an iota, a single branch, but having a tenfold operation. The speculations of Monoimus, as reported to us, only relate to the work of creation; we are not told whether he had any theory as to the problem of redemption.

The use made by Monoimus of the phrases "Man" and "Son of Man" reminds us of the system of the NAASSENES (Hippol. *Ref.* § 7, p. 95, see also the article GNOSTICISM, Vol. II. p. 292), and a closer examination shews that this is no chance coincidence, and that Monoimus is really to be referred to that sect, although Hippolytus himself has classed them separately; for Monoimus describes his first principle as bisexual, and (p. 269) applies to it the titles "Father, Mother, the two immortal names," words, as we know from p. 95, taken out of a NAASSENE hymn. But there is a common source of this language in the Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη of Simon (see p. 171, line 20), this passage also being clearly the original of the description given by Monoimus of the contradictory attributes of his first principle. Further traces of the obligations of Monoimus to Simon are found in the reference (p. 271, line 1) to the six powers instrumental in creation, which answer to Simon's six "roots," while a similar indebtedness to Simon on the part of the Naassene writer in Hippolytus is found on comparing the anatomical speculations connected with the name Eden (v. 9, p. 120, vi. 14, p. 168). A more doubtful question is whether there be any relation of obligation between Monoimus and the Clementine Homilies, there being in both a contrast drawn between the "Son of Man" and those who are "born of women" (*Hom.* ii. 17). It only remains to be mentioned that Monoimus has mysteries in connexion with the number 14, shewing that he attached importance to Paschal celebration.

[G. S.]

MONOPHYSITES and MONOTHELITES [PERSON OF CHRIST, CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING THE].

MONTANUS (1), a native of Ardabau, a village in Phrygia, who, in the latter half of the 2nd century, originated a schism which spread very widely, and of which traces remained for hundreds of years.

I. *Rise of Montanism.*—The name Montanus seems to have been not uncommon in the district. It is found in a Phrygian inscription (Le Bas, 755) and in three others from neighbouring provinces (Boeckh—3662 Cyzicus, 4071 Ancyra, 4187 Amasia). Montanus had been originally a heathen, and according to Didymus (*De Trin.* iii. 41) an idol priest. The epithets "abscissus" and "semivir" applied to him by Jerome (*Ep. ad Marcellam*, vol. i. 186) suggest that Jerome may have believed him to have been a priest of Cybele. Some suppose that after his conversion he was advanced to the rank of priest, or even of bishop, but of this there is no evidence. He taught that there was no reason to think that God's supernatural revelations came to an end with the apostles, but that on the contrary even more wonderful manifestations of the divine energy might be expected under the dispensation of the Paraclete, whom Christ had promised to send to His church. It is asserted that he claimed to be the Paraclete himself; but we believe this to have been a mistake arising out of the fact that Montanus claimed to be an inspired organ by whom the Paraclete spoke, and that consequently words of his were uttered and accepted as those of that Divine Being. We are told that Montanus claimed to be a prophet, and that in a kind of possession or ecstasy he delivered certain strange utterances. Montanus held that the relation between a prophet and the Divine Being who inspired him was the same as between a musical instrument and that which played upon it; and that consequently the inspired words of a prophet were not to be regarded as those of the human speaker. In a fragment of his prophecy preserved by Epiphanius he says: "I have come, not an angel or ambassador, but God the Father." See also Didymus (*u. s.*). It is clear that Montanus here did not speak in his own name, but uttered words which he supposed God to have put into his mouth; and if he spoke similarly in the name of the Paraclete we need not imagine that he identified himself with the Paraclete.

The prophesyings of Montanus were soon outdone by those of two female disciples of his,

Prisca or Priscilla and Maximilla. They fell into strange ecstasies, delivering in an unconscious state what were regarded by Montanus and his followers as divine prophecies. Scenes would seem to have taken place analogous to those that were exhibited on the first manifestation of the Irvingite gift of tongues. Prisca and Maximilla, who had been married, left their husbands, were given by Montanus the rank of virgins in the church, and were widely reverenced as prophetesses. But when these things came to be noised abroad, a very different opinion was formed of them by the sober judgment of some of the neighbouring bishops. Phrygia was a country in which heathen devotion exhibited itself in the most fanatical form, and it seemed to calm observers that the frenzied utterances of the Montanistic prophetesses were far less like any previously known manifestation of the prophetic gift among Christians, than they were to those heathen orgiasms which the church had been wont to ascribe to the operation of demons. They desired then to test the matter by exorcising the supposed prophetesses and driving the evil spirits away; but their adherents naturally would not permit such an insult to be offered. The result was a schism between those who ascribed the new prophesying to God and to the devil. Modern critics have blamed the intolerance of the church authorities who allowed matters to come to a schism; and have believed that wiser counsels of peace and comprehension were given by some eminent church teachers; by Melito or Irenaeus. We believe that such critics have entirely failed to enter into the feelings of Christians of those days and have in consequence wholly misread the history. A critic of the 19th century may give a naturalistic explanation of the Montanist phenomena and may ascribe them to nervous excitement, hysteria, and so forth; but it is certain that any one in the 2nd century who should deny the supernatural character of such manifestations, instead of being accepted by both parties as a peacemaker, would be scouted by both as an infidel. The phenomena then, if supernatural, came either from God or from Satan; and how was a conciliation possible of these opposite views? The church party looked on the Montanists as wilfully despising our Lord's warning to beware of false prophets, and as being in consequence deluded by Satan, in whose power they placed themselves by accepting as divine teachers women possessed by evil spirits. The Montanists looked on the church leaders as men who did despite to the Spirit of God by offering the indignity of exorcism to those whom He had chosen as His organs for communicating with the church.

It does not appear that any offence was taken at the substance of the Montanistic prophesyings. On the contrary, it was owned that they had a certain plausibility, as for instance because, with their congratulations and promises to those who accepted them, they mixed a due proportion of rebukes and warnings; but this was ascribed to the deeper art of Satan. What condemned the prophesyings in the minds of the church authorities was the frenzied ecstasy in which they were delivered. It has been said with truth that there was nothing new in the Montanist illustration of the musical instrument already cited, or in the doctrine that a prophet's words are not his own but those of the Divine Being whose messenger he is. But it is unjust to the church teachers to suppose that in controversy with Montanists they altered the ancient doctrine. They appear to have been quite right in maintaining that previous prophets while obeying the divine impulses remained in perfect possession of their faculties, and that there had been no precedent in the church for the loss of self-control displayed in the Montanist ravings.

The question we have indicated as to the different characteristics of real and pretended prophecy, was the main subject of discussion in the first stage of the Montanist controversy. It is possible that it was treated of by Melito in his work on prophecy: it was certainly the subject of the work of Miltiades *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν*; it was touched on in an anonymous[a] early writing against Montanism [see ABERCIUS], of which large fragments are preserved by Eusebius (v. 16, 17). We cannot doubt that some more of this polemic is preserved by Epiphanius, who often incorporates the labours of previous writers and whose section on Montanism contains a discussion which is clearly not Epiphanius's own, but a survival from the first age of the controversy. We learn that the Montanists brought as Scripture examples of ecstasy, the text "the Lord sent a deep sleep (*ἔκστασιν*) upon Adam,"[b] that David said in his haste (*ἐν ἐκστάσει*) "all men are liars," and that the same word is used of the vision in which Peter was warned not to refuse the invitation of Cornelius. The orthodox opponent points out that Peter's "not so" shews that in his ecstasy he was not so carried away by the divine influence as to lose his individual judgment and will. Other similar instances are quoted from the Old Testament.

The same argument was probably pursued by Clement of Alexandria, who promised to write on the subject of prophecy against the Montanists (*Strom.* iv. 13, p. 605). In a former book (i. 17, p. 369) he notes it as a characteristic of false prophets *ἐν ἐκστάσει προφητεύοντας ὡς ἂν Ἀποστάτου διάκονοι*. Tertullian no doubt defended the Montanist position in his lost work in six books on ecstasy, with a seventh specially directed against Apollonius, mentioned by Jerome in his catalogue in the article (40) on Apollonius. He recurs to the subject (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 22, *De Anima*, 21, 45). The church's rejection of the Montanist doctrine on this subject is sufficiently illustrated (Athan. *Or. adv. Ar.* iii. 47, p. 473).

Notwithstanding the condemnation of Montanism and the excommunication of its adherents by the neighbouring bishops, it continued to spread and to make converts. Visitors came from a distance to witness the wonderful phenomena; and the condemned prophets hoped to reverse the first unfavourable verdict by the sentence of a larger tribunal. Yet while the cause of the new prophesyings gained in numerical strength, it failed to obtain ecclesiastical approval; and all the leading bishops of Asia

[a] It seems to have been only through inaccurate recollection of Eusebius that Jerome names at one time Rhodo, at another Apollonius as the author.

[b] So also Tertullian (*De Jejun.* 3, *De Anima*, 45).

Minor declared against it. At length an attempt was made to influence or overrule the judgment of Asiatic Christians by the opinion of their brethren beyond the sea.

A good deal of darkness has been supposed to hang over the chronology of the Montanist controversy, chiefly arising, partly from attempts to reconcile with the chronology of Eusebius that of Epiphanius, who is not even consistent with himself, partly from the acceptance of another authority utterly unworthy of credit.[e] But about the most important date in the history there is no uncertainty. It is of little consequence to know how long the flame had been smouldering, if we can fix the time when it burst into open conflagration. We cannot pretend to be sure how long Montanus had been teaching, or how long the excesses of his prophetesses had given scandal to their more sober neighbours; but we can name the year 177 as that when Western attention was first called to these disputes. In that year the interference was solicited of the martyrs of Lyons, who were at the time suffering imprisonment and were in prospect of suffering death, for the testimony of Christ; and who were informed of the disputes by their brethren in Asia Minor, the native country no doubt of many of the Gallic Christians. Eusebius in his chronicle assigns the year 172 for the beginning of the prophesying of Montanus. He may not have fixed this date at random. One of his authorities names the year of the pro-consulship of Gratus as that of the beginning of Montanism, and Eusebius may not have been so ignorant as we, what year that was. We should have been disposed to allow a few years more for the growth of the new sect in Asia before it forced itself on the attention of foreign Christians; and on this account the Epiphanian date 157 may appear more probable, with which also tolerably agrees the vague date of Didymus, "more than 100 years after the Ascension." But in truth the prophesying of Montanus might have been going on some time before it made much noise even in Asia; and we could reconcile the authorities by supposing 157 to be the date of the conversion of Montanus, 172 that of his formal condemnation by the Asiatic church authorities.

Concerning the appeal to the Gallic churches it may be asked whether they were consulted by the orthodox, by the Montanists, or by both; and there is a further question, What answer did the Gallic Christians give? On this last point Eusebius only tells us that their judgment was pious and most orthodox, and that they subjoined letters which those who afterwards suffered martyrdom wrote while yet in prison to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia and also to Eleutherus bishop of Rome, pleading (or negotiating, πρεσβεύοντες) for the peace of the churches.

From the last expression Pearson, followed by many others, concluded that the Gallic martyrs entreated the removal of the excommunication and for the peaceful comprehension of the Montanists in the church. If such advice was given it certainly was not accepted, and as we have already said, it could not have been accepted. The Asiatic church could not recognise as coming from the Spirit of God what it had already condemned as Satanic. We do not think it possible that the Gallic church should advise that this should be done; but we need not press this point, for it is enough to ask, If such advice had been given would Eusebius praise it as pious and orthodox? He begins his account of Montanism by describing it as a device of Satan, the enemy of all good, who having vainly attempted to overthrow the church by persecution, left no method of assault untried, and brought about the springing up of strange heresies. It is monstrous to imagine that Eusebius, thinking thus of Montanism, could praise as pious or orthodox the opinion of men who, ignorant of Satan's devices, should take the devil's work for God's.

The way in which we ourselves read the history is that *the Montanists had appealed to Rome;* that the church party solicited the good offices of their countrymen settled in Gaul, who wrote to Eleutherus representing the disturbance to the peace of the churches (a phrase probably preserved by Eusebius from the letter itself) which would ensue if the Roman church should approve what the church on the spot had condemned. Considering the activity of intercourse between the capital and every part of the empire, we need not think it impossible that Roman interference should have been sought. The resources and liberality of the Roman church made its friendship a matter of importance to every provincial church. We know of the mediation of Rome in the Corinthian dissensions at the end of the 1st century, and of the gift of money sent by Soter to the same Corinthian church shortly before the beginning of the Montanist troubles. On the other hand we have no reason to think of Rome as then enjoying such supremacy that its reversal of an Asiatic excommunication would be quietly acquiesced in. Such a step would have been a violent disturbance to the peace of the churches. Yet the Asiatic bishops might well be anxious how their decision would commend itself to the

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[e] The statement, which probably expresses the real opinion of Epiphanius, is (*Haer.* 48) that Montanism began in the nineteenth year of Antoninus Pius (*i.e.* A.D. 157). But in the next section, fixing the date of his own writing at A.D. 374, he says that Montanism had arisen 290 years before. It is natural to suspect corruption of reading, and the editors have altered the text accordingly; but it is equally possible that Epiphanius, borrowing an argument from an older writer and trying to alter the figures so as to suit his own chronology, may have gone wrong in his arithmetic. A similar explanation is probably to be given of a third puzzling statement as to the chronology of Montanism (*Haer.* 51 § 33). In defending the Apocalypse he answers the objection: An epistle is addressed to the church of Thyatira, and there is no Christian church in Thyatira. The answer, if we understand it rightly, is, "It is true the church of Thyatira completely disappeared, having been overrun by Montanism. John, writing ninety-three years after our Lord's ascension (birth?), had foretold this, what he says about the woman Jezebel being a prediction of the Montanist prophetess. But now after 112 years there is a church at Thyatira again, which by God's help will increase." If there has been no corruption of text we should suppose that Epiphanius had recklessly copied what some one had written at the beginning of the 3rd century. We might suspect Epiphanius to be using the book which Hippolytus is known to have written in defence of St. John's Gospel and Apocalypse; but the chronology is not that of Hippolytus, and Epiphanius's authority is more likely to have been some Egyptian chronologer.

judgment of a stranger at a distance. To such a one there would be nothing incredible in the news that special manifestations of God's Spirit had displayed themselves in Phrygia, while the suggestion that the new prophesying was inspired by Satan would be repelled by the facts that it was admittedly perfectly orthodox, and that all that it professed to reveal tended to the glory of Christ and to the increase of Christian devotion. To avert then the possibility of the calamity of a breach between the Eastern and Western churches, the Gallic churches, it would appear, not only wrote, but sent Irenaeus to Rome at the end of 177 or the beginning of 178. The hypothesis here made relieves us from the necessity of supposing this πρεσβεία to have been unsuccessful, while it fully accounts for the necessity of sending it.

The Asiatic churches took good care to lay before the Christian world justification for the course which they had adopted. Their case was stated by one of their most eminent bishops, Claudius Apolinarius of Hierapolis. It has been asked why we do not hear of Melito at this stage of the controversy, and the most probable answer is, that he was dead at the time. Apolinarius joined to his work the signatures of different bishops who had investigated and condemned the Montanist prophesyings. One of these, who came from a distance, Sotas of Anchialus, on the western shore of the Black Sea, was dead when Apolinarius wrote; but Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of the neighbouring colony of Debeltus, gives his sworn testimony that Sotas had tried to cast the demon out of Priscilla but had been hindered by the hypocrites. We learn from a later writer that Zoticus of Comana, and Julianus of Apamea, similarly attempted to exorcise Maximilla, and were not permitted to do so. Another of Apolinarius's authorities adds weight to his signature by appending the title martyr, then commonly given to those who braved imprisonment or tortures for the cause of Christ, until the modesty of the Gallic sufferers confined it to those whose witness was crowned by death. The result of the case laid before the Roman church was that the sentence of the Asiatic bishops was approved. This we know independently from the testimony of Tertullian to be presently mentioned. With this definite excommunication of the Montanists the first stage in this history comes to a close.

It may be pronounced certain from the whole history, that Eleutherus was the first bishop of Rome who had to give an opinion on the Montanist question; and we almost doubt whether it is worth while to mention the statement of the writer known as Predestinatus, that a previous bishop of Rome, Soter, wrote against them. Predestinatus is not a blunderer but a wilful liar; his false assertions do not originate from haste or carelessness, but from pure invention. He thinks it necessary to state under each heresy the name of the orthodox champion by whom it was first confuted; but it is easy to see that he freely supplies the defects of his knowledge by invention. We have not the least reason to think the work of Soter against the Montanists to have had more real existence than, for example, the work of pope Alexander against Heracleon. In a later section Predestinatus outrages all chronology by making Soter condemn Tertullian. It is clear that he knew Tertullian to be a Montanist, that he imagined Soter to be the contemporary bishop of Rome, and therefore the fit person to whom to ascribe the condemnation of that heresy.

Not more authentic than the inventions of Predestinatus, though less glaringly false, are the Antimontanist councils entered in the "Libellus Synodicus," viz. one at Hierapolis under Apolinarius, one under Sotas at Achillae (Anchialus is plainly meant), and one by the Gallic confessors. It is plain on examination that the compiler, wishing to enrich his collection with records of ancient councils, invented these imaginary councils, taking his main facts directly or indirectly from Eusebius and adding some blunders of his own. That meetings of bishops, however, took place we have every reason to believe.

II. *Montanism in the East—second stage.*—For the history of Montanism in the East after its definite separation from the church, our chief authorities are fragments preserved by Eusebius of two writers, the anonymous writer already mentioned and Apollonius of Ephesus.[d] The date of both these writings is considerably later than the rise of Montanism. Apollonius places himself 40 years after its first beginning. In the time of the Anonymous the first leaders of the schism had vanished from the scene. Montanus was dead, and Theodotus, who had at an early point taken a leading part in the movement. He had probably had the financial management of the affairs of the sect, for he is said to have been towards it a kind of ἐπίτροπος. The Anonymous knows with great precision the date of the death of Maximilla, since when, at the time he wrote, 13 full years had elapsed and a 14th had begun. Priscilla must have died previously, for Maximilla believed that she was herself to be the last prophetess in the church and that after her the end would come. Though the Anonymous knows the date, he does not profess to know the circumstances of these deaths. He had heard a story that Montanus and Maximilla had, at different times, both hanged themselves; that Theodotus had met a death like that in some legends attributed to Simon Magus, being deceived and deserted by the demon who, he had hoped, would have carried him up to heaven. What truth there might be in these stories the Anonymous will not undertake to say. In his work and in that of Apollonius, as far as we know them, only one is touched on of the points of doctrine and discipline which the writings of Tertullian have taught us to connect with the name of Montanism, namely the question of the new fasts instituted by Montanus. The parts are now reversed; it is the Montanists who appear to incline to the side of worldly laxity, the church party to that of puritanical overstrictness. The Montanists are censured because their prophetess receives presents of money and costly garments; because their prophet also takes presents, because he dyes his hair, paints his eyebrows, uses cosmetics, plays at dice and tables, and lends money on usury. The Montanists had organised a complete financial system,

[d] Bonwetsch has the merit of pointing out that the section in Didymus, already referred to, is important as founded on an independent use of Montanist writings.

appointing collectors, levying contributions even from the poorest of their members, and paying regular salaries to their preachers. At all this Apollonius is much scandalised. We cannot doubt that the church clergy at the time must have been supported by the gifts and offerings of their people, so that apparently the novelty at which Apollonius took offence was that prophets or preachers should take money for their services. Again he complains because Themiso, a leading Montanist, having been cast into prison for the faith, managed to obtain his release by presents of money, and instead of shewing signs of shame for his faint-heartedness, assumed the airs of a martyr, and had the impudence to write, as if he were an apostle, what he called a catholic epistle. We may contrast the strenuous arguments with which Tertullian condemns such escape by money payment from the risk of martyrdom in his tract *De Fuga in Persecutione*.

The Themiso here mentioned seems to have been, after Montanus, the head of the Montanists. He was at any rate their leading man[e] at Pepuza; and this was the headquarters of the sect. It was there probably that Montanus had taught; it was there that the prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla resided; there Priscilla had seen in a vision Christ come to her in the form of a woman in a bright garment, who inspired her with wisdom and informed her that Pepuza was the holy place and that there was the New Jerusalem to descend from heaven.[f] From that time Pepuza and the neighbouring village Tymium became the Montanist holy place, and were habitually spoken of as Jerusalem. It was there that Zoticus and Julianus, as already mentioned, visited Maximilla, and Themiso was then at the head of those who prevented the intended exorcism.

It seems likely that Montanus himself did not live for many years to preside over his sect, and this perhaps is the reason why it is seldom called like other heresies by the name of its founder. The sectaries themselves called themselves πνευματικοί, spiritual, calling the adherents of the church ψυχικοί, carnal, in this language following the usage of some Gnostic sects. In Phrygia itself the Catholics seem to have called the new prophesying after the name of its leader for the time being. But elsewhere over the Christian world, it was, like the Plymouth sect, called after its place of origin, the Phrygian heresy, ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις. In the West the name was by a solecism translated the Cataphrygian heresy, and the heretics were called Cataphrygians.

It seems to us that, after Themiso, Miltiades presided over the sect; at least the Anonymous begins his work by calling it the heresy τῶν κατὰ Μιλτιάδην. On this however see MILTIADES. One other Montanist of this period we can name, Alexander, who was honoured by his party as a martyr, but who, according to Apollonius, had been only punished by the proconsul, Aemilius Frontinus, for his crimes, as the public records would testify. We have unfortunately not the means of throwing light on the chronology by fixing the date of that proconsulship.

Taking the Eusebian date for the rise of Montanism, Apollonius, who wrote 40 years later, must have written about 210. The Epiphanian date would make him 15 years earlier. The Anonymous gives us a clue to his date in the statement that whereas Maximilla had foretold wars and tumults, there had been more than 13 years since her death during which there had been neither general nor partial war, but the Christians had by God's mercy enjoyed continual peace. This then must have been written either before the wars of the reign of Severus had begun or after they had finished. Take the latest admissible date on the former hypothesis, and we get 192, and for the death of Maximilla 179. It is hardly likely that in so short a time all the original leaders of the movement would have died. Besides in the time of the Anonymous, Maximilla had had no successor; but in the time of Apollonius, a prominent figure was the prophetess, by whom it is natural to understand Maximilla. If so, she must have been a young woman when she first left her husband. It must be mentioned, however, that Epiphanius has got the name of one Quintilla, whom he does not know whether or not to identify with Priscilla, and who may possibly have come forward as a prophetess between 192 and 210.[g] If we place the Anonymous after the wars of Severus we can scarcely find an earlier date for him than 232, which certainly is later than the character of the extracts would have led us to suppose. Without pressing too much the precarious argument *ex silentio* we may at least observe that the phrase, "the new prophesying," is more appropriate 20 than 60 years after their beginning. We have to add that the Anonymous states that the occasion of his work was a request by the clergy of Ancyra in Galatia that he would leave them a written record of a *viva voce* confutation of Montanism he had made in that city.

Before the end of the 2nd century it would seem that Montanist teachers had made their way as far as Antioch; for Serapion, bishop of that city, wrote against them, copying the letter of Apolinarius already mentioned. It is through Serapion that Eusebius seems to have known this letter.

Early in the 3rd century the church had made converts enough from Montanists born in the

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[e] If the late witness of Jerome may be trusted (*Ep. ad Marcellam* already quoted) the sect was governed by a patriarch at Pepuza; under him were officers called cenones; bishops came only in the third place.

[f] The same vision, apparently, is referred to by Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 24).

[g] Certainly the Montanists did not remain permanently without a prophetess, for Epiphanius tells us that in their church seven virgins used to come in, in white raiment, bearing torches, who used to prophesy to the people and move them to tears of repentance by their pathetic discourse. He adds that in this sect they had female priests and bishops, sex making no difference as to eligibility for sacred functions. This agrees with a story told by Firmilian in the letter cited above, of a prophetess, apparently a Montanist, who appeared in his own diocese and had led away many, and who presumed not merely to baptise but to consecrate the eucharist. Tertullian however always condemned any committal of sacerdotal functions to females, and his prophetess (*De Anima* 9) does not appear to have been allowed to tell her visions until the congregation had departed.

sect, for the question to arise, on what terms were converts to be received who had had no other than Montanist baptism? Matter and form were perfectly regular; for in all essential points of doctrine these sectaries agreed with the church. But it was decided, at a council held at Iconium, to recognise no baptism given outside the church. This we learn from the letter to Cyprian by Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia, when the later controversy arose about heretical baptism. This council of Iconium, and one at which a similar decision was made at another Phrygian town, Synnada, are mentioned also by Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. vii. 7). Firmilian speaks as if he had been present at the Iconium council, the date of which may be roughly set down as 230.

A more painful proof how entirely the Catholics ceased to regard the Montanists as Christian brethren is the fact stated by the Anonymous, that when persecution by the common enemy threw confessors from both bodies together, the orthodox persevered till their final martyrdom in refusing to hold intercourse with their Montanist fellow-sufferers; dreading to hold any friendship with the lying spirit who animated them. The Montanists acutely felt this treatment. In an extant fragment of her prophesying, Maximilla complains of being hunted like a wolf from the sheep: "slayers of prophets" was the reproach which they cast upon the ecclesiastical party. To this reproach the Anonymous answers that none of the so-called prophets had died a violent death, unless indeed they had killed themselves.[h] As for the martyrs whom they boasted among the obscurer members of their sect, that was no proof of the soundness of their faith. Marcionites and other heretics had their martyrs, and, as has been already said, the real martyrs refused to recognise the Montanist martyrs.

Epiphanius states that in his time the sect had many adherents in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, and that there was a considerable number in Constantinople. That the spread of the sect was confined within comparatively narrow limits is proved by the story told by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* 16), and repeated after him by several writers, that the sacrifice of an infant, and the partaking of his flesh, formed part of the Montanist mysteries.[i] The tale is only worth notice as shewing that in the places where it was circulated and believed the sect must have been practically non-existent.

III. *Montanism in the West.*—It has been already mentioned that, if we set aside the worthless Predestinatus, there is not a particle of evidence that any Roman bishop before Eleutherus had heard of Montanism, and the history of the interference of the Gallic confessors shews that it was then a new thing in the West. The case submitted to Eleutherus no doubt informed him by letter of what had taken place in Phrygia; but there is no appearance that any Montanist teachers in person visited the West at this time, and after the judgment of Eleutherus had been given the whole transaction would seem to have been forgotten at Rome. It was in a subsequent episcopate that the first Montanist teacher, probably Proclus, appeared at Rome. There was no reason why he should be regarded with suspicion. He could easily satisfy the bishop of his perfect orthodoxy in doctrine: and there was no reason for disbelieving what he might tell of supernatural manifestations which had taken place in his own country. He was therefore either received into communion, or was on the point of being so, and of obtaining authority to report to his churches in Asia that their commendatory letters were recognised at Rome, when the arrival of another Asiatic, Praxeas, changed the scene. Praxeas was able to shew the Roman bishop that the Montanist pretensions to prophecy had been condemned by his predecessors, and probably the letter of Eleutherus on the subject could still be referred to in the Roman archives. The justice of this previous condemnation Praxeas was able to confirm by stories which he himself told of the Montanist churches and their prophesyings; and his testimony had the more weight because, having suffered imprisonment for the faith, he enjoyed the dignity of a martyr. The Montanist teacher was accordingly put out of communion at Rome. This story, which has all the marks of probability, is told by Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.*), who is likely to have had personal knowledge of the facts. The bishop could be no other than Zephyrinus; for we cannot go later: and as predecessors in the plural number are spoken of, these must have been Eleutherus and Victor. The conclusion at which we have arrived, that Montanism made no appearance in the West before the episcopate of Zephyrinus,[k] is one of great importance in the chronology of this controversy, and though, as far as we know, Dodwell is the only authority who has adopted it, the evidence for it seems to us decisive. Dodwell's reason is worth quoting, for it is quite independent of those which had led us to the same conclusion. He points out (*De Rom. Pont.* c. 16) that Pseudo-Tertullian names Praxeas last in his list of heretics, "Post hos omnes, etiam Praxeas." Now the heretics mentioned previously are Blastus and Theodotus the leather-cutter, both of whom had been condemned by Victor, and after these Theodotus the banker, a pupil of the former Theodotus, who must have been later. It is still later that Praxeas comes. Dodwell's inference from the use of the present tense that Praxeas was still teaching when Pseudo-Tertullian wrote, cannot be relied on, when notice is taken of the author's use of the same tense in speaking of former heresies. Since Dodwell's time what has been learned

[h] Bonwetsch has proved that it had been wrongly inferred from the context of this passage that the Phrygian Christians were then suffering from Jewish persecution. The Anonymous is only answering the Montanist argument that the continuance of prophecy in the Christian church had been predicted (Matt. xxiii. 34).

[i] This story is told both by Epiphanius and Philaster, but it is not credible that in this case Hippolytus was their common authority (see Lipsius, *Q. K. des Epiph.* 224).

[k] We have not been able to find in the writings of Irenaeus any decisive proof that he had come into practical contact with Montanism. The false prophets spoken of (IV. xxxiii. 6) are much more like those of Hermas than of Montanus. That there was much false prophecy current besides Montanism may be gathered from what Celsus says (Origen, *Adv. Cels.* vii. 9), where there is nothing to connect what is told with Montanism.

from the newly recovered work of Hippolytus as to the state of feeling at Rome has led to the suspicion that in the assertion of Pseudo-Tertullian that Praxeas was confirmed in his heresy by Victorinus, the mistake, or the reverence, of some transcriber has substituted Victorinus for Zephyrinus.

The language in which Tertullian speaks of the interference of Praxeas is such as he would have scarcely used if writing under the episcopate of the same bishop, or even of his successor. The conclusion then we adopt leads to the corollary that the work against Praxeas was written after the death of Callistus in 222. But the present writer had already been led by other considerations to believe that the literary activity of Tertullian continued later than those who have made a chronology of his writings usually arrange.

The formal rejection of Montanism by the Roman church was followed by a public disputation between the Montanist teacher Proclus, and Caius, a leading Roman presbyter. Eusebius, who read the record of this disputation, tells us that it took place under Zephyrinus, and that Caius, in curbing the rashness and audacity of his opponents in framing new Scriptures, does not count the epistle to the Hebrews with the other thirteen as one of the Pauline epistles. We think it a mistake to infer from this that there was any controversy between the Catholics and the Montanists about the epistle to the Hebrews, but only that Eusebius, in reading the list of canonical books which Caius opposed to the Montanist innovations, was struck by the omission of that epistle. The Montanist preachers, whatever their failures, had one distinguished success in the acquisition of Tertullian. He may have been attracted by the foreign teachers before the Roman church had on this occasion pronounced against them. He would be at liberty to hold fast all the articles of the creed in which he had been brought up. The substance of the alleged new revelations was in perfect harmony with his feelings. The extravagances attending the first delivery of the new prophesying, which had caused the local church to reject it, were separated from Tertullian by too great a distance of time and place to have much influence in repelling him. Apparently the condemnation of the Roman bishop was not in his mind decisive against the Montanist claims; and so he engaged in an advocacy of them which resulted in his separation from the church. His writings are the great storehouse of information as to the peculiarities of Montanist teaching. Of these we proceed to give an account, only first mentioning that the Italian Montanists were soon divided by schism, arising out of the Patripassian controversy which raged violently at Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century. Among the Montanists, Aeschines was the head of those who took the Patripassian side, and in this it would appear from an extract in Didymus that he followed Montanus himself; Proclus and his followers adhered to the orthodox doctrine on this subject. That pseudo-Tertullian, who tells us this, derived his information from the earlier work of Hippolytus against heresies, is confirmed by the fact that Hippolytus in his later work refers to the same schism among the Montanists.

IV. *Montanism and the Canon.*—Before going into the details of Montanist teaching it is important to speak of the most fundamental point of difference, namely, that then first was put forward the theory of an authorised development of Christian doctrine, as opposed to the older theory that Christian doctrine was preached in its completeness by the apostles and that the church's only duty in the matter was faithfully to preserve the tradition of their teaching. The Montanists did not dream of rejecting the apostolic revelations, or of abandoning any of the doctrines which the church had learned from their older teachers. The revelations of the new prophecy were not to displace Scripture, but only to supplement it. The Montanists believed that while the fundamental truths of faith remained firm and unshaken, other points both of discipline and of doctrine might receive correction, as the grace of God continued to work and make progress even to the end. "Shall the devil daily devise new contrivances for evil, and can it be believed that the work of God should stand still and make no countervailing advance? The limitations of the human faculties did not permit that everything should be communicated at once. Christ had said, I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: when the Spirit of Truth is come He shall guide you into all truth and shall shew you things to come. There is, as Ecclesiastes said, a time for everything. First comes the seed, then the tender shoot, then the boughs and leaves, then the full-grown tree. Then comes the blossom, the bud, the flower, the fruit, the fruit itself requiring time to ripen it into sweetness. A like process of development was exhibited in the system of God's revelations. It had its rudimentary principle in the religion of nature, its infancy in the law and the prophets, its youth in the gospel, its full maturity only in the dispensation of the Paraclete. Through His enlightenment the dark places of Scripture are made clear, what had been spoken in parable is made plain, those passages of which heretics had taken advantage are cleared of all ambiguity" (Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* i.; *de Res. Carn.* 63). Accordingly Tertullian appeals to the new revelations not only on questions of discipline, such as that of second marriages, but also on questions of doctrine, as in his work against Praxeas, and in his treatise on the Resurrection of the Flesh. Some have thought it a thing to be regretted, that the church by her condemnation of Montanism should have pressed down under the weight of authority the freedom of individual prophesying. It must be remembered that each new prophetic revelation, if acknowledged as divine, would put as great a restraint on future individual speculation, as words of Scripture or decree of pope or council. If Montanism had triumphed, Christian doctrine would have been developed, not under the superintendence of the church teachers most esteemed for wisdom, but usually of wild and excitable women. Thus Tertullian himself derives his doctrine as to the materiality and the form of the soul from a revelation made to an ecstatica of his congregation (*De Anima* 9). In times subsequent to Montanism the reality of divine revelations made to individuals has been admitted, but it has been held that the truths

communicated were only made known for the private information of the recipients, and formed no part of the deposit of faith which the church was to guard. To the Montanists it seemed that if God's Spirit made known anything as true, that truth could not be too extensively published. It is evident from quotations in Epiphanius and Tertullian that the prophecies of Maximilla and Montanus were committed to writing.[1] To those who believed in their divine inspiration, these would practically form a real addition to the books of Scripture. Hippolytus tells that the Montanists "have an infinity of books of these prophets whose words they neither examine by reason, nor give heed to those who can, but are carried away by their undiscriminating faith in them, thinking that they learn through their means something more than from the law, the prophets, and the gospels." Didymus is shocked at a prophetical book emanating from a female, whom the Apostle permitted not to teach. There is evidently an oblique censure of the Montanistic additions to Scripture in the scruples expressed by the Eusebian Anonymous about committing his arguments to writing, lest he should seem to be making an addition to the New Testament of the gospel to which no one who is resolved to walk after that gospel can either add or take away. A similar jealousy of rivalry with the New Testament is shewn in Apollonius's censure of the presumption of Themiso who called his letter a catholic epistle. On weighing these passages it will be seen to be a mistake to suppose that the Montanistic disputes led to the formation of a New Testament canon. On the contrary, it is plain that when these disputes arose Christians had closed their New Testament canon in this sense that they were shocked at the idea that any modern writing should be put into rivalry or competition with the inspired books of the apostolic age. It was of course allowable, if any church's list of such books was defective or erroneous, to correct it by comparison with other churches. The Montanist disputes led to the publication of such lists, and we consider that it was in opposition to the multitude of Montanist prophetic books that Caius in his disputation gave a list of books recognised by his church. This controversy also made Christians more scrupulous about paying to other books honours like those given to the books of Scripture, and we believe that it was in consequence that the Shepherd of Hermas was deprived of the place in church reading which it had enjoyed. But still we think it plain from the history that the conception of a closed New Testament canon was a thing which Montanism found and did not create.

V. *Montanist Doctrines and Practices.*—Having sufficiently pointed out that the church had a quarrel with Montanism founded on its objection that *any* addition should be made to the teaching of Scripture, we have now to state, as far as it is known, what was the nature of the additions actually made by the Montanists.

(1.) *New Fasts.*—We have mentioned this as one of the things to which exception was taken by Apollonius. It is also given a prominent place by Hippolytus. It appears that the prophetesses had ordained that in addition to the ordinary annual paschal fast of the church two weeks of what was called Xerophagy should be observed.[m] In these the Montanists abstained, not only from flesh and wine and the use of the bath, but from all succulent food, as, for instance, from juicy fruit. On Saturday and Sunday, however, there was no abstinence. The weekly stations also, or half fasts, which in the church came to an end at three o'clock, were by the Montanists usually continued on till the evening. It is obvious that what the church party resisted was the imposition of these two new weeks of abstinence as divinely obligatory. In the church individuals were at liberty to add to the regular fasts according to their own devotion. Bishops, at their discretion, appointed additional days of fasting. It seems to have been a common way of making a charitable collection, for the bishop to appoint a fast, the money saved by abstinence being devoted to the pious object; and Tertullian gives us the interesting information that in Greece councils of bishops were preceded by fasting as well as prayer. Thus, then, though Tertullian successfully refutes some ill-judged objections which had been brought against the Montanist fasts, it is mere rhetoric of him to assume that those who repudiated them were actuated by gluttonous propensities; and to prove against them the advantages of fasting, which they did not deny. The real question was, had the prophetess who instituted them God's command for doing so? This particular revelation of theirs only came into prominence because at recurring intervals it put a marked difference between Montanists and Catholics, of the same kind as that which the paschal fast put between Christians and heathen.

(2.) *Second Marriages.*—On this subject again the point of difference between the Montanists and the church really reduces itself to the question whether or not the Paraclete spoke by Montanus. Second marriages had before Montanus been regarded with disfavour in the church.[n] Tertullian, for example, deprecates them with almost as much energy in his pre-Montanist work *Ad Uxorem* as he afterwards does in his Montanist *De Monogamia.* But in the church, however unfavourably such marriages were thought of, their validity and lawfulness was not denied. In fact, St. Paul had seemed

[1] The Eusebian Anonymous quotes one prophecy of Maximilla as from τὸ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Οὐρβανόν, an expression which has been found puzzling. I am inclined to conjecture that notes of this woman's prophesyings had been published having the reporter's name inscribed after the fashion of the κατὰ Μάρκον of our gospels. [Since this was printed I find the same view taken by Bonwetsch.]

[m] Jerome states that one of these was after Whitsuntide (in Matt. ix.). Elsewhere (*Ep. ad Marcell.*) he says that there were three Lents in the year. Bingham (xxi. 15) supposes that these were of two weeks each; for Sozomen (vii. 9) tells that the Paschal fast of the later Montanists was only of two weeks, when elsewhere it was six or seven; and it seems likely that they preserved the ancient tradition of their sect.

[n] See Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 15; Irenaeus iii. 17, 2; Clem. *Strom.* iii. 12, p. 548; Hermas, *Mand.* iv. 4. Athenagoras (*Legat.* 33) calls a second marriage a specious adultery; but this language taken in connection with his language on prophecy has made him suspected of Montanism [ATHENAGORAS].

expressly to declare that such marriages were not forbidden (Rom. vii. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 39), and, further, the direction in the pastoral epistles that a bishop should be husband of one wife seemed to leave the laity free from a restriction only imposed on the clergy. Tertullian tries to shew that Paul's permission of a second marriage only applied to the case when the first had been contracted before conversion and baptism. But, conscious of the weakness of that defence, he takes his stand on the principle that as Christ had abrogated that liberty of divorce which Moses had allowed for a time on account of the hardness of the hearts of his people, so an indulgence, which Paul had conceded because as yet Christians were not able to bear greater strictness, the Paraclete had withdrawn when Christian training had advanced and the end of the world approached more near. Clearly here controversy was at an end if the inspiration of the new prophets was acknowledged. With respect to the requirement of monogamy from clergy only, Tertullian answers that all Christians are priests; that in the absence of clergy they both baptized and offered the Eucharist, that they could not have priestly privileges without submitting to priestly restrictions, and that they ought not to disqualify themselves from, in case of necessity, performing priestly acts which were permissible to monogamists only. The argument that laity ought to be put under the same conditions with regard to marriage as the clergy, could not well have been used unless in the church at the time clergy, as well as laity, were allowed to marry once. But the Montanist prophetess Priscilla had a revelation (*De Exhor. Cast.* 10) which seems intended to teach that the ministrations of an unmarried clergy have higher efficacy.

(3.) *Church Discipline.*—The treatise of Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*) makes us acquainted with a controversy of Montanists with the church concerning the power of church officers to give absolution. The occasion was the publication, by one whom Tertullian sarcastically calls "Pontifex Maximus" and "Episcopus Episcoporum," of an edict of pardon to persons guilty of adultery and fornication on condition of their due performance of penance. We cannot doubt that a bishop of Rome is intended, and when we combine what Hippolytus tells (ix. 12) of Callistus being the first to intsoduce such laxity in granting absolution, it seems plain that he was the bishop referred to. Tertullian holds that for such sin absolution ought never to be given. Not that the sinner was taught to despair of obtaining God's pardon by repentance; but it was for God alone to pardon; man might not. Tertullian's argument assumes that in the Roman church of the time idolatry and murder were thus treated as irremissible offences, and he contends that a sin into which a man ran from the mere allurement of pleasure deserved to be treated with less indulgence than the sin of apostasy into which he might have been forced by torture. But we own that we find it hard to reconcile this sternness of discipline with what other authorities have told us of the practice of the church at the time. It is possible that the edict of Callistus may have contained a reference to the power of the keys given to Peter. At all events Tertullian discusses the texts which speak of that power, and contends that they only conferred a personal prerogative on Peter, and gave no powers to the church. If an apostle forgave sin it was in the exercise of no ordinary functions, but of miraculous power: let the bishop exhibit like miracles, and then he might claim the same rights. Tertullian will not deny that the church has the power to forgive sins. The Paraclete had said by the new prophets, "The church has the power of forgiving sins, but I will not do it lest they should sin more." The church then might forgive; but it must be the church of the Spirit, speaking by a spiritual man; not a number of bishops. In other words, it was not in the official power of any to confer forgiveness; though God might supernaturally make known by an apostle or prophet that forgiveness which He alone could grant. This doctrine might easily have transferred to the new prophets the power which it denied to the church officers; but this result did not follow, and Jerome describes the characteristic of the sect "ad omne pene delictum obserant fores ecclesiae."

We refer to the article TERTULLIAN for other doctrines which, though advocated by Tertullian in the days of his Montanism, we do not feel ourselves entitled to set down as Montanistic, in the absence of evidence that Tertullian had learned them from Montanus, or that they were held by Eastern Montanists. The bulk of what Tertullian taught as a Montanist he probably would equally have taught if Montanus had never lived; but owing to the place which Montanism ascribed to visions and revelations as means of obtaining a knowledge of the truth, his belief in his opinions was converted into assurance when they were echoed back to him by prophetesses who in their visions gave utterance to opinions which they had imbibed from their master in their waking hours. Thus he supports his doctrine concerning the veiling of virgins by a revelation determining the space over which the veil was to extend; but we have no evidence that this doctrine came from Montanus. He quotes apparently from Montanus a saying in praise of martyrdom to the effect that it is far better to depart from this world as a martyr than in childbirth or by fever; but what is told of Themiso may lead us to suspect that Tertullian held stronger opinions than Eastern Montanists as to the duty of not shrinking from, or even of courting, martyrdom.

Again, there are other doctrines and practices on which we do not enlarge because we do not think they can be described as distinctively Montanistic. For example, an influential factor in Montanism was the expectation that our Lord's second coming would speedily take place. We have already told how Maximilla declared that she was the last prophetess, and that after her the end would come. In this belief it seemed to Montanists natural that greater restrictions should be imposed on marriage, as the approaching end of the world deprived the command "increase and multiply" of its significance, and made offspring even undesirable. Other Montanist opinions may be traced to the same root. But belief that the end is near is no peculiarity of Montanism. It was held by Tertullian's contemporary Judas (Euseb. vi. 7), whom we have no reason to regard as a Montanist, and it has been held in successive generations down to our own time.

VI. *Later History of Montanism.*—The refusal to admit an Asiatic Montanist to communion at Rome would not, as a necessary consequence, impose immediate silence on those who thought more favourably of the new prophesying; and we gather from Tertullian's language (*Adv. Prax.*) that it was only after an interval that his persistent advocacy of Montanism drew excommunication on himself.[o] It is to this interval we refer the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, in the editor of which we are not indisposed to recognise Tertullian himself. Both martyrs and martyrologist have clearly been under Montanist influences: great importance is attached to visions and revelations, and in the introduction the editor justifies the composition of new Acts, intended for church reading, on the grounds that the "last days" in which he lived, had witnessed, as had been prophesied, new visions, new prophecies, new exhibitions of the mighty working of God's Spirit, as great or greater than had been witnessed in any preceding age. Yet the martyrs are evidently in full communion with the church; they receive the good offices of its deacons, and the bishop Optatus has an honourable place in their visions. Even at the time of Tertullian's Montanist tract *De Virginibus Velandis* there seems to have been no breach of communion, for what is there told of the violent removal of the veils of certain virgins suggests that, though Tertullian's disciples, they attended the worship of the church and received this treatment at the hands of its officers. That no formal breach had as yet taken place is also proved by a sentence in the same treatise ending "una ecclesia sumus." It is true that this passage does not, as some have quoted it, formally assert Montanists and Catholics to be one church: the writer is speaking of African and Eastern Christians; but it clearly assumes that he and his Catholic readers all belong to the same church; and the argument is all the stronger because the thing is not asserted but taken for granted. The schism which soon afterwards took place, appears to have been of little importance either in numbers or duration. We hear nothing of Montanists in the writings of Cyprian, whose veneration for Tertullian would scarcely have been so great as is reported, if his church were still suffering from a schism which Tertullian had originated. In the next century Optatus (i. 9) speaks of Montanism as an extinct heresy, which it were slaying the slain to refute. Yet some, who called themselves after Tertullian, lingered on into the 4th century. Augustine tells (*Haer.* 86) that when he had been at Carthage he heard that a well-known church had formerly belonged to the Tertullianists and had been surrendered by them to the Catholics at the time when at length the last of them returned to the church. Augustine has evidently heard no tradition as to their tenets, and sets himself to search in Tertullian's writings for heresies which they presumably may have held.

Predestinatus also has a story about Tertullianists which perhaps may be true. Elsewhere in the West Montanism entirely disappears. Pacian supposes himself to have found an adherent of the sect, and without much knowledge of the controversy tries to convert him, but he turns out to be a Novatianist.

Turning to the East, we have already mentioned the councils of Iconium and of Synnada. There is a mention of Montanism in the Acts of Achatius [see ACACIUS (1)] (Ruinart, p. 152). Though these Acts are wanting in external attestation, internal evidence is strongly in favour of their authenticity. The place where the scene is laid is uncertain; the time is the Decian persecution of A.D. 250. And the magistrate, urging Achatius to sacrifice, presses him with the example of the Cataphrygians, "homines antiquae religionis," who had already conformed. Sozomen (ii. 32) ascribes the extinction of the Montanists, as well as of other heretical sects, to the edict of Constantine depriving them of their places of worship and forbidding their religious meetings. Up to that time, being confounded by the heathen rulers with other Christians, they were able to meet for worship, and, even when few in number, still to keep together; but the effect of Constantine's edict was to kill all the weaker sects, and among them the Montanists, everywhere except in Phrygia and the neighbouring districts, where they continued to be numerous in Sozomen's own time. He tells (vii. 18) that, unlike Scythia, where one bishop ruled over the whole province, among these Phrygian heretics every village had its bishop. He tells that they were singular in the time of their celebration of Easter, determining it by the solar, not the lunar year; and also, as has been already mentioned, that they were singular as to the length of the preliminary fast. The question as to the validity of Montanist baptism came under consideration again at the council of Laodicea, where the decision of Iconium was confirmed that these heretics must be rebaptized.[p] St. Basil also, in his canonical epistle (188), rejects the Montanist baptism, but expresses his surprise that it had formerly been accepted by Dionysius of Alexandria. The rejection of their baptism was endorsed by the council of Constantinople in 381. The laws against heretics in Tit. xvi. of the Theodosian Code contain several mentions of Montanists, who are generally classed with Manicheans, Priscillianists, and other heretics of the worst kind. Penal laws were passed of continually increasing stringency. Their churches were confiscated; a rigorous search ordered for the destruction of their books; the ordination of their clergy forbidden; the power of making wills taken from them; their slaves given the right to leave them; their nearest Catholic relative given a right to claim their property. At last the orthodox zeal of Justinian took such measures for the crushing out the remains of the sect in Phrygia, that these heretics in despair gathered themselves with wives and children into their places of worship, set them on fire, and there perished (Procop. *Hist. Arc.* 11).

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[o] The case is the same as that of an Anglican clergyman believing in the inspiration of Swedenborg, a belief not in itself necessitating separation from his Church, but likely to lead to it. We consider that the ordinary division of Tertullian's writings into pre-Montanist and Montanist is insufficient unless the latter be subdivided into Catholic and schismatic.

[p] The condemnation of these heretics at Laodicea was proclaimed in a late inscription, still extant, on the great church at Bethlehem (Boeckh, p. 8953).

In connection with this may be taken what is told of John of Ephesus in the same reign of Justinian (Assemani, Bibl. Or. ii. 88), that in the year 550 he had the bones dug up and burned of Montanus and of his prophetesses Carata, Prisca, and Maximilla. What may be disguised under the first of these three names we cannot tell.

It is hardly likely that Montanism survived the persecution of Justinian. Gibbon indeed (c. 47) speaks of it as in existence three centuries later, but I do not know to what he refers. Two centuries later indeed, in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, Theophanes (p. 617 ed. Bonn), copied by Cedrenus, represents them as burning themselves in their churches with wives and children in order to avoid being baptized. Baronius (*Ann.* 722, n. 1) suggests that as the Montanists did not object to baptism some other sect must be intended. But the identity of the story in other respects with that told by Procopius is so complete, that we are more inclined to think that Theophanes by a blunder misdated the occurrence.

Besides the name Cataphrygians they were often called from their headquarters, Pepuzans, which indeed Epiphanius counts as a distinct heresy. Other names, Artotyrites, Tascodrugites, Passalorynchites, are given by Epiphanius to branches of the Montanists, but are supposed by Philaster to belong to distinct heretical sects in Galatia. We do not think there is any sufficient reason for connecting them with Montanism. With respect to the first in particular, we do not think that the passage commonly quoted from the Acts of Perpetua affords any good reason for thinking that the Montanists made a Eucharistic use of cheese. The martyrs in question were not schismatics, and could have had no other Eucharist than that of the church.

In the course of this article the primary authorities for the history of Montanism have been referred to. Space does not permit a discussion of the modern literature of the subject. An account of it will be found in the latest and best monograph on Montanism, by Bonwetsch, Erlangen, 1881. This work did not come to England until this article had been for some time in type; but fortunately was in time to permit some use to be made of it in the final revision for press. [G. S.]

MONTANUS (2). Fell for Manthaneus, *q. v.* (Cyp. *Ep.* 57.) [E. W. B.]

MONTANUS (3), bishop of Toledo from about 523 to about 531.

Authorities.—(1) The life of him by Ildefonsus (*De Vir. Ill.* cap. 3). (2) Two letters first printed by Loaysa (*Conc. Hisp.* p. 88.), afterwards by Aguirre (*Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* ii. 159), and Florez (*Esp. Sagr.* v. 409, 415). (3) The Acts of the Second Council of Toledo (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 701).

His Life.—The facts related by Ildefonsus are extremely meagre. We are told that Montanus was the successor of Celsus in the "prima sedes" of the province of Carthaginensis; that he defended and maintained his office; that he wrote two letters on points of church discipline, one addressed to the inhabitants of Palencia, the other to a certain Turibius, a "religious;" and that he was at one time enabled to rebut a scandalous accusation made against him by the help of a miracle wrought in his favour. The second council of Toledo is not mentioned by Ildefonsus, who however never mentions one of the Toledan councils throughout his lives, so that no argument can be drawn from the omission against the genuineness of the Acts. These Acts are curious and important, and have been at times suspected of at least containing interpolations, if not of being altogether supposititious. They appear, however, in all the MSS. of the *Hispana*, both of the earlier and later type (Maanen, *Literatur des Canonischen Rechts*), and though no doubt they contain expressions very convenient to the ambition of the church by whose officials the compilation of the Spanish *Codex Canonum* was superintended, this is no sufficient reason in itself for doubting their genuineness. The council, which really consisted of no more than five bishops whose sees are not given, although three other bishops not belonging to Carthaginensis were subsequently induced to sign and approve the acts, was opened on May 17 in the fifth year of Amalaric (A.D. 527) according to the reckoning generally adopted since Florez' day, 531 according to the older reckoning. The bishops began by expressing their intention of adding to the *Codex Canonum* certain provisions not already contained in the ancient canons on the one hand, and of reviving such prescriptions as had fallen into disuse on the other. They then drew up five canons: (1) laying down the general outlines of clerical education from the first cession of a child to the church by its parents, and adopting substantially the same rule with regard to the youths dedicated to the church who should at the age of eighteen publicly declare their wish to marry, as was adopted about thirty-five years later by Martin bishop of Braga in his *Capitula* (MARTINUS (2)]; (2) forbidding those educated by one church to migrate to another; (3) forbidding clerks to live with any woman unless it be a mother or sister or some other near relation; (4) regulating the disposition by testament of any agricultural works or improvements made by a clerk upon church lands; (5) forbidding unlawful and incestuous marriages. The material of these canons is material common to most of the various Spanish councils held in the first half of the 6th century. It is the concluding passage of the Acts which makes the council of special interest in Spanish ecclesiastical history. "According to the decrees of ancient canons, we declare that, God willing, the council shall be held in future 'apud' our brother, the bishop Montanus, so that it will be the duty of our brother and co-bishop Montanus, *who is in the metropolis*, to forward to our co-principals, bishops of the Lord, letters convening the synod when the proper time shall arrive." An expression of thanks "to the glorious king Amalaric," with regard to whom the bishops pray that "throughout the unnumbered years of his reign he may continue to afford us the licence of carrying through all that pertains to the cultus fidei," concludes the Acts.

In the words which we have underlined above is contained the first mention of Toledo as the ecclesiastical metropolis of Carthaginensis, the first indication of that commanding position to which the see was to attain under its seventh-

century bishops. The question of the rise of the see of Toledo is one which no student of the Visigothic church can afford to neglect, and a knowledge of the history of the see in the 5th and 6th centuries is necessary to the understanding of the full and interesting materials remaining to us for its history in the 7th (see arts. JULIANUS (63) and ILDEFONSUS). We propose therefore in this place to sketch the very meagre and often contradictory evidence which remains to us on this point.

It is tolerably evident from the circumstances of the council of 527, from the small number of bishops present, and from the emphasis with which the claim of Montanus is asserted, both in the passage quoted, and in two extant letters of his, that at the time it was held there was no general recognition of Toledo as the metropolis of the province on the part of the other sees of Carthaginensis. Other contemporary facts to be noticed presently point in the same direction. Looking back over the 5th century, we find Merida, Tarraco, and probably Braga (though with regard to Braga there are complications) enjoying undisputed metropolitan precedence, and the metropolitan dignity of Seville may be inferred from the fact of the superadded dignity of the papal vicariate conferred by pope Hormisdas upon bishop Zeno (A.D. 480). But there is no mention throughout this century of any metropolis of Carthaginensis, nor are there any facts from which we can infer the existence of a metropolitan see generally recognised throughout the province. Cartagena, the civil metropolis of Roman times, where we should naturally look for a metropolitan bishop, was destroyed by the Vandals in 425, and we have no mention of the see at all until in 516, eleven years before the second council of Toledo. We find a bishop Hector signing the Acts of a council held at Tarraco in that year as Hector in Christi nomine episcopus Carthaginensis metropolitanus *or* Carthaginis metropolis. On the other hand, at the important first council of Toledo in 400, at which the bishop of Toledo, Asturius, was present, Patruinus of Merida presided, and Asturius appears twelfth in the list of bishops. The bishop Hilarius, of unknown see, who reported proceedings of this council to Innocent I., may have been metropolitan of Carthaginensis as Gams supposes, or metropolitan of Tarraconensis as Florez supposes. There is no proof possible of either theory, although that of Gams offers on the whole a better explanation of the facts than that of Florez. But if he was metropolitan of Carthaginensis, in what see lay the metropolis?

We are thus brought up against, first, the signature of Hector at Tarraco, which has been disputed, but which is supported by strong MS. authority (Tejada y Ramiro, *l. c.* p. 115); and secondly, the attempt of Montanus and his five bishops in 527 to assert the metropolitan supremacy of Toledo. The two letters which remain to us from Montanus's hand also assert this claim in strong language, as will be seen presently. Meanwhile, for the understanding of the general question, it will be well to look beyond Montanus. In the year 546 a council was held at Valencia, at which a certain Celsinus presided, Justinian, bishop of Valencia at the time, signing the Acts in the second place. The natural conclusion is that Celsinus presided as metropolitan. There is no indication of see, but neither is there any valid reason for connecting Celsinus with Toledo. In the ancient episcopal catalogue of Toledo followed by Florez, three names intervene between Montanus and Euphemius, who was bishop at the Toledan Council of 589, and that of Celsinus is not among them. It is on the whole most probable that he was the successor of Hector in the see of Cartagena, and that in presiding over the council of Valencia he was claiming those metropolitan rights over the eastern half of the province which Montanus had been able to assert over the western half in 527. Twenty-three years later, at the great conversion council of 589, Masona of Merida presided as the senior metropolitan, and Euphemius of Toledo signed the Acts among the metropolitans certainly, but as metropolitan, not of Carthaginensis, but of *Carpetania*, the regio which constituted the south-western half of that province. In 610, the *Decretum Gundemari*, drawn up at a time when Cartagena was in the hands of the Eastern Empire and could therefore no longer effectively dispute with Toledo the ecclesiastical supremacy of Carthaginensis, described the signature of Euphemius as a *sententia ignorantiae*, denounced the "double government of two metropolitans in the same province," and by its lofty assertion of the claims of Toledo paved the way to the primacy canon of seventy years later.

The meaning of these facts appears to be that the question of metropolitan supremacy within Carthaginensis, was throughout the 5th and 6th centuries an unsettled and disputed point. Cartagena had civil importance, and analogy with other cases on its side. On the other hand, the central position and magnificent site of Toledo were natural advantages, sure in the long run to prevail in the new order of things which followed upon the break-up of the empire. The withdrawal of the West-Gothic power at the end of the 5th century within the limits of Narbonensis and the Spanish peninsula helped to exalt Toledo, which as a military position was sure to attract the West-Gothic kings, and did in fact under Leovigild become the West-Gothic capital. Montanus lived under Amalaric, the first sovereign of what Dahn calls the kingdom of Toledo in opposition to the kingdom of Toulouse. All the facts concerning this bishop of which we have any knowledge fall within the early years of this king, and are connected with the policy of those years, a policy of conciliation towards Catholicism, symbolised by the king's marriage with the Frankish princess Chrotildis. It follows from some expressions in one of Montanus's letters that he had personal knowledge of the king, and that in matters of church discipline he could calculate upon his support at the time when the letter was written. Relying upon this support, upon the physical advantages of Toledo, and upon an ecclesiastical tradition capable of various interpretations, Montanus made his attempt permanently to exalt the power and position of his see. The time, however, was not yet come, and in the stormy and disastrous reign which followed such an ambition could not easily fulfil itself. The question remained an open one, and was still open in 589. But the great reign of Leovigild, which had consolidated the Gothic power and fixed the seat of that power in

Toledo, practically settled a long-vexed question. Cartagena was in the hands of Byzantium, whereas the bishop of Toledo was the bishop of the urbs regia. It took some time to accomplish, but the *Decretum Gundemari* as a first step, and the Primacy Canon of the twelfth council of Toledo as a second, were the inevitable ecclesiastical complements of physical and political facts.

The Letters of Montanus.—Letter I. is addressed to the people, especially to the presbyters, of Palencia, with whom it remonstrates on two points: (1) the consecration of the chrism by the presbyter instead of by the bishop, an uncanonical abuse which he strongly rebukes, and with regard to which he lays down that during the vacancy of the see and until a new bishop is appointed, "dum vobis praeparatur Antistes," the presbyters are to apply to himself for the holy oil; (2) the illegality of inviting bishops of other dioceses and belonging to another kingdom (*alienae sortis*, i.e. the Suevian kingdom of Gallicia) to consecrate bishops instead of applying to him, Montanus, as their metropolitan. Letter II. is addressed to a certain Turibius, a pious man (*religiosus*) according to Ildefonsus, probably the holder of high civil office, but at any rate not a bishop as Dahn concludes (*Könige der Germanen*, vi.). It protests against the same evils, and requests Turibius to use the "authority of the severest bishop," if necessary, in repressing them, threatening him with the anger of the king, "dominus rerum," whose *pietas* Montanus praises, and with the interference of the judge Erga if he refuse to do so. This second letter is possibly imperfect, and contains a curious passage which has been variously interpreted (Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (1) 450). As far as the history of the Toledan see is concerned, we find in Letter I.: "Cum Toletanae urbi Metropolitani privilegium vetus consuetudo tradiderit, et eo magis non solum parochiarum, sed et urbium cura sollicitet sacerdotem;" while in Letter II., as the text stands at present, Montanus appears to protest against the invitation of alien bishops (*i.e.* bishops from the Suevian side of the boundary, between Gallicia and Carthaginensis), for the purpose of consecrating churches, on the ground of a "privilegium" granted by "vester episcopus" to his predecessor in the Toledan see, and to the bishops of Carpetania and Celtiberia. Does this mean that Palencia, during the confusion of the 5th century, had attached itself to her neighbour Astorga in ecclesiastical matters, and that at the beginning of the 6th century the bishop of Palencia was induced, in consideration of certain territorial additions to his see (conf. the last obscure paragraph of Montanus's letter as given in Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 416), to give in his adhesion formally to Carthaginensis, and to Toledo as his metropolis? This is on the whole the most obvious explanation of an obscure and difficult document. (Ferreras, ed. d'Hermilly, ii. 133–140; Aguirre, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* ii. 152, 159; on the growth of the Toledan see, p. 160; Tejada y Ramiro, *l. c.* p. 465; Ceillier, *Hist. des Aut. Eccl.* xvi. 693; Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* ii. 700; *Esp. Sagr.* v. 131, cap. iii. *Qual fue la Metropoli Eclesiastica de la Provincia Carthaginense;* Gams, *l. c.* ii. (2) 210, cap. 12.) [M. A. W.]

MONTENSES, a name given to the Donatist community formed at Rome A.D. 358, from the place, perhaps on the Esquiline hill, at which they met for worship. They are also called Campenses or Campitae, for which some MSS. read Cuzupitae. Seven bishops are known to have presided over this little community, who sought to arrogate to themselves the name of the church in Rome, viz. Victor of Garba, Bonifacius of Ballita, Encolpius, Macrobius, Lucianus, Claudianus, Felix. Of these the first two evidently had come from Africa. (Opt. ii. 4; Aug. *Ep.* 53, 2; *Haeres.* 69; Hieron. *Chron.* vol. viii. p. 687; *adv. Lucif.* 28, vol. ii. p. 182, ed. Migne; *Mon. Vet. Don. Carth. Coll.* i. 157; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* ii. p. 222.) [H. W. P.]

MONTIUS, a layman whose affection, hospitality, and kindly consideration towards him are mentioned very gratefully by Chrysostom. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 171.) [E. V.]

MORAIND, bishop of Nendrum, now Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough, co. Down, died A.D. 680 (*Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 673, Cod. Bodl.; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 149; Cotton, *Fast.* iii. 218). A Moraind was bishop of Clogher, but probably towards the end of the 9th century (Cotton, *Ib.* iii. 72). [J. G.]

MORAN (MARUAN), **ST.**, an Irish devotee, who came over with St. Breaca. Lamorran in Cornwall is dedicated to him (Whitaker's *Cornwall*, i. 338). The place is called Lanmoren in 1190. [C. W. B.]

MORE (MORA), an abbat who is recorded, in the Northumbrian annals preserved by Simeon of Durham, to have been killed by his prefect or reeve, by a mournful death, in the year 799 (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 671; Ann. Mailros, ad ann.; Hoveden, i. 17). The name of the slayer seems to have been Tilthegn, but is written Atilthegno, Altilthegno, and Athiltegno in various MSS. Much research has been spent in vain in attempts to identify More with an Irish Mor, or a foreign Maurus; but no solution of the question seems attainable. [S.]

MORGAN (1) (MORCANT), surnamed Mwynfawr, son of Athrwys, Arthruis, or Adras ap Meurig ap Tewdrig, succeeded Gwynlliw as regulus of Glewyssig, and his father Athrwys as supreme ruler of Glamorgan; the latter must have taken place soon after his grandfather's death, A.D. 575 (Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 354, 539, 655). He was much beloved as a ruler, just, humane, and pious, yet a story is told in *Lib. Land.* (143 sq. 395 sq.) of his having slain his uncle Ffrioc in despite of his oath of peace; he was excommunicated according to the terms of the oath, but restored by bishop Oudoceus and the second synod of Llandaff on his doing penance and specially granting regal exemption to the three congregations of Cadoc, Illtyd, and Docunni. He was otherwise liberal to the see of Llandaff (*Ib. pass.*). He is said to have lived at Margam, where he erected a bishopric, which was afterwards united to Llandaff. In a list of bishops of Margam left by Iolo Morganwg (*Iolo MSS.* 361 n.) the first is "Morgan, the son of Adras, bishop and king" (Rees, *Camb. Brit. SS.* 625 n.). His death could not have been much

before the end of the 6th century. (Cressy, *Ch. H. Brit.* xii. c. 9; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* i. 125; Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 17.) [J. G.]

MORGAN (2), said in British tradition to be **PELAGIUS** the heretic, the latter name being a Greek form of the British Morgan and Latin Marigena, sea-born. (Ussher, *Wks.* v. 354.) [J. G.]

MORNANUS, bishop among the Scots, at Iona about the sixth century (Spotswood, *H. C. Scot.* 11, 3rd ed.), but doubtful. [J. G.]

MOROC, -OCUS, -OKE, bishop and confessor in Scotland, patron of Lecropt, Stirlingshire, his place of burial, as MAWORROCK, and said by Camerarius (*De Scot. Fort.* 185) to have been abbat at Dunkeld; he is perhaps also found at Kilmorick near Dunkeld, and Kilmorack in Inverness-shire (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 414 et al.: *Brev. Aberd.* Prop. SS. p. estiv. f. 147, merely saying in the rubric that he was "Ep. et conf. in dūblanēsi dyocesi"). His feast is Nov. 8 or 9, and King (*Kal.*) gives A.D. 817 as his date (Bp. Forbes, *Ib.* 167). [J. G.]

MORWAL, bishop of Menevia, but not authenticated. (Godwin, *De Pres. Angl.* 601; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 154.) [J. G.]

MORWENNA, ST., a daughter of Brychan, the saint of Morwenstow on the north-east angle of Cornwall, a district that became English at a comparatively early time (Whitaker, *Cornwall*, ii. 96, 97). William of Worcester (104) says, "Sancta Norwinna virgo jacet in ecclesia quae stat per 11 miliaria de Seynt Nichtons." [C. W. B.]

MORWETHA, ST., the saint of Morvah on the Cornish coast north of Penzance. It was a daughter church to Madron. [C. W. B.]

MOSES, MYSTERIES or ASCENSION OF; an apocryphal book quoted in Evodius, writing to Augustine, but as of no authority (*Epp.* clviii.; Ceill. i. 38–40). [G. T. S.]

MOSES (1), first bishop of the Saracens, cir. 375 (Tillem. x. 454). He was of Saracen birth and an eminent solitary when chosen for the episcopate. Theodoret describes the locality of his abode as the desert between Egypt and Palestine. Mavia the queen of the Saracens offered the Roman generals peace on condition of their bringing Moses to be a bishop over her people. He was accordingly carried by the troops to Alexandria for consecration, but on his refusal to receive the rite from the persecuting archbishop Lucius, he was taken by his friends to the mountains, and there ordained by the exiled bishops. This event terminated the Saracen war. (Soc. iv. 36; Soz. vi. 38; Theod. iv. 22 al. 23; Le Quien, ii. 85; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* xi. 46; Tillem. vi. 591, vii. 593; Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 Feb. ii. 43.) [C. H.]

MOSES (2), a bishop to whom Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus, A.D. 404, exhorting him to keep aloof from the party of Arsacius. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 90.) [E. V.]

MOSES (3) (MOYSES), Roman presbyter and confessor (? of Jewish origin). He was a leading member of an influential group of confessors in the time of Cyprian, about the commencement of the Novatianist schism. The others were MAXIMUS, a presbyter, NICOSTRATUS (Cyp. *Ep.* 31 tit.), and RUFINUS, deacons, URBANUS (Ep. 49, 51), SIDONIUS, MACARIUS, and CELERINUS (*q. v.*). As Cyprian says (*Ep.* 28) that they were the first confessors in the Decian persecution, they must have been imprisoned at the time when FABIAN was martyred (Jan. 20, A.D. 250). (But Liberian Cat. has "*post passionem ejus.*") They wrote early in the persecution, urging the claims of discipline on the Carthaginian confessors (*Ep.* 27) (cf. Tillemont, t. iii. Notes s. Moyse, t. iv., S. Cyp. a. xv., Lipsius *Chr. d. röm. Bisch.* p. 200), and Moyses signed the second letter of the Roman clerus (viz. *Ep.* 30), which was drawn up by Novatian, according to Cyprian (*Ep.* 55, iv.), and he wrote with the other confessors *Ep.* 31 to Cyprian (*Ep.* 32). When they had continued a year in prison (*Ep.* 37), or more accurately eleven months and as many days (Liberian catalogue, Mommsen, Chronogr. v. Jahre 354, p. 635), i.e. on about Jan. 1, 251 A.D., Moyses died and was accounted a confessor and martyr (*Ep.* 55).

Shortly before his death he refused to communicate with *Novatian and the five presbyters* who sided with him (ἀποσχίσασιν) because he saw the tendency of his stern dogma (Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, Eus. vi. 43, κατιδών). Lipsius (*Chr. d. röm. Bisch.* p. 202 n.) contends that this separation was from Novatus, not from Novatian, on account of the mention of "the five presbyters" so notorious in Carthage: that Eusebius does not distinguish the two: and that in the extracts from Cornelius no name is given, so that we must judge from the context. But the number "five" would at best be a shadowy reason, and is the only one; whilst in fact of the *five Carthaginian presbyters* Novatus was himself *one*. So that τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ πέντε does not describe Novatus at all: he had *four* presbyters on his side, and Novatian had five.

Moyses' severance from him was not because Novatian had already left the Catholics, for he did not take that step till June 4, after the election of Cornelius; and Novatus, who induced it, did not leave Carthage for Rome until April or May (Rettberg, p. 109), whereas, from understanding Cornelius to mean that Moses disowned Novatian on account of his secession, even Pearson has been led to place the separation and Novatus's journey *earlier than January*, to the confusion of chronology and contradiction of the Liberian catalogue on which he relies; yet which states distinctly that all this happened after Moses' death (Pearson an. Cyp. A.D. 251 i. and Vales. ad Eus. l.c.). Moyses' great authority remained a strong point in Cornelius's favour, when the rest of the confessors (*Ep.* 51) after their release threw their great influence on the side of Novatian as the representative of the stricter discipline against Cornelius. Hence even in a record so brief as the Liberian catalogue it is said that Novatus separated Novatian and certain confessors from the church *postquam Moyses in carcere defunctus est.* Cyprian, after a correspondence noble in courtesy and Christian love on both sides, reconciles the whole body to Cornelius (list of Epp. v. MAXIMUS) except Nicostratus, whose name disappears from the letters,

and whom we find (*Ep.* 50) labouring for the Novatianist cause in Carthage. The party was numerous (*Ep.* 49). Letters, of which they afterwards repudiated the authorship, were circulated in their name in favour of Novatian among foreign churches. They received from Dionysius of Alexandria the remonstrance which is preserved (Euseb. vi. 45). The headship of the party belonged after Moyses' death to MAXIMUS (3), and as delegates from him Urbanus and Sidonius approached Cornelius. [E. W. B.]

MOSES (4), a presbyter of influence who wrote to Chrysostom extolling him in unmeasured terms. Chrysostom replied to him that prayers, not praises, were the most needed at that juncture. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 92.) [E. V.]

MOSES (5), of Khoren (MOSES KHORENENSIS)—called by his countrymen the Father of History—the Poet, and the Grammarian, was the most celebrated writer of Armenia. He was the nephew and disciple of St. Mesrob, the founder of Armenian literature (MESROBES). He was born at Khoren or Khorni, a town of the province of Darou. He was one of a band of scholars sent by Mesrob to study at Edessa, Constantinople, Alexandria, Athens, and Rome. There he accumulated very wide historical knowledge (cf. *Hist. Armen.* iii. 61, 62). Upon his return to Armenia he assisted St. Mesrob in the translation of the Bible into his native language, a work which was accomplished between A.D. 407 and 433. This fixes the date of his birth in the early part of cent. v.; though some place it in the latter part of cent. iv. Beyond his literary activity we do not know much about his life. He succeeded Eznig [EZNIG] as bishop of Pakrevant, where he displayed great spiritual activity. According to the mediaeval Armenian chronicler, Samuel of Ani, he died in the year 488, aged one hundred and twenty. This extended age may only have been attributed to him because the Jewish patriarch of the same name attained to those years. The following works of his are still extant: (1) *History of Armenia*, (2) *Treatise on Rhetoric*, (3) *Treatise on Geography*, (4) *Letter on Assumption of B. V. M.*, (5) *Homily on Christ's Transfiguration*, (6) *Oration on Hripsimia, an Armenian Virgin and Martyr*, (7) *Hymns used in Armenian Church Worship.* He wrote also two works now lost, viz., *Commentaries on the Armenian Grammarians*, of which fragments are found in John Erzengatzi, an Armenian writer of cent. xiii., and *Explanations of Armenian Church Offices*, of which some fragments alone have survived in Thomas Ardzrouni, a writer of cent. vii. The *History of Armenia* is his most important work; in some respects indeed it is one of the most important historical works of antiquity. Thus it embodies almost the only remains of pre-Christian Armenian literature we now possess, and preserves for us many of the songs and traditions retained at that time in popular memory. As such it has been made of late years the subject of special studies by Dulaurier in the *Journ. Asiatique* for Jan. 1852, in an article with the title "Études sur les Chants Historiques et les Traditions populaires de l'Ancienne Arménie," with which may be compared another article on the same topic by Dulaurier, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1852, t. xiv. p. 224; and also by J. B. Emin, in an Armenian treatise published at Moscow in 1850. It is also very valuable because of the extensive remains of Assyrian, Chaldean, Syrian, and Greek writers it embodies, which throw interesting light on the numerous discoveries of modern times. Moses had studied long at Edessa, where the library was very rich in ancient Assyrian chroniclers. Thus he quotes largely from writers like Mar-Abbas-Catina [MAR-ABBAS-CATINA] and Abydenus, a disciple of Aristotle, author of a history of the Chaldeans used by Eusebius in his *Chronicle* and *Preparatio Evangelica.* An exhaustive list of the Greek historians quoted by him will be found in V. Langlois, *Fragmenta Histor. Graecor.* t. v. pars ii. p. 386. This work again throws much light on the history of the Roman empire in cent. iv. and v., and the struggles it maintained against the renewed Persian empire and the efforts of Zoroastrism. Moses probably wrote his history some time between A.D. 450 and 480. This we conclude because it brings the history of Armenia down to the year 441, while the work is dedicated to Isaac, an Armenian prince, elected Mazban of Armenia in A.D. 481, and who after heading a revolt against the Persians died in 483. He divides his history into three books, beginning from Adam. He traces back the Armenian kingdom to Haïg, fifth in descent from Japhet. He then gives the history of the dynasties which reigned over Armenia: first the descendants of Haïg, and second, the Arsacides, from B.C. 152 to A.D. 433, concluding with an account of the Persian satraps who ruled from this latter year to 441, and of the exertions of St. Mesrob on behalf of the nation. This history has long attracted the attention of scholars. The first edition was published at Amsterdam in 1695; the second at London, with a Latin translation by the brothers Whiston in 1736, the third at Venice, by Sargis archbishop of Constantinople in 1752. During this century it has been translated into French by De Florival, Venice, 1841; into Italian by the Mechitarite Fathers, Venice, 1841; into Russian by J. Johannes, 2 vols. 8vo, St. Petersburg, 1809; and latest of all, into French by V. Langlois in *Historiens Anciens de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867, t. ii. p. 47–175, cf. Langlois, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.*, as already quoted. The Mechitarites of Venice have twice published the Armenian text of the History, first in 1827, with engravings, and again in an edition of his complete works, 1843–1864. Dwight, an American missionary, notes that a very ancient manuscript copy of this work on parchment exists in the library of the Armenian College at Tiflis, *Journ. Armenian Orient. Society*, t. iii. p. 248. His treatise on Rhetoric is divided into ten books. It was published at Venice in 1796, with notes by P. J. Zohrab. It contains a fragment of the Peliades, one of the lost tragedies of Euripides. This fragment was pointed out by Cardinal Mai in his edition of the *Chronicle of Eusebius*, Milan, 1818, p. 43, note 3; cf. opp. *Euripid.* ed. Didot, p. 765. The passage of Moses where this fragment is quoted is a refutation of the fable about Medea, cf. Langlois, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec. l. c.* p. 397. The most important of the other works ascribed to him is the treatise on Geography (*Epitome Geographiae*), largely derived from Ptolemy and the Alexandrian mathematician

Pappus, who lived under Theodosius the Great at the end of cent. iv., cf. Suidas, *s. v.* Πάππος. It was first printed at Marseilles A.D. 1678, and again in 1683, and afterwards in London, with a Latin translation by the Whistons, in 1736. It will be found appended to their translation of his history, and followed by two epistles, one from the Corinthians to St. Paul, the other from St. Paul to the Corinthians. Saint-Martin in his *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, t. ii. p. 406, gives a French version of it. He will not, however, ascribe it to Moses, and offers strong reasons for assigning it to the ninth or tenth century; cf. *l. c.* p. 305–314; Langlois, however, in an essay, whose full title is given below, upholds its genuineness, explaining the objections of Saint-Martin as mere interpolations of copyists. The other extant works of Moses do not call for any special remark. It is believed that he composed other historical and philosophical treatises, and translated the *Chronicle of Eusebius* and some other works into Armenian; of this we have, however, no certain knowledge. Most of the principal modern authorities on the subject have been already mentioned. Saint-Martin contributed a valuable notice on Moses and his works to the *Jour. Asiatique*, t. ii. pp. 322–344. A very exhaustive article by Langlois will be found in *Bullet. de l'Acad. des Sc. de St. Pétersb.* t. iii. p. 537, *Étude sur les sources de Moïse de Khorène.* This is the best monograph on Moses and his writings; cf. *Jour. Asiat.* 1829, p. 56, *Mem.* by Neumann, Quatremère in *Jour. des Sav.* Juin 1850, p. 364; Petermann in Herzog, *s. v.*, and in *Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, v. 366; Pichard's *Essai sur Moïse de Khoren*, Paris, 1866, which is not however of critical value; Sukias de Somal, *Storia di Mosè Corenese*, Venice, 1850. See also Gutschmid in the *Berichte der König. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, 1876. [G. T. S.]

MOSHACRA, MOSHACCRA (MOSACER, MOSACRA, MOACRA, MOACRUS), abbat of Clonenagh, Queen's County, of Saggard, co. Dublin, and of Fionn-mhagh in Fotharta (perhaps near Wexford), commemorated March 3 (*M. Doneg.* 63). Colgan (*Acta SS.* 454) has a memoir *De S. Sacro sive Mo-sacro abbate*, ex variis, and the Boll. (*Acta SS.* 3 Mar. i. 221 praet.) a shorter notice. He was of Leinster, and son of Senan descended from Maelcroc, son of Roderic king of Ireland. He is connected with several monasteries, but the traditions of two or more Moshacras may be mixed up. He attended the council held at Tara about A.D. 697 under the bishop of Armagh [FLANN FEBLA]. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 130, iii. 99; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 150, 3rd ed.) [J. G.]

MOVEANUS (MOVEUS, MOUYUS), Scotch saint, contemporary with SS. Vigianus and Medanus, and patron of Kippen; Dempster (*H. E. Scot.* ii. 458) also says that he wrote *De regulari vita ad Monachos; Decreta Ecclesiastica; Ad Ecclesias Scoticas; Epistolae ad diversos*, and flourished A.D. 444 or 450. There can be no reasonable doubt but that he is Mobiou, Dabius, or Biteus, abbat of Inch, co. Donegal. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Sept. ii. 206 praet., 12 Oct. vi. 6 praet.; Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 414.) [DABIUS.] [J. G.]

MOYLE-IMORCHOR, "Bishop of Achroym O Mayne" (Aughrim, co. Galway), died A.D. 751. (*Ann. Clonm.* A.D. 747 ap. *Four Mast.* by O'Don. i. 349 n. [t].) [J. G.]

MUCA, abbat of Glastonbury (*Mon. Angl.* i. 3; *Memorials of Dunstan*, pf. p. lxxxii.). The name of Muca is the sixth in the ancient list of abbats of Glastonbury given in the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. 5; he there succeeds Cealdhun, and is followed by Wiccea. In the list given by William of Malmesbury (*Antt. Glaston.* ap. Gale, pp. 316, 328), Muca is the 13th abbat, coming between Beadulf and Gutlac, with dates 802–824 assigned him.

Muca attended the council of Clovesho in 805, in company with the bishop of Sherborne, to whose diocese his monastery must have then belonged (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546, 547). His name is attached likewise to a spurious or questionable grant to the minister Eadgils by a king named Edbirtus, attested also by bishops Kinebert and Wihtberd, and dated in 801 (Kemble, *C. D.* 178); the Edbirtus of the charter can of course only be Egbert of Wessex; Kemble, however, conjectures that the name is a misreading for "Eadburh regina;" Brihtric's wife, who is said, in a note appended to the charter, to have restored it to Glastonbury. The land granted to Eadgils is at Bodecanleage or Butleigh, in Somersetshire, and the transfer of the estate to Glastonbury by Eadgils is mentioned by William of Malmesbury (ap. Gale, p. 316). This writer also mentions a grant made by Egbert, at the request of abbat Muca, of land of five manentes, on the river Toric (*ibid.* 316, 327).

William of Malmesbury (p. 316) seems to confuse Muca with his fifth predecessor, Cuma; and the great obscurity of his list may seem to indicate that some of the intervening names, not being otherwise known, are merely fictitious. On the other hand, if the earlier list be accepted, the abbacy of Cealdhun seems insufficient to cover the long interval between abbats Beorwald and Muca; it may therefore be readily conceded that that list is imperfect. Nothing of more importance is known of Muca. [S.]

MUCNA (MUICIN, MUKNA, MUKINUS, MUCCINUS, MUCINUS), bishop of Domnachmor in Tirawley, co. Mayo, contemporary with St. Patrick, and perhaps commemorated March 4, when in the Irish kalendars he is called "of Maighin," *i.e.* of Moyne near Killala. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 457) has a short memoir, *De S. Mucna sive Mukino Episcopo*, but the Boll. (*Acta SS.* 4 Mart. i. 297 praet.) doubt Colgan's identifying St. Patrick's friend with the saint of Maighin. (O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 110, 595, 612; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* i. 253 sq., also criticising Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141 c. 83 et al.) [J. G.]

MUGENTIUS (MAUGANTIUS, MEIGANT, MEUGAN, MUGINT), master of St. Fridian or Finnian, and over a large school or monastery at Candida Casa. In the two Lives of St. Fridian given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 634 c. 1, 638 c. 6) Mugentius plotted against his pupil, and, moved by jealousy in teaching, sought his life, but himself fell in the plot. But in the Scholiast's Preface to the *Hymn of Mugint* (Todd, *Book of Hymns*, i. 94 sq.; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc.* 4 ser. iii. 199 sq.) the plot has even a less

creditable basis. The hymn, a mixture of Latin and Irish, or more accurately Latin in an Irish character, is evidently upon the model of the penitential psalms, and seems suited for a time of national affliction. Both Colgan and Todd seek an Irish or Welsh identification, but beyond his being at Candida Casa, now Whithern, Wigtonshire, in the 6th century, all is uncertain. (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 48–9.) [J. G.]

MUHÁMMAD AND MUHÁMMADANISM. An adequate knowledge of the geography of Arabia, especially that part of it which was the principal scene of Muhámmad's career, of the religious and social condition of the Arabs at that period, as also of contemporaneous history, is absolutely necessary in order to an intelligent and comprehensive appreciation of the subjects of this article.

The Greeks and Romans divided Arabia into three great regions, viz., Arabia Felix, Arabia Petraea, and Arabia Deserta; but this nomenclature is unknown to the Arabs themselves. *Bárru-'l-Arab*,[a] or the Land of the Arabs, is the name given by them to the peninsula generally. The other divisions are the *al-Hijâz*,[a] which comprised Arabia Petraea and several of its adjacent territories; *al-Yáman*,[a] including Arabia Felix and the country forming the south-east extremity of the peninsula; and *Najd*, (literally, High Land,) which may be termed Central Arabia. The cities of Mákkah[b] (Mecca) and al-Madînah,[a] reckoned within the confines of the al-Hijâz, as being respectively the birth-place and burial-place of Muhámmad, call for special notice. The valley of MECCA—such is the concurrent belief of the Arabs—was the cradle of the race which sprang from Ishmael. Thither, according to the received traditions, Abraham conducted Ishmael and his mother, in order to propitiate the jealousy of Sarah. Instructed by a revelation from heaven, he led them to the spot whereon Mecca was afterwards built, and there left them. Having consumed her scanty supply of provisions Hagar went in search of water. During her absence the young Ishmael began to cry and to beat the ground with his feet, whereupon a spring suddenly gushed forth. Full of joy, and fearing lest the water should be lost, Hagar tumped the spring so as to form a basin, and it is this same source which, according to Muslims, still feeds the so-called "Well of Zámzam." A tribe of the Amâlikah, (Amalekites,) who were encamped in the vicinity, led thereto by a flight of birds hovering over the place, came upon the spring and eventually removed to the spot. Among these Ishmael was brought up until he was seven years old, when, agreeably with the command of God, Abraham came to sacrifice him. Satan, in human form, vainly endeavoured three times to turn him from his purpose, but when his hand was uplifted to slay his son the angel Gabriel arrested him, and allowed him to substitute a ram in its stead. Subsequently, other tribes, the descendants of Júrhum and Katûrah, (Katurah,) joined the Amâlikah, who were eventually expelled by a plague of ants, sent by God to punish them for their wickedness. Ishmael remained with the immigrants, and allied himself to them by marrying the daughter of the Júrhumite king Mudhâdh. It was about this time, according to Arab legend, that Abraham, during a later visit to Ishmael, and assisted by him, built the *al*-KAÁBAH, *La Maison Carrée*, at Mecca, so called because it was nearly a *kaábah*, or square. The model of this temple most Muslims believe to have been constructed in heaven, where it was an object of adoration to the angels, who performed around it the sacred circuit, or circumambulation, called the *Tawâf*. Whilst Ishmael was in search for a stone to mark the angle from which the *Tawâf* should begin, the angel Gabriel met him, and gave him that which has since become famous under the name of *al-Hájaru-'l-Áswad*, or the Black Stone, although it was then of a dazzling whiteness. The temple completed, Abraham and Ishmael dedicated it to the Lord, and the angel Gabriel came down to instruct them respecting the prayers and the rites with which the pilgrimage to this shrine was to be celebrated.

But to what date are we to refer the foundations of this temple, and, was it originally dedicated to God or to pagan deities? The judicious M. Caussin de Perceval, to whose admirable *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, &c., the writer of this article is deeply indebted, replies: "On these two points it would be rash to hazard any conjecture." Ash-Shahrastâny, the learned Muslim author of the *Kitâbu-'l-Mílal-wa-'n-Níhal*, (Religions and Philosophical Sects,) maintains that it was originally a temple dedicated to *Zúhal*, or Saturn, but he adduces no authority in support of the assertion. Herodotus, who wrote three centuries prior to our era, does not mention it, although he briefly alludes to the religion of the Arabs at his day; but Diodorus Siculus (*lib.* iii.) two and a half centuries later, speaking of that part of Arabia that is washed by the Red Sea, says: "There exists in this country a temple which is held in great estimation by all the Arabs." The al-Kaábah is the only religious edifice in Arabia which comes up to that description. That it was built long prior to the age of Diodorus cannot be doubted, "and with equal certainty," so writes Caussin de Perceval, "its origin is to be assigned to a time much posterior to the date which Muslim authors claim for it." Sir William Muir, in his well-nigh exhaustive *Life of Mahomet*, whilst admitting that "a very high antiquity must be assigned to the main features of the religion of Mecca," regards as fabulous

[a] The writer uses the acute sign (´) over a vowel to denote where the syllable should be accentuated in pronunciation; the circumflex (ˆ) to denote a long vowel; and the apostrophe (') the elision of a letter. The letter *y* at the end of transliterated Arabic names should be enunciated with a ringing sound. The symbol (ʽ) is placed over the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, respectively to represent the Arabic عَ عِ عُ. The prefixed article *al-* is retained in those names which absolutely require it, together with the English article. To say *Madínah*, meaning thereby the city so called, would be as ambiguous as for us, in London, to say "City" when we meant The City. For the sake of brevity he writes "Kurán" for the *al-Kur-án*, (the old "Alcoran,") which should be pronounced with a hiatus after the *r*; and "Islâm" for *al-Islâm*.

[b] Such is the correct transliteration of the original; but, in conformity to familiar English usage, "Mecca" is adopted.

the traditional association therewith of the Father of the Faithful:—"There is no trace of anything Abrahamic in the essential elements of the superstition. To kiss the Black Stone, to make the circuit of the Káaba, and perform the other observances at Mecca, Arafát, and the vale of Miná, to keep the sacred months, and to hallow the sacred territory, have no conceivable connection with Abraham, or with the ideas and principles which his descendants would be likely to inherit from him." There is something too sweeping in these remarks, considering that the same accomplished writer, speaking of the temple and its rites having been indebted for their origin to Abraham and Ishmael, says: "This was no Muslim fiction, but the popular opinion long before the time of Mahomet. Otherwise it could not be referred to in the Corán as an acknowledged fact; nor would certain spots around the Káaba have been connected, as we know them to have been, with the names of Abraham and Ishmael." He has accordingly been challenged by the Syed Ahmed Khân Bahâdoor, C. S. I., the author of a *Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed*, who, whilst claiming for the al-Kaábah an Abrahamic origin, does not hesitate, on good Muslim authority, to reject many of the popular legends of miraculous intervention in its construction. The Sáyyid adduces Gen. xii. 7 and xiii. 18 to shew that it was the practice of Abraham, as it was of succeeding patriarchs, to raise altars to God's worship. These altars, he assumes, without sufficient warranty, to have been made of "unhewn stones placed vertically like pillars;" whereas, in another passage which he quotes, Ex. xxiv. 4, a distinction is drawn between the "altar" and the "twelve stones" which Moses is there recorded to have erected. His reference to Jacob is more to the point:—"And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of the place Bethel, but the name of that city was called Luz at the first. . . And this stone which I set up for a pillar shall be God's house." (Gen. xxviii. 18–22.) He accordingly holds the Black Stone to have been "no other than one of the numerous altars erected for the suitable performance of God's worship;" and, dismissing all the silly legends with which it has been associated, he adduces a tradition, handed down by "Abdollah Ibn Ameer," that the Black Stone is "a piece of rock from the Abba Kobais mountain, in the vicinity of Mecca," and that the change in its colour is due, not to the sins of the people, as some superstitiously believe, but to two fires which broke out in the Temple on two separate occasions, one prior to Islám, and the other in the time of Ibn-Zubáir, on which latter occasion the stone was split into three pieces, and was reunited by means of hooks and rings. As regards the *Tawáf*, or making the circuit of the al-Kaábah, the Sáyyid, after a critical examination of al-Bukhâry and other writers on Muslim traditions, conceives that the usage sprang up thus:—"In the then imperfect state of civilization, the inhabitants of the peninsula of Arabia had a rude but very earnest, enthusiastic, and devout mode of performing prayer. They would assemble in great numbers, and nearly half naked, round the temple of the Káaba, and there, warmed and excited by zeal and enthusiasm till they were almost frantic, they would make, in procession, the tour of the temple, dancing, jumping, and vociferating aloud, but in tones of mingled love and devotion, the name of God; then, again kneeling down, they would with the utmost reverence imprint on the corners of the temple a kiss, in which was mingled the warmest devotion with respect the most profound." Without taking this optimist view of the religious service under consideration, there can be no doubt that the custom of circumambulating sacred places is of very ancient date. Samuel "went from year to year in circuit to [or, more correctly, he circuited] Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh." (1 Sam. vii. 16.) Now, it is worthy of remark that these several localities were hallowed by a memorial pillar or monument. That at Bethel has already been noticed. At Gilgal the twelve stones taken from the bed of the Jordan, where the Israelites crossed over into Canaan, were set up, (Josh. iv. 19, 20,) and the spot became subsequently one of the holy places to which Samuel resorted to offer sacrifices unto Jehovah. (1 Sam. x. 8.) At Mizpeh, also, was the heap of stones piled up by Jacob and Laban as a testimony between them. (Gen. xxxi. 48.) When Jephthah was prevailed upon to become the leader of the people, he went and "uttered all his words before the Lord in Mizpeh," (Judg. xi. 11,) where he appears subsequently to have resided, and in all probability it was upon the altar of that sanctuary that his terrible vow was consummated. (*Id.* 35.) "Unto the Lord in Mizpeh" is a phrase of frequent occurrence in the Book of Judges, and the weight of testimony is in favour of Mizpeh having been the place where the great assembly was held to decide upon the measures to be taken against Gibeah, after the outrage upon the Levite and his concubine, (Judg. xx. xxi.,) in which narrative it is twice called "Bethel," the House of God. The words of David, also, singularly illustrate the ceremony of the *Tawáf*:—"I will wash mine hands in innocency, and so will I compass [circumambulate] Thine altar." (Ps. xxvi. 6.) The latest and by far the best Arabic version of the Bible extant uses the verb *Tâfa*—the root of the noun *Tawâf*—to express this compassing of the altar. Then, as regards the "dancings," which may fairly be presumed to imply mental as well as bodily excitation, such as accompany the Muslim *Tawâf*, it is clear from Ex. xxxii. 19, that the custom obtained at that early period when Moses, on descending from the mount, saw the calf which the Israelites had made, and the "dancing" around it. Moreover, at Shiloh, one of the most famous sanctuaries of the Jews, and where there was a yearly feast "to Jehovah," the daughters of the place came forth regularly "to dance in the dances." (Judg. xxi. 21.) And that such religious exercises were common in those times is clear from the frequent appeals made in the Psalms calling upon the people to praise the Lord "in the dance;" and in 2 Sam. vi. 14, we read that David himself "danced before the Lord with all his might." It is but fair to add that the Kurân is silent about the Black Stone, and only mentions the

al-Kaábah twice by name, in Sûr.* v. 96. 98. In one of these passages pilgrims are enjoined not to kill game during the season of the Pilgrimage, and, if they do, domestic animals of equal value are to be given as an offering to the al-Kaábah; and in the other that sanctuary is declared to be "a sacred house appointed as an institution for all mankind." References to it under the latter designation are more numerous. In Sûr. iii. 90, 91, it is declared to be "the first House that was built for mankind in Bákkah," (a synonym for Mákkah or Mecca,) and in Sûr. ii. 121 Abraham and Ishmael are distinctly stated to have laid its foundations under special directions from the Almighty, one of which was that "they were not to unite aught with Me in worship," but to "cleanse My house for those who go in procession around it, and who stand and bow in worship;" and in Sûr. xxii. 25 the "holy Oratory is appointed for the use of all men, alike for those who reside there and for strangers."

The original al-Kaábah worship may or may not have partaken of the comparative simplicity of the Jewish rites above referred to. It is indisputable, however, that in the course of time it degenerated into the most flagrant idolatry. With the worship of *Alláh*, the supreme God, was associated a legion of inferior deities whose images, including that of Abraham, were set up in and around it. It was, in fact, the grand Pantheon of the nation, the only temple for which the *al-Hijj*, or Pilgrimage, was instituted. As these pilgrimages were the occasion of several large annual fairs being held in the vicinity of Mecca, the commercial advantages arising therefrom to that place were doubtless very considerable. The twofold pre-eminence which it thus enjoyed in religion and trade appears to have excited the cupidity and rivalry of the adjoining kingdom of al-Yáman. Tibbán-Asáad-abu-Káribah, a Himyarite sovereign of that country, is recorded to have invaded the al-Hijáz at the beginning of the third century of our era, on which occasion he was urged by the Bánu-Hudháil to destroy the al-Kaábah. Two Jewish doctors, however, who had associated themselves with him, and through whom he is said to have embraced Judaism, strongly advised him against the attempt. "They wish your ruin," said they, "for there is no place more sacred in the world than the temple of Mecca. Instead of violating it, visit it with profound respect, perform the circuits, and all the other pious rites connected with that sanctuary." On being asked by the king why, in that case, they did not do the like themselves, they replied: "It is quite true that this is the temple of our father Abraham, but it is now profaned by idolatry and by the impure blood which is shed therein." As persuaded by them he went through all the stated ceremonies, and furthermore covered the al-Kaábah for the first time with a rich stuff, which action on his part is said to have originated the annual present of a brocade *Kíswah*, or Covering, sent with great pomp from Cairo, at the expense of the Ottoman sovereigns. Again, A.D. 270–272, four anonymous kings of al-Yáman marched against the al-Kaábah with the avowed object of seizing the Black Stone and of setting it up at Sanáâ, in a temple which they intended to build there, in order that that city might become the goal of the pilgrimage; but their attempt signally failed. On a third occasion Ábraha-'l-Áshram, who ruled over al-Yáman, A.D. 537-570, undertook a campaign against Mecca and the al-Kaábah, instigated thereto—so it is stated—by the fact of one of the Bánu-Kinânah having defiled the church which he had built at Sanáâ. (The Abyssinians conquered al-Yáman, A.D. 523, and it was during the reign of Ábraha that the bishop Gregentius, sent by the patriarch of Alexandria, established his see at Zhafâr, in that province.) The Arab's motive is recorded to have been to desecrate the church, and thereby to frustrate the supposed design of Ábraha to make it the object of the Pilgrimage. Ábraha, mounted on an elephant, led the van of his army, and after seizing several places in the al-Hijâz sent a messenger to the head man at Mecca to announce that he had come to destroy the al-Kaábah. At that period the aged Ábdu-'l-Múttalib, of the al-Kuráish tribe, was chief of the local oligarchy. Being summoned by Ábraha he presented himself before him, and requested that two hundred camels, which had wrongfully been taken from him, should be restored. Ábraha, who was struck with the noble bearing of the Arab, expressed surprise that he should think more of the camels than of the temple which he had come to destroy. "The camels are my property," replied the chief; "the temple belongs to one who knows how to defend it." Ábdu-'l-Múttalib, on his return to Mecca, directed the people to take refuge in the neighbouring hills; but before his own departure, so writes at-Tábary as quoted by Ibn-Khaldûn, he laid hold of the ring of the door of the al-Kaábah, and uttered this prayer:—"O God, the humblest of Thy creatures defends his own property. Defend Thou the majesty of Thy temple, and suffer not the cross to be erected triumphantly upon the spot which Thou hast consecrated." On the day following, Ábraha, mounted on his elephant Mahmûd, proceeded towards Mecca, whereupon an Arab named Nufáil, seizing the ear of the elephant, whispered to him, saying: "Return from whence thou camest. Thou art here on ground consecrated to God." Thereafter, no amount of goading could induce the beast to advance. If turned towards al-Yáman he began to walk, but if towards Mecca he fell on his knees to the ground. It was at this juncture that God sent flights of birds, called *Abâbîl*, each having in its beak and claws a stone as large as a lentil. These they hurled at the Abyssinians, whose bodies were forthwith covered with pustules, of which they died. Their army was utterly routed, and Ábraha died of his wounds on his return to Sanáâ. This miraculous intervention is thus referred to in the Kurân, Sûr. v., entitled the *Chapter of the Elephant*:—"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the elephant? Did He not cause their strategy to miscarry? And He sent them the *Abâbîl*. Claystones did they hurl down upon them, and He made them like corn the grain [or core] of which has been eaten." The author of the *Síratu-'r-Rasûl* gives a more credible account of the cause which led the Abyssinians to

* *Sûr.* for *Sûrah*, or Chapter.

retire from the al-Hijâz where he says: "It was in this year that the small-pox first broke out in Arabia." The patriotic conduct of Ábdu-'l-Múttalib on this occasion tended to raise the tribe of the al-Kuráish to the highest pinnacle of glory. They forthwith instituted several new rites for the pilgrimage, assumed the title of *Hums*, or Defenders of the Faith, and ordered that all Arabs beyond the territory of Mecca should wear a particular garb whilst making the *Tawáf*. If too poor to provide it they were to perform the rites in a state of nudity, or if they retained their own garments they were not to be worn thereafter.

It was shortly after this catastrophe to the Abyssinian army that Ábdúllah, the son of Ábdu-'l-Múttalib, was directed by his father to go to Yáthrib (al-Madinah) to purchase dates for his family. He died on the journey at the age of twenty-five years. Amínah his wife was at that time in an advanced state of pregnancy, and on the 12th of Rabíl-ul-Áwwal, of the Year of the Elephant, she gave birth to Muhámmad, destined to become the future Legislator of the Arabs. By careful computation M. Caussin de Perceval makes that date to correspond with the 29th of August, A.D. 570.

There is a striking parallel, worthy of notice, between the conduct of the Arab sovereigns of al-Yáman, their jealousy of Mecca and of the al-Kaábah, both as a temple and the goal of the national Pilgrimage, as set forth in their attempt to set up a rival temple at Sanáâ, and the conduct of Jeroboam, king of Israel, who built a temple at Shechem, made two golden calves there, and instituted several other pagan rites in order to prevent the people from going to sacrifice at Jerusalem. (1 Kings xii. 25–33.)

The other town of the al-Hijâz calling for special mention is that of Yáthrib—afterwards named al-MADÍNAH—situated about 120 miles due north of Mecca. According to Muslim historians Yáthrib was the chief of the Amâlikah, who settled in that territory, which afterwards bore his name, including Kháibar and several of the adjacent districts. M. Caussin de Perceval is mistaken in supposing that the term Amâlikah (or Amalekites) is confined in sacred Scripture to the posterity of Esau by his son Amalek, for we read of the Amalekites a century before the birth of Esau, (Gen. xiv. 7,) and Balaam styled Amalek "the first of the nations." (Num. xxiv. 20.) The probability is that, as used by the writers referred to, the appellation included other nomads, of different stocks, whose predecessors occupied the country from the Jordan, through Edom, to the region east of Egypt. There is a concurrent testimony among Arabian historians that the Amâlikah were superseded in their authority over the al-Hijâz by a colony of Jews, although their accounts differ respecting its origin. According to Ibn-Khaldûn the immigrants formed part of an army sent by Joshua against the Amâlikah, which after destroying the people took possession of the country, and occupied Yáthrib, Kháibar, and the surrounding places. Others, and among them the author of the *al-Agháný*, make the original Jewish colonists to have consisted of a large body of troops which Moses despatched against the Amâlikah, but that having spared Árkam, the young son of the Amalekite king, the Israelites refused to receive them on their return from the expedition. Caussin de Perceval, who has carefully analyzed the various notices found in the principal Arabian historians respecting the early settlement of the Jews in the al-Hijâz, considers the latter legend to bear a strong resemblance to the story of the Amalekite king Agag, whose life was spared by the soldiers of Saul against the positive command of the prophet Samuel. (1 Sam. xv. 9.) He accordingly remarks, that if the Arab tradition is founded on any historical truth connecting the fact of the disobedience of the Israelitish troops with the establishment of a colony of Jews in the al-Hijâz it would serve to fix the date of that immigration to the time of Saul, or four centuries after Moses. Other Arabian historians assert that the immigration did not take place till after the fall of Zedekiah and the devastation of Judea by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, nearly six centuries B.C. Personal experience enables the writer of this article to state that this latter is the prevailing tradition among the al-Yáman Jews of their original settlement in that part of Arabia.

The ascendency of the Jews was overthrown, in turn, by the al-Âus and the al-Kházraj, two Arab tribes that had separated themselves from the Bánu-Ghassân, in Syria, immigrated to the al-Hijâz, and eventually (cir. A.D. 492) seized upon Yáthrib. Successive feuds broke out between these two tribes, in which the al-Kházraj were generally the victors. Their persecution of the Jews induced the latter to form an alliance with their rivals, the al-Âus, and a famous battle was fought between them in which the al-Âus were successful. Eventually an effort was made to heal these intestine divisions by the joint election of a sovereign who was to rule over both tribes, and this subject was under discussion when Muhámmad appeared on the scene as the Prophet of the Arabs. A party from the combined tribes, who were still mostly pagans, while performing the pilgrimage at Mecca, heard his preaching, believed that he was the prophet whom the Jews among them expected, embraced his doctrines, and undertook to introduce them among their brethren on their return home. What followed thereon forms part of the Life of Muhámmad, and will be noticed in its proper place. As regards the Jews, they appear up to that time to have retained a considerable degree of importance. Writing of that period Caussin de Perceval remarks:—"The Jewish race was still powerful. They possessed, between three or four days' journey from Yáthrib, a fertile territory abounding in grain and date-trees, and protected by several forts . . . . The district occupied by those strongholds was styled *Khaibar*, a word which Arabian authors take to signify a castle. [More probably a confederation, or colony, from the Hebrew חבר to be confederated.] Its population was composed of different families which had been established in the country from time immemorial." Scarcely any remains of these colonies exist at the present day. Captain R. Burton, in his *Pilgrimage to Meccah and el-Medínah*, says: "It is the popular boast at al-Hijáz that, with the exception of Jeddah (and perhaps Yembo), where the Prophet never set his foot, there is not a town in the country harbouring an infidel; but, if history may be

trusted, it has become so only lately." Ludovico di Varthema, the Bolognese traveller, who journeyed from Damascus to al-Madinah, A.D. 1503–5, mentions a mountain on the road which was inhabited by five thousand Jews. "They are circumcised," he writes, "and confess that they are Jews." As late as A.D. 1762 Niebuhr was informed that the district of Kháibar was still inhabited by several independent Jewish tribes, who had shaikhs of their own like other Arabs. Burckhardt, also, mentions the old colony of Jews at Kháibar, but says that it had disappeared, though there still existed an unfounded belief at Mecca and Jiddah that their descendants still existed there, strictly performing the rites of their religion.

Although the foregoing description of the al-Kaábah worship gives a *coup d'œil* of the national creed and manners of the Arabs, it is nevertheless desirable, in order fairly to appreciate the radical reforms effected therein by Muhámmad, to analyze more in detail THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF ARABIA PRIOR TO THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLÂM. The whole race was plunged in the darkness of paganism. Circumcision was general among them, and it seems probable that every family had its *lares* and *penates*. Besides idols, some of the tribes had temples of their own. All, however, seem to have believed in a supreme God, called *Alláh*, with whom was associated a host of minor divinities who acted as mediators with him. Under the figure of these gods they worshipped angels, whom they conceived to be of the feminine gender, and styled them *Banátu-'lláh*, Daughters of God. Others adored the stars, and especially the sun. The Bánu-Kinânah addressed their homage to the moon and to the star Aldabarân; the Bánu-Lakhm and Bánu-Juzhâm to the planet Jupiter; the Bánu-Asâad to Mercury; the Bánu-Tay to Canopus; and the descendants of Kais-Áilân to Sirius. Some among them believed that death was the end of man; others believed in a resurrection and a life beyond the grave. These latter, on the death of a relative or friend, sacrificed a she-camel, or left it to perish of hunger, under the belief that it would be revivified with the departed one, and serve to carry him when called upon to appear before the judgment-seat of God. According to them the soul, on quitting the body, hovered about in the form of a bird, which they called *Háma* and *Sáda*, uttering plaintive cries, through which they conveyed to the departed news of those whom they had left behind. If the deceased had been the victim of a murder the bird cried *Iskûni*, Give me to drink, until his surviving relatives had avenged him. The belief in Genii, or Ogres, in magic, divination, and in the oracles of their idols, which were consulted by means of arrows, was almost universal among them. Further, any man was at liberty to marry as many wives as he was able to maintain, and of divorcing them at pleasure. A widow was regarded as part of the heritage of her deceased husband, and hence incestuous marriages between sons and daughters-in-law were common. But one of the most revolting customs among them was that of the inhumation of living girls by their parents, called *Wäadu-'l-Banât*, (*lit.* the Burial of living daughters). On a female child being born to them many of the Arabs in the time of the *al-Jâhiliyyah*, or Ignorance, which is the term applied by Muslims to the state of the Arabs before Islám, had it buried at once, lest it might prove a burden to them, or, as some say, under an exaggerated sense of honour, lest she might some day be seized and dishonoured by their enemies. Much more might be added to the foregoing list of pagan rites and usages. Those who are curious in such matters should consult the Syed Ahmed Khân Bahadoor's *Essays on the Life of Mohammed*, wherein he has collected together, from original sources, an interesting account of the religious and social condition of the pre-Islamitic Arabs.

Further, among the Arabs, prior to Muhámmad, there were many Sabians, who are thrice mentioned by name in the Kurân. (Sûr. ii. 59; v. 73; xxii. 17.) The drift of these passages is almost identical, and places the Sabians, together with Jews and Christians, within the pale of salvation, subject to the final decision of God. Hence they are generally regarded as the "People of a Book," that is, possessing a Divine Revelation, on which point, however, there is much uncertainty. They are said to ascribe their Book to Adam, and to derive their religion and law from Shîth and Idrîs, (Seth and Enoch). Some Muslim and Christian writers, confounding them with the old Sabaeans of Chaldea and the modern so-called "Christians of St. John," in Mesopotamia, allege that they possessed the Book of Psalms, and observed several Christian rites. Ash-Shahrastâny, in his *Kitâbu-'l-Milal wa-'n-Nihal*, already quoted, gives by far the fullest account of the Arab Sabians prior to Islâm. In the form of a dialogue between them and the al-Hanîfiyyah, (the name given to the followers of Muhámmad before that of "Muslim" was adopted,) he points out the cardinal differences which existed between the two creeds. According to him the Sabians were divided into several sects, among which he enumerates the Spiritualists, or believers in spiritual beings, and those who had temples and *Sháhhs*. The latter word signifies literally a Person, but it is still applied by the Yazîdis, relicts of Zoroastrianism, near Mosul, to the neat tapering monuments which they raise in their villages, and which in order to conceal their creed from outsiders they declare to be tombs or cenotaphs. (Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 107.) The Rev. J. M. Rodwell, in the preface to his translation of the Kurân, quotes the *Fihrist*, a MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris, in which he avers that the "Sabeites" are called "Hanyfs," and that they are spoken of in the same treatise as having received the Book of Abraham, mentioned in Sûr. lxxxvii. 19. This statement it will be seen is in direct opposition to that of ash-Shahrastâny, and the weight of authority is certainly on the side of the latter. The Sabians generally held that the Spiritual Beings were created from nothing, that they consist of pure light, so subtle as to be imperceptible either to the mind or sight, whereas man, they say, is a being of composite elements. This doctrine they profess to have learned from Azhimûn and Hírmis, that is, Shîth and Idrîs, (Seth and Enoch). These Spiritual Essences they held to be appropriately symbolized by light, such as the constellations and planets, and deny that they can

properly be symbolized by man; hence they denied the mission of apostles as their representatives. Those asterisms were accordingly regarded by them as the abode or embodiment of the Spiritual Beings who direct the course of events, inasmuch as they are causes, not caused. But inasmuch as the asterisms were not visible at all times, the Sabians recognized the necessity of having a medium, which should always be present with them, through which they could approach the Spiritual Beings, and through them the Almighty God, and they accordingly erected *Ashkhâs*, (the plural of *Shákhs*, temples or monuments,) to represent them, so arranging the order and service of the same that each temple should be a type of the conditions or influences of the planet or constellation which it symbolized. Ash-Shahrastâny, taking these *Ashkhâs* to signify idols, does not hesitate to call the Sabians idolaters. According to the same author, in an elaborate account of the religions and customs of the pre-Islamite Arab tribes, of which what follows is a brief summary, some of them inclined to Judaism, others to Christianity and Sabianism. They believed in the transmigration of souls, and in the astrologers who consulted the stars. Some believed in the unity of God and a day of final judgment. When at the point of death some among them would call upon one of their sons and direct him to bury a she-camel with him in order that he might be spared the fatigue of walking on foot to the Judgment. Among other customs they used to bind the fore-shank of a she-camel to her arm at the grave of her master, leaving it there till it died, believing that the master would be raised from the dead on her. They used to hold as prohibited many things which were subsequently prohibited in the Kurân. They neither married their mothers, nor daughters, nor maternal or paternal aunts. The worst which they did in this respect was to marry two sisters, or to take the wife of a father; but those who did this were considered a disgrace. If a man died leaving a wife she fell to the eldest son, and if he wished to have her he cast his garment around her; if not, others of his brethren married her, giving her a new dowry. It is said that they used to demand a woman in marriage from her father, or brothers, or uncles, and marriages among them were mostly contracted between persons of the same station in life. They used to offer oblations, to practise the rite of casting pebbles, and to observe the sacred months, during which they abstained from war. Some, forgetting the months, adopted a rude system of intercalation, but in performing the Pilgrimage they did not fail to make the day of the *Táuriyah*, (the providing one's self with water,) that of *Arifah*, (when the pilgrims halt at *Arifât*,) and that of the *an-Náhr* (or sacrifice) to correspond with the rites of the month of Dzu'l-Hijj, and when they sacrificed to idols they smeared their garments with the blood of the victims, believing that thereby their wealth would be increased. Further, they used to observe the purifications of the *Fítrah* (religion) of Abraham, which he made obligatory upon himself, namely, the ten precepts, five of which had respect to the head, and five to the other parts of the body. The first were: the rinsing of the mouth, the drawing of water into the nostrils, the clipping of the defluent hair around the mouth, and the cleansing of the teeth. The other five were: the ablution of the secret parts, the paring of the nails, the removal of the hair from under the armpits, the shaving of the pubes, and circumcision. "These rites were afterwards confirmed by a law." This last weighty statement, distinctly recognizing as it does the adoption by Islâm of many of the rites of the pre-Islamite Arab tribes, deserves special notice.

It will be seen from the foregoing review that JUDAISM co-existed with idolatry at the advent of Muhámmad. Although fallen from the high estate which it had previously held in Arabia, it was still professed by some of the old Hímyaritic stock in al-Yáman, and notably by the al-Kuráizhah and the an-Nadhîr at Yáthrib and Kháibar. CHRISTIANITY, also, appears to have been widely diffused among the Arabs at the same epoch. Caussin de Perceval adduces abundant evidence from the authors of the *Sîratu-'r-Rasûl*, the *al-Agháný*, and other Muslim histories to prove, that albeit the date of its introduction among them cannot be precisely determined, nevertheless the fact of its existence among the Bánu-Tághlib of Mesopotamia, the Bánu-Âbdi-'l-Kais of al-Báhrain, the Bánu-'l-Hârith of Najrân, the al-Ibád of al-Irâk, the Bánu-Ghassân of Syria, and the Bánu-Kalb of Dûmatu-'l-Jándal, between al-Madînah and al-Kûfah, is incontrovertible. Of its first introduction into al-Yáman, and its subsequent fortunes there, the materials are more abundant. The tradition that St. Bartholomew preached the Gospel in India, of which at that period Arabia Felix and Abyssinia were supposed to form part,[d] is recorded by Eusebius, as also the mission of Pantaenus, who was sent thither by Dionysius, patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 192–235:—"He [Pantaenus] is said to have been a preacher of the Gospel to the Eastern Gentiles, and was sent as far as India . . . He found there the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in the Hebrew tongue, kept of such as knew Christ, which was preached there before his coming by Bartholomew, one of the Apostles." (*Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. c. 9.) The next event which subsequently proved pregnant with importance to the cause of Christianity in Arabia took place about A.D. 326, when Frumentius, a Christian native of Tyre, but brought up at the court of the king of Ethiopia, having already manifested his zeal for the spread of the Gospel by collecting together for worship the Roman traffickers in that country, was consecrated first bishop of Abyssinia by Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria. Socrates Scholasticus, in his *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. c. 15, gives a full account of this Frumentius. Following upon the above was the mission of the monk Theophilus, an Indian bishop, who according to Philostorgos (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 3), and other Christian historians, was sent by the emperor Constance, A.D. 343, to the Hímyarite king of al-Yáman. Theophilus brought with him rich presents, and succeeded in the object of

[d] "The Apostle Matthew chose Aethiopia, Bartholomew chose India, which adjoineth thereto; but the middle India, inhabited of many barbarous nations, varying also among themselves in language, was not lightened with the word of God and the faith of Christ before the reign of Constantine." (*Soc. Schol.* lib. i. c. 15.)

his mission, which on the part of the Roman emperor was to strengthen himself against the Persians by an alliance with the Hímyarites. It is doubtful how far he succeeded in converting the inhabitants, but he is said to have obtained permission to build three churches for those who professed Christianity in that province, one at Zhafâr, the royal residence, another at Aden, and a third on the island of Hormûz, in the Persian Gulf. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* tom. iii.) conceives that Theophilus merely converted the few who were already Christians there to the Arian heresy. The same author fixes the end of the 5th century of our era as the date of the introduction of Christianity into Najrân, a large and fertile district of al-Yáman, situated on the north-east of that province. The fact is attested by several Arabian historians, who attribute the work to one Faimayyûn, a devout man who travelled about the East accompanied by his disciple Sâlih. Being seized by a party of Badawîn, he was brought by them to Najrân and sold to a wealthy man there. The power of working miracles, which he is said to have possessed, led to the conversion of the prince of that country and a large number of the inhabitants. The Hímyarite Dzhu-Nuwâs, who ruled over al-Yáman at that time, and who is said to have embraced Judaism, hearing that two Jews had been murdered at Najrân, or, as others state, being determined to arrest the progress of Christianity there, marched against the place and massacred 20,000 of the inhabitants, Ábdúllah, or as he is called by ecclesiastical writers, "Aretas," who was subsequently canonized, being among the number. According to Greek and Syrian chronicles the news of this massacre was brought to Justin I. by one Abraham, who had been sent by that emperor on a mission to the Arab king of Hîra; but Muslim historians record that it was carried by one Dûs-Dzhu-Thalihân, who having escaped the massacre made his way to Constantinople. On being presented to the Caesar he solicited his aid on behalf of the persecuted Christians. Justin is said to have replied that the country was too far distant for him to do so himself, but he gave him a letter to the *Najâshi*, or king of Abyssinia, in which he directed him to despatch a force against al-Yáman. This army is stated to have consisted of 70,000 men, and was transported across the Red Sea in a fleet of six hundred boats, supplied mainly by the Roman authorities in Egypt. Dzhu-Nuwâs made every effort to repel the invaders, but his army was routed by Aryât, the Abyssinian general, who soon reduced the country to his sway. Being appointed viceroy he set about demolishing the strongholds of the country, and is recorded to have received an order from the Najâshi, which was partially executed, to destroy a third of the male inhabitants, and to send a third of the females to Abyssinia. Worn out by his tyranny many of the Abyssinians revolted and chose another countryman of theirs, named Ábraha, as their chief. When the two armies were drawn up to battle Ábraha challenged Aryât to single combat, which being accepted the latter was slain. Ábraha ruled as viceroy over al-Yáman from A.D. 537 to 570. Following the example of his predecessor he tyrannized over the Hímyarites, and one of his sons whom he had associated with himself in the administration became so odious to the people that he was murdered by a Hímyarite. Nevertheless, Christianity appears to have progressed during the viceroyalty of Ábraha. A bishop, sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria, took up his residence in the city of Zhafâr and compiled a code of laws for the country, written in Greek, the original of which is to be found in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Another curious monument of the piety of this prelate is the account of a conference held between him and a certain Jew, a copy of which in Greek and Latin, entitled *Tepherensis Episcopi Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo*, is preserved in the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. M. Caussin de Perceval quotes Muslim authorities for the following events which occurred at this period. Ábraha built a church at Sanáâ, which was the wonder of the age, the Roman emperor and the king of Abyssinia furnishing marble and workmen for the edifice. Seeing that a great number of the Arab tribes of al-Yáman still adhered to paganism, and continued visiting the al-Kaábah, the viceroy issued a proclamation ordering all Arabs to perform their pilgrimage to the new church. Great indignation was excited throughout Arabia by this ill-judged measure. One of Ábraha's missionaries was killed in the al-Hijâz by a tribesman of the al-Kinânah, and another of the same tribe defiled the church at Sanáâ with filth. Hearing that both culprits were attached to the al-Kaábah, Ábraha took an oath that he would destroy that temple. He accordingly marched at the head of a large army of Abyssinians, mounted on an elephant, and proceeded towards Mecca. The result of that ill-boded expedition, which brings the history of Christianity in Arabia down to the period immediately preceding the birth of Muhámmad, has already been noticed.

But the type of Christianity which prevailed in Arabia, even more than its extension, is a matter of the utmost importance in this disquisition. Trustworthy ecclesiastical writers draw a gloomy picture of the history of the Church as early as the 4th century, which gradually darkens during the three centuries following. Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat.* i. p. 33) says that "the kingdom of heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself." Writing of the internal history of the church during the 5th century Mosheim remarks: "If before this time the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts were adulterated with a mixture of human learning, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers .... The images of those who during their lives had acquired the reputation of uncommon sanctity were now honoured with a particular worship in several places, and many imagined that this worship drew down into the images the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented, deluded perhaps into this idle fancy by the crafty fictions of the heathen priests who had published the same thing respecting Jupiter and Mercury." In the 6th century "abuses were daily multiplied, and superstition drew from its horrid fecundity an incredible number of

absurdities which were added to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles." Of the 7th century—that in which Muhámmad flourished—the same writer says: "In this barbarous age religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head or display her natural charms to a darkened and deluded world;" and he does not hesitate to attribute much of the early success of Islâm to this state of abject degradation into which the Church had fallen, "to which we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, — dissensions that filled a great part of the East with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities as rendered the very name of Christian odious to many." Further, it is notorious that Arianism was triumphant in many parts of Asia and Africa during the 6th century, and also that from the controversies which arose among the Monophysites was begotten the sect of the Tritheists, whose chief, John Ascunage, a Syrian philosopher, was warmly defended by John Philoponus, of Alexandria. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which was unquestionably an important factor in the genesis of Islâm, should not be overlooked, more especially as a broad development of it took place in Arabia, into which country it is stated to have been introduced towards the end of the 4th century by certain women from Thrace. Two jarring factions took part in this controversy, namely, the Antiduo-Marianites and the Collyridians. The former maintained that the Virgin did not always preserve her immaculate state, but received the embraces of Joseph after the birth of Christ. The latter, running into the opposite extreme, worshipped the Virgin Mary as a goddess, and judged it necessary to appease her anger and to seek her protection by libations, sacrifices, and the oblation of cakes (collyridae). The cultus made rapid strides during the following century, owing probably to the Nestorian controversy, and among the images which began to be set up in the churches that of the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus in her arms, always obtained the most conspicuous place.

If such was the deplorable state of Christianity in the more civilized parts of the world, what likelihood is there that it shone with a brighter lustre in Arabia, where it had to contend not only against deep-rooted paganism, but also against the ruling powers of that peninsula? The rational inference gainsays the conjecture, and albeit local materials for forming a decided judgment on this point are very scanty, nevertheless the fact that the church in Arabia seems always to have been more or less associated with or dependent upon the church in Abyssinia,—a church never eminent either for purity of doctrine or evangelical piety, but rather the reverse, and which prior to the birth of Muhámmad had embraced Monophysitism,—that fact alone tells strongly against the type of Christianity which existed in Arabia up to that period. Sir William Muir epigrammatically sums up the religious aspect generally at that period:—"The surface of Arabia had been now and then rippled by the feeble efforts of Christianity; the sterner influences of Judaism had been occasionally visible in a deeper and more troubled current; but the tide of indigenous idolatry and Ishmaelite superstition, setting strongly from every quarter towards the Káaba, gave ample evidence that the faith and worship of Mecca held the Arab mind in a thraldom rigorous and undisputed."

THE POLITICAL STATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD WHEN ISLÂM FIRST APPEARED IN ARABIA CALLS FOR CURSORY NOTICE.—That country prior to the Christian era was almost unknown to the Western nations, and the attempt made by the Romans under Aelius Gallus, B.C. 24, to subjugate it signally failed. The various tribes of the al-Hijâz appear, from the outset, to have been ruled by their respective chiefs, while in al-Yáman, or Southern Arabia, a monarchical form of government obtained as far back as the time of the queen of Sheba. This was continued through subsequent centuries under the Hímyarite kings, and lasted until the overthrow of that dynasty by the Abyssinians, as above related. These latter, after holding the country for upwards of half a century, were in turn expelled by the Persians, whose aid the Arabs had invoked against them. The news of the overthrow of the Abyssinians caused great joy throughout Arabia, and Maádikárib, a scion of the Hímyarite family, whom the Persian general Wáhraz had created viceroy of al-Yáman, received the personal congratulations of many distinguished men from Mecca, among whom was Abdu-'l-Múttalib, the grandfather of Muhámmad, who acted as spokesman for his companions. Owing, apparently, to a contest which arose between the Arabs and the Abyssinians who had remained in al-Yáman, a second expedition, also under Wáhraz, was despatched against that country which utterly extirpated the Abyssinians and their half-caste progeny. Wáhraz became viceroy of the province, and during his administration the three religions, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, are said to have been equally tolerated. Christianity maintained its footing in Najrân under Kuss, an eminent bishop of that place, whose eloquence is highly extolled by Arab historians. In his youth Muhámmad is stated to have heard him deliver a discourse full of beauty at the great fair of Ukâzh. In addition to al-Yáman, the Persians at the period referred to ruled over the settled Arab population which inhabited al-Báhrain and al-Irâk; but the Badawîn, or Nomads, were, as they are still, virtually independent. The Arabs of Syria were under the Romans, those of Mesopotamia alternately under the Romans and Persians. The tribes of Central Arabia and the al-Hijâz, over whom the Hímyarite sovereigns of al-Yáman had occasionally exercised a precarious authority, were now their own masters.

The foregoing analysis of the condition of Arabia having been made to converge, in its different phases, to a point of time immediately preceding the birth of Muhámmad, this latter subject, with its ulterior consequences, follows next in course for discussion. And albeit the word "Muhámmadanism," as the term more usually applied by Europeans to the religion of Muhámmad, forms part of the title of this article, the writer prefers for various reasons,

and specially because it is more correct, to use the word "Islâm" to designate the creed, and "Muslim" to designate one of its professed followers.

MUHÁMMAD.—According to Oriental writers Muhámmad descended in a direct line from Ishmael, and consequently from the patriarch Abraham. His family for several generations had presided over the al-Kuráish, the most noble of the Arab tribes, who also held the guardianship of the al-Kaábah. His grandfather Ábdu-'l-Múttalib, the prince of the al-Kuráish, is recorded to have been a man of boundless generosity, extremely affable in his manners, and easy of access. He had twelve sons, of whom one of the younger, named Ábdúllah, was considered the most handsome person of the tribe. When between twenty and twenty-four years of age his grandfather married him to Amînah, the daughter of Wáhb-ibn-Ábdmanâf, who was then head of the family of Zúhry. Muslim authors represent Amînah as the most beautiful, prudent, and virtuous woman of her tribe. Then followed the Abyssinian invasion of the al-Hijáz, and shortly after Ábdúllah was sent to Yáthrib (al-Madînah) to purchase dates for his family. He died on that journey at the age of twenty-five, and was buried in the quarter of his maternal uncles there. At the time of Ábdúllah's death his wife was far advanced in pregnancy, and on the 12th of Rabiáa-'l-Áwwal, of the Era of the Elephant, and about fifty days after the destruction of the Abyssinian army, or according to M. Caussin de Perceval on the 12th of August, A.D. 570, she gave birth to the future lawgiver of the Arabs. The entire property left by Ábdúllah for his widow and infant child consisted of a house, five camels, an Abyssinian female slave, and a few sheep.

Great and numerous portents are said to have attended the childbirth of Amînah. Suffice it to say that these legends rest upon no trustworthy authority, and that whatever credence may be given them by the wonder-loving vulgar, the more intelligent Muslims either explain them away or repudiate them as idle fables. Premising here that the history of Muhámmad is extremely obscure prior to his assumption of the character of a prophet; that his earliest Arabian biographers lived at least two or three centuries after the events which they narrate; and that there exists a great diversity of opinion among Muslim jurists as to the authenticity of the *Hadîth*, that is, the Sayings attributed either to Muhámmad himself, or to the *Sahábah*, his Companions, or to the *Tabây*, or Those who came after them; and that the same or even greater conflict of opinion prevails among them as regards the *Sîyar*, or Ecclesiastical History of Islâm, it is of importance that too great stress should not be laid on these more or less allowedly apocryphal authorities. In the following remarks on the childhood of Muhámmad only those legends will be noticed which seem to have had a bearing on his subsequent career.

On the seventh day after his grandchild's birth Ábdu-'l-Múttalib gave a feast to the al-Kuráish. The feast ended, the guests asked him what the child's name was to be. "Muhámmad," that is, the Praised One, he replied; and to the query why he adopted a name which was unusual in his family he answered: "In the hope that my grandson will be praised by God in heaven, and by God's creatures on earth." In accordance with a custom which prevailed then, as now, among the citizens of the al-Hijâz, the child was committed to the care of a Badawîn nurse, one Halîmah, the wife of Hârith, who took him into the desert of the Bánu-Saád. Muhámmad grew rapidly, and at two years old was weaned, when Halîmah brought him back to his mother; but her household having been greatly prospered while the infant Muhámmad was with her, she induced his mother to allow him to return with her until he was older and stronger, alleging that the air of Mecca was much less salubrious than the air of the desert. Shortly after, however, the child was seized with some sort of a fit, the particulars of which are thus narrated: "One day Muhámmad, while at some distance from the encampment of the Bánu-Saád, accompanied by a son of his foster-mother and father who was tending a flock of sheep, Halîmah saw her son running towards her, and asked, 'What is the matter?' 'My little brother, the al-Kuráishy,' replied he, 'was seized by two men dressed in white, who stretched him on the ground and opened his belly.' Halîmah and Hârith hastened to the spot and found Muhámmad standing erect, but his countenance was wan and pale. On being questioned as to what had befallen him he confirmed the story told by his companion. Thereupon Halîmah brought him into the tent, when her husband said to her, 'I fear this child is possessed [with a demon]; we must restore him to his mother before the disease develops itself.'" Another tradition relates that in after years Muhámmad explained to his disciples that two angels had taken his heart out of his bosom to wash and purify it, and the poetic fancy of Arabian writers has embellished the story for the sake of exalting their Prophet. The only allusion to it in the Kurân is this: "Have We not opened thy breast?" (Sûr. xciv. 1), which al-Baidhâwy comments upon thus: "that is, by disposing and enlarging it to receive the truth, and wisdom, and prophecy; or, by freeing thee from uneasiness and ignorance." Amînah, surprised that her child had been brought back to her so soon, inquired the reason. To which Halîmah replied that she feared some evil might befall him; but, upon being pressed by the mother, she expressed her fears that the child was possessed. "No, no," rejoined the mother, "nothing of the kind. The demon has no power over him. A high destiny awaits him."

Such are the traditional notices upon which Moracci, Prideaux, and others have based their conclusions—in which Sir William Muir seems to coincide—that Muhámmad was subject to epileptic fits. The correct text of the traditions quoted does not afford the least ground for this inference, and, whatever the temporary malady may have been, it was quite natural, in the then state of ignorance which prevailed among the Arabs, to ascribe it to the influence of evil spirits. The silence of Muslim writers respecting any such ailment in their Prophet is a strong argument against his having been affected by it. These generally represent Muhámmad as of a robust constitution, which enabled him in after life to undergo great

mental and bodily fatigue. Hence, there seems to be no foundation whatever for the following surmises of Sir William Muir: "If we are right in regarding the attacks which alarmed Halima as fits of a nervous or epileptic nature, they exhibit in the constitution of Mahomet the normal marks of those excited states and ecstatic swoons which perhaps suggested to his own mind the idea of his own inspiration, as by his disciples they were certainly taken to be evidences of it." Sir William is more happy and instructive in his subsequent remarks: "It is probable that, in other respects, the constitution of Mahomet was rendered robust, and his character free and independent, by his five years' residence among the Bani-Sád. At any rate his speech was formed upon one of the purest models of the beautiful language of the Peninsula. . . . When eloquence began to form an important element towards his success, a pure language and standard dialect were advantages of essential moment."

When Muhámmad was six years old his mother Amînah took him to Yáthrib to present him to his maternal relations, and died on the return journey. Thereupon, the child was received by his grandfather Ábdu-'l-Múttalib, who always manifested the greatest fondness for him. When on his death-bed, two years after, the aged patriarch committed the guardianship of the orphan to his son Abu-Tâlib, the uterine brother of his father Ábdúllah, whose attachment to the lad equalled that of Ábdu-'l-Múttalib. In after years Muhámmad affectingly recalls these incidents of his early life in the following beautiful passage from the al-Kurân, Sûr. xciii. 3–11:

"The Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath He been displeased.
And, surely, the future shall be to thee better than the past.
Hereafter shall thy Lord vouchsafe to thee that which shall satisfy thee.
Did He not find thee orphan, and gave thee a home?
Did He not find thee erring and guided thee?
And found thee needy and enriched thee?
[Therefore] wrong not the orphan,
Neither chide away the beggar;
But proclaim abroad the bounty of thy Lord."

When about twelve years old Muhámmad accompanied his uncle Abu-Tâlib into Syria on a mercantile expedition. At that time there appears to have been regular commercial intercourse between the two countries, the traders of the al-Hijâz bringing back from Syria, in exchange for their dates and the spices of al-Yáman, corn, raisins, stuffs, and other produce of that part of the Roman empire. How far the caravan proceeded is not recorded, but it certainly reached Busra, (the Bozrah of the Bible,) a town situated about fifty miles to the southeast of the Lake of Tiberias, where there was a Christian monastery. According to a tradition mentioned by several Arabian authors, a monk came out and invited the people of the caravan to a repast. The name of this monk, who is said to have been an Arab of the tribe of the Ábdu-'l-Kais, located in Mesopotamia, was Bahîra, although among his co-religionists he bore the name of Sarjîs, or Jirjîs, the latter the Syriac and Arabic for "George." Bahîra, fixing his eyes on the young Muhámmad, is related to have said to his uncle: "Convey your nephew home again, and guard him carefully, especially against the Jews, for if they discover certain signs upon him, which I have found out, they will make some attempt upon his life. Know, further, that a glorious future awaits the son of your brother." The signs here spoken of are supposed to refer to the "Seal of Prophecy," which some ignorant Muslims believe to have existed on the back of the Prophet, written in letters of light. The Syed Ahmed Khan, in his treatise on the *Birth and Childhood of Mohammed*, adduces several traditions to prove that this so-called Seal of Prophecy was nothing more than a cluster of black moles, covered with hair. Whereupon he adds: "The real fact appears to be that, as everything connected with the Prophet was regarded with reverence, his followers, thinking that it would be rather derogatory to the Prophet himself . . . to call the fleshy excrescence of his body by the common name of mole or wart, figuratively designated it by the more exalted appellation of 'the prophet's seal.'" The monk Bahîra is generally represented as being a Nestorian, but upon what authority does not appear, although the statement that he belonged to an Arab tribe settled in Mesopotamia favours the notion. Busra, or "Bostra," as it is called by Eusebius, was an episcopal see up to the early part of the 3rd century, when it was occupied by Beryllus, who denied Christ to be the second Person of the Trinity before His incarnation. I am unable to trace the bishopric up to the time under review, but there can be no doubt that the place was still inhabited by a considerable Christian Arab community.

Sir William Muir dilates in a pleasing strain on the probable influence which this journey through Petra and other remains of mercantile grandeur had upon the mind of the young Muhámmad. He must have passed through several Jewish settlements, and at Busra, and perhaps other places in Syria, come into contact with the national profession of Christianity. The social customs and religious rites of the Christians, their churches, crosses, images or pictures, and more especially the sight of whole tribes of Arabs practising the observances of the Christian faith, can hardly fail to have made a deep impression on him. "However fallen and materialized the Christianity of that day in Syria, it must have struck the thoughtful observer in favourable and wonderful contrast with the gross idolatry of Mecca."

A sanguinary feud, which lasted for ten years, broke out, A.D. 580, between the al-Kuráish and their associates the al-Kinânah on the one side, and the Kais-Áilân on the other. These wars, from having been entered upon during the sacred months, when such conflicts were forbidden, obtained the name of *Sacrilegious*. They originated at Úkâzh, about three days' journey to the eastward of Mecca, where a great annual fair was held. In one of these wars Muhámmad is said to have been present, and to have been engaged in picking up the arrows which were discharged by the enemy and handing them to his uncle, who took part in the battle. It is very probable, as Sir William Muir suggests, that the gatherings at this fair, where the national bards contended for the prize of elo-

quence, the successful poems being transcribed in illuminated characters, called "Golden," and subsequently attached to the al-Kaibah and honoured with the name of *al-Mudllakât*, or the Suspended, had a powerful influence upon the mind of the youthful Muhámmad. "At these spectacles . . . he had rare opportunities of cultivating his own genius, and of learning from the greatest of masters and most perfect models the art of poetry and the power of rhetoric. But another and a nobler lesson might be learned in the concourse of Ocâtz. The Christianity as well as the chivalry of Arabia had representatives there; and, if we may believe tradition, Mahomet while a boy heard Coss, the bishop of Nadjrân, preach a purer creed than that of Mecca in accents that agitated and aroused his soul. . . . There, too, were Jews, serious and earnest men, surpassing the Christians in number, and equally with them appealing to an inspired Book. . . . May there not have been here too the germ of his great catholic design; of that faith around which all the tribes were to rally?"

Little further is recorded of Muhámmad until he had attained his twenty-fifth year. During some portion of the interval he appears to have gained his livelihood by tending sheep in the neighbourhood of Mecca, an occupation which he is related to have referred to in after life, saying: "Verily, there hath no prophet been raised up who did not perform the work of a shepherd." The probable effect upon him of his shepherd life is thus beautifully described by Sir William Muir: "While he watched his flock, his attention would be riveted by the evidences of natural religion around him: the twinkling of the stars and bright constellations gliding through the dark blue sky silently along would be charged to him with a special message; the loneliness of the desert would arm with a deeper conviction that speech which day everywhere utters unto day; while the still small voice, never unheard by the attentive listener, would swell with grandeur and more imperious strains when the tempest swept, with its forked lightning and far-rolling thunder, along the vast solitudes of the mountains around Mecca. Thus, we may presume, was cherished a deep and earnest faith in the Deity, as an ever-present, all-directing agent,—a faith which in after days the Prophet was wont to enforce, from the stores of his well-furnished observation, by eloquent and heart-stirring appeals to the sublime operations of nature, and the beneficent adaptations of Providence." These reflections suggest a striking parallel between Moses and Muhámmad; the former divinely summoned away from pasturing Jethro's flock, at Midian, to recall to the mind of the Israelites in Egypt the probably forgotten knowledge among them of the only living and true God; the latter similarly called, as he himself doubtless believed, after having followed a like occupation in an adjoining district of the same wild region, to proclaim to his idolatrous countrymen the doctrine of the unity of God.

Some years after the *Sacrilegious* wars a spirit of religious inquiry appears to have sprung up among some of the more enlightened citizens of Mecca. This fact deserves notice as shewing that the ground was being gradually prepared for the subsequent mission of Muhámmad. Four individuals are mentioned in the *Sîratu-'r-Rasûl* as having taken part in this movement, namely, Wárakah-ibn-Náufal, the cousin of Khadîjah, Muhámmad's first wife, Óthmân-ibn-Huwáirith, Óbaidúllah-ibn-Jáhsh, and Zaid-ibn-Ámr. The first of these is said to have acquired considerable information from the Jews and Christians, and, learning that there was a general expectation among the former of the near appearance of a messenger from heaven, he assumed that he would rise up among the Arabs. He is recorded to have been able to read Hebrew, and to have had considerable knowledge of the Hebrew and Jewish scriptures. Wárakah is stated to have acknowledged the mission of Muhámmad on hearing from Khadîjah her account of Gabriel's visit to her husband, as subsequently recorded in Sur. xcvi. of the al-Kurân. Óthmân eventually embraced Christianity, and found his way to the Roman court. On his return to Mecca he made some attempts to have that territory annexed to the Roman empire, but being obliged to flee the country he took refuge with the Christian Arab tribe of the al-Ghassân, by whose chief he was delivered up to some of the al-Kuráish traders who happened to be there, and who poisoned him. Óbaidúllah, after vain attempts to discover what was then styled *al-Hanîfiyyah*, or the Orthodox religion of Abraham, became one of the early converts to Islâm, which he subsequently, while in Abyssinia, abjured for Christianity. Muhámmad married Záinab, the sister of this Óbaidúllah, A.H. 5. Zaid, on renouncing paganism, endeavoured to flee the country, but was prevented by his relatives. He is said to have frequented the al-Kaibah daily, praying to God to enlighten him. He set up a religion of his own, based on the Divine unity. His bold denunciations of idolatry stirred up the anger of his countrymen. He effected his escape into Mesopotamia, making inquiries of all the religious whom he met about the religion of Abraham. Hearing afterwards that a prophet had appeared in Arabia who preached that religion—Muhámmad had by that time begun his public mission—he set out for that region, but was killed by an Arab tribe on the northern confines of the al-Hijâz.

To return to Muhámmad. All authorities agree that his youth was irreproachable, and that he was held in general esteem as well for his solid virtues as for his engaging manners, so much so that he acquired the title of *al-Amîn*, or the Trustworthy. When he had attained his twenty-fifth year these qualities attracted the attention of Khadîjah, a rich widow who had been twice married and was fifteen years his senior in age, who carried on an extensive trade with the surrounding countries. She proposed to employ him as her agent on a mercantile journey to Syria, which Muhámmad executed with such success that she offered him her hand in marriage, being further induced thereto—so the tradition runs—by the report of her servant, Máisarah, who accompanied the caravan, that he had seen two angels shading Muhámmad from the sun with their wings. Abu-Tâlib, on being informed of this proposition, proceeded at once to Khuwáilid, the widow's father, to obtain his formal permission to the union. The nuptial

feast was celebrated with great pomp, and the marriage proved a very happy one. All accounts concur in stating that Muhámmad remained faithful to this his first wife until her death, which occurred twenty years later. Within the next ten or twelve years Khadîjah bare him two sons and four daughters. The sons died in infancy. All the daughters embraced Islâm. Rukáyyah, the eldest, and Umm-Kulthûm, the third, were successively espoused by Othmân-ibn-Affân, who afterwards became Khalîfah, or Successor (to Muhámmad). Fâtimah, the youngest, born about A.D. 606, married Ály-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, Muhámmad's cousin, who succeeded Othmân in the Khalîfate. To console himself for the loss of his male children Muhámmad subsequently adopted his cousin Ály and Zaid-ibn-Hârithah, the latter a slave who had belonged to Khadîjah, whom he manumitted, and who in after years obsequiously divorced his wife Záinab, in order that she might be married to the Prophet, who had taken a fancy to her. The Arab tribes to which Zaid belonged on the father and mother's side professed Christianity.

Sir William Muir deems it likely that during his second journey into Syria the mind of Muhámmad received deep and lasting impressions from what he saw and learnt of the tenets and practices of the Syrian Christians, and from his probable intercourse with their clergy. Of the latter he always speaks with respect; but for their peculiar doctrines he had no sympathy: "The picture of Christianity in the Corân must have been, in some considerable degree, painted from the conceptions now formed. Had he witnessed a purer exhibition of its rites and doctrines, and seen more of its reforming and regenerating influences, we cannot doubt but that, in the sincerity of his search after truth, he might readily have embraced and faithfully adhered to the faith of Jesus. Lamentable, indeed, is the reflection that so small a portion of the fair form of Christianity was disclosed by the monks and ecclesiastics of Syria to the earnest inquirer, and that little how altered and distorted! Instead of the simple majesty of the Gospel—as a revelation of God reconciling mankind to Himself through His Son—the sacred dogma of the Trinity was forced upon the traveller with the misguided and offensive zeal of Eutychian and Jacobite partisanship, and the worship of Mary exhibited in so gross a form as to leave the impression upon the mind of Mahomet that she was held to be a goddess, if not the third Person and the consort of the Deity. [See Sûr. v. 125.] It must surely have been by such blasphemous extravagances that Mahomet was repelled from the true doctrine of Jesus as 'the Son of God,' and led to regard him only as 'Jesus the Son of Mary,' the sole title by which he is spoken of in the Corân [in that relation]. We may well mourn that the misnamed Catholicism of the Empire thus grievously misled the master mind of the age, and through him eventually so great a part of Asia and Africa."

It is important to bear in mind the foregoing experiences in the life of Muhámmad as we approach the period of his alleged revelations. There can be no doubt that by this time he had acquired, as well through his own observation and inquiry as through intimate converse with Bárakah, reputed the most learned Arab of the age, considerable acquaintance with the dogmas of Judaism and Christianity; that he had some knowledge of the Bible, the Talmud, and the Gospels; that he was thoroughly versed in Arab legendary lore; and that being gifted with a ready flow of speech, an ardent imagination, together with a bold enterprising spirit, he was well equipped for carrying out that great social and religious revolution among his countrymen which he contemplated. Muslim authors generally deny that he was able either to read or to write; hence he was styled *Ummiy*, Illiterate; in support of which theory the following passage of the Kurân is adduced:—"We have not taught him [Muhámmad] poetry, neither was it fit for him." (Sûr. xxxvi. 69.) There is another passage, however, (Sûr. xxix. 47,) which says, "Thou didst not read, before it, from a book, nor didst thou write it with thy right hand," which some commentators take to mean that he subsequently became acquainted with the art of reading and writing.

It appears that for some years prior to the events about to be narrated Muhámmad had been in the habit of retiring with his family to a cave in Mount Hirâ, near Mecca. Dismissing as untrustworthy the traditions of his having been addressed frequently, during his solitude, by a mysterious voice saluting him as the Apostle of God, we come to the occasion when he himself first claims a divine, or angelic authority for his mission. He had now attained his forty-first year, and was, during the month of Ramadhân, at his usual retreat in the cave, when his wife, Khadîjah, missing him from her side and being alarmed at his absence, sent servants in every direction to search for him. On his return—so runs the tradition—Muhámmad communicated to her what follows:—"I was in a deep sleep when an angel appeared to me in a dream. He held in his hand a large piece of silken stuff covered with written characters. This he held up before me, saying, 'Read.' 'What shall I read?' said I. Thereupon he covered me with the stuff in such a way that I was almost smothered. Again he said, 'Read.' I repeated my answer, 'What shall I read?' He rejoined, 'Read: In the name of thy Lord who created; created man from clots of blood. Read: The bounty of thy Lord is infinite; it is He who has taught writing; He has made men acquainted with that which they knew not.' I repeated these words after the angel, whereupon he departed. I awoke. The words which he had made me repeat seemed to be engraven on my heart. I went out to quiet my emotion, and reached the edge of the mountain. There I heard a voice above my head saying, 'O Muhámmad, thou art the Apostle of God, and I am Gabriel.' I lifted up my eyes and saw the angel. I became rooted to the spot, with my sight fixed upon him till he disappeared. Then I returned towards you." Gabriel is only mentioned by name three times in the Kurân: once in Sûr. lxvi. 4, where he is stated to be a "protector of the faithful," and twice in Sûr. ii., where that angel is represented as "he who by God's permission hath caused the Kurân to descend on thy [Muhámmad's] heart." Hence the same angel is generally believed to have been the usual

medium through which the Divine will was communicated to the Prophet. According to Muslim commentators it was the angel Gabriel who appeared to Zacharias, albeit in Sûr. iii. 37 of the Kurân the word "angels" is used. In like manner they interpret the passage about God having strengthened Jesus, the son of Mary, with the Holy Spirit, (*Id.* ii. 81,) as meaning Gabriel who sanctified and constantly attended on him. Tradition records that when questioned on the subject of inspiration Muhámmad replied: "It descendeth upon me in one of two ways. Sometimes Gabriel cometh and communicateth the revelation to me as one man to another, and this is very easy. At other times it affecteth me like the ringing of a bell, penetrating my very heart, and rending me, as it were, in pieces, and this it is which grievously affecteth me." Exception has been taken to the violent physical and mental excitement which Muhámmad appears to have laboured under at such times, and some have gone so far as to attribute it to Satanic influence. Our own Scriptures frequently describe the prophets and others as being either greatly agitated or suddenly rendered insensible when about to receive some communication from above. (See Ex. xix. 16; Job iv. 13–16; Is. vi. 5; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17; Rev. i. 17.)

On his return to Mecca, Muhámmad communicated to his wife Khadîjah a more particular account of his vision, which she received with great joy, and having preceded all others in her belief of his mission she is generally regarded as the first proselyte to *al-Islâm*, or the Religion of Muhámmad, as inculcating the *Resignation of self* (to God, and conformity to the precepts of His Prophet). Restricting his efforts at the outset to private persuasion, Muhámmad's next proselytes were members of his own household. Âly, his pupil and cousin, Wárakah, and Zaid-ibn-Hârithah readily embraced the new faith. A much more important conquest, however, was Âbdu-'l-Kaâbah-ibn-Kuhâfah, a man of considerable influence among the al-Kuráish, who was also regarded as the most learned man in Mecca. On embracing al-Islâm he changed his name to Âbdúllah, and on subsequently marrying his daughter Âishah to Muhámmad he took that of Abu-Bakr, by which he has since been generally recognized. This personage, who appears to have been a fervent and zealous convert, succeeded in inducing several of his friends among the principal families of the al-Kuráish to adopt his views. Among these was Öthmân-ibn-Âffân, of the house of the al-Umáyyah, who became Khalîfah after Abu-Bakr, whose claim to the dignity of being the first Successor to the Prophet was considered to outweigh that of his cousin Âly, a claim which the ash-Shîâah dissidents deny to this day.

The obligations imposed by Muhámmad upon his disciples at this period were: the duty of believing in one God, in a future reward reserved for the righteous in another life, and a future punishment for the wicked; of acknowledging him as the Apostle of God, and of obeying him as such; of practising ablution, and of offering up prayer according to certain specified rules. These, he contended, did not constitute a new religion: they merely restored the ancient religion of Abraham to its pristine purity. His teachings—so he maintained—were not the outcome of his own mind, neither were they drawn from any human source. They were written revelations which had been conveyed to him by Gabriel, and he simply rehearsed to the faithful what the angel communicated to him. Here we have the origin of the word *Kur-án*, which signifies reading or recitation, and which when preceded by the definite article, *al-Kur-án*, indicates κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Reading, or the Recital. (Sûr. ii. 181; v. 101; x. 38; xxv. 34; xliii. 30, &c.)

For the space of three years, during which he professed to have received frequent revelations, Muhámmad instructed his disciples in private. The support now afforded him by a devoted band of about forty Muslims seems to have decided him to keep his mission no longer a secret, although he himself refers the decision to a higher authority. In Sûr. xv. xxvi. and lxxiv., apparently written at this period, he is bade to "arise and warn," to "profess publicly what thou hast been bidden, and withdraw from such as associated gods with [the one] God," and especially to admonish his "near relations." In accordance with these injunctions tradition represents him as ascending the eminence of as-Sáfa, at Mecca, and openly preaching to the al-Kuráish. He then directed his cousin Âly to prepare an entertainment for the sons and descendants of Âbdu-'l-Múttalib, intending on that occasion to open his mind to them, but Abu-Láhab, one of Muhámmad's uncles, frustrated the attempt. However, at another entertainment given the following day Muhámmad thus addressed the assembled guests:—"I know of no man in the whole peninsula of Arabia who can propose to his relations anything more excellent than what I now propose to you. I offer you the happiness both of this world and of that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call mankind unto Him. Who, therefore, among you will second me in that work, and thereby become my brother, my vicegerent, my Khalîfah?" Thereupon Âly rose up, and replied: "I, O Apostle of God, will be thy minister. I will knock out the teeth, tear out the eyes, rip up the bellies, and cut off the legs of all who shall dare to oppose thee." Muhámmad forthwith embraced his cousin, and said to the assembled guests:—"This is my brother, my deputy, my Khalîfah; hear, therefore, and obey him;" whereat the whole company broke out into laughter, telling Abu-Tâlib that he must now be submissive to his own son.

Notwithstanding this repulse Muhámmad was so far from being discouraged that, instead of restricting his preaching to a declaration of the unity of God and his own apostolic mission, he now began to denounce idolatry, and to point out the absurdity of worshipping images of wood and stone. So highly did these attacks upon their ancient religion provoke the al-Kuráish that they would certainly have silenced him had he not been protected by Abu-Tâlib, his uncle. The latter, however, was so warmly pressed by the tribe to restrain his nephew that he ultimately dissuaded him against pursuing his course any longer. But Muhámmad was not to be intimidated, and he plainly told his uncle that were they to set the sun against him on his

right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not abandon his enterprise. Abu-Tálib, finding him so firmly resolved, forbore to urge him any further, and promised to support him against his enemies.

The al-Kuráish, seeing that they could not silence the new converts either by fair words or threats, determined to resort to stronger measures. They used the Muslims so outrageously that it was not safe for them to remain any longer in Mecca, and Muhámmad himself was subjected to personal violence at their hands, one of them offering him the indignity of pulling his beard. Albeit these attacks discouraged some among the Muslims, others were induced thereby to sympathize with the persecuted Apostle and his followers, insomuch that Hámzah, one of Muhámmad's uncles, became a proselyte to Islâm. Another famous convert at this time was Ómar-ibnu-'l-Khattâb, a person highly esteemed among the al-Kuráish, who had previously been a violent opposer of the Prophet. Thirty-nine of Ómar's adherents are said to have followed his example on the day that he professed himself a Muslim. Owing, possibly, to these conversions the al-Kuráish not only suspended their persecution of Muhámmad for a time, but even attempted to come to some understanding with him. According to a tradition contained in the *Sîratu-'r-Rasûl* he was one day seated in the *al-Hijr*,—the space round the north-west side of the al-Kaábah,—at some distance from a group of the al-Kuráish chiefs, who were all opposed to his doctrines. One of them, named Útbah-ibn-Rabiáa, whose younger brother, Abu-Hudháifah, had embraced Islâm, came and sat near him, and said: "O son of my friend, you are a man distinguished alike for your qualities and your birth. Although you have thrown the country into commotion, have created dissensions among families, have outraged our gods, and taxed our ancestors and wise men with impiety and error, nevertheless we would deal kindly with you. Listen to the proposals which I have to make to you, and reflect whether it will not be well for you to accept some of them." "Speak; I hear you," replied Muhámmad. "O son of my friend," rejoined Útbah, "if your object is to attain riches, we will all join together to give you a fortune larger than that of an al-Kuráishy. If you aim at honours, we will make you our *Sáyyid*, and decide nothing without your concurrence. If you are under the spell of an evil spirit which seems to haunt and dominate you so that you are unable to throw off its influence, in that case we will call in skilful physicians, and give them much gold, that they may cure you." "Have you said all?" rejoined Muhámmad. On receiving an affirmative reply Muhámmad recited the 41st *sûrah* of the Kurân, which is supposed to have been written with a special view to Útbah's conversion. (The chapter contains many beautiful passages on the wisdom, power, and sovereignty of God, and the duty of worshipping Him only. It claims for the Kurân the character of being a "Revelation from the Pitiful, the Compassionate" (One), describes Muhámmad as being "only a man," like other men,—a phrase of frequent occurrence in the same book,—who is commissioned to tell men to "go straight" to God and implore His pardon, and to "denounce woe to those who join other gods with [the only] God.") Útbah, on returning to his companions, readily admitted that he had never heard such discourse before. "It was not the language of poetry," said he, "nor the language of magic; but there was something in it which was penetrating." On advising his friends not to meddle with Muhámmad, and to let him pursue his mission freely among the Arabs, they cried out, "He has bewitched you." On two or three subsequent occasions the same party made him similar proposals, and finally called upon him to perform a miracle to prove the truth of his mission. Muhámmad reiterated his assertion that God had not sent him for any such purpose, but simply to communicate His will to mankind. (Reference seems to be made to these circumstances in Sûr. vi. 50, 56, 164, and xxv. 8 *et seq.*, of the Kurân.) "All that you announce," retorted they, "has been taught you by a certain ar-Rahmân; but we will not believe this ar-Rahmân. Be warned, and further rest assured, that we shall never cease to oppose your attacks upon our religion, and that one or other of us must perish in the conflict." (*Ar-Rahmân*, or the Merciful, one of the names most commonly applied to God in the Kurân, appears to have been also the name of an Arab of al-Yamâmah. Hence the charge against Muhámmad that what he announced as revelations from God was merely the teaching of the said Arab.) About this time, also, a rumour got afloat that a Christian Greek, named John, who kept a goldsmith's shop at Mecca, and with whom Muhámmad held frequent intercourse, dictated his alleged divine communications. This insinuation was rebutted thus:—"We also know that they say: surely a certain person teacheth him; but the tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, whereas this [Kurân] is in perspicuous Arabic." (Sûr. xvi. 105.)

The al-Kuráish, unable to resist Muhámmad's powerful and sublime eloquence, and finding that every attempt on their part to ensnare him in his talk turned to their own confusion, decided at length to prohibit all intercourse with him, and threatened to punish those who should contravene this injunction. Consequently, when the Prophet visited the al-Kaábah for prayer, where he was accustomed to recite aloud a chapter of the Kurân, all forthwith left the place and retired to a distance from him. One Muslim, named Ábdúllah-ibn-Masúûd, bolder than the rest of his persecuted co-religionists, determined to oblige the al-Kuráish to listen to the Kurân, and to brave their opposition. One day, at noon, he repaired to the precincts of the al-Kaábah, and taking his stand near the *Makám-Ibrahîm*, where the chiefs of the al-Kuráish were assembled, he uttered in a thrilling voice the following verses from Sûr. lv.: "In the name of God, the Pitiful, the Compassionate! The Pitiful hath taught the al-Kurân. He hath created man. He hath taught him discrimination. The sun and the moon in their revolutions, and the stars and the trees adore him;" &c. Whereupon the al-Kuráish fell upon Ábdúllah, who, despite the blows dealt out to him, continued his recitation, and on rejoining his companions, bespattered as he was with blood and covered with bruises, gloried in having obliged the idolaters to listen to the Kurân. As might

have been expected, this instance of audacity increased the irritation of the al-Kuráish, who now organized a regular system of persecuting the Muslims. Every family, in order to avoid suspicion and escape the vengeance of this inquisition, harassed those of their household who were suspected of a leaning towards al-Islâm. Muhámmad, owing to the protection of his uncle Abu-Tâlib, of Abu-Bakr, and of a few powerful friends among the idolaters, escaped personal violence, but his followers were cast into prison and scourged. Some were exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, others made to suffer hunger and thirst, and, when utterly exhausted, were asked to worship the idols. A few recanted, but the greater part persisted in their faith. Among the latter was one Balâl, a half-caste slave of the family of Jûmah, whose master, Umáyyah, took him daily to the valley of al-Bathâ when the heat was at its height, and there extending him on the ground, with his face upturned to the sun and a heavy stone placed on his chest, used to say to him: "You shall remain there until you die, unless you deny Muhámmad and worship the idols Lât and Uzza." "There is no god but the God! there is no god but the God!" replied Balâl. One day Abu-Bakr, happening to witness this torture, said to Umáyyah: "Are you not afraid of the vengeance of heaven for your barbarity to this poor man?" "You it is who have seduced him," was the reply; "redeem him if you choose." Thereupon Abu-Bakr offered him in exchange for Balâl a robust negro slave, who was an idolater. The offer was accepted, and Abu-Bakr forthwith manumitted Balâl. The same philanthropic personage purchased six other slaves, one man and five women who professed Islâm, all of whom he enfranchised.

Profoundly distressed at the sufferings which his disciples had to endure—sufferings which he was powerless to prevent—Muhámmad advised them to seek an asylum in Abyssinia until God should open a way for their return home. Twelve men and four women accordingly started for that country, making their way on foot to the shores of the Red Sea, where they hired a boat to convey them across. This first emigration is recorded to have taken place during the fifth year of Muhámmad's mission, or about A.D. 615. The emigrants were subsequently joined by another body of Muslims, so that their number was increased to eighty-three males and eighteen females. The al-Kuráish, in order to deprive them of his protection, sent an embassy to the Najâshi, or king of Abyssinia, to induce him to deport them. To this the king demurred until he had examined them respecting their creed, with which—if Muslim tradition is to be relied on—he was so well satisfied, especially after one of the emigrants had recited the passage in the Kurân (Sûr. xix.) which narrates the appearance of an angel to Zacharias, the father of John, that he not only promised them his protection, but became, in secret, a disciple of al-Islâm.

Hitherto Muhámmad alone had ventured to say his prayers within the precincts of the al-Kaábah, with his face turned towards the *Rúknu-'sh-Shâmy*, the angle pointing in the direction of Syria. Now, however, he was joined therein by the redoubtable Ómar-ibnu-'l-Khattâb and other Muslims, who felt themselves secure under his guardianship. The return of the disappointed envoys from Abyssinia determined the al-Kuráish to take more decisive measures to oblige Abu-Tâlib and the other relatives of Muhámmad to withdraw their countenance from him. A league was accordingly entered into against the descendants of Hâshim and Múttalib, whereby it was resolved to deprive them of all civil rights; intermarriage with them was forbidden, and no one was to have commercial dealings with them. In order to add solemnity to this engagement its terms were written on parchment and deposited in the al-Kaábah. The excommunicated families, Muslims and Pagans included, fearing that these proceedings were the prelude to an open attack upon them, quitted their houses and, accompanied by Abu-Tâlib, took refuge in a mountain-glen near Mecca, where they remained three years on the defensive, and would undoubtedly have perished from hunger but for the supplies clandestinely sent them by outside friends. It was during this recess, or about A.D. 619, the tenth year of Muhámmad's mission, that the league above mentioned was dissolved in a singular manner. One Hishâm-ibn-Ámr, who felt a deep interest in the Hâshimites, with whom he was related by blood, undertook to effect a reconciliation between them and the al-Kuráish, and succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of four from among the chiefs of the latter in his design. At this juncture Abu-Tâlib is recorded to have presented himself before the assembled al-Kuráish, and to have addressed them as follows: "My nephew informs me of its having been revealed to him that, as regards the document which your hatred dictated against us, God has sent worms which have eaten out every word therein expressive of injustice and enmity, sparing only the august name written above it. Should this prove to be true, withdraw your anathema from us; if false, I will deliver my nephew into your hands." The al-Kuráish, having accepted the proposal, sent several persons into the al-Kaábah to inspect the writing. To their great astonishment they found that it had been wholly erased by worms, with the exception of the words "In Thy name, O God!" The revocation of the excommunication immediately ensued, under protest from a few, and the self-exiled families, together with Muhámmad, returned to Mecca. Sale, who is usually most impartial, considers it probable that Muhámmad "had some private notice of this accident." That it was a *ruse* can hardly be doubted; but whether Muhámmad was a party to the collusion is uncertain. The narrative is legendary, and is not referred to in the Kurân.

About this year, the tenth of his mission, Muhámmad suffered a great loss by the death of his uncle, Abu-Tâlib, who had successfully supported him against all his enemies; and very shortly after, Khadîjah, his faithful wife, died at the age of fifty-five years. These two events proved most prejudicial to the Prophet's fortune. The al-Kuráish became more troublesome than ever, insomuch that he was driven to seek an asylum with the ath-Thakîf, at at-Tâif, situated about sixty miles to the eastward of Mecca, but the chiefs received him coldly, and treated his mission with derision. After remaining there

a month he was ignominiously handled and driven away by the rabble. Thereupon he returned to Mecca, after having secured the protection of Muátim-ibn-'Âdy, who armed his retainers and escorted him to the precincts of the al-Kaábah, which he circuited seven times before going to his house. There he remained in comparative retirement, and inveighed less openly against idolatry, restricting his teaching to the doctrine of the unity of God, and his mission as God's Apostle. He appears, however, to have made some converts from among the groups of outside Arabs who frequented the al-Kaábah. Towards the end of this year Muhámmad espoused Sáudah-bint-Zámáah, the widow of one Sukrân, and also Aïshah, the daughter of Abu-Bakr, then only eight years old. The latter marriage was not consummated till after the lapse of several years.

The *Láilatu-'l-Miárâj*, or Night of the Ladder, in which Muhámmad is related to have ascended from Jerusalem to heaven, after having been conveyed to the former place from Mecca upon the beast called *al-Burák*, is generally referred to the commencement of the eleventh year of the Prophet's mission. An account of this miraculous journey—how Muhámmad was conveyed to Jerusalem, the rites which he performed there, his ascent to heaven under the guidance of Gabriel, and what he saw and heard as he was conducted from the first to the seventh heaven—all this is given in detail by several of his biographers, and it is unquestionable that the majority of Muslims hold the journey to have been made corporally. The more judicious, however, believe on good grounds that the whole was a vision. Thus much is certain, that the *Sûratu-'l-Isra* (Sûr. xvii.) is utterly silent about the prodigies with which the story has been embellished. The opening verse runs thus: "Praise belongeth unto Him who transported his servant by night from the Temple at Mecca to the Farther Temple [at Jerusalem], the circuit of which We have blessed, that We might shew him some of Our signs;" and at v. 16 it is distinctly stated, "We have appointed the vision which We have shewed thee." Another reference to the same subject occurs in Sûr. liii. 13–19, but it merely repeats that "at another time, by the lote-tree, beyond which there is no passing, and near which is the paradise of the souls of the martyrs," the Prophet saw "some of the greatest signs of his Lord." The revelations stated to have been made to him on this occasion are confined in the main to a repetition or confirmation of some of the sublimest ascriptions of praise to the Divine attributes, and of some of the noblest precepts contained in the Kurân, and conclude with the injunction: "Prostrate yourselves before God, and worship." Tradition relates, however, that the times of prayer for Muslims were now definitively fixed at five, in accordance with the command of God to the Prophet during this vision. The same authority records that many of Muhámmad's friends regarded the narrative of the *al-Miárâj* with suspicion, and vainly advised him to be silent about it. Venturing to repeat it boldly before the al-Kuráish, they assailed him with a shower of ridicule, which he himself bore with imperturbable assurance, but some of his adherents wavered and forsook him. It was on this occasion that Abu-Bakr is reported to have exclaimed: "Muhámmad cannot lie. I believe all that he has said, and am ready to die to testify thereto." For this saying he was thenceforward styled *as-Siddik*, the Veracious.

In the twelfth year of his mission Muhámmad held a conference at Ákabah, a hill on the north side of Mecca, with twelve men of the al-Âus and the al-Kházraj tribes resident at Yáthrib, (al-Madînah,) who took an oath to be faithful to him and to his religion. They swore to worship one God only, to abstain from theft, infanticide, adultery, fornication, and slander, and to obey all the just requirements of the Prophet. This was the usual formula required of male and female converts alike. Subsequently it was restricted to women, and another was shortly after drawn up for men, who engaged in addition to take up arms in defence of the Prophet's cause. Músáab, one of his Mecca disciples, was directed to accompany the party on their return to Yáthrib for the purpose of teaching them the Kurân and instructing them in the rites of the new religion. Músáab discharged the duty zealously and with considerable success, for he returned to Mecca the following year accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Yáthrib, who had embraced Islâm. On their arrival they sent to Muhámmad, offering him their assistance, an offer which was most acceptable, for his adversaries at Mecca had become so overbearing that he could not remain much longer there without imminent danger. A conference was accordingly held on the hill Ákabah, when, after an address from al-Ábbâs, the Prophet's uncle, Muhámmad, at the request of the Yáthribites, set before them his conditions, which were to the effect that, in addition to the worship of one God, they were to defend him and his as they would defend their own wives and children. "And what will be our reward," said they, "if we die in your cause?" "Paradise," was the brief reply. (This promise is supposed to be founded on the following passage:—"And those who die in defence of God's true religion, God will not suffer their works to perish. He will guide them, and will dispose their hearts aright, and will lead them into paradise." (Sûr. xlvii. 5–7.) After this engagement had been ratified by each person taking the hand of the Prophet, the latter requested them to select twelve from their number to be his *Nakîbs*, or Delegates to the tribes, "after the manner of the Apostles, who were the delegates of Jesus." The conference then broke up, and the men of the al-Âus and al-Kházraj who had attended it, and who thereafter were styled *Ansârs*, Auxiliaries or Defenders, returned to Yáthrib.

Intelligence of this confederacy reaching the al-Kuráish they determined to do all in their power to thwart it. After several milder measures had been proposed and rejected, it was decided that one man should be selected from each of the tribes who should severally strike Muhámmad a blow with his sword, in order that the guilt of his blood might be shared equally among them. Muhámmad, informed by the angel Gabriel of the threatened danger,—so the tradition runs,—advised his followers to flee to Yáthrib, whilst he, accompanied by Abu-Bakr,

repaired to a cave in Mount Thûr, about three miles to the south of Mecca. His movements, however, had been narrowly watched, and several attempts were made to prevent his escape, special allusion to which is supposed to be made in the following passage:—"And [call to mind] when the unbelievers plotted against thee, to detain thee prisoner, or to kill thee, or to expel thee. They plotted, but God [also] plotted, and God is the best of plotters." (Sûr. viii. 30.) The third night after the escape of the refugees from Mecca, the guide, Âbdúllah-ibn-Úráikit, accompanied by Asmâ, Abu-Bakr's daughter, and his freed slave Âmîr-ibn-Fuháirah, brought them a supply of provisions and a couple of she-camels. Muhámmad mounted on one of these and Abu-Bakr on the other, the latter with Âmîr behind him, the party set out for Yáthrib, by way of the coast. On arriving at Kúba, a village two miles to the south of that town, they were received with reverence by the inhabitants, and on the following day Muhámmad laid the foundation of a mosque, called *at-Tákwa*, the Fear of God. This was the first temple raised by Islâm. Muhámmad was received with great demonstrations of joy on his entry into Yáthrib, and was conducted in triumph, accompanied by Abu-Bakr, to the house of Âyyûb-ibn-Zaid, one of the Ansârs, where he remained until he had built a house for himself, and also a mosque. From this time the name of the place was changed from Yáthrib into *Madînatu-'n-Nábi*, the City of the Prophet, or *al-Madînah*, The City, *par excellence*. Shortly after, Muhámmad drew up a charter in which he assured religious toleration to all, together with the peaceable possession of their property. It contained, besides, several other ordinances respecting the mutual relations to be observed between Muslims and Jews, and in the event of any dispute it was to be referred to "the decision of God and His Prophet." Muslim historians are not in accord as to the precise date of the *al-Hijrah* (the Hegira), or the Flight (from Mecca). M. Caussin de Perceval, who has gone deeply into the subject, makes the true *al-Hijrah* to correspond with the 18th or 19th of June, A.D. 622. This era, which superseded all others among the Arabs, and which is now used by all Muslims, was instituted seven years after by the Khalîfah Ômar, who fixed it at the first of the month al-Muhárram of the year in which the event took place. According to the same authority, Muhámmad reached the village of Kúba on the 28th of June of the same year.

Up to the time of the Flight Muhámmad's life, both as a citizen and a teacher of religion, appears to have been blameless. He was uniformly grateful to those who reared him, true to his friends, faithful in his married life, upright in his moral character, frugal in his habits, tender-hearted, compassionate, and charitable. If exception is taken to his prophetic claims, it would be difficult to shew that, up to the period specified, he was not in some guise inspired with a spirit not unlike that which moved the prophets of old; for, from whatever source derived, his doctrine, especially that respecting the unity of God and the duty of worshipping and praying to Him only, is in accordance with the Old Testament Scriptures. More difficult still would it be to prove him an impostor; for that he believed himself to have been divinely called does not admit of a doubt. And to suppose that he braved the jeers, the taunts, and the cruel persecution of the al-Kuráish for the sake of ambition or gain, or in order to cover an imposture, is to suppose an absurdity. Further, during his residence at Mecca he openly declared that he had not received permission to compel any one to embrace his religion: his business was simply to preach and admonish, and whether men believed or not was no concern of his but belonged solely to God. So far, indeed, from allowing his followers to use force, even in self-defence, he enjoined them to bear patiently those outrages to which they were subjected on account of their religion, advising them to seek a refuge elsewhere, as he himself did, rather than resist their adversaries. But a great change seems to have come over Muhámmad as soon as he found himself free and triumphant at al-Madînah. It has already been noted how he forthwith assumed the reins of temporal power, and conducted himself as an absolute sovereign. Now he as openly declares that he and his followers were not only permitted to defend themselves, but also to attack and extirpate the unbelievers wherever they found them. These injunctions are frequently repeated in the chapters of the Kurân revealed at al-Madînah. Other serious deteriorations in the twofold character of Muhámmad will appear in the sequel.

On the completion of his house the Prophet sent for his two wives, Sáudah and Âïshah, for whom as well as for himself separate apartments had been constructed in the building. The adjoining mosque was finished about the same time, and its *Mihráb*, or Niche, indicating the point to which the Faithful should turn in prayer, consisted of a block of stone set up in the direction of Jerusalem. His next step was to form a bond of union between the *Ansârs*, or Auxiliaries, who boasted that they were the first to do battle for the Prophet, and the *al-Muhâjirûn*, or Emigrants, from Mecca, who were the first to embrace Islâm. By the arrangement now made each *Ansâr* was joined in the bonds of brotherhood to a *Muhâjir*—a political step which tended to extinguish rivalry between the two parties. With this organization the transactions of the first year of the al-Hijrah terminated. In the course of that which followed several other institutions were founded which obtain among Muslims up to the present day. First, the *Izhân*, or Call to prayer. After several suggestions respecting the means to be used to that end Muhámmad decided in favour of the human voice, and Bilâl, Abu-Bakr's freedman, was appointed the first *Müázh-zhin* to announce the five times of prayer in this formula: "God is above all! I testify that there is but one God; I testify that Muhámmad is the Apostle of God. Come to prayer! Come to salvation! God is above all; He is the only God!" Secondly, the institution of the *al-Kíblah*. Hitherto the custom had been to turn the face, in prayer, in the direction of Jerusalem; now the Prophet alleged a divine revelation directing that in future the Muslims should pray towards the sacred mosque, the al-Kaábah, at Mecca. (Sûr. ii. 136-147.) Thirdly, the fast of Ramadhân, which was to last the whole of that month; and the institution of the *az-Zakât*, Tithe or Poor-

rate, amounting to about one-fortieth of the property possessed, provided that it came up to a certain amount, and had been held for eleven months. The *az-Zakát* was an obligatory offering to God, which was to be made over to the Prophet or his representatives for the relief of the poor and the exigencies of the State.

In the meantime Muhámmad, bent upon avenging himself on the people of Mecca, sent out several detachments to intercept their caravans and otherwise to harass them, he himself accompanying them on two occasions. Subsequently he despatched Ábdúllah-ibn-Jáhsh, with eight of the *al-Muhâjirûn*, to reconnoitre in the direction of an-Nákhlah, near Mecca, instructing him particularly, as the month of Rájab had set in during which war was still prohibited, to confine himself to spying out the movements of the al-Kuráish. But Ábdúllah, lighting upon a caravan escorted by four men, fell suddenly upon them, killed two, took the other two prisoners, and carried off all the goods. This was the first booty made and the first blood shed by the Muslims. Muhámmad is said to have been greatly disconcerted at this proceeding, for he refused his share of the booty and sequestrated the prisoners and the caravan. In order to quell the outcry made by the people of Mecca against this sacrilegious violation of the general truce, the Prophet, whilst disapproving what had been done, impiously excused the act in the name of God, according to the following alleged revelation made to him at this time: "They will ask thee concerning war in the sacred month; say, To war therein is bad, but to turn aside from the cause of God, and to have no faith in Him and in the sacred Temple, and to drive out its people is worse in the sight of God." (Sûr. ii. 214.) After the proclamation of this revelation Muhámmad allowed the partition of the booty and accepted a ransom for the two captives.

But what established Muhámmad's position at this juncture was the great victory gained at Badr (or Bedr), a village about thirty miles south-west from al-Madînah and ten from the coast. The particulars of this famous battle are given in detail by Muslim historians; a summary of them must suffice here. Having received information that a rich caravan of one thousand camels was on its way to Mecca, escorted by thirty or forty of the al-Kuráish, Muhámmad determined to attack it. But Abu-Sufyân, the leader of the escort, getting wind of his movements, despatched a courier to Mecca for reinforcements. Nine hundred men accordingly set out to his assistance. This counter-movement coming to Muhámmad's ears he drew his forces together, which consisted only of 313 men, and advanced towards Bedr. In the meantime Abu-Sufyân managed to effect his escape with the caravan by making a détour towards the coast. On the 17th of Ramadhân, (13th of January, A.D. 624,) having previously held a council of war and received the assurance of the Muslims that they would follow wherever he led them, Muhámmad ordered his men to march against the enemy; but before the battle commenced there was a single combat between three from each side of the contending parties, in which the Mecca champions were slain—a circumstance which greatly elated the Muslims, who regarded it as an omen of success. Muhámmad is said to have offered up fervent prayers to God in the meantime, and then falling into a trance declared that God had promised him certain victory, after which, throwing a handful of dust towards the enemy, he exclaimed: "May their faces be confounded! Onward!" Thereupon the Muslims charged with such bravery that they soon put their adversaries to flight, after having killed seventy of the chief men among them and taken as many prisoners, with a loss on their side of fourteen men only. Several references to this battle are contained in the Kurân. In Sûr. iii. 11 the infidels are represented as having been supernaturally led to estimate the Muslims at double their own number. In Sûr. viii. 9 God is made to reply to the Muslim prayer for succour: "I will aid you with a thousand angels," whilst at v. 45 of the same chapter God is described as causing the enemy to appear few to the Muslims, and the latter many as compared with their adversaries,—a discrepancy explained by commentators as meaning that the Muslims were made to seem few at the outset only, in order to draw on the enemy. Tradition has made the most of these alleged Divine interpositions, and associated them with the most extravagant and absurd prodigies. The bodies of the men slain at Bedr were, by Muhámmad's order, cast into pits. Among the principal prisoners taken were Ábbâs, his uncle, and two of his most inveterate personal foes, Nádhr-ibn-Hârith and Útbah-ibn-Rabiáh. His uncle he directed to be loosed from his bonds, the two latter to be decapitated. Nádhr is recorded to have brought some romances from Persia, and to have recited them to the al-Kuráish as compositions vastly superior to the foolish stories of the Kurân, and Útbah is said to have spat in the face of the Prophet at Mecca. Both are supposed to be referred to in Sûr. lxxxix. 25; xc. 31; lxxxii. 5. Útbah, when about to receive the fatal blow, exclaimed, "Who will receive my children after I am dead?" "Hell fire," was Muhámmad's inhuman reply. The other prisoners were well treated, and were subsequently ransomed by their friends at sums reckoned according to the property of each. Ábbâs, who was very rich, had to pay the heaviest fine; others, owing to their poverty, were liberated gratuitously, on condition of their promising not to take up arms against the Muslims. Such of them, however, as were able to write Arabic were bound to remain for a certain time at al-Madînah, and each to instruct a class of ten pupils. Zaid-ibn-Thâbit, a young *Ansâr*, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, and being an intelligent youth Muhámmad had him taught Hebrew, in order that he might carry on his correspondence with the Jews.

A serious dispute arose the day after the battle about the division of the booty, which Muhámmad arrested at the time by declaring that it belonged to God. However, on the way back to al-Madînah he had the whole distributed equally, by lot, among all the Muslim combatants; but in order to prevent similar dissensions in future he subsequently published the law on the subject contained in Sûr. viii. entitled *The Spoils*, which begins thus: "They will ask thee about the spoils; say, the spoils are God's and the Apostle's;" but in v. 42 this division is further explained or modified thus:

"When ye have taken any booty a fifth part belongeth to God and His Apostle, and to the near of kin, and to the orphans, and to the poor, and to the wayfarer;" the remaining four-fifths to be divided among those who took part in the action. Muslim jurists are not agreed as to the distribution of the first fifth named, neither does Muhámmad himself appear to have always adhered strictly to the alleged revelation on the subject. Another revelation, indeed, gives him absolute power over all booty. (See Sûr. lix. 6, 7.)

Muhámmad was received in triumph at al-Madînah, but the public joy was interrupted by the death of his daughter Rukáyyah, the divorced wife of Útbah-ibn-Láhab, who was afterwards married to Óthmân-ibn-Áffân. On the other hand the al-Kuráish, who were in the greatest consternation after their defeat, vainly sought the alliance of the Najâshi of Abyssinia. An event now occurred which led to the exile of the Bánu-Káinukâ, a Jewish tribe settled at al-Madînah. One of their number having committed an indecent assault upon an Arab woman was killed on the spot by a Muslim. A great tumult followed, which was quelled for a time by the Prophet's intervention; nevertheless he withdrew from the Jews those privileges which had been secured to them by the late treaty, unless they embraced Islâm. On their refusal he besieged them in their entrenchments until they surrendered at discretion. Thereupon he ordered them all, to the number of seven hundred, to be put to the sword. At the interposition of Abdúllah-ibn-Abi-Salûl he spared their lives, but ordered their summary exile into Syria, retaining as booty all their riches and valuable effects.

During the last month of A.H. 2, Fâtimah, Muhámmad's daughter, was married to Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib. The third year opened with the assassination of Kaáb-ibnu-'l-Áshraf, a famous Jewish poet of the Bánu-Nadhîr, who after the battle of Bedr repaired to Mecca and roused the al-Kuráish to avenge themselves by writing satires upon the Prophet and proclaiming them aloud. "Who will rid me of him?" asked Muhámmad. Five of the *Ansárs* responded to the call, and having received Muhámmad's permission to use any stratagem to effect his object they drew him into an ambuscade and assassinated him. Another Jew, Rafî-Sallâm, one of the principal chiefs of the same tribe and an inveterate enemy of the Prophet, shared the same fate, with Muhámmad's express approval. Five of the al-Kházraj forced their way into his house and murdered him. About this time Muhámmad married Háfsah, the daughter of Ómar, on the death of her husband Khunáis. Háfsah lived till A.H. 45. Shortly after, he took to wife Záinab-bint-Khuzáimah, the widow of Óbáidah, who was slain at Bedr. The Prophet had now four wives living.

During this year occurred the battle of Úhud, a hill situated about three miles to the north-west of al-Madînah, whither the al-Kuráish, led by Abu-Sufyân, had marched and drawn up an army of 3000 men, including 700 clad in coats of mail, and 200 horse. Muhámmad had decided to keep within the town, but the majority being of a different opinion he sallied forth at the head of 1000 men and took up a position to the north of the city, placing fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. The al-Kuráish were drawn up in the shape of a crescent. The Muslims began the assault, which was made with such fury that the enemy's centre gave way, whereby the whole army was thrown into confusion. The archers, thirsting for plunder, abandoned their post, whereupon Khâlid-ibnu-'l-Walîd, who commanded the right wing of the al-Kuráish, attacked the enemy with his cavalry and turned the fortune of the day. His loud vociferation of "Muhámmad is slain!" added to the confusion of the Muslims, and defied the Prophet's efforts to rally them. He himself was struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face by two arrows. The retreat, however, was so ably conducted by Abu-Bakr, Ómar, and Óthmân that the al-Kuráish did not attempt a pursuit. Seventy Muslims fell in this engagement, among whom was Hámzah, Muhámmad's uncle, whose head Abu-Sufyân had cut off on the field of battle, and fixing it on a lance exclaimed: "O Hubâl [an Arab idol], thou art exalted!" The defeat at Úhud threatened to endanger Muhámmad's position, some of his followers murmuring that had he been really a prophet sent by God, God would not have permitted the infidels to triumph over him. The Prophet, however, was equal to the occasion. Revelations were at hand to assure the Muslims that every man's death is predetermined by the Almighty, and that those who fell at Úhud would inevitably have died had they remained at home, whereas now they were reaping the reward of martyrdom. These were not dead, but "alive with their Lord," "filled with joy for those who follow after but have not yet overtaken them;" "for them are the gardens beneath which the rivers flow; there they shall abide for ever." (Sûr. iii. 159–165; lxi. 11–13.) The campaign of the fourth year of the al-Híjrah (15th April, 625, to 3rd May, A.D. 625,) opened with the despatch of 500 Muslims against the tribe of al-Asád, who were making preparations to invade the territory of al-Madînah. The enemy fled at the appearance of the Muslims, who sacked the place and carried off much cattle. Abu-Sálamah, the captain of the troop, dying soon after, Muhámmad married Umm-Sálamah, his widow, who thus became his fifth wife. Hearing that Khâlid-ibn-Sufyân, of the al-Hudháil, meditated a similar hostile incursion, the Prophet sent one Abdúllah-ibn-Unáis to assassinate him, and as a reward for his success gave him the cane which he carried in his hand, saying: "Present this cane to me on the day of the resurrection to remind me of thy devotion." Shortly after these occurrences Muhámmad, at the request of certain deputies from the al-Ádhl and the al-Karâ tribes, sent six missionaries with them to instruct their people in the tenets of Islâm. When about fourteen miles on the journey the deputies fell upon the missionaries, killed three of them, and took the other three prisoners. One of these effected his escape, the other two were sold to the al-Kuráish, who put them to a most cruel death. A similar fate befell another body of seventy missionaries sent to the province of Najd. Before undertaking his next expedition Muhámmad, bent upon avenging the murder of his missionaries by the al-Kuráish, despatched Ámr-ibn-Umáyyah to assassinate Abu-Sufyân, one of the foremost chiefs of the tribe; but

Ámr's object having become suspected he took to flight, atoning for his failure by killing two men of Mecca on his way back to al-Madînah, piercing another with an arrow, and taking a third captive to Muhámmad. Two further expeditions closed the campaigning of this year. The first was into the province of Najd, where Muhámmad narrowly escaped assassination, and the other to Bedr, in fulfilment of his promise to Abu-Sufyân to meet him there on the anniversary of the first battle known by that name. After waiting for the al-Kuráish eight days the Muslims returned triumphantly to al-Madînah. Early in the following year, A.H. 5, (3rd May, 626, to 23rd April, A.D. 627,) the Prophet marched an army of 1000 men to Dáumat-Jándal, a place situated thirteen days' journey to the north-east of al-Madînah, the Christian Arabs of which district had been in the habit of plundering the caravans plying between Syria and Arabia. Coming suddenly upon the marauders the Muslims easily dispersed them, and then returned home with the spoils. A few months later, however, the latter were threatened by the combined contingents of the al-Kuráish, the Bánu-Ghátafân, and the Jewish tribes of an-Nadhîr and al-Kuráizhah, who invested al-Madînah with an army of 12,000 men. At the advice of the Persian Salmân, the Prophet had caused a trench to be dug round the city, and then issued forth to defend it at the head of 3000 Muslims. Both sides remained comparatively inactive for nearly a month, during which several prodigies are said to have happened which greatly disconcerted the invaders. What really led to the miserable failure of the expedition was the crafty policy of Muhámmad, who found means to corrupt the leading men of the enemy, to excite their mutual distrust, and to set them at variance one with another. The al-Kuráish first, and afterwards the Bánu-Ghátafân, broke up the siege and retired towards Mecca, the remainder following their example. This engagement is known as the "Battle of the Ditch." As might have been expected, the Prophet lost no time in avenging himself upon the Jews of the al-Kuráizhah. Marching at the head of a considerable force he invested their principal fortress, and at the end of twenty-five days the besieged, by the advice of Saád-ibn-Muáádh, chief of their old friends and confederates the al-Áus, surrendered at discretion, hoping through him to obtain the most favourable terms. In this, however, they were disappointed, for Saád, offended at their breach of faith in having gone over to the al-Kuráish at the Battle of the Ditch, on being appealed to by Muhámmad, adjudged that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children enslaved, and the goods divided among the Muslims. In accordance with this decision, which was highly approved by the Prophet, from six to seven hundred men were massacred, all the women and children carried into captivity, and the spoils divided among the Muslims. Muhámmad chose from among the captives a beautiful damsel, named Rihânah-bint-Ámru, whom he subsequently induced to embrace Islâm, and retained her as his concubine. Special reference is made to the Battle of the Ditch in the Kurân, (Sûr. xxxiii. 9–29,) where the success of the Muslims is attributed to the direct intervention of God, "who sent against" their enemies "a blast, and hosts that ye saw not." The submission of the Jews was due to the same cause:—"He caused those of the people of the Book [the Jews] who had aided [the Confederates] to come down out of their fortresses, and cast dismay into their hearts: some ye slew, others ye took prisoners, and He gave you their land for an heritage,—even a land on which you had never set foot." Reference is also made in Sûr. lix. to the booty seized on this occasion, when Muhámmad appears to have appropriated to himself more than his lawful share. According to Abulfidâ, it was during this siege likewise that Muhámmad forbade the use of wine, (Sûr. ii. 214,) which is interpreted to include all intoxicating drinks. Nevertheless, "rivers of wine, delicious to those who quaff it," are promised to the faithful in paradise. (Sûr. xlvii. 16.)

Before the close of A.H. 5 Muhámmad married his cousin Záinab, daughter of Jahsh and Aminah, the latter the daughter of Ábdu-'l-Müttalib. The Prophet had previously given her in marriage to Zaid-ibn-Hârithah, his freedman, whom he had adopted, and who therefore went by the name of Muhámmad's son. On going to the house of Zaid, and not finding him at home, the Prophet accidentally cast his eyes on Záinab, and was so smitten with her beauty that he exclaimed: "Praise belongeth unto God who turneth the hearts of man as He pleaseth!" Záinab did not lack penetration to see that she had made a conquest of the Prophet, and on recounting what had passed to her husband when he returned home, Zaid determined to part with her in favour of his benefactor. Muhámmad, foreseeing the scandal which such proceeding would create, vainly endeavoured to dissuade Zaid from his purpose. Zaid accordingly divorced her, and at the expiration of the *Iddah*, or the prescribed time after a divorce before re-marriage was lawful, Muhámmad married her, giving a sumptuous feast on the occasion to celebrate his new nuptials. This marriage gave great offence to many Muslims, for the relationship which existed between him and Zaid, albeit fictitious, created an impediment to wedlock among the old Arabs, who considered it within the prohibited degrees. The Prophet, however, was not at a loss to vindicate himself. He introduces God as sanctioning the abolition of the established custom, and clearing him of all guilt in the matter. (See Sûr. xxxiii. 37–40.) Nevertheless, an alleged divine injunction places a restriction on his passion in future:—"It is not permitted thee to take [other] wives hereafter, nor to change thy present wives for other women, though their beauty charm thee, except such as thy right hand hath acquired," (captive women;) and as if to prevent the example of Záinab being followed by his own wives he ordained that if any had a request to make of them they were to prefer it from behind a *Hijâb*, veil or screen, adding, "Purer this will be for your hearts and their hearts." (*Id.* 52, 53.) The same custom prevails still among Muslim females of the upper classes. Záinab was the Prophet's ninth wife, albeit he had limited the believers to four. (Sûr. iv. 3.) He himself, however, assumed the privilege of having as many as he pleased.

Several militant expeditions were undertaken during the sixth year of the al-Hijrah, (23rd April, 627, to 12th April, 628.) In the month of al-Muhárram the Prophet despatched Muhámmad-bin-Máslamah against the Bánu-Kúrzhah, located seven days' journey to the south-east of al-Madînah. In the month of Jumâdu-'l-Ắwwal, (19th August to 18th September,) he started himself with two hundred men to punish the Bánu-Lahyân, who dwelt on the road between Mecca and al-Madînah, for the murder of his missionaries. During the march he stopped for a few moments near the grave of his mother, offered up a prayer, and wept. But a verse of the Kurân, alleged to have been revealed to him on this occasion, forbade his praying for forgiveness on behalf of one who had died an infidel:—"It is not for the Prophet or the Faithful to pray for the forgiveness of those, even though they be of their kin, who associate other beings with God, after it has been made clear to them that they are to be the inmates of hell." (Sûr. ix. 114.) Next he led 500 men against the Bánu-Fazârah, some of whose horsemen had killed his camel-herd and carried his wife away captive, although she subsequently escaped. Other raids were conducted by Zaid-ibn-Hâri-thah. Following on these was the murder of Elyonsair-ibn-Rijâm, one of the chiefs of Kháibar, who it appears had prevailed upon the Bánu-Ghatafân to league against Muhámmad. A number of the latter tribe, who were encamped between Kháibar and Fázdak, were dispersed by Ắly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib. Elyonsair was subsequently induced, by false pretences, to accompany a party of Muslims to al-Madînah, where the Prophet was to raise him to the highest dignity among his people. While on the journey the Muslims fell upon him and murdered him. In the mean time, Muhámmad despatched a force under Ắbdu-'r-Rahmân-ibn-Ắus, in the direction of Dáumat-Jándal, with instructions to bring over the Christians of the Bánu-Kalb to Islâm; in the event of their refusal they were to be reduced by force. Some conformed, whilst those who preferred adhering to their old faith were allowed to do so on condition of paying tribute. About the same period Muhámmad marched in person against the Bánu-Mustálik, a sub-tribe of the al-Khuzâáh, who were reported as contemplating an incursion into the territory of al-Madînah. Coming up with them while they were encamped not far from the sea, about ten miles north of Ủsfân, he completely routed them. One thousand camels, five thousand sheep, and a great many women and children became the spoil of the Muslims. One of the female captives, named Juwairíyyah-bint-Hârith, fell to the lot of Thâbit-ibn-Kais, who offered to set her at liberty for a certain sum. On applying to Muhámmad to help her to pay the ransom he readily agreed to do so, and then married her. Thereupon the Muslims, recognizing the al-Mustálik as allies of the Prophet, liberated all the captives. Juwairíyyah survived Muhámmad forty-five years.

The last night-halt of the troops on their return to al-Madînah was signalized by an adventure which caused Muhámmad no little chagrin. His beloved wife Ắishah, the daughter of Abu-Bakr, was accused of having committed adultery with Safwân-ibn-Muáttal, a prominent *Muhâjir* of the Bánu-Suláim. It had fallen to Ắishah's lot on this occasion to accompany the Prophet, and, according to her account, having had occasion to alight from her camel, she missed a valuable necklace. Whilst absent in search of it her attendants, assuming that she had re-entered the litter, placed it on the camel and went their way. She walked on for some time, but finding that no one returned for her she fell asleep, and remained on the spot all night. She was discovered early the following morning by Safwân, who had stayed behind the troop to refresh himself. He forthwith placed her on his own camel and conducted her safely to the camp. This incident made a great noise, and several magnates of the al-Khâzraj, among whom was Ắbdúllah-ibn-Ủbay, openly accused Ắishah of adultery. Muhámmad himself seemed disposed at the outset to suspect his wife's fidelity, but after she had taken up her abode at her mother's house for about a month he consulted Ắly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib and Ủsáimah-ibn-Zaid, who recommended him to consult Buráirah, Ắishah's tirewoman. The upshot was a revelation vouchsafed to the Prophet fully acquitting his wife and clearing her reputation:—"Of a truth those who advanced that lie were a party among you; but regard it not as an evil to you. No, it is an advantage to you [whose characters are cleared]. To every man among them shall be done according to the offence which he hath committed; and as to that person among them [Ắbdúllah-ibn-Ủbay] who took upon himself to aggravate it, a sore punishment doth await him." (Sûr. xxiv. 11.) Three of the accusers were beaten with eighty stripes, as enacted in v. 4 of the same chapter, but Ắbdúllah, the principal offender, owing to his great influence among the people, was prudently spared. Muhámmad seems to have availed himself of this occasion to lay down laws for the punishment of whoredom and adultery. The whore and whoremonger were to be scourged with one hundred stripes, and adultery required the attestation of "four witnesses to the fact."

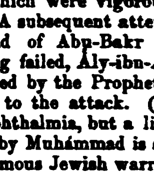
At the beginning of the month Zhu-'l-Kaâdah of this the sixth year of the al-Hijrah (*cir.* 12th Feb. 628) Muhámmad set out with an army of 4400 Muslims, intending to perform the *Umrah*, or religious Visitation of the Holy Places, and the *Hijj*, or Pilgrimage to Mecca,—duties enjoined by the Kurân, but which had unavoidably been suspended since his establishment at al-Madînah. The al-Kuráish, doubting Muhámmad's good faith, sent messenger after messenger as well to spy out his forces as to ascertain his designs. His repeated assurances that his object was a peaceable one failed to convince the al-Kuráish, who finally decided to bar his further progress. Whereupon Muhámmad assembled his troops around him, and whilst seated under an acacia-tree exacted a new pledge from them that they would fight for him to the last. (This ceremony is referred to in the Kurân, Sûr. xlviii. 18, as the Oath taken under the Tree, and which had secured the approbation of God.) That done, the Prophet resolved to attack the city, which coming to the knowledge of the al-Kuráish they began to sue for peace. To the disgust of many of the Muslims Muhámmad agreed to a compromise, and a treaty was drawn up and agreed to by

the two parties importing as follows: That there should be a truce between them for ten years; that any person might league himself with Muhámmad or with the al-Kuráish as he thought fit; and that the Prophet should be allowed to visit the al-Kaábah the coming year and remain there three days. After remaining twenty days at Hudhaibíyyah, the name of the place where these arrangements were made, and situated within twelve hours' march of the sacred territory of Mecca, the Muslims returned home.

Several minor expeditions were undertaken this year, one of them against Mádyan, the Midian of the Bible, of which place Captain R. Burton has recently published an exhaustive and most interesting account. Towards the end of the year, or at the beginning of A.H. 7, Muhámmad conceived the idea of addressing foreign sovereigns and Arab princes, inviting them to embrace Islâm. These letters were sealed with a silver signet, bearing in three separate lines the words: MUHAMMAD—the APOSTLE—of GOD. The first was sent to Kasra-Parwiz, then king of Persia, who considered Arabia as a dependency of his empire. After reading the letter Kasra tore it into shreds, and exclaimed in a fury: "How dare this fellow, who is my slave, write to me in this style!" On hearing of the fate of his epistle, Muhámmad remarked: "Even so shall his kingdom be shattered to pieces." His next embassy was despatched to the king of Abyssinia, who received it with all honour, for according to Muslim writers he was already in heart a believer, and now made a public profession of Islâm—a statement entirely devoid of corroborative evidence. The third embassy was sent to Jaríh-ibn-Mátta, the Mukáukis,* or Governor, of Egypt, who acted as intendant of customs under the emperor Heraclius. He was a Copt, and therefore secretly hated the Greeks. He received Hâtib-ibn-Abi-Baltaá, Muhámmad's deputy, with every mark of respect, ordered his secretary to write a reply to the Prophet's letter, to whom he also sent a valuable present, including two Coptic damsels of surpassing beauty. One of these, named Sîrîn, he made over to the poet Hassân, the other, named Maria, he reserved for himself. In A.H. 19, when Egypt was conquered by the Khalífah Ómar, this Mukáukis and the Copts generally perfidiously deserted the Greeks and concluded a treaty with Ámru-ibn-al-'Âs, the Khalífah's lieutenant, in virtue of which, upon the payment of tribute, he and his co-religionists were permitted to profess Christianity. The different Arab princes to whom similar missives were sent do not call for special notice.

In the month of al-Muhárram, A.H. 7, Muhámmad assembled a body of 1400 foot and 200 horse and marched for Kháibar, the name of a fertile territory inhabited by Jews, and situated six stages from al-Madînah, on the north-east. The district was defended by several detached forts, the principal of which, named al-Kammûs, was built on the summit of a mountain very difficult of access. Into these the Jews fled on the approach of the Muslim army, of which they had received no intelligence until it was close upon them. Muhámmad, having made the proper dispositions for laying siege to the fortresses, attacked successively those known as *an-Naîm* and *an-Natât*, which were readily captured. He then proceeded to the *al-Kammûs*, which was defended by a Jewish garrison commanded by Kinânah-ibni-'r-Rabiaá, the richest and most powerful man of the nation, who was dignified by the title of "King of the Jews." A breach having been made in the walls by battering-rams, several assaults were made, which were vigorously repulsed by the besieged. A subsequent attempt made under the command of Abu-Bakr and another under Ómar having failed, Ály-ibn-Abi-Tâlib was expressly selected by the Prophet to lead a picked detachment to the attack. (Ály had been suffering from ophthalmia, but a little spittle applied to his eyes by Muhámmad is said to have cured him!) A famous Jewish warrior, of gigantic proportions and heavily armed, named Márhab, now presented himself, and challenged the Muslims to single combat. Ály accepted the challenge, and cleft his head in twain with

* Hyde Clarke, Esq., recently submitted to the writer of this article a photographic copy, taken from what appears to be Muhámmad's original Epistle to this Mukáukis. It is written in the Kufic character, and sealed with the signet mentioned above. The original is much defaced, but enough remains of it to allow of the restoration of the missing letters. This has been done by Muhámmad-Mûnis-Zádah, who gives the following account of the document: "This is the copy of a letter from the Prophet (may God bless and save him!) which he addressed to Mukáukis, the head of the Copts in Egypt, accurately transcribed from the original which the Prophet (may God bless and save him!) sent to him, sealed, by Hátib-ibn-Abi-Baltaá-Ámru-ibn-Omair-ibn-Sálamah (upon whom be peace!) in the 7th year of the al-Hijrah. In A.H. 1275 (A.D. 1858) the original letter was discovered by a party of Frank travellers belonging to the French nation in one of their journeys in Coptland, who purchased it from some monks attached to a monastery in the town of Ikhmîm, situated in Upper Egypt. They then took it to the Ottoman Khân, Ábdu-'l-Majíd, to whom they presented it, and he ordered it to be preserved among the relics of the Prophet at Constantinople." The letter as restored reads: "In the Name of God, the Pitiful, the Compassionate! From Muhámmad the servant of God and His Prophet, to Mukáukis, the head of the Copts. Peace be upon him who follows the right way [Islám]. Further, I write you to embrace Islâm: become a Muslim and you will be saved, [and] God will vouchsafe you a double reward; but if you decline you will be answerable for the calamities which shall befall the Copts. *O people of the Book* [having Sacred Scriptures], *come ye to a just judgment between us and you.—That we worship not aught but God, and that we associate nothing with Him* [as a plurality of Persons], *and that the one of us take not the other for lords* [Rabbis] *beside God. Then if they decline say: Bear ye witness that we are Muslims.*"



The sentence printed in italics is from the Kurân, Sûr. iii. 57. It is not improbable that, *mutatis mutandis*, the above is a draft of the other letters addressed to foreign potentates as above mentioned.

his famous sword *Zhu-'l-Fakár*, which Muhámmad had given him for the purpose. The loss of their champion so disheartened the Jews that they offered no further resistance. The capture, a few days after, of the forts *al-Watîh* and *as-Sulâlim* completed the subjugation of Kháibar. The booty taken was immense, exceeding in extent and richness any previously captured. Half of it was set aside to defray the expenses of the visit to the Holy Places at the close of the year, and the remainder was distributed among the troops. Muhámmad had ruled on a former occasion that a mounted trooper should have three shares, one for himself and two for his horse. He now adjudged an additional premium to those who rode blood-horses. Among the female captives taken was Safíyyah, wife of the prince Kinânah, who had held the *al-Kammûs*. Díhyah-ibn-Huláifah had begged her of the Prophet, but the latter, struck with her beauty, threw his mantle over her, indicating that he reserved her for himself. He compensated Díhyah by granting him two of her cousins, who were also captured. On Safíyyah's conversion to Islâm, Muhámmad married her, and exercising his assumed prerogative of a Prophet gave her no other dower than her liberty. At first, the conquered Jews asked for nothing but their lives. Subsequently they requested permission to remain and till their land, holding it as tenants, engaging to pay the Muslim landlords a moiety of the produce. Muhámmad consented, but reserved to himself the right of expelling them whenever he thought fit. Ómar, the second Khalîfah in succession to the Prophet, availed himself of this prerogative. Determined that none other than the Muslim religion should exist in Arabia he exiled the Jews of Kháibar to the district of the Jordan, where he assigned them land for cultivation.

The subjugation of the Jewish districts of Fádak, Wâdi-'l-Kúra, and of Táimah, on the confines of Syria, followed that of Kháibar. On his return to al-Madînah Muhámmad sent a letter by the hand of Díhyah-ibn-Huláimah to the emperor Heraclius, who was then in Syria on his return from his successful campaign against the Persians. Díhyah was forwarded on by the governor of Bustra to the emperor, who is reported to have given the delegate a good reception, and to have sent him back with a favourable reply. After despatching similar missives to several Arab princes Muhámmad commenced making preparations for the *Úmratu-'l-Kádha*, the Solemn Visit of the Fulfilment, designed to complete the Visit to Mecca which had failed the preceding year. All those who had accompanied the Prophet on the former occasion attended him on this, and leaving 200 of them to guard the baggage at Batn-Yájaj, a few miles from Mecca, he proceeded on his journey, the al-Kuráish retiring to the summits of the neighbouring mountains to avoid the chagrin of witnessing the procession. On arriving at the city Muhámmad repaired to the al-Kaábah and entered upon the prescribed ceremonies. Coming to the angle where the Black Stone is fixed he devoutly kissed it. Next, he and his companions performed the *Tawâf*, or Circumambulation of that temple. This they did seven times, three at a quick and the remainder at a slow pace, called respectively *al-Hárwalah* and *ar-Rámal*,—a custom which still obtains, although the quick pace is not obligatory. As often as the Muslims passed the Black Stone they either kissed it or touched it with the hand and then kissed the latter, which accords with the present practice. Next, the Prophet mounted on his favourite camel ran seven times between the hills as-Sáfa and al-Márwah, partly at a slow and partly at an accelerated pace. This ceremony, now known as the *as-Sadyu*, was objected to by some of the Muslims because of two idols on the hills, which were worshipped by the al-Kuráish. Their scruples were set at rest by the Prophet, to whom the following alleged revelation was made on the occasion: "Moreover, as-Sáfa and al-Márwah are two of the monuments of God; whosoever, therefore, goeth on a pilgrimage to the House [the Temple at Mecca], or visiteth it, it shall be no crime if he circuit them both." (Sûr. ii. 153.) Lastly, he sacrificed the camels brought with him for that purpose in the valley of Mína, after which the Muslims shaved their heads and resumed the state of *Ihlál*, that is, of being quit of their obligations. On the fourth day they left Mecca, but during his stay there, and while he was still in a state of *Ihrâm*, that is, one in which what was at other times allowable was now forbidden, Muhámmad, again taking advantage of his assumed prerogative of dispensing with such recognized restrictions, contracted an alliance with Maimûnah-bint-Hârith, and consummated the marriage at ash-Sharif, on the return journey to al-Madînah. Maimûnah, who was the last of the Prophet's wives, survived them all, and died at Mecca.

The moral effect of Muhámmad's visit to his native place was immense. Persecuted and driven therefrom seven years previously, he had returned to it surrounded with the state and pomp of a sovereign, and had established the new creed side by side with the old in the most sacred temple of the Arabs. Numerous proselytes, who had hitherto been believers in secret, now openly declared themselves, and several important conversions were made to Islâm. Among the latter were Óthmân-ibn-Tálhah, the *Hijábah*, or Guardian, of the al-Kaábah; Âmr-ibnu-'l-'Âs, a man renowned for sagacity, and who during the Khalifate of Ómar conquered Egypt; and Khâlid-bin-Walîd, whose exploits on behalf of Islâm obtained for him the title of *Sáifu-'lláh*, the Sword of God. Proud of these accessions to his growing power Muhámmad determined to try issues with the Roman empire. The murder of Hârith-ibn-Úmáir, whom he had sent on a message to the chief of the Bánu-Ghassân, at Bustra, offered a plausible excuse for the attempt, and he accordingly despatched an army of 3000 men, under the command of his freedman Zaid, to carry out his purpose. One of the al-Kuráish, who was travelling at the time, having apprised Theodorus, the deputy of Heraclius in Palestine, of the intended attack, the latter lost no time in preparing to meet it, and assembled a body of 10,000 men from among the Arab tribes subject to his jurisdiction. The two armies met at Múta, a village of the Lower Balkâ, situated a little to the south of the castle of Kárak, and half a day's journey from Muâb. Zaid, carrying the standard of Islâm, was killed in

the beginning of the action, as were also Jaáfar-ibn-Abi-Tâlib and Ábdállah-ibn-Ruwâhah, who successively took his post. The command then devolved upon Khâlid-ibnu-'l-Walîd, who rallied the fugitive Muslims, and returning to the attack retrieved in some measure the losses of the day. He is reported to have pursued the enemy, to have inflicted great losses upon them, to have taken possession of their camp, and carried off a large booty. This memorable battle was fought in the month of Jamâdu-'l-Áwwal, A.H. 8.

The ten years' truce which had been agreed to by the Muslims and the al-Kuráish was binding on their respective allies. It was now violated by the Bánu-Bakr, confederates of the latter, who made an incursion into the territory of the Bánu-Khuzaáh, the allies of the former, and killed twenty of them. Determined to punish this violation of a solemn treaty Muhámmad ordered preparations to be made for an expedition against Mecca, and sternly refused all the overtures which were made by the al-Kuráish, through their deputy Abu-Sufyân, for an accommodation. He accordingly left al-Madînah on the 10th of Ramadhân, (1st Jan. A.D. 630,) at the head of a large body of the *Ansárs*, the *Muhájirûn*, and other Arabs who had recently embraced Islâm. The Muslims observed the fast of Ramadhân until they reached Kadîd, where Muhámmad permitted them to break it on account of the fatigue of the journey. At Márru-'zh-Zhuhrân, four leagues from Mecca, he reviewed his army, and finding that it numbered 10,000 men he gave directions for as many bonfires to be lighted at night in order to impress the enemy with the greatness of his host. The day following, having previously appointed Ály, bearing the standard of Islâm, to command the left wing, Khâlid the right, and Abu-Úbáidah the centre, he moved forward with the force, mounted on his camel. Halting at Zhu-Tuwâ to perform his devotions, and perceiving from thence no sign of the enemy, he gave orders for an immediate advance towards Mecca. Ály took possession of the post assigned to him, as did also Abu-Úbáidah, without the effusion of blood; but Khâlid encountering a large body of the al-Kuráish and other tribes who attempted to bar his passage, he dispersed them, killing twenty-eight of them, much to the chagrin of Muhámmad, who had wished this to be a bloodless victory.

The Prophet made his public entry into Mecca mounted on his camel, having Abu-Bakr on his right hand, Usáid-ibn-Hudháir on his left, whilst Usâma-ibn-Zaid walked behind him. On the way he repeated Sûr. xlviii. of the Kurân, entitled *al-Fat-h*, the Victory, which it is said he pretended to have had revealed to him two years prior to the expedition. All tumults being now appeased, the Prophet circuited the al-Kaábah seven times, touching the Black Stone with the *Mihjan*, or Wand, which he carried in his hand, as often as he passed it. He then entered the sacred Temple, and observing several pictures of angels, as also one of Abraham, on the walls, the latter represented with the *Azlâm*, or Arrows of Divination, in his hand, he ordered them to be destroyed, destroying himself at the same time a wooden pigeon, suspended from the roof, which was esteemed as one of their deities by the pagan al-Kuráish. On entering the interior the Prophet proclaimed with a loud voice the Muslim formula, "*Alláhu Ákbar!*" God is the Highest! turning towards every quarter of the temple. He then prayed between the two pillars, saying to those who attended him, "This is your *Kiblah*," or point to which you should turn in prayer. Next, he ordered the destruction of the 360 idols which were set up in the al-Kaábah, again compassed the temple seven times, visited the well Zámzam, performed the *Wudhû*, or Ablution, and the other prescribed ceremonies, all of which are scrupulously observed by his followers at the present day. On this occasion, moreover, Muhámmad is said to have addressed the al-Kuráish, who were silent spectators of his iconoclasm, in the following manner: "There is no God but the [one] God; He has no partner. He has fulfilled His promise, and given His servant the victory over all his enemies. Men of the al-Kuráish! let there be no more pagan haughtiness among you; no more pride of ancestry. All men are children of Adam, and Adam was created out of the dust," adding thereto the quotation from the Kurân, "O men! verily We have created you of a male and female; and We have divided you into peoples and tribes that ye might have knowledge one of another. Truly the most worthy in the sight of God is he who feareth Him most." (Sûr. xlix. 13.) He wound up his address thus: "Descendants of the al-Kuráish, how do you desire that I should act towards you?" "With kindness," was the reply; "for you are a generous brother." "Depart," rejoined he, "you are amnestied." Subsequently, while seated before the al-Kaábah, he confirmed Óthmân-ibn-Tálhah in the *Hijâbah*, or Guardianship of the temple, restricting the office to his descendants, and his uncle Ábbâs he confirmed in the *Sikâyah*, or office of Distributor of the beverage made of raisins steeped in water. With these two exceptions he abolished all the other dignities and prerogatives that had been connected with the pagan institutions of the al-Kaábah. On the 11th of Ramadhân, (11th Jan. A.D. 630,) he repaired to the hill as-Sáfa, where all the inhabitants of Mecca had been directed to attend in order to take the oath of allegiance to him. Ómar-ibn-Khattâb, acting as his representative, gave his hand to those who presented themselves, and vowed, in the name of the Prophet, to defend each and to rule justly. The oath taken by the men bound them to implicit obedience to Muhámmad; that by the women to worship God only, and to abstain from theft, adultery, infanticide, lying, and backbiting. It may be noted here that, with the exception of a few, who had previously been put to the sword, most of the outlaws were pardoned on this occasion; also, that during his fortnight's residence at Mecca Muhámmad sent different detachments into the surrounding districts to destroy the temples of al-Úzza, as-Súwa, and al-Muwât, three famous idols worshipped by the al-Kuráish and other tribes in the neighbourhood. He gave strict orders that this undertaking should be executed in a peaceable manner, and strictly forbade the soldiers to use their arms, unless absolutely obliged to do so. Khâlid-ibn-Walîd, however, who commanded one of these troops consisting of 350 men, marched towards

the locality of the al-Jadhîmah, against whom he entertained a grudge of long standing. The al-Jadhîmah prepared to defend themselves, but at Khâlid's bidding they laid down their arms. Instead, however, of saying, as he had directed them to say, "We are Muslims," they said, "We are Sabians," the name by which the pagan Arabs up to that time had designated the Muslims. Taking advantage of this equivocal expression, Khâlid caused them all to be bound and ordered them to be beheaded. "My God!" exclaimed Muhámmad, on hearing of this barbarity, "I am innocent of what Khâlid has done;" and he forthwith despatched a large sum of money to the surviving members of the outraged tribe, and rebuked Khâlid most severely on his return with the detachment.

The Prophet left Mecca at the head of 12,000 men to attack the Bánu-Thakîf, who held the stronghold of at-Tâif, and their allies the Bánu-Huwâzin, who had marched out against him with a much smaller force as far as Hunáin, a valley three miles from Mecca. Mâlik-ibn-Âus, the chief of the former tribe, charged the Muslims with such fury that they were thrown into confusion, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were rallied; but the Prophet, who had been himself in great danger, having thrown a handful of dust in the direction of the enemy, as a signal of their discomfiture, so inspirited his followers that they returned to the charge and gained a complete victory, obliging Mâlik to retreat to at-Tâif, after leaving 700 of his men dead on the field. This success was immediately followed by another obtained over a detachment of the al-Hawâzin, who had taken up a position in the valley of Antâs. The former of these battles is thus spoken of in the Kurân: "Now hath God helped you in many battle-fields, and, on the day of Hunáin, when ye prided yourselves in your numbers . . . then turned ye your backs in flight. Then did God send down the spirit of repose upon His Apostle and upon the faithful, and He sent down the hosts which ye saw not, and He punished the infidels." (Sûr. ix. 25, 26.)

The next expedition was directed against at-Tâif, a large city three stages to the east of Mecca. A large number of catapults, battering-rams, and other warlike engines had been prepared to reduce this redoutable fortress; but the Bánu-Thakîf defended themselves with such bravery that, after investing it for twenty days, Muhámmad was obliged to abandon the siege. On his way back he harassed several districts belonging to the tribe, and halting at al-Jarânah he caused an inventory to be made of all the spoils taken in the late engagements. They amounted to 6000 prisoners, 24,000 camels, 40,000 sheep, and 4000 ounces of silver, all of which were divided among the Muslims, but the favouritism shewn on this occasion to the Mecca contingent, as also to other recent converts, caused some murmuring among the *Ansârs*, which, however, the Prophet dexterously silenced by an address to the vanity of the malcontents, who in a flood of tears, which soaked their beards, exclaimed: "Prophet of God! we are content with the share allotted to us." The unsuccessful attack upon at-Tâif was, to Muhámmad's great joy, followed by the submission of Mâlik, the chief of the Bánu-Thakîf, and the greater part of the tribe, who eventually embraced Islâm.

A few days after Muhámmad's return to al-Madînah, Maria, his Coptic slave and concubine, was delivered of a son, whom he named Ibrahîm, and celebrated the event with a magnificent banquet. On this occasion, moreover, he declared that the birth of the child rendered the mother free. Muhámmad manifested great affection for the young Ibrahîm, going frequently to the house of his nurse to see him, until the time of his death, which took place about a year later.

An episode in the domestic life of Muhámmad, which is referred to the next, or ninth year of the al-Híjrah, has left an indelible stain on his assumed character of the Apostle of God. Having, as above stated, enfranchised Maria, he deprived himself of the recognized rights of a master over his female slave; nevertheless, his attentions to the fair Copt were stealthily persevered in to the great vexation of his titular wives. Some relate, indeed, that Háfsah caught the Prophet in a situation which left no doubt of his criminal amours with her. To appease his wife he promised with an oath never to touch her again, and to gratify her vanity, as well as to induce her to keep the affair a secret, he foretold to her that Abu-Bakr and Ómar should be his successors. Háfsah, however, could not resist revealing the matter to Âîshah, who communicated it to her father Abu-Bakr, as did Háfsah to her own father Ómar, and the Prophet perceiving from their manner that his secret had been discovered upbraided Háfsah with having betrayed him. For this indiscretion he not only divorced her but likewise separated himself from all his other wives for a whole month, spending that interval in amorous dalliance with Maria, in open violation of his oath to Háfsah. But dreading the resentment of her father he shortly after took her again, and in order to free himself from his oath to her he published Sûr. lxvi. of the Kurân, which besides justifying his own conduct allows Muslims to forswear themselves:—"Why, O Prophet, dost thou hold that to be forbidden, from a desire to please thy wives, which God hath made lawful to thee, since God is lenient, merciful? God hath allowed you release from your oaths; and God is your master; and He is the Knowing, the Wise. When the Prophet told a recent occurrence as a secret to one of his wives, and when she divulged it, and God informed him of this, he acquainted her with part and withheld part. And when he had told her of it, she said: Who told thee of this? He said: The Knowing, the Wise hath told it me . . . Haply, if he put you both away, his Lord will give him, in exchange, other wives better than you, Muslims, believers, devout, penitent, observant of fasting, both known of men, and virgins." (1–5.)

Several Muslim biographers relate that during this same year a Christian deputation, consisting of forty priests and twenty of the principal laymen of Najrân, with Abu-Hârithah the bishop at their head, waited upon Muhámmad, who received them in the mosque at al-Madînah. After prayers, which they offered up turning towards the East, they entered into a discussion with the Prophet respecting Jesus Christ, whom they styled the Son of God and

the second Person in the Trinity. To the texts adduced by them in support of this doctrine Muhámmad replied by quoting the following from the Kurân:—"In the sight of God, Jesus is the counterpart of Adam. He created him of dust, and said to him, Be, and he was. . . . Jesus, the son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and His Word which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Himself. Believe, therefore, in God and His Apostle, and say not three.—Forbear, it will be better for you. God is only one God. Far be it from His glory that He should have a son." (Sûr. iii. 52; iv. 169, 170.) "How," rejoined the bishop, "can you pretend that God has revealed to you matters quite different from those contained in the Gospel, which you yourself recognize as a divine book?" At this juncture, so Muslim writers avouch, God revealed to the Prophet the following verse:—"Whosoever shall dispute with you about him [or about this matter] after the knowledge which hath been vouchsafed to thee, say: Let us summon our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves, and let us invoke the curse of God upon those that lie." (Sûr. iii. 54.) The proposed ordeal, called *Mubâhalah*, would, it was believed, reveal the wrongdoer, and expose him to the curses imprecated. The Christians, shrinking from the test—so the tradition runs—preferred paying tribute as Christians, rather than accept the alternative of conversion to Islâm.

Hearing that the Romans were assembling a large force on their frontier at Tâbûk, a town situated midway between al-Madînah and Damascus, Muhámmad determined to attack them in spite of the reluctance of the Muslims to march during the heat and drought of summer. As the enemy had retired on the approach of the Arabs, Muhámmad availed himself of the halt at Tâbûk to write another letter to the emperor Heraclius, inviting him to embrace Islâm, and also to receive the submission of several chiefs of the neighbouring tribes, among whom was Yuhánna-ibn-Rûbah, the lord of Ailah, on the shore of the Elanitic Gulf, now the Gulf of Akabah, who concluded a treaty with the Prophet which entitled the Christians there to his protection, in consideration of an annual payment of 330 gold dînârs. On his way back Muhámmad despatched Khâlid-ibn-Walîd to reduce Dáumat-Jándal, and shortly after his return to al-Madînah he received the submission of so many tribes of al-Yáman, Máhrah, Ómân, and al-Yamâmah, that this the ninth of the al-Híjrah was called the Year of the Deputations. At the commencement of the year following the Muslim empire was definitively founded. With the exception of a few Christians and Jews who had been subjected to tribute, the population of the entire peninsula of Arabia had adopted Islâm, and the different portions of the Kurân which had been successively published during the preceding twenty years had been collected together by the Prophet's secretaries, and formed a complete civil and religious code. Muhámmad had accomplished his task, and he now proposed to crown it by a solemn Pilgrimage. Twice since the Flight he had performed the *Úmrah*, or Smaller Pilgrimage to the Sacred Places, which might be done any month of the year. He now wished to consecrate, by his own example, the *al-Hijj*, or the Greater Pilgrimage, enjoined upon the faithful in the Kurân, the celebration of which, from time immemorial, had been fixed on the 10th of Dzu-'l-Híjjah, the second month of the year. He accordingly set out from al-Madînah on the 25th of Dzu-'l-Kaâdah, (23rd Feb. A.D. 632,) accompanied by 80,000 (some say 100,000) Muslims, who flocked to him from all quarters, taking with him also his wives, in litters, and a large number of camels covered with garlands destined for sacrifice. Arriving at Mecca on the fourth day he immediately repaired to the al-Kaâbah, devoutly kissed the Black Stone, and performed the seven circuits of the *Tawâf* in the manner described on the occasion of his previous visit. After reciting a prayer by the *Makâm-Ibrahîm*, the point of the al-Kaâbah so called, he again kissed the Black Stone, and then proceeded to the hill as-Sáfa, concluding the day's celebration by performing the *as-Sadyu*, which consists in passing seven times between the hills as-Sâfa and Márwah. On the 8th of Dzu-'l-Híjjah (8th March) called the *Yáumu-'t-Tárwiyah*, the day of providing one's self with water, the Prophet, accompanied by a large concourse of people, went to the valley of Mína, where a tent was pitched for him. There he offered up the five prescribed prayers, namely, that of *azh-Zhúhr*, or Midday; of *al-Asr*, or Afternoon; of *al-Mághrib*, or Sunset; of *al-Ásha*, or Evening; and of *al-Fájr*, or Dawn, of the next day. Then, proceeding to Arafât, he addressed the assembled multitude while seated on his camel, his sentences being repeated in a stentorian voice by Rabiaâ-ibn-Umáyyah. The following are extracts from this allocution: "Men, listen to my words, for I know not whether I shall be permitted to meet you again in this place. Be humane and just one towards another. The life and property of each should be sacred to all the rest, even as this month and this year is sacred to you all. You will have to appear before your Lord, who will demand an account of your actions. Let every depositary restore faithfully the deposits confided to him. Henceforth let there be no more usury: the debtor shall return solely the amount which he has received. Interest on money lent is suppressed, beginning with the sums due to my uncle, Abbâs-ibnu-'l-Múttalib. Vengeance is forbidden to be taken for murders committed during paganism, beginning with the murder of my cousin Rabiaâ-ibn-Hârith-ibn-Abdu-'l-Múttalib." "Verily, the *Násy* [the intercalation and transposition in the lunar year] is the source of error to the unbelievers. One year they authorize the *Násy*, and another they forbid it; so that whilst the number of the sacred months is thereby observed, that which God has declared to be inviolable is profaned, and that is sanctified to God which He has declared to be profane. Verily, time in its revolutions has returned to what it was on the day when the earth was created. In God's sight the number of the months is twelve. Of these four are sacred, namely, Rájab of Múdhar, which is isolated between Jumâdah and Shaâbân, and three other consecutive months." "Men! you have rights over your wives, and they have rights over you. Their duty is not to defile your bed by adultery. Should they fail there

in, God allows you to separate from them, and to chastise them, but not so as to endanger their lives. If they conduct themselves well, you are bound to feed and clothe them suitably. Treat them with kindness and affection. Remember that they are like captives [slaves] in your house, possessing nothing of their own. They have surrendered their persons to you, trusting in God,—a deposit which God has confided to you." "Listen to my words, and let them sink into your hearts. I leave you a law, to the which if you cleave it will preserve you always from error: a clear and positive law, a book dictated from on high." "O men! listen to my words, and let them sink into your hearts. Know ye that all Muslims are brothers. No one shall appropriate that which belongs to his brother, unless it be freely given to him. Abstain from injustice, for it will lead to your eternal loss." Muhámmad wound up his address by exclaiming, "O my God! have I fulfilled my mission?" A thousand voices replied, "Yes, thou hast fulfilled it." The Prophet rejoined, "O my God, hear this testimony."

The passage in the foregoing referring to the *Násy*, or triennial embolism, and the prorogation of the observances of the month of al-Muhárram to that of as-Sáfar, which had been in vogue among the Arabs for two centuries, corresponds with what Muhámmad published on the subject either during this, his last pilgrimage, or the preceding year. (Sûr. ix. 36.) By thus interdicting the *Násy* he re-established the lunar calendar which the Arabs had observed for ages, but at the same time virtually sanctioned the intercalation of one month every third year in order to reduce the lunar to the solar year. As regards the sacred months, their sacredness was confirmed, but their inviolability was set aside by the precept contained in the verse just quoted, which bade the Muslims not to wrong themselves therein; nevertheless they were to "attack those who join gods with the [one] God in all, as they attack you in all;" and Muhámmad himself had infringed the inviolability by his expedition to Tâbûk against the Romans during the previous year.

His address ended, the Prophet alighted, and after performing the prayer of Noon and Afternoon he remounted his favourite she-camel Kúswah and proceeded to another part of Mount Árafât, called *as-Sákharât*, where he announced, as from God:—"This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favours towards you, and it is my pleasure that al-Islâm be your religion." (Sûr. v. 5.) Abu-Bakr, regarding this utterance as prophetic of Muhámmad's approaching end, wept sorely. Towards sunset the Prophet rode to Muzdâlifah, where he performed the Night prayer, and on the following morning, after the prayer of Dawn, he went to the *al-Mashâriu-'l-Harâm*, then traversing hastily the valley of Bátn-Muhássar he entered that of Mína. On passing certain spots there, called *al-Jamarât*, where Satan is said to have appeared to Abraham, he threw several pebbles at each, and then repaired to the tent which had been pitched for him. The camels destined for sacrifice were now brought to him. Of these he slaughtered sixty-three with his own hand, one for each lunar year of his age, and manumitted as many slaves. Twenty-seven additional camels were slaughtered by Ály. After this ceremony the Prophet summoned a barber, who shaved his head, beginning on the right side. As the hair fell from the razor it was picked up and shared among his followers. Khâlid-ibn-Walîd is reported to have secured a small tuft, which he placed in his head-gear, and it was afterwards remarked that victory ever attended this redoubtable warrior whenever he wore the precious relic. On his return to Mecca the Prophet said the Prayer of Noon and circuited the al-Kaâbah before he returned to his lodgings.

Such is the narrative given by Muslim historians of this pilgrimage. They style it the *Hâjjatu-'l-Balâgh*, the Pilgrimage of the Announcement, because Muhámmad, by his precepts and example on that occasion, announced and established the rites with which it was to be celebrated. It is also called *Hâjjatu-'l-Islâm*, the Pilgrimage of Islâm, as forming the complement of that religion. And, lastly, it is more commonly designated *Hâjjatu-'l-Wádâå*, the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet having therein bade adieu to the Muslims at Mecca and taken a final leave of his native place.

Muhámmad started a few days after on his return journey. He had barely entered al-Madînah when he felt so ill that the change was noticed by all. This fact was speedily noised abroad throughout Arabia, and served to loosen the allegiance to al-Islâm of several of the tribes who, through fear, had recently embraced it. Three different revolts, each headed by a dangerous competitor, were now on the point of breaking out. The first of these was that of Tuláihah-ibn-Khuwáilid, a famous warrior of Najd, whose claim to inspiration was that while conducting an army through the desert he indicated a spot where water would be found on digging in the sand. The second was that of Abu-Thumâmah-Hârûn, commonly called Musáilamah, a man of some repute in al-Yamâmah. He had conducted an embassy to the Prophet in the ninth year of the al-Híjrah, when he professed himself a Muslim. What tended most to raise him in the estimation of his followers was the statement of a townsman of his who declared that, whilst at al-Madînah, he distinctly heard Muhámmad designate Musáilamah as his successor. The third rival was one Áihalah-bin-Kaâb, of al-Yáman, generally known as al-Áswad. He was very wealthy and eloquent, and succeeded in passing himself off as a diviner. Being withal a clever juggler he induced the people to believe that he held intercourse with celestial beings.

In the mean time Muhámmad, whose health seems to have improved, and who was still ignorant of the movements of his rivals, projected another invasion of the Roman territory. Shortly after, however, he was seized with a fever, which never left him. It appears to have commenced on the arrival of some messengers who brought him word of the revolts above mentioned. One of them was charged with the following message from Musáilamah: "Musáilamah, the Prophet of God, to Muhámmad, the Prophet of God: Peace. I am your associate:

the exercise of authority should be divided between us. A half of the earth is mine, the other half belongs to the al-Kuráish. But the al-Kuráish are a greedy people, and I doubt whether they will be satisfied with a fair division." The Prophet charged the messenger with this reply: "Muhámmad, the Prophet of God, to Musáilamah, the Impostor. Peace be upon those who follow the right way. The earth is God's, and He giveth it to whom He will. Those only prosper who fear the Lord." It may be remarked here that the revolt under Musáilamah grew to formidable dimensions after the Prophet's death. He was eventually slain, and his followers routed by Khâlid-bin-Walîd, during the Khalîfate of Abu-Bakr. The revolt of al-Áswad was quelled by a force despatched by Muhámmad under Wabr-ibn-Yûhánnès, who secretly effected an entrance into Sanáâ through the collusion of certain disaffected chiefs, one of whom cut al-Áswad's throat while he lay asleep and threw the corpse among the insurgents. Thereupon the latter speedily dispersed, and the city was restored to the jurisdiction of the Prophet.

Hitherto Muhámmad had passed the night, by turns, in the chamber of each of his wives, but finding his health grow worse he requested their consent to his remaining in the apartment of one of them, to which they all agreed, and he accordingly installed himself in that of Âïshah. There on a certain day he called his relatives and friends together, and said to each of them: "The time of our separation is at hand. Be faithful to God, to whom I commend you." In a moment all eyes were filled with tears. Then, after giving instructions about his burial, he added: "Peace be upon all you who hear me, upon my absent companions, and upon all who shall follow my religion in the ages to come." On one of his last visits to the mosque he was supported by his cousins Âly and Fádhl-ibn-Âbbâs. Seating himself in the pulpit, after having offered up praise to God, he addressed the audience in these words: "Muslims, if I have smitten any of you, here is my back, and let him smite me in return. If I have wounded any man's reputation, let him return me insult for insult. If I have defrauded any one of his goods, let him take from me what is his due; everything that I possess is at his disposal. Let him not dread exciting my hatred, for hatred is not in my nature." He terminated his discourse by recommending the *Ansârs*, "the men who had given an asylum to the fugitive Prophet, and promoted the success of his cause," to the Muslims of Mecca. Shortly after, feeling unable to leave his room to preside at prayer in the mosque, which communicated with his house through a door, he directed that Abu-Bakr should take his place, and he accordingly discharged the functions of Imâm, or Antistes, for three days. During that time Muhámmad grew sensibly weaker, was seized with fainting fits, and sometimes with lightheadedness. Nevertheless, between these attacks he continued to receive his intimate friends and to give them instructions. On the last of these occasions he recommended them to expel all from Arabia who did not profess al-Islâm, to treat all new proselytes with honour, and to be exact in fulfilling the duty of prayer. On a prior occasion he suddenly exclaimed: "Bring me pen and ink, for I wish to write a book which will always preserve you from going astray." "The Prophet is delirious," remarked Ómar; "have we not already the Kurân, the book of God?" On Monday the 12th of Rabîáu-'l-Áwwal, (8th June, A.D. 632,) while Abu-Bakr was conducting the service in the mosque, Muhámmad issued from the door of his house, which communicated therewith, supported by his two cousins, and with a bandage round his head. His unexpected appearance caused no small commotion. Abu-Bakr ceased reciting the prayer, but a gesture from the Prophet directed him to proceed. At the conclusion Muhámmad rose up, and said: "Muslims, rude assaults await you, which will come upon you like stormy clouds. Let the Kurân be ever your guide. Do that which it prescribes or allows; eschew that which it prohibits." He spoke with a firm and sonorous voice, so much so that Abu-Bakr said: "Apostle of God, thanks to heaven you are better to-day. May I go and see Bint-Khârijah?" (the name of a woman of al-Madînah whom Abu-Bakr had married, and who resided at Sunh, in the environs, with her relatives of the Bánu-Hârith.") "Go," said Muhámmad, who then returned to his apartments, where he remained alone with Âïshah. The effort which he had made utterly prostrated him. He lay on his bed, and remained listless for several hours, after which he uttered, in broken sentences: "My God! . . . yes . . . with the companion from on high," (Gabriel.) At this moment Âïshah, who had the head of the sick man on her lap, felt that he was growing heavy. She looked at his eyes, which were dim and fixed. The Prophet was dead.

Intelligence of this event was no sooner published than a crowd of people appeared before the door of Muhámmad's house, exclaiming: "How can our Apostle be dead, he who was to be our witness on the day of judgment?" "No," said Ómar, "he is not dead; he has gone to visit his Lord, as Moses aforetime did, when, after an absence of forty days, he reappeared to his people. Muhámmad will be restored to us. Those are false Muslims, traitors, who say that he is dead. Let us cut them to pieces." Abu-Bakr, having been apprised of the Prophet's decease, hastened back from Sunh, and arrived on the scene at this juncture. Entering the apartment where the corpse lay, he raised the mantle which covered it, with tears in his eyes kissed its cold cheeks, and then laid his hand upon the heart which had ceased to beat, saying: "Oh, thou who wast dearer to me than the authors of my existence, thou art no more; thou hast tasted death, as God hath appointed unto thee!" Then presenting himself to the crowd, whom Ómar was still vehemently addressing, he expostulated with them thus: "Muslims, if you adore Muhámmad, know that Muhámmad is dead. If you adore God, God is alive, and cannot die. Do you forget that passage in the Kurân—'Muhámmad is no more than an apostle; other apostles have already passed away before him;' or that other verse—'Thou shalt truly die, O Muhámmad, and they also shall die.'" (Sûr. iii. 138; xxxix. 31.) All doubts were set at rest by these quotations, and even Ómar acknowledged his error. But a grave question now arose respecting a *Khalifah*, or Successor to Muhám-

mad. It was of the utmost importance that a selection should be made at once, in order to prevent the formation of cabals. Aly, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, who had some legitimate claims to the office, fearing that his youth might be adduced as a bar thereto, retired into the apartment of his wife, Fâtimah, together with a few of the Mecca emigrants. With this exception, all the *Muhâjirûn* of Mecca grouped themselves around Abu-Bakr, prepared to give him their suffrages. Meanwhile a large number of the principal *Ansârs* were holding a consultation at the place called *as-Sakifah*, at which it was decided to elect Saâd-ibn-Ubáidah, of the Bánu-Kházraj. Hearing of this, Abu-Bakr forthwith proceeded thither, accompanied by Omar, Abu-Ubáidah, and a few of the *Muhâjirûn*, and, taking their seats in the assembly, listened to an orator who was expatiating on the claims of the *Ansârs* to have a successor to Muhámmad chosen from among them. Omar made as though he would reply to this speech, but Abu-Bakr bade him to be silent, and himself spoke thus: "Ansârs, the services which you have rendered to Islâm are unquestionable, and cannot be sufficiently extolled. But we belong to the family of the Prophet, and the superior rank and nobility of the al-Kuráish has always been recognized by the Arabs, and the nation can only be united together under the authority of one of that tribe." Then, taking the hand of Omar and Abu-Ubáidah, he added: "I present to you two persons; select which you please. Both are deserving of the supreme power." "Not so," replied Omar and Abu-Ubáidah; "the supreme power should belong to you—you, the particular friend of the Prophet, and his companion in the cave of Mount Thûr. He himself indicated you as his successor by appointing you to represent him at prayers, when he saw that his end was drawing near." This proposition met with some demur from the opposite party; nevertheless Omar, taking advantage of the favourable impression made by Bashîr, one of the principal *Ansârs*, who was the first to acknowledge the claims of the al-Kuráish, he exclaimed to Abu-Bakr: "Stretch out your hand." Whereupon, seizing it, he declared in a loud voice that he recognized him as the sovereign of the nation, and swore allegiance to him. His example was forthwith followed by all present, who pressed upon Abu-Bakr to do homage to him. This incident took place on Monday, the day of Muhámmad's death. Next day all the population of al-Madînah was convened in a general assembly to inaugurate the new chief. Abu-Bakr having seated himself in the pulpit, Omar addressed them as follows: "Muslims, yesterday I made a foolish speech, and one opposed to the text of the sacred book. I believed that the Apostle of God was to survive us all; but it has pleased God to remove him from us for ever. Nevertheless, the Kurân remains with us. That book which God gave to His Prophet as a guide will keep us in the right way, if we obey its precepts. To-day God appoints as our head the best among us, the friend of Muhámmad, his companion in the cave. Come forward, then, take the hand of Abu-Bakr, and swear solemnly to be faithful to him." All present responded to this appeal with the exception, so it is said, of Aly, who kept himself closeted in Aïshah's house with some other of the descendants of Hâshim. Thereupon, as some authors state, Omar, accompanied by a body of the Ansârs and Muhâjirûn, went and pressed him to take part in the proceedings of the day, threatening, in the event of his refusal, to set his house on fire. The same authorities state that he yielded, and did homage to Abu-Bakr. Others, however, maintain that he did not recognize him until the death of his wife Fâtimah, which took place six months after the death of her father. Abu-Bakr then addressed the assembly as follows: "I have now been entrusted with the charge of ruling over you. I am by no means the best among you, and I have need of your counsel and support. If I do well, help me; if ill, put me right. To declare the truth to the depositary of the supreme power is an act of loyalty and devotion; to conceal it from him is treason. Before me the feeble and the strong shall be alike, and I will dispense impartial justice to all. Obey me while I continue to obey God and His Prophet. Should I ever cast aside the laws of God and of His Prophet I shall cease to have any claim on your obedience."

These proceedings terminated, preparations were made for the burial of Muhámmad, at which ceremony his uncle Abbâs presided. The body having been placed under a curtained canopy, the different members of the Hâshim family seated themselves around it, while Abbâs, with his two sons Fádhl and Kútham, together with Muhámmad's two liberated slaves Usâmah and Shukrân, entering it, proceeded to perform the funeral ablution of the corpse. Out of respect for the Prophet they did not uncover his body, but washed it with their hands under the tunic. They then anointed it with perfumes, covered it with spices, and enveloped it in three garments of rich stuffs of Suhâr and al-Yáman. Some dispute having arisen between the al-Kuráish and the Ansârs about the place of sepulture, Abu-Bakr silenced it by affirming his having heard Muhámmad say that a prophet should be buried on the spot where he died. A grave was accordingly dug in the ground within the apartment of Aïshah, and under the bed on which the Prophet had died. These last rites were performed by Aly and the two sons of Abbâs, and the obsequies were terminated at midnight The form of prayer used on the occasion was based on this sentence in the Kurân: "Verily, God and His angels bless the Prophet. O true believers, do ye also bless him and salute him with a reverential salutation." (Sûr. xxxiii. 56.) Arab historians differ about the age of Muhámmad at the period of his death. M. Caussin de Perceval, who has collated the different authorities on the subject, judges that he was sixty-three lunar years and eight months, or a little above sixty-one solar years and nine months old.

The foregoing memoir, derived from acknowledged trustworthy sources, affords materials for gauging the private and public character of Muhámmad from the al-Híjrah to the time of his death. Nevertheless, the difficulty of forming a correct opinion on the subject is allowedly great. If, on the one hand, there is much in this phase of the Prophet's career which instinctively calls forth our reprobation, on the other there are passages therein which command our respect

and admiration; and unless both are candidly weighed, allowance being made for natural temperament and the circumstances of the time, our estimate will be imperfect and distorted. Much censure has been cast upon Muhámmad for the freebooting expeditions which he initiated on the establishment of his power at al-Madînah, the blood that was frequently shed on those forays, the questionable stratagems which were employed, and the occasional assassinations which were perpetrated with his sanction, and sometimes by his express orders. Judged by the standard of the Gospel these acts were undoubtedly immoral and wicked; but counterparts of them occur in the lives of some of the best among the Judges and Kings of Israel. (See 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 8–12; Judges iii. 15–26; iv. 18–21.) If it be argued that these victims were the enemies of Israel, and as such deserved their fate, it should be borne in mind, also, that Muhámmad undoubtedly regarded all those upon whom he made war as the enemies of God and His religion, whom the Lord had delivered into his hand. No such plea however can be adduced to palliate the murder, by his order, of the three Jews, Kaáb-ibun-'l-Ashraf, Sullâm ibn-Ábdu-'l-Hukáik, and Elyonsáir, as also of Khâlid-ibn-Sufyân. These men, it is true, had either satirized or displayed hostility to him personally. Nevertheless, their assassination, in order to satiate private enmity and revenge, was an outrage upon humanity. The impartial narrative of our own Scriptures records an equally deplorable episode in the life of David. (See 2 Sam. xvi. 9–11; xix. 21–23; 1 Kings ii. 8, 9.)

Intolerance is another grave charge brought against Muhámmad. It is unquestionable that his conduct in this respect underwent a great change when he found himself firmly established at al-Madînah. At Mecca he had distinctly forbidden the use of force to compel men to believe: "If thy Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed together. What! wilt thou compel men to believe?" (Sûr. x. 99.) And a similar prohibition, which was probably published before the Prophet found himself secure at al-Madînah, occurs in Sûr. ii. 257: "Let there be no compulsion in religion. Now is the right way made distinct from error." These injunctions are in opposition to others of a later date which breathe a different spirit, albeit in well-nigh every instance toned down by considerations of policy or clemency: "And fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but act not aggressively; God loveth not the aggressor. And kill them wherever ye find them, and eject them from whatever place they have ejected you." (Sûr. ii. 186–7.) "O Prophet, stir up the faithful to fight. Twenty of you who stand firm shall vanquish two hundred; and if there be a hundred of you, they shall vanquish a thousand infidels." (Sûr. viii. 66.) "When ye encounter the infidels strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them, and [of the rest] make fast the fetters. And afterwards let there be either free dismissals or ransomings, until the war hath laid down its burdens." (Sûr. xlvii. 4, 5.) On the supposition that Muhámmad was fully imbued with the idea of his having been divinely chosen to abolish paganism and to establish the worship of the true God, these injunctions pale before those recorded to have been given to the Judges of Israel for a similar object, to exterminate the heathen Midianites, Amalekites, and Canaanites. (See Deut. xx. 16–18; xxv. 17–19; Numb. xxxiii. 55, 56; 1 Sam. xv. 3, 33.) Muhámmad, on the contrary, on hearing that Khâlid-bin-Walîd, in command of a cavalry detachment, had, without provocation, attacked the pagan al-Jadhîmah, killing a number of them, exclaimed in horror, "My God! I am innocent of what Khâlid has done," and forthwith despatched Ály with a large sum of money to the remainder of the tribe, as an indemnity for the outrage. He also granted protection, together with the privilege of professing their religion, to Jews and Christians who submitted to him, on condition of their paying tribute. And, lastly, the reader is referred back to the Prophet's triumphant entry into Mecca as a signal instance of his forbearance and toleration. As regards the future state of unbelievers in another world, Muhámmad dooms them to be "broiled in hell fire" for ever,—a fearful denunciation not peculiar to his creed. Further, that intolerance in a general sense, as restricting investigation within the hard-and-fast lines of dogma, is not absolutely held to be of the Essence of Islâm is proved by the fact that orthodox Muslims in every age have, without forfeiting their orthodoxy, discussed all manner of questions relating to science in general as well as of theology.

With respect to the private as distinct from the public character of Muhámmad, from the time of his settlement at al-Madînah, it does not appear to have deteriorated, except in one particular, from what it had been prior to the flight from Mecca. He was still frugal in his habits, generous and liberal, faithful to his associates, treasured up the loving memory of absent and departed friends, and awaited his last summons with fortitude and submission. That he entertained an excessive passion for women, was lustful if you will, cannot be denied; but several of the old Testament sovereigns allowed themselves a similar licence in that respect. (See 2 Sam. v. 3; 1 Chron. iii. 1–9; xiv. 3; 1 Kings xi. 3; 2 Chron. xi. 21.) It is not so much his polygamy, considering all the circumstances of the case, which justly lays Muhámmad open to reproach, but his having deliberately infringed one of his own alleged divine revelations, which restricted the number of wives to "four and no more," (Sûr. iv. 3;) also, for having in the first instance dallied with Záinab, the wife of his freedman and adopted son Zaid-ibn-Hârithah, who complacently divorced her in order that she might espouse the Prophet. In this case, moreover, as has already been related, he adduced the authority of God as sanctioning on his behoof first, and thenceforth in the behoof of all Muslims, the marriage of a man with the divorced wife of his adopted son, which up to that time had been considered incestuous. Whatever apology may be adduced for Muhámmad in this matter of polygamy, there is no valid plea to justify his improbity and impiety in the case of Záinab.

The *al*-KURÂN, as containing the alleged divine revelations made to Muhámmad, and as constituting the *lex scripta* of Islâm, is the next point to be considered. The Kurân, in a general

way, may be regarded as the Bible of the Muslims, who claim for its dicta an authority equal to that claimed by Christians for the Old and New Testament Scriptures. It embodies the utterances of the Arabian Prophet on all subjects religious and moral, administrative and judicial, political and diplomatic, from the outset to the close of his career, together with a complete code of laws for regulating marriage, divorce, guardianship of orphans, bargains, wills, evidence, usury, and the intercourse of private and domestic life as they were dictated by him to his secretaries, and by them committed to writing on palm-leaves, the shoulder-blades of sheep, and other tablets. These, it appears, were thrown pell-mell into chests, where they remained till the reign of Abu-Bakr, the immediate successor of Muhámmad, who during the first year of his Khalîfate entrusted Zaid-ibn-Hârithah, an *Ansâr*, and one of the amanuenses of the Prophet, with the task of collecting them together, which he did, as well from "the breasts of men" as from the aforenamed materials, meaning thereby that he availed himself of the memories of those who had committed parts of the Prophet's utterances to memory. (Tradition states that one of the contemporary Muslims had learnt as many as seventy chapters by heart.) Zaid's copy continued to be the standard text during the Khalîfate of Abu-Bakr, who committed it to the keeping of Háfsah, one of Muhámmad's widows. Certain disputes having arisen regarding this text, owing mainly to the variations of dialect and punctuation occurring therein, Omar, the successor of Abu-Bakr, in the tenth year of his Khalîfate, determined to establish a text which should be the sole standard, and delegated to Zaid, with whom he associated several eminent Arab scholars of the al-Kuráish, the task of its redaction. On its completion, copies were forwarded to the principal stations of the empire, and all previously existing copies were committed to the flames. This is the text now in general use among Muslims, and there is every reason to believe it to be a faithful rescript of the original fragmentary collection, amended only in its dialectical variations, and made conformable to the purer Arabic of the al-Kuráish, in which the contents of the Kurân were announced by Muhámmad. The absence of any adequate motive for tampering with the original text is a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the copy. In addition to which it is reasonable to suppose that the denunciation against those "who invent a lie concerning God,"—a threat repeated eleven times in the Kurân,—taken together with the reverence of the early Muslims for what they considered the Word of God, acted as a powerful check upon any alteration of the sacred text.

As regards the actual order of the Kurân the Rev. J. M. Rodwell justly remarks that "Zaid and his coadjutors do not appear to have arranged the materials which came into their hands upon any system more definite than that of placing the longest and best known *Sûras* [chapters] first, immediately after the al-*Fâtihah*, or Opening chapter, although this rule, artless and unscientific as it is, has not been adhered to with strictness. Anything approaching to a chronological arrangement was entirely lost sight of. Late Medina Suras are often placed before early Meccan Suras; the short Suras at the end of the Koran are its earliest portions; while verses of Meccan origin are to be found embedded in Medinah Suras, and verses promulgated at Medina scattered up and down Meccan Suras . . The text, therefore, as hitherto arranged, necessarily assumes the form of a most unreadable and incongruous patchwork, and conveys no idea whatever of the development and growth of any plan in the mind of the founder of Islâm." In a lesser degree, the same absence of any reference to the occasions which call them forth prevents a full appreciation of many of the Psalms. Mr. Rodwell, in his edition of the Kurân, has done much towards throwing light upon the chronological order of the Sûrahs, a task of no small difficulty, as the following extract, quoted by Weil in his *Mohammed der Prophet*, p. 263, from the Imâm-abu-'l-Kâsim-Hásan-ibnu-Muhámmad, abundantly shews:—"Whosoever will give his opinion respecting the Book of God must know how the Sûras appeared in succession in Mecca as well as in al-Madînah, and be acquainted with those respecting which the learned disagree. He must know what has been revealed twice; what appeared in al-Madînah, and what was made known at Júhfah, Jerusalem, at-Tâîf, and at Hudhaibíyyah. He must be able to discover which Mecca verses are mixed up with al-Madînah Sûras, and which al-Madînah verses were confounded with Mecca Sûras. He must be likewise acquainted with those which were carried from Mecca to al-Madînah, and from al-Madînah to Mecca and Abyssinia. Finally, he must know the *an-Nâsikh* and the *al-Mansûkh*." These technical terms, signifying the Abrogating and the Abrogated, have given rise to much discussion among Muslim canonists, some maintaining that they apply to passages of the Kurân which were cancelled by subsequent revelations, others that they refer to the laws of God, such as those previously possessed by the Jews, which were altered by later and better ordinances divinely made known to Muhámmad, in the same manner that many of the Old Testament ordinances are held to have been superseded by the new and better covenant of the Gospel. The principal texts in dispute are these:—"And when we change one verse for another,—and God knoweth best what He revealeth,—they say: Thou art only a fabricator, (Sûr. xvi. 103;) and, "Whatever verse We cancel, or cause thee to forget, We bring a better or its like. Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things?" (Sûr. ii. 100.) On which Sir William Muir remarks: "Though the convenient doctrine of abrogation is acknowleged by the Corân, yet the Mussulman doctors endeavour as far as possible to explain away such contradictions. Still they are obliged to allow that the Corân contains no fewer than 225 verses cancelled by later ones." The Syed Ahmed Khân, in his *Life of Mohammed*, strongly contests this view of the *an-Nâsikh* and *al-Mansûkh*, and gives the following as the correct drift of those terms:—"There are to be found in the Koran, and in the sayings of the Prophet, commandments relating to one and the same matter, but under different circumstances; and when one of those circumstances no longer remained, the commandment relating thereto does not remain in force, while the commandment which is intended to meet the altered

circumstance then comes into operation, the former commandment being called *Mansookh*, and the one subsequent to it *Násikh*. This, however, by no means implies that the former commandment was in any way defective, but that the circumstance to which it is applicable has ceased to exist, and consequently that the commandment itself ceases to be in force, but that, should the same circumstance again present itself, the same commandment will again come into operation, and that the one which was subsequent to it will then, in its turn, cease." As an instance in point the same author adduces the following:—"So long as the true believers remained subject to the idolaters at Mecca, they were commanded to bear patiently all the wrongs which their rulers inflicted upon them; but as soon as the Moslems had left the dominions of the idolaters they were allowed to fight against the unbelievers at Mecca." But, plausible as the Syed's defence is, it does not alter the fact, already pointed out, that Muhámmad for his own private and voluptuous purposes suspended prior by subsequent alleged divine revelations. "This," however, as Sir William Muir justly remarks, "does not in any measure affect the value of the Corân as an exponent of Mahomet's opinions, or at least of the opinions which he finally professed to hold; since what we now have, though possibly corrected and modified by himself, is still *his own*."

With regard to the contents of the 114 *Sûrahs* and 6666 verses into which the Kurân is divided, apart from those portions which are undoubtedly borrowed either from Jewish or Christian sources, frequent outbursts of sublime poetic inspiration on the majesty of God, His creation and providence, with occasional references to Arab history, the remainder is made up of what Mr. Bosworth Smith calls "political bulletins, or of personal apologies, rather than of messages direct from God;" or, as Sir William Muir says, of "general orders, in which victories are announced, success promised, actions recounted, failure explained, bravery applauded, cowardice or disobedience chided, military or political movements directed, and all this as an immediate communication from the Deity." The assertion, therefore, that there is nothing original in the Kurân is not wide of the truth. It teems, indeed, with ideas and even phraseology borrowed from the oral law of the Jews, with whom Muhámmad was in constant intercourse, and whose religious views must have been well known throughout Arabia. The Rev. J. Muhleisen-Arnold, in his *Islam and Christianity*, making use of the prize essay of the Rabbi Abraham Geiger, in answer to the thesis, *Inquiratur in fontes Alcorani seu legis Muhammedicae eos qui ex Judaismo derivandi sunt*, gives a long list of the plagiarisms from the Talmud contained in the Kurân. The seven heavens, seven earths, and seven hells of the former, its intermediate place between heaven and hell, many of its ceremonial and moral precepts, its demonology, its legendary and fabulous tales about Adam, Cain and Abel, Noah, Nimrod, Joseph, Jacob, Moses, Saul, David, and Jonathan are all reproduced in the Kurân as Divine revelations made to the Arabian Prophet, who whenever he steps beyond his copy falls into signal blunders, as when he makes Jacob the son of Abraham, (Sûr. vi. 84; xxix. 26, *et aliter*,) and Haman and Korah officers of Pharaoh. (Sûr. xxviii. 38, 76; xl. 25.) As regards the latter, Jewish tradition makes him the treasurer of Pharaoh. On this subject Mr. Rodwell remarks: "There can be no doubt from the constant identity between the Talmudic perversions of Scripture histories and Rabbinic moral precepts that the Rabbins of the Hejaz communicated these legends to Muhammad. And it should be remembered that the Talmud was completed a century previous to the era of Muhammad, and cannot fail to have extensively influenced the religious creed of all the Jews of the Arabian peninsula."

It is equally obvious that, in the compilation of the Kurân, Muhámmad drew from Christian sources. It is uncertain whether any Arabic translation of the New Testament existed at that period, although a few sentences are more or less distinctly quoted therefrom. But there were many Christians among the Arab tribes settled in the neighbourhood of the al-Hijâz; and, besides, Muhámmad's wife Khadîjah, and her cousin Wárakah, an intimate friend of the Prophet, are said to have been well versed in the books of the Jews and Christians. Moreover, Muhámmad himself had made one or two trips to Bustra, where he doubtless had opportunities of gaining some acquaintance with the doctrines held by the Oriental Christians at that period, and with their rites and ceremonies. Mr. Rodwell holds it to be "quite clear that Muhammad borrowed in several points from the doctrines of the Ebionites, Essenes, and Sabeites. Epiphanius (*Haer.* x.) describes the notions of the Ebionites of Nabathaea, Moabites, and Esscenites, with regard to Adam and Jesus almost in the very words of Sûr. iii. 52. He tells us that they observed circumcision, were opposed to celibacy, forbade turning to the sunrise, but enjoined Jerusalem as their *Keblah* (as Muhammad did during twelve years), that they prescribe, as do the Sabeites, washings very similar to those enjoined in the Koran, and allowed oaths (by certain external objects, as clouds, signs of the Zodiac, oil, the winds, &c.) which we find adopted in the Koran. These points of contact with Islâm, knowing as we do Muhammad's eclecticism, can hardly be accidental." It should also be borne in mind that at the outset of his career the Prophet was taunted with being prompted by others, "who dictated to him morning and evening." (Sûr. xxv. 6.) Further, there is abundant evidence in the Kurân that, even if such apocryphal works as the *Protevang. Jacobi*, the *Evang. de Nativitate Mariae*, and the *Hist. de Nativ. Mariae et de Infantiâ Salvatoris*, were not then in existence, the fables contained therein respecting the blessed Virgin, the birth of Christ, His infancy and childhood, were nevertheless afloat at the time, and were adopted by the compiler, as were also the notions of the Cerinthians and Carpocratians respecting another victim having been sacrificed in Christ's stead. That Muhámmad recast all the information which he derived through these extraneous channels, and reduced them all to a uniform and chaste diction, is undeniable, and the masterly manner in which this has been done is a signal proof that he was not the illiterate man he is represented to have been by

his followers, who in general, as has already been stated, deny that the Kurân was composed by the Prophet, affirming that the first transcript thereof, on a preserved tablet, has existed from eternity by the throne of God, from whence a copy was sent down, by the ministry of Gabriel, to the lowest heaven during the *Láilatu-'l-Kadr*, the Night of Power, (Sûr. xcvii.,) and from thence revealed by the same angel to Muhámmad in parcels, as the exigency of the case required. Admitted that the diction of the Kurân is faultless, that it contains passages of exquisite sublimity, albeit often marred by unconsonant refrains apparently introduced for the sake of rhythm, nevertheless no one cognizant of the obvious sources from whence its constituent parts were mainly derived can for a moment believe it to have been penned under the immediate inspiration of God. Yet the al-Kurân is regarded by Muslims as the standing miracle of Islâm, and is appealed to as such by Muhámmad himself, who defies men and genii to produce a book like it. (Sûr. ii. 21.)

The foregoing considerations dispose of two claims set up by the Kurân, first, that it is the latest revelation of God's will, and that its author was the Seal of the Prophets; secondly, the alleged inspiration of Muhámmad. That the religion inculcated by the New Testament is, in every respect, immeasurably superior to that of the Kurân must be patent to every intelligent and impartial mind, and hence, to suppose that the Almighty, in His providence towards mankind, revealed for their guidance what was less perfect for that which was perfect is to charge Him with more than human weakness, as, on the other hand, it would be impious to ascribe to the Omniscient the authorship of the fables and anachronisms contained in the Kurân. This, in fact, is the damning sin of Muhámmad, that he made himself superior not only to the Prophets of old but to Christ. If he verily believed himself to be such, he was self-deceived; if otherwise, he was an arrant impostor.

Before proceeding to discuss the peculiar dogmas and precepts of Islâm, it will not be out of place to point out what were Muhámmad's opinions respecting the *Taurât* and *Injil* (in which two terms he evidently included all the sacred books of the Christians), as also what his notions were of Christianity. Bearing in mind how superficial his knowledge must have been on the subject, it is surprising that he should have formed so high a conception of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. At the outset of his prophetical career, and until the development of his own teaching necessitated their tacit supersession by the Kurân, he always described the latter as a book which simply attested the truth of preceding Divine revelations. (Sûr. v. 52.) Even after that period he never spoke of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures except in terms of pious reverence, and in the same Sûrah, 48–51, he enjoins upon Jews and Christians the solemn duty of obedience to the Law and the Gospel. Further, the charge made by some modern Muslims that the text of the original Christian Scriptures has been tampered with is not supported by the authority of the Kurân. It is deeply to be regretted that Muhámmad's sources of information respecting Christianity were so untrustworthy and corrupt. That they were mainly apocryphal and legendary is beyond doubt; and it is reasonable to suppose that his misconceptions of the Trinity and of the Divine character of Christ are primarily referrible to the erroneous and materialistic views on those cardinal doctrines which prevailed at that time among the Christians of Arabia. What those views were has already been pointed out, and the candid reader must confess that with such distortions of solemn truths before him, he himself the while being fully imbued with the doctrine of the unity of God, it is not surprising that he was led astray. The following are his principal utterances on the subject of the Trinity:—"O ye people of the Book! overstep not the boundaries of your religion; and of God speak only the truth. The Messiah Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and His Word which He conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Himself. Believe therefore in God and His apostles, and say not Three [that there is a Trinity]. Forbear, it will be better for you. God is only one God. Far be it from His glory that He should have a son!" (Sur. iv. 169.) "Infidels now are they who say: God is the Messiah, son of Mary; for the Messiah said: O children of Israel! worship God, my Lord and your Lord. Whoever shall join other gods with God, God shall forbid him paradise, and his abode shall be the fire." (Sûr. v. 76.) "Sole maker of the heaven and the earth! how, when He hath no consort should He have a son." (Sûr. vi. 101.) To which may be added Sûr. cxii., the shortest chapter of the Kurân and by Muslims regarded as containing the essence of the whole book:—"Say, God is one; God the Eternal; He begetteth not, neither is He begotten; neither is there any one like Him." It is clear from these passages that Muhámmad misjudged the Christians as blasphemously attributing human procreation to God. In all these instances, and in others which might be cited, he charges them with believing Christ to be the *Wálad* of God, that is, the son of God by natural procreation. Now, neither in any of the existing Arabic translations of the New Testament, nor among Arabic-speaking Christians of the present day, is that term applied to our blessed Lord. Always and everywhere He is styled *Ibnu-'lláh*, (from the root *bána* to build), that is, the Son of God's building. The same distinction between the two Arab roots exists in the Hebrew, albeit wanting in the Greek and in our own language. It is not surprising, considering his views on this subject, that Muhámmad never applies the epithet of "Father" to God; but it is difficult to divine, seeing that in Sûr. ix. 30 he represents the Christians as using the correct expression Ibnu-'lláh, why he himself should persistently adopt the detracting term *Wálad* to the Sonship of Christ, whose miraculous birth, however, of the Virgin Mary is distinctly asserted by him:—[Remember] "when the angel said, O Mary! Verily God announceth to thee the Word from Him; His name shall be Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, illustrious in this world and the next, and one of those who have access to God. . . . She said: How, O my Lord, shall I have a son when no man hath touched me? He said, Thus: God will create

what He will." (Sûr. iii. 40, 42.) And, again: "Mary, the daughter of Imrân [a genealogical misnomer], who kept her maidenhood, and into whose womb We breathed of Our Spirit." (Sûr. lxvi. 12.) Nothing can exceed the respect and reverence expressed in the Kurân for the Mother of our Lord.

As to the Persons constituting the Christian Trinity Muhámmad's notions were very confused and indistinct. It is generally supposed that in the passage where God is made to say, "O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind: Take me and my mother as two gods, beside God?" (Sûr. v. 116,) he reckoned the Virgin Mary as the second Person. It is more likely, however, that it refers to the almost divine honours which then, as now, were paid to the Virgin by the so-called Orthodox churches in the East, and to the title of *Θεοτόκος*, Mother of God, by which the mother of our Lord is still designated among them. The third Person in the alleged Christian Tritheism, according to Muhámmad, who does not appear to have had any idea of the place held by the Spirit of God in our theology, is Christ Himself:—"The Christians say, the Messiah is the son [*ibn*] of God. Such is the saying in their mouths; a saying resembling that of the infidels of old. God do battle with them. How are they misguided. They take their teachers, and their monks, and the Messiah, the son of Mary, for Lords [Rabbis: the word *Rabbi*, in that sense, is only applied in Arabic to the Deity] besides God, though bidden to worship God only." (Sûr. ix. 30, 31.) Christ is also called "a spirit proceeding from Himself," God, (Sûr. iv. 169,) and is further stated to have been strengthened with the Holy Spirit, (Sûr. ii. 81, 254;) but by the Holy Spirit in these passages the angel Gabriel is intended, as has already been pointed out. Apart, however, from His being a Divine person, Muhámmad attributes the highest rank among men to Christ, and invests Him with superior holiness. Besides the titles above applied to Him, he is styled a *Nábi*, or prophet, (Sûr. xix. 31,) and a *Rasûl*, Apostle of God, (Sûr. iv. 169;) is commissioned to teach the Gospel, that they who have received it might judge according to what God hath revealed, "and whosoever judgeth not according to what God hath sent down—such are the perverse." (Sûr. v. 51.) He is empowered by God to give sight to the blind, to heal the leper, to raise the dead, and also to prophesy, (Sûr. iii. 43,) and sends two of His apostles to a certain city (Antioch) as messengers from God. (Sûr. xxxvi. 12, 15.) His crucifixion is denied:—"They [the Jews] said: Verily we have slain the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, the Apostle of God. Yet, they slew him not, but what was made to appear as a similitude [of him]. . . . They did not really slay Him, but God took him to Himself." (Sûr. iv. 156.) Although Muhámmad believed the Saviour to be mortal, making Him to say while yet in His cradle:—"The peace of God was on me the day I was born, and will be on the day that I shall die, and the day I shall be raised to life." (Sûr. xix. 34;) yet His having died is not distinctly asserted. Nevertheless, He is to reappear on earth to be "a sign of the [last] hour," (Sûr. xliii. 61,) when, according to Muslim theologians, he is to kill Antichrist, to die, and to be raised again. In prospect of His future sepulture a place is reserved for His body near that of the Prophet, at al-Madînah. The disciples of Christ are mentioned five times in the Kurân as the *al-Hawáriyyûn*, or Pure Ones. The only reference to Baptism is contained in Sûr. ii. 132:—[We have been baptized] "with the baptism of God, and who is better to baptize than God?" but no allusion whatever is made to the Lord's Supper. The passage (Sûr. v. 112–115) about Christ being "able to send down a furnished table to us out of heaven" is held by Muslim commentators to refer to one of our Lord's miracles.

It will be seen from the foregoing analysis of Muhámmad's views how many points of contact there are between Christianity and Islâm. We find set forth in the Kurân a distinct admission of the inspiration of the Christian Scriptures, the perfections of God, the pre-eminence of Jesus, the purity and exalted rank of the Virgin Mother, the reverence due to the prophets and apostles, the resurrection of the quick and dead, and the judgment of the last day, together with a striking accord between the two creeds respecting the obligation and practice of some of the moral virtues.

We proceed, in the next place, to notice the dogmas and precepts of Islâm as they are set forth in the Kurân, which, theoretically, constitutes the Muslim Rule of Faith and Practice, from which there is no appeal. The term *al-Imân* is generally applied to the fundamental articles of religion, and *ad-Dîn* to its ordinances, albeit the two words are often interchangeable. *Al-Imân* consists of the following six points:—

I. *Belief in* ALLÁH, God, or more correctly The God, that is, the only God, (for the title is compounded of the definite article *al*, and *iláh*, a god,) is as much the cardinal dogma in Islâm as it is in Christianity, always excepting the idea of a Trinity in Unity. Muhámmad's conceptions of the attributes and perfections of the Deity, as they are contained in the Kurân, are clothed in language of transcendent power and beauty, and the duty of worshipping and serving Him is enforced by every consideration calculated to affect a rational being. The absence of the phrase "the love of God" in Muhámmad's theology has been regarded by some as a great defect in his system; but neither does it occur in the Hebrew Scriptures, and the genius of the Arabic language barely admits of it. Nevertheless love, as one of the attributes of the Deity, is of constant occurrence in the Kurân. God "loves the charitable," (Sûr. ii. 191,) "the pure," (*id.* 222;) "God loves you and will forgive your sins, for He is the Forgiving, the Merciful, (Sûr. iii. 29;) God "loves the patient," (*id.* 140,) "those who trust in Him," (*id.* 153,) "the just," (Sûr. v. 46,) "the devout," (Sûr. ix. 4,) &c., and in like manner He is said "not to love" the opposite of these virtues. So great is the reverence of many Muslims for the name of God that they will not tread upon a scrap of written or printed paper lest the sacred name of *Alláh* should be inscribed thereon. Others, however, equally devout, do not hesitate to use God's name, and that constantly, in a way which we should consider profane. As a development of the injunction, "Most excellent titles hath God; by these call ye on Him," (Sûr

vii. 179,) Muslims apply ninety-nine epithets to God, which they call *al-Asmâü-'l-Húsnah*, the Beautiful Names, and use a rosary of as many beads to aid them in the pious recitation of the same. A list of these titles is given by the Rev. T. P. Hughes in *his Notes of Muhammadanism.* It is to be regretted that in the transliterated Arabic names he has omitted the important article *al-*. The reader is also referred to the same useful manual for a translation, from Ockley, of a grand passage on the Muslim belief in God, as given in Pocock's *Specimen Historiae Arabum.*

II. Belief in the *Malâikah*, the Messengers or Angels, because they convey messages from God. The belief in the existence of angels is absolutely required by the Kurân, and whoever denies this article of Islâm is declared to be an enemy of God, and an infidel:—"Whoso is the enemy of Jibrîl [Gabriel],—for he it is who by God's permission hath caused it [the Kurân] to descend on thy heart confirming what was before him, and as a guide and glad tidings to the faithful,—whoso is an enemy of God, or of His angels, or apostles, or of Jibrîl, or Mîkâl [Michael, shall have God for his enemy]; for verily God is an enemy of the unbelievers." (Sûr. ii. 91–2.) Gabriel and Michael are the only two angels mentioned by name in the Kurân. Of the office of the former, which is referred to in the above passage, frequent mention has already been made. *Mikâl* (Michael) is only named in the same verse, nor is there any indication of his special office. Muslim commentators, however, regard him as the guardian-angel of the Jews, as in Dan. xii. 1, and to these archangels they add *Azrâil*, the Angel of Death, who separates men's souls from their bodies, and *Isrâfil*, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet of the resurrection. (Sale remarks that these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal *Gospel of Barnabas.*) Founding the theory on a solitary verse of the Kurân that each individual has a *Muákkibât*, or Succession of relieving angels, "before him, and behind him, who watch over him by God's behest," (Sûr. xliii. 12,) the same authorities teach that two guardian-angels attend on every man to observe and write down his actions. To these they add two others, *Nakír* and *Múnkar*, apparently of their own fancy, albeit tradition asserts that they were believed in by Muhámmad. The office of these is to visit every man in his grave, to make them sit up, and to examine them respecting their faith in the Prophet. Should the answers be satisfactory, the individual is allowed to sleep on in peace; if not, he will be struck with an iron sledge-hammer and made to cry out with pain. These cries will be heard by the animals near the grave, but not by men nor by the *Jinn* (Genii).

The Angels, according to the Kurân, are "created of fire," (Sur. vii. 11,) are of different forms, some "having two, others three, and others four pairs of wings," (Sûr. xxxv. 1;) their numbers are countless, and they "stand in ranks," worshipping God. (Sûr. xxxvi. 1.) As God's Messengers they take a prominent part in the Divine providence. God "chooseth messengers from among them, but He only is to be worshipped." (Sûr. xxii. 74, 76.) Angels appeared to Abraham and Lot, (Sûr. xi. 72; xv. 51,) watch in turns over believers, defend them, and receive their souls when they die. (Sûr. iii. 120; xiii. 12; vi. 61.) They also "implore forgiveness for" them, and "ask pardon for the dwellers on earth;" (Sûr. xl. 7; xlii. 3;) are charged with the summons of death, "causing men to die," (Sûr. xxxii. 11; xlvii. 29,) are the appointed "guardians of the [hell] fire," (Sûr. lxxiv. 30,) and will "bear up the throne" of God on the day of resurrection. (Sûr. lxix. 17.) No sanction is given in the foregoing passages to direct addresses to angels for their intercession with God.

The Devil, or Satan, is styled in the Kurân *Iblís* and *ash-Shaitân;* the first, supposing it to be derived from an Arabic etymon, signifies the Despairer, and the latter the Insolent or Rebellious one. Iblîs was originally an angel, but lost his high estate for refusing to join with the other angels in worshipping Adam on his creation, "being puffed up with pride." (Sûr. ii. 32.) Whereupon God said: "Get thee down hence; Paradise is no place for thy pride. Get thee gone, then; one of the despised shalt thou be. He [Iblîs] said: Respite me till the day when [men] shall be raised from the dead. He [God] said: One of the respited shalt thou be. He [Iblîs] said: Now for that Thou hast caused me to err, surely in Thy straight path will I lay wait for them. Then I will come upon them from before and behind, and from their right hand and their left, and Thou shalt not find the greater part of them to be thankful. He [God] said: Go forth from it, a scorned, a banished one. Whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you, one and all." (Sûr. vii. 12–17.) This story of Iblîs is repeated four times in the Kurân. It was the *ash-Shaitân* who beguiled Adam and Eve and caused them to lose Paradise; (Sûr. ii. 34; vii. 19–21;) he threatens the faithful with poverty, and instils into them base desires; (Sûr. ii. 271;) he "causeth them to wander wide of the truth," and "promises only to deceive;" (Sûr. iv. 63, 119;) "sows hatred and strife among believers by wine and games of hazard;" (Sûr. v. 93;) "suggests evil desires to prophets and apostles;" (Sûr. xxii. 51;) and is "man's betrayer." (Sûr. xxv. 31.) As in the New Testament, the word is also found in the plural in many passages of the Kurân, and the final destiny of all the devils is to be "gathered together on their knees round hell." (Sûr. xix. 69.)

Besides Angels, the Kurân teaches the existence of a class of beings called *Jinn* (Genii), who are also created of "subtile" fire, (Sûr. xv. 27; lv. 14;) but are strangely classified with men, as having, like them, had apostles sent to them. (Sûr. vi. 130.) A company of them listened to a recitation of the Kurân at Mecca, (Sûr. lxxii. 1;) some among them are "good," others "of another kind." (*Id.* 10.) Of the latter one is named under the title of *Afrit* (Malignant). "Many of the *Jinn* and men were created for hell," (Sûr. vii. 178,) and the Lord is made to say: "I will wholly fill hell with *Jinn* and men." (Sûr. xi. 120.) These fantastic notions are undoubtedly derived from Talmudic sources, although the Kurân, with equal certainty, claims for them the authority of divine revelation.

III. and IV. Belief in the Books, or Scrip-

tures, AND IN THE PROPHETS. The Kurân teaches that God, in divers ages of the world, has given revelations of His will to a succession of Prophets. These revelations, according to Muslim divines, number 104, of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idrîs (Enoch), ten to Abraham, and the remaining four, namely, the *Taurâh*, (the Old Testament Scriptures,) the *Zabûr*, (Psalms,) the *Injîl*, (Gospel,) and the *al-Kurân*, were delivered successively to Moses, David, Christ, and Muhámmad, who is "the Seal of the Prophets." (Sûr. xxxiii. 40.) Apparently through ignorance Muhámmad applies the words *at-Taurâh* and *al-Injîl* to the entire Old and New Testaments respectively, and undoubtedly seems to have thought that the whole of the former was given through Moses, and the latter through Christ. All but the last-named four books are supposed to have perished, but those four are acknowledged to be of Divine authority, and are frequently referred to as such. There are occasional charges of falsification of their scriptures made against Jews and Christians, more especially against the former, but these are very vaguely worded:—"O children of Israel! . . . clothe not the truth with falsehood, and hide not the truth when ye know it." (Sûr. ii. 48, 49.) Again, "There are illiterates among them who are unacquainted with the book, [the *Taurâh*,] but with lies only, and have but vain fancies. Woe to those who transcribe the book corruptly, and then say: This is from God." (*Id.* 73.) Muslim writers, however, are far less reserved, and hesitate not to charge Jews and Christians with falsifying their sacred books in order to suppress the testimony which they assert was to be found therein to the claims of their Prophet. Christians are specially accused of changing περικλυτός into παράκλητος, (John xvi. 7,) in order to set aside the prophecy alleged in the Kurân to have been uttered by Christ:—"And [remember] when Jesus, the son of Mary, said: O children of Israel! of a truth I am God's Apostle to you to confirm the law which was given before me, and to announce an apostle that should come after me, whose name shall be ÁHMAD. But when he [Áhmad] presented himself with clear proofs of his mission, they said: This is manifest sorcery." (Sûr. lxi. 6.) The argument here is, that περικλυτός, Very Famous, has the same signification as *Áhmad*, which is quite true, and that, consequently, the advent of the Arabian Prophet was predicted by Christ Himself. Now, seeing that the most ancient codices of the New Testament, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrian, dating from the middle of the 4th to that of the 5th century, read παράκλητος, it savours not a little of arrogance for Muslim writers, whose acquaintance with the Bible has always been very meagre and misty, to bring this charge of wilful corruption against Christians, for which, moreover, they are unable to adduce any proofs whatever. Besides, *Muhámmad* and *Áhmad* are not, as seems to be taken for granted, synonymous terms, since the former signifies the Praised, and the latter the More or the Most Praised, and the two names are as distinct at the present day among Muslims as any two names are among Christians. If Muhámmad, as is supposable, had heard of a παράκλητος having been promised by Christ, he may possibly have been told that it indicated some illustrious personage; but even then he studiously forbears applying the prophecy to his own person by using the name Áhmad instead of Muhámmad, which latter is that which he always applies to himself. (Sûr. iii. 138; xxxiii. 40; xlvii. 2; xlviii. 29.) Further, it is nothing short of an insult to common sense to propound the retrograde morality and religious doctrines taught by Muhámmad as, in any way, a fulfilment of the offices attributed to the παράκλητος in the New Testament. The reader is referred to the Seyd Ahmed Khan's *Essays on the Life of Mohammed* for an elaborate and ingenious dissertation on this subject, which the foregoing remarks are intended briefly to confute.

The terms *Nábi* (prophet), and *Rasûl* (apostle), are often applied indiscriminately in the Kurân to the patriarchs and prophets of old, but both are used of Moses, Jesus, and Muhámmad. Several of the Bible prophets are mentioned therein by name, and the title of *Nábi* is also given to Idrîs (Enoch), Hûd (Heber), Shuáib (Jethro), and also to others whose names are not found in the Old Testament. According to Muslim tradition there have been some tens of thousands of prophets sent by God into the world. The Kurân recognizes different grades in the prophetical and apostolical office:—"Some of the apostles We have endowed more highly than others." (Sûr. ii. 254.) "Higher gifts have We given to some of the prophets than others." (Sûr. xvii. 57.) That Muhámmad had no clear conception of the chronological order of the Scripture patriarchs and prophets is evident from his strange enumeration of them:—"Verily We have revealed to thee as We revealed to Noah and the Prophets after him, and as We revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Jacob, and the tribes, and Jesus, and Job, and Jonah, and Aaron, and Solomon; and to David We gave the Psalms." (Sûr. iv. 161.) More bizarre still:—"And We gave him [Abraham] Isaac, and Jacob, and guided both aright; and We had before guided Noah; and among the descendants [of Abraham] David and Solomon, and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron . . . and Zachariah, John, Jesus, and Elias: all were just persons. And Ishmael, and Elisha, and Jonah, and Lot." (Sûr. vi. 84–86.)

V. THE BELIEF IN A GENERAL RESURRECTION AND FINAL JUDGMENT.—Reference has been made above to the two angels, *Nakîr* and *Múnkar*, whose office it is to test the departed in their graves. On that examination would appear to depend their intermediate state between death and the Resurrection. Such is the meaning given by Muslim doctors to the word *Bárzakh* — literally, something which makes a separation between two things—in the following passage:—"When death overtaketh one [of the wicked] he saith: Lord, send me back again that I may do the good which I have left undone. By no means. These are the very words which he shall speak; but behind them shall be a *bárzakh*, until the day that they shall be raised again. And when the trumpet shall be sounded, the ties of kindred between them shall cease on that day, neither shall they ask

each other's help. They whose balances are heavy shall be blessed; but they whose balances shall be light—these are they who shall lose their souls, abiding in hell for ever." (Sûr. xxiii. 101–105.) This intermediate state is thus described under the name of *al-Adrâf*:—"And between them shall be a partition, and on [the wall of] the *al-Adrâf* shall be men who shall know all by their tokens, and they shall cry to the inmates of paradise: Peace be upon you! but they shall not [yet ?] enter it, although they long to do so. And when their eyes are turned to the inmates of the fire they shall say: O our Lord! place us not with the offending people. And they who are upon the *al-Adrâf* shall cry to those whom they know by their tokens: Your amassings and your pride have availed you nothing. Are these they on whom ye sware God would not bestow mercy? Enter ye [the believers are addressed from the *al-Adrâf*] into paradise, where no fear shall be upon you, neither shall ye be put to grief. And the inmates of the fire shall cry to the inmates of paradise: Pour upon us some water, or of the refreshments God hath given you. They shall say: Truly God hath forbidden both to unbelievers." (Sûr. vii. 44–48.) This comparatively simple exposition of Muhámmad's Hades has been embellished by his followers with fancies too wild and absurd to merit notice.

The *Yávmu-'l-Baáth*, the Day of the Resurrection, is described in the Kurân as one of awful grandeur: "The day when men shall be scattered like moths, and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool. Then as to him whose balances are heavy—his shall be a life that shall please him well. And as to him whose balances are light—his abode shall be the fire." (Sûr. ci. 3–6.) "When the sun shall be folded up; and when the stars shall fall; and when the mountains shall be moved; and when the she-camels shall be abandoned; and when the wild beasts shall be gathered together; and when the seas shall boil; and when the souls shall be paired [with their bodies ?]; and when the female child that has been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death; and when the leaves of the book shall be unrolled; and when the heavens shall be stripped away; and when hell shall be made to blaze; and when paradise shall be brought near, every soul shall know what it hath produced." (Sûr. lxxxi. 1–14.) The Resurrection will be the rehabilitation of the dead wrought by the power of God:—"He it is who sendeth forth the winds as the heralds of His compassion, until they bring up the laden clouds which We drive along to some dead land and send down water thereon, by which We cause an outgrowth of fruit. Thus will He bring forth the dead." (Sûr. vii. 55.) And again: "We send down the rain with its blessings, by which We cause gardens to spring forth, and the grain of harvest. . . . So shall be the resurrection." (Sûr. l. 9, 11.) Then every man's fate shall be determined according to his actions in this life: "On the day of the resurrection We will bring forth to him a book which shall be proffered to him wide open. Read thy book; there needeth none but thyself to make an account against thee this day." (Sûr. xvii. 14, 15.) Beasts as well as mankind and all other created intelligences shall stand before God on the great day of account: "No kind of beast is there on earth, nor fowl that flieth with its wings, but is a folk like you. Nothing have we passed over in the Book [of the divine decrees]. Then unto their Lord shall they be gathered." (Sûr. vi. 38.) As to the duration of the Day of Judgment, the Kurân in one passage states that its "length shall be a thousand years of such as ye reckon," (Sûr. xxxii. 4;) and in another "fifty thousand years." (Sûr. lxx. 4.) Respecting the locality of the Resurrection Muslim commentators differ widely. Muhámmad seems to teach that it will take place on this earth, which together with the heavens is to be changed on the occasion:—"On the day when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens also, men shall come forth unto God." (Sûr. xiv. 49.)

In addition to the signs of the coming of the Day of Judgment given in the preceding paragraph, Muslim writers enumerate twenty-five, whereby its approach may be known. The reader is referred for them to Mr. Hughes's *Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 87–89, as quoted from the *Mishkâtu-'l-Masâbih*.

Hell, the abode which shall be assigned to unbelievers, hypocrites, lovers of money, &c., on the Day of Judgment, is designated the Fire, *Jahánnam*, and *al-Hâwiyah*, the latter meaning the Abyss or Bottomless Pit. "It hath seven portals." (Sûr. xv. 44.) The torments to be endured there are described in appalling terms:—"For those who have disbelieved garments of fire shall be cut out; boiling water shall be poured upon their heads; all that is in their bowels and their skin shall be dissolved; and there are maces of iron for them." (Sûr. xxii. 20, 21.) "But the people on the left hand, oh! how wretched shall the people on the left hand be, amid pestilential winds, and in scalding water, and in the shadow of a black smoke, not cool, and horrid to behold." (Sûr. lvi. 40–43.) "Woe on that day to those who are charged with imposture! Begone to that hell which ye called a lie; begone to the shadows which lie in triple masses; but not against the flame shall they shade or help you. The sparks which it casteth out are like towers, like tawny camels." (Sûr. lxxvii. 28–33.) This abode, as regards unbelievers, shall be eternal:—"The lot of those who must dwell for ever in the fire, and shall have draughts of boiling water forced on them which will rend their bowels asunder." (Sûr. xlvii. 17.) On the other hand, it would seem that all men are to make trial of hell for a time, or are to learn what it is possibly on their way to paradise:—"No one is there of you who shall not go down to it; this is a settled decree with the Lord. Then will We deliver those who had the fear of God, and the wicked We will leave in it on their knees." (Sûr. xix. 72, 73.)

The final abode of believers is described in the Kurân under several names, such as the *Jánnatu-'n-Naîim*, the Garden of Delight, (Sûr. xxvi. 85;) the *Dâru-'s-Salâm*, the Dwelling of Peace, (vi. 127;) the *Jánnatu-Adan*, the Garden of Eden, (Sûr. ix. 73;) the *Jánnatu-'l-Firdáus*, the Garden of Paradise, (Sûr. xviii. 107;) the *Jánnatu-'l-Khuld*, the Garden of Immortality, (Sûr. xxv. 16;) the *Jánnatu-'l-Mâäwah*, the Garden of Refuge, (Sûr. xl. 19;) the *Dâru-'l-Karâr*, the Enduring Abode, (Sûr. xxxii. 42;) and the

Jánnatu-'l-Illiyín, the Garden of the highest Heavens. (Sûr. lxxxiii. 18.) The following, from among several other passages of similar import, gives a fair picture of the Paradise of Muhámmad:—"The people of the right hand, how happy shall they be! . . . These are they who shall be brought nigh to God in gardens of delight . . . reclining on inlaid couches face to face. Ever-blooming youths go round about them with goblets, and ewers, and a cup of flowing wine; their brows ache not from it, nor fails the sense; and with such fruits as shall please them best, and with flesh of such birds as they shall long for; and theirs shall be the Hûru-'l-Áin, [Houris, women with eyes like those of the gazelle,] like pearls hidden in their shells, in recompense of their past labours. No vain discourse shall they hear, nor sin, but only the cry Peace! Peace! . . . How happy shall the people of the right hand be! amidst thornless *sidras* and *talh* trees clad with fruit, and in extended shade, and by flowing waters, and with abundant fruits, unfailing, unforbidden, and on lofty couches. A [rare] creation [these Houris] have We created, and We have made them ever-virgins, shewing love to their spouses like them." (Sûr. lvi. 9–27; see also Sûr. lv. 46–78; xlvii. 16, 17.) There is no denying that the paradise thus portrayed is one of exclusively voluptuous gratification. The statement in the above quotation that neither vain discourse shall be heard there, nor sin, but only peace, is the one solitary passage which relieves all Muhámmad's descriptions of heaven from the charge of utter sensuality. A few modern Muslims are said to regard them as figurative, just as we regard those contained in the Song of Solomon and the Book of Revelation, but any such apology is at best an evasion. Sale's opinion is conveyed in the following remarks prefixed to his edition of the Kurân:—"It is not improbable that Mohammed might have been obliged, in some respects, to the Christian accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is scarce possible to convey, especially to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind, an idea of spiritual pleasures without introducing sensible objects, the scriptures have been obliged to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, and to describe the mansions of the blessed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates, through the streets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either side the tree of life, which bears twelve sorts of fruits, and leaves of a healing virtue. (Rev. xxi. 10–21; xxii. 1, 2.) Our Saviour likewise speaks of a future state of the blessed as of a kingdom where they shall eat and drink at His table. (Luke xxii. 29, 30.) But then these descriptions have nothing of those puerile imaginations which reign throughout that of Mohammed, much less any the most distant intimation of sensual delights which he was so fond of; on the contrary, we are expressly assured, that in the Resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be like the angels of God." (Matt. xxii. 30.)

VI. Belief in the Decrees of God, or of His having absolutely predestined both good and evil, is a cardinal article of the Muslim creed. These decrees are affirmed to have been revealed by God "in an *Imâm Mubîn*," a Perspicuous Book, (Sûr. xxxvi. 16,) and the doctrine is affirmed in the following from among many other passages of like import:—"God's behest is a fixed decree." (Sûr. xxxiii. 38.) "Verily God misleadeth whom He will, and guideth whom He will." (Sûr. xxxv. 9.) "Some of them there were whom God guided, and there were others decreed to err." (Sûr. xvi. 38.) "Had We pleased we had certainly given to every soul its guidance." (Sûr. xxxii. 13.) The doctrine, thus textually stated, goes far to make God the author of sin,—a position which many Muslim divines have strongly contested. On the other hand, it must be conceded that there are many passages in the Bible which, if taken literally, convey a similar view of God's prescience and absolute sovereignty. The subject is allowedly a most difficult one. Few, perchance, will dissent from the subjoined exposition of the dogma as set forth in an orthodox Arabic treatise translated by Mr. Hughes:—"Faith in the decrees of God is that we believe with our hearts, and confess with our tongues, that the Most High hath decreed all things, so that nothing can happen in the world, whether it respects the conditions and operations of things, or good and evil, or obedience and disobedience, or faith and infidelity, or sickness and health, or riches or poverty, or life or death, that is not contained in the written tablet of the decrees of God. But God hath so decreed good works, obedience, and faith, that He ordains and wills them, and that they may be under His decree, His salutary direction, His good pleasure and command. On the contrary, God has decreed, and does ordain and determine evil, disobedience, and infidelity; yet without His salutary direction, good pleasure, and command, but being only by way of seduction, indignation, and prohibition. But whosoever shall say that God is not delighted with good faith, or that God hath not an indignation against evil and unbelief, he is certainly an infidel." (*Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 99, 100.)

The reader will probably have noticed that the foregoing Muslim Articles of Faith comprehend several of those contained in the so-called Apostles' Creed, such as Belief in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Forgiveness of sins by Him, the Resurrection of the body, and the Life everlasting.

The five Cardinal Ordinances of Islâm are:—

I. The Pious Recitation of the Kálimah, or Creed, *La iláha illa-'lláh, wa-Muhámmadu Rasûlu-'lláh:* There is no deity but the one God, and Muhámmad is His Apostle. Mr. Hughes correctly states that "when any one is converted to Islâm he is required to repeat this formula, and the following are the conditions of every Muslim with reference to it:—1. That it shall be repeated aloud, at least once in a lifetime. 2. That the meaning of it shall be fully understood. 3. That it shall be believed in 'by the heart.' 4. That it shall be professed until death. 5. That it shall be recited correctly. 6. That it shall be professed and declared without hesitation." (*Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 102–103.)

II. Prayer, *Salât*.—This duty is frequently enjoined in the Kurân as seasonable and proper

at all times:—"Observe prayer, and pay the *Zakât*," or legal alms. (Sûr. ii. 104.) Prayer is a preservative against sin:—"Recite the portions of the Book which have been revealed to thee, and discharge the duty of prayer; for prayer restraineth from the filthy and the blameworthy, and the most solemn duty is the remembrance of God." (Sûr. xxix. 44.) It should be resorted to before reading the Kurân:—"When thou readest the al-Kurân have recourse to God to aid thee against Satan," (Sûr. xvi. 100;) it should be uttered in a subdued tone:—"Be not loud in thy prayer, neither pronounce it too low, but between these follow a middle way," (Sur. xvii. 110;) may be offered up in any posture—such is the construction put by Muslim commentators on the following:—"In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the succession of day and night, are signs for men of [understanding] heart, who standing, and sitting, and reclining, bear God in mind." (Sûr. iii. 187–8.) Family prayer is especially recommended:—"Enjoin prayer on thy family, and persevere therein. We ask not of thee to find thine own provisions,—We will provide for thee, and a [happy] issue shall there be to piety." (Sûr. xx. 132; compare with Phil. iv. 6.) Besides the above general directions, there are four set seasons for daily prayer:—"Glorify God when ye reach the *evening*, and when ye rise at *morn* . . . . and at *twilight*, and when ye rest at *noon*." (Sûr. xxx. 16, 17; see also Sûr. xi. 116; xvii. 80.) From the verbs used in the text these stated times of prayer are called severally *Salâtu-'l-Masâ*, *Salâtu-'s-Subh*, *Salâtu-'l-Ishâ*, and *Salâtu-zh-Zhuhr*, but in common usage another is added, namely, the *Salâtu-'l-Mâghrib*, or the *sunset* prayer, Muslim commentators being agreed that sunset is a part of the *Ishâ*. These prayers are directed to be performed toward a given point, or *Kiblah*, which with Muslims is that of the Temple and al-Kaâbah at Mecca:—"We have seen thee turning thy face towards every part of heaven; but We will have thee turn to a *Kiblah* which shall please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part." (Sûr. ii. 139.) There is another passage, however, which puts the real value on this injunction:—"There is no piety in turning your faces towards the east or west, but he is pious who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God distributeth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransomings, who observeth prayer, and payeth the *Zakât* [legal alms], and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble. These are they who are just, and who fear the Lord." (*Id.* 172.) The stated prayers should always be preceded by ablutions:—"O ye true believers! come not to prayer when ye are drunken, but wait till ye can understand what ye utter; nor when ye are polluted, unless ye be wayfarers, until ye have washed you. If ye be sick or on a journey, or have come from the privy, or have touched a woman, and ye find not water, then bathe with pure sand, and rub your hands and face with it." (Sûr. iv. 46.) "When ye address yourselves to prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbow, and your heads, and your feet up to the ankles." (Sûr. v. 8.) The Muslim ritual applies three terms to these enjoined ablutions: first, *al-Wudhû*, or the washing of the face, hands, feet, &c.; secondly, *al-Ghusl*, or the washing of the whole body after certain specific defilements; and, thirdly, *at-Tayámmum*, or the lustration with sand where water is not obtainable. The ritual of ablution is very minute, and the divergence existing between the different sects of Islâm is evidenced by their different modes of procedure. Equally elaborate and distinctive is the ritual of prayer, a full description of which is given in Hughes's *Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 104–118. For an accurate description of the service in the mosque, the reader is referred to Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, on which subject he remarks:—"The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims. Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator; humble and downcast, yet without affected humility or a forced expression of countenance."

III. Fasting, *as-Sâum*.—Fasting is enjoined in the Kurân as a pious and meritorious exercise:—"Verily the Muslims and the *Muslimât* [female Muslims], and the believing men and the believing women, and the devout men and devout women, and the men of truth and the women of truth, and the men who give alms and the women who give alms, and the men who fast and the women who fast . . . . for them God hath prepared forgiveness and a rich recompense." (Sûr. xxxiii. 35.) It is also prescribed as a penance in certain cases. A believer who kills one of a people in alliance with the Muslims is to pay blood-money to the family of the murdered man, and to manumit a slave who is a believer; "but one who hath not the means shall fast two consecutive months. This is the penance enjoined by God." (Sûr. iv. 94.) One who kills game during the Pilgrimage shall compensate for it in domestic animals of equal value to be brought as an offering to the al-Kaâbah, or, as an expiation, shall feed the poor, "or as an equivalent shall fast, that he may taste the ill-consequence of his deed." (Sûr. v. 96.) Again, such as put away their wives, and afterwards would recall their words, must free a captive before they can come together again, but "he who findeth not a captive [to set free] shall fast two months in succession before they come together again. And he who shall not be able [thus to fast] shall feed sixty poor men . . . . These are the statutes of God." (Sûr. lviii. 4, 5.) The great obligatory fast is that of the month of *Ramadhân*, so called, according to some, because of its occurrence during the vehement heat of summer; others, because the effect of the fast is to burn away sin. The institution is appointed in these words:—"O believers, a fast is prescribed to you for certain

days, as it was prescribed to those before you, that you may fear God. But he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey [shall fast] that same number of other days; and as for those who are able [to keep it and yet break it] the expiation of this shall be the maintenance of a poor man. And he who of his own accord performeth a good work shall derive good from it; and good shall it be for you to fast, if ye knew it. As to the month of Ramadhân, in which the al-Kurân was sent down to be man's guidance, and an explanation of that guidance, and of that *al-Furkân* [a word synonymous in import with *al-Kurân*], as soon as any one of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast; or he who is sick or on a journey shall fast a like number of other days. God wisheth your ease, but wisheth not your discomfort, and that ye fulfil the number [of days], and that you glorify God for His guidance, and that you be thankful.... Ye are allowed on the night of the fast to approach your wives; they are your garment and you are their garment, [*i.e.* a mutual comfort to each other.] God knows that you used to act unfaithfully one to another [therein], so He turneth unto you and forgiveth you. Now, therefore, go in unto them with full desire for that which God hath ordained for you; and eat and drink until you can distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak; then fast strictly till night, and go not in unto them, but rather pass the time in the *Masâjid*, [oratories or mosques.] These are the bounds set up by God; therefore come not near them." (Sûr. ii. 179–183.) Every traveller in the East knows how scrupulously this fast is observed. That the indulgence allowed therein during the night-time is frequently turned into revelry is not surprising. On the other hand, there are many Muslims who observe it with exemplary piety and decorum. Mr. Hughes considers that the fast of Ramadhân must be "an easier observance than the strict fast observed during Lent by the Eastern Christians of Muhammad's day." I cannot agree with him, if those Christians were not far more rigid in keeping Lent than the generality of their co-religionists at the present day.

IV. Legal and Obligatory Almsgiving, called the *az-Zakât*, or Poor-rate, or portion of the property that is given by its possessor, as the due of God, to the poor. This duty is insisted on in many passages of the Kurân, and is generally associated with the observance of prayer and a belief in the life to come. It is one of the essentials of true piety:—"Yet was not aught enjoined on them but to worship God with sincere religion, sound in faith, and to observe prayer, and to pay the *Zakât*." (Sûr. xcviii. 4; compare with Luke xi. 41.) As in the Bible, it is called "lending to the Lord," and will be bountifully rewarded:—"Observe the prayers and pay the *Zakât*, and lend God a liberal loan; for whatever good works ye send on before for your own behoof ye shall find with God. This will be the best and the richest in the recompense." (Sûr. lxxiii. 20.) No specific rate is fixed, but according to the best commentators it should amount to one-fortieth of the property possessed, or two and a half per cent. Beside the *Zakât* believers are enjoined to give supererogatory alms, which are described as "spending in good works," or as *Sádakát*, that is, alms or gifts to the poor. The proper objects of such charity are named in the following passage:—"They shall ask thee what thou shalt spend in good works. Say: Let the good which ye bestow be for parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the wayfarer." (Sûr. ii. 211.) The promise to such benevolence is:—"If ye lend God a generous loan, He will double it to you, and will forgive you." (Sûr. lxiv. 17.) Again: "Alms are to be given to the poor and needy, to those who collect them, to those whose hearts are inclined [to Islâm], and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and the wayfarer. This is an ordinance from God." (Sûr. ix. 60.) These supererogatory gifts are held to compensate for the inability to discharge some prescribed duty. For example, those who are unable personally to make the Pilgrimage "must satisfy by fasting, or alms, or an offering." (Sûr. ii. 192.) To bestow charity openly is well, but to do so in secret is preferable:—"If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them and give them unto the poor, this will be better for you, and will atone for your sins." (Sûr. ii. 273.) The virtue of almsgiving is forfeited by inconsistent conduct in other respects:—"Make not your alms void by reproaches and injury, like him who spendeth his substance to be seen of men, and believeth not in God and the last day." (Sûr. ii. 266.)

V. The Hajj, or Hijj, that is, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, is instituted and enjoined in the following passages:—"Accomplish the *Hajj* and the *Umrah* [the Visitation of the Holy Places] in honour of God . . . But whoever is sick among you, or hath an ailment in the head, must atone [or compensate] by fasting, or alms, or an offering . . . But he who possesseth nothing to offer [being on the Pilgrimage] shall fast three days in the Hajj itself, and seven days when ye return, ten days in all. This is binding on him whose family shall not be present at the Sacred Temple . . . Let the *Hajj* be made in the months already known, [Shawâl, Dzu-'l-Kaâdah, and Dzu-'l-Hijjah;] whoever therefore undertaketh the Pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor transgress, nor wrangle . . . . And provide for your journey; but the best provision is the fear of God." (Sûr. ii. 192–3.) The *Hajj*, or, as it is sometimes called, the Greater Pilgrimage, can only be performed during the appointed months; but the *al-Umrah*, or Lesser Pilgrimage, at any other season, and the rites of the two differ in several respects. Muhámmad claimed a Divine authority for this institution:—Call to mind "when We assigned the site of the House [the al-Kaâbah] to Abraham, [and said]: Unite not aught with Me in worship, and cleanse My House for those who circumambulate it, and who stand, and bow, and worship:—and proclaim to the people the *Hajj*: let them come to thee on foot, and on fleet camels, arriving by every deep defile, that they may bear witness of its benefits to them . . . This do, and he that respecteth the sacred ordinances of God, this will be best for him with his Lord." (Sûr. xxii. 27–31.) That a pilgrimage to the al-Kaâbah existed from very ancient times, and was in vogue among the pagan Arabs up to the era of Muhámmad, is indisputable. Neither can there

be any doubt that this was one of those institutions which the Prophet embodied into his system for political as well as for pious purposes, and hence his assertion of its Divine origin is an evident piece of brazen imposture. Much more to his credit are the injunctions for the observance of the pilgrimage, and his estimate of its virtue as compared with other more practical duties, as contained in the following passage:—"He only should visit the temples of God who believeth in God and the last day, and observeth prayer, and payeth the *Zakât*, and dreadeth none but God. Do ye place the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the Visitation of the Sacred Temple, on the same level with him who believeth in God and the last day, and fighteth in the cause of God? They shall not be held equal by God." (Sûr. ix. 19.) The ceremonies connected with the Pilgrimage have been so fully described in the account of Muhámmad's visit to Mecca from al-Madînah that it is needless to repeat them here.

There are several other points connected with the institutions of Islâm which deserve notice.

1. *Circumcision.*—Although circumcision is not once mentioned in the Kurân, a few remarks on that rite, as practised by Muslims, will not be out of place here. The rite itself undoubtedly prevailed among the Arabs long prior to Muhámmad. Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. i. c. 23) records that the Ishmaelites used to circumcise their children, not on the eighth day as did the Jews, but when thirteen years old, at which age their progenitor underwent the operation. (Gen. xvii. 25.) Muslims accordingly regard the rite as of Divine institution, and yet not so absolutely necessary that it may not be dispensed with in certain cases, as in that of their Prophet, who is alleged to have been born *sine praeputio*. Children are now generally circumcised at the age of six years, when they are capable of pronouncing the name of God distinctly, but sometimes the rite is deferred. Mr. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, gives a graphic account of the ceremony, and of the parade with which it is celebrated in Egypt.

2. *Marriage* and *Polygamy.*—A Muslim may marry four wives who are free women, and any number of the captive female slaves whom he may have acquired:—"If ye fear that ye shall not deal fairly with orphans, then of what women you please two, three, or four; but if ye [still] fear that ye shall not act equitably [to so many], then one [only], or what your right hand has acquired [of captive slaves], that is better in order that ye may not deviate from the right course." (Sûr. iv. 3.) Muslim commentators differ widely about the meaning of this passage, but it is generally held to convey an injunction to believers, that if they found they should wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them against their inclinations, or for the sake of their riches or beauty, or by not using or maintaining them as they ought, owing to their having other wives already, they should rather choose to marry other women, in order to avoid all occasion of sin. Intermarriage with pagan or unbelieving women is strictly forbidden:—"Marry not female polytheists, until they believe; a female slave is better than a female polytheist, though she may please you."[f] (Sûr. ii. 220.) The degrees of kindred within which marriage is lawful are clearly defined:—"Marry not women whom your fathers have married; for this is a shame, and hateful, and an evil way, though what is past [in the days of Ignorance] may be allowed. Forbidden to you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts, both on the father and the mother's side, and your nieces on the brother and sister's side, and your foster-mothers, and your foster-sisters, and the mothers of your wives, and your step-daughters who are your wards, born of your wives to whom ye have gone in,—but if ye have not gone in unto them it shall be no sin in you to marry them,—and the wives of your sons who proceed out of your loins; and ye may not have two sisters, [see Lev. xviii. 18,] except where it is already done . . . . [forbidden to you] also are [free] married women, except those whom your right hand has acquired, [*i.e.* female captives taken in war, even if they have husbands living.] This is the law of God for you. And it is allowed to you, besides this, to seek out wives by means of your wealth, with modest conduct, and without fornication . . . . And whoever of you is not rich enough to marry free believing women, then let him marry such of your believing maidens as have fallen into your hands, [captive slaves.] Ye are sprung the one from the other. Marry them, then, with the leave of their masters, and give them a fair dower." (Sûr. iv. 26–29.) Again: "Marry those among you who are single, [*i.e.* such as have no husband, spinsters,] and the good of your servants and handmaids. If they are poor, God of His bounty will enrich them . . . . and let those who cannot find a match [on account of poverty] live in continence till God in His bounty shall enrich them." (Sûr. xxiv. 32, 33.) Monkery, including, of course, celibacy and asceticism, is declared to be an "innovation," made by Christians who have departed from the simplicity of the Gospel. (lvii. 27.) On the other hand, Muslims are reminded, as are the Christians in 1 Cor. vii. 28, 32, that the married state may prove a snare to them:—"O ye who believe! Verily, in your wives and children ye have an enemy; wherefore beware of them. But if ye pass it over, [*i.e.* their occasionally beguiling you from your duty,] and pardon, and are lenient, God, too, is lenient and merciful." (Sûr. lxiv. 14.)

The laws of inheritance are plainly laid down. Men and women are entitled to a share of the property left by their parents and kindred, and the rights of orphans and poorer relations are insisted upon:—"Verily, they who swallow the substance of the orphan wrongfully shall swallow down only fire into their bellies, and shall burn in the flames. (Sûr. iv. 11.) Married women are allowed to have separate property, and the portions to be allotted to the different members of a family are carefully prescribed:—"With regard to your children, God commandeth you to give the male the portion of two females; and if they be females, more than two, then they shall have two-thirds of that which [their father] hath left;

[f] This injunction has been so far relaxed that it is now held lawful for a Muslim to marry a Christian or a Jewish woman; but in either case the offspring must follow the father's faith.

but if she be an only daughter, she shall have the half; and the father and mother of the deceased shall each of them have a sixth part of what he hath left, if he have a child, but if be have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third. And if he have brethren, his mother shall have the sixth, after payment of the bequests which he shall have bequeathed, and his debts. As to your fathers or your children, ye know not which is the most advantageous to you. This is the law of God . . . Half of what your wives leave shall be yours, if they have no issue; but if they have issue, then a fourth of what they leave shall be yours, after paying the bequests which they shall bequeath, and debts. And your wives shall have a fourth part of what ye leave; but if ye have issue, then they shall have an eighth part of what ye leave, after paying the bequests which ye shall bequeath, and debts. If a man or a woman make a distant relation their heir, and he or she have a brother or sister, each of these two shall have a sixth; but if there are more than this, then they shall be sharers in a third, after payment of the bequests which they shall have bequeathed, and debts." (Sûr. iv. 12.) Incontinency on the part of the married is strongly condemned:—"Have nothing to do with adultery, for it is a foul thing and an evil way." (Sûr. xvii. 34.) The prescribed punishment for an adulteress is: "If any of your women be guilty of whoredom [or adultery] then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves; and if they bear witness [to the fact] shut them up in their houses till death release them, or God make some way for them." (Sûr. iv. 19, compare with John viii. 5.) In the case of a "proven lewdness" on the part of a wife of the Prophet her "chastisement was to be doubled," (Sûr. xxxiii. 30;) but in the case of a married slave it was to be "half the penalty enacted for free married women." (Sûr. iv. 30.) Compare the latter ordinance with Lev. xix. 20, where it is laid down that an incontinent bondmaid is not to be put to death, she is only to be scourged.

With regard to divorce, there is no law to restrict a man from repudiating a wife whenever and for whatever cause he pleases; all that is enjoined is that the divorced woman shall be treated kindly, and be allowed to retain her dower:—"If ye be desirous to exchange one wife for another, and have given one of them a talent, make no deduction from it. Would ye take it by slandering her, and with manifest wrong?" that is, by charging her with adultery, in which case she would not be entitled to her dower. (Sûr. iv. 24.) "When ye divorce women, and the time for sending them away is come, either retain them with generosity, or put them away with generosity; but retain them not by constraint, so as to be unjust towards them." (Sûr. ii. 231.) A believer may divorce his wife three times and receive her back again, "but if the husband divorce her [a third time] it is not lawful for him to take her again until she has married another husband; and if he also divorce her, then shall no blame attach to them if they return to each other." (*Id.* 230.)

Polygamy was permitted by the Hebrew law, as also divorce "for every cause." The latter, however, was distinctly disallowed by Christ, except upon the single ground of the wife's adultery. The late lamented Edward William Lane, a most impartial witness, in his incomparable *Modern Egyptians*, writing on the subject of divorce and polygamy, says:—"That the facility of divorce has depraving effects upon both sexes may be easily imagined. There are many men in this country who, in the course of ten years, have married as many as twenty, thirty, or more wives; and women not far advanced in age who have been wives to a dozen or more husbands successively. I have heard of men who have been in the habit of marrying a new wife almost every month. . . . It is but just, however, to add that such conduct is generally regarded as very disgraceful, and that few persons among the middle or higher classes will give a daughter in marriage to a man who has divorced many wives. Polygamy, which is also attended with many injurious effects upon the morals of the husband and wives, and only to be defended because it serves to prevent a greater immorality than it occasions, is more rare among the higher and middle classes than it is among the lower orders; and it is not very common among the latter. A poor man may indulge himself with two or more wives, each of whom may be able, by some art or occupation, nearly to provide for her own subsistence; but most persons of the higher or middle classes are deterred from doing so by the consideration of the expense and discomfort which they would incur. A man having a wife who has the misfortune to be barren, and being too much attached to her to divorce her, is sometimes induced to take a second wife, mainly in the hope of obtaining offspring; and from the same motive he may take a third, and a fourth; but fickle passion is the most evident and common motive both to polygamy and repeated divorces. There are comparatively very few who gratify this passion by the former practice. I believe that not more than one husband in twenty has two wives."

3. *Slavery* is another institution associated with Islâm, but not peculiar to it. As regards Islâm, there can be no doubt that slavery was adopted from the usage which had previously existed in Arabia—a usage akin in most respects to that sanctioned by the Jewish law. As modified by Muhámmad it presents some noteworthy features. In the first place, there is no corresponding word for slavery in the Kurân, nor for slave in the sense of a bondman. Slaves are uniformly described as those who have been acquired by the right hand of believers, and refers primarily to captives taken in war. These, when the war was over, might be gratuitously set at liberty, or ransomed:—"And afterwards let there be free dismissals or ransomings till the war hath laid down its burdens." (Sûr. lxvii. 5.) The wars of the Jews, on the other hand, were wars of extermination, which virtually forbade the taking of captives. On the occasion of the war with the Midianites the Israelites saved all the women and their little ones, but Moses directed all the males of the latter to be slain, as also all the women who had known man, the residue being reserved for the conquerors. (Numb. xxxi. 9, 17, 18.) According to the Kurân, slaves have the privilege of redeeming themselves:—"And to those of your slaves who desire a deed of manumission execute it for them, if ye know good in them, and give

them a portion of the wealth of God which He hath given you." (Sûr. xxiv. 33.) In the case of the Jews, this privilege was confined to Hebrews who had become bondmen. (Deut. xv. 12–15.) Muslim masters are strictly enjoined to deal kindly with "those [slaves] whom your right hand has acquired. Verily, God loveth not the proud," (Sur. iv. 40;) and those among them are blamed who do not make their slaves sharers in their abundance:—"God hath abounded to some of you more than to others in the supplies of life; yet they to whom He hath abounded impart not thereof to those whom their right hand has acquired, so that they may share alike. What, will they deny, then, that these boons are from God?" (Sûr. xvi. 73.) Although Muslims have greatly transgressed the above limits prescribed for slavery—just as Christian nations generally have until recently shamefully ignored the principles of the Gospel in that respect—it is not to be inferred that their law sanctions the slave-trade, as it is carried on in Africa. The writer of this article, when on the Commission with Sir Bartle Frere to Zanzibar, was expostulated with by the Sultan, in conclave with his chiefs and Mullahs, for assisting in obtaining from his Highness a treaty for the abolition of the trade, as being a demand which he knew to be levelled against their religion. They were asked, in reply, to point out a single passage in the Kurân in support of the assertion. Their silence proved that they could not.

4. The *Jihâd*, or Holy War.—The word *Jihâd* is a verbal noun signifying the striving, contending, or fighting *against* something or some one. In that simple form it only occurs once in the Kurân:—"Obey not thou the unbelievers, but contend against them with it [the Kurân?] with a mighty contention," (*jihâd*.) (Sûr. xxv. 54.) In three other passages it occurs in conjunction with *Allâh* (God) and *Sabîlu-'llâh*, the way, cause, or religion of God:—"Contend in behoof of God with a brave contention," (*jihâd*.) (Sûr. xxii. 77.) "If your fathers and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your kindred, and the wealth which ye have gained, and the merchandise which ye fear may be unsold, and dwellings wherein ye delight, be dearer to you than God and His Apostle and efforts (*jihâd*) in His cause; then wait until God shall enter upon His work." (Sûr. ix. 24.) "O ye who believe, take not My foe and your foe for friends, shewing them kindness, since they believe not that truth which hath come unto you. They drive forth the Apostle and yourselves because ye believe in God your Lord. If you go forth to a *jihâd* in My cause, [*i.e.* for My religion,] and out of a desire to win My approbation, and privately [or openly] shew friendship unto them, verily I will know what ye conceal and what ye manifest, and whoever doeth this hath already erred from the straight path." (Sûr. lx. 1.) The verbal forms, *jâhada* and *kâtala*, occur still more explicitly in the same sense, namely, to fight for God's religion against the unbelievers, and those who engage in this war are styled *Mujâhidûn*. The duty of Muslims to join in the *jihâd*, and the promises attached thereto, are set forth in the following passages:—"When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads till ye have made a great slaughter of them . . . Were such the pleasure of God, He could Himself take vengeance upon them; but He would rather prove the one of you by the other. And whoso fight for the cause of God, He will not suffer their works to miscarry . . . and He will bring them into paradise, of which He hath told them." (Sûr. xlvii. 4–7.) "Let those, then, fight in the cause of God who barter this present life for that which is to come; for whoever fighteth in God's cause, whether he be slain or conquer, He will in the end give him a great reward." (Sûr. iv. 76.) "Goodly promises hath He made to all; but God hath assigned to the *Mujâhidûn* [those who fight for His religion] a rich recompense above those who sit still at home." (*Id.* 97.) There is another passage, however, which forbids Muslims to initiate a *jihâd*, and restricts its object to regaining possession of any territory which has been taken from them:—"Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you, but act not aggressively; God loveth not the aggressors." (Sûr. ii. 186.) It can scarcely be doubted that this significant modification was an important factor in the origination of the canonical terms *Dâru-'l-Harb* and *Dâru'l-Islâm*. The former is explained to mean "a country wherein the supreme rule is in the hands of the infidels, or in which the Muslims are in dread of them;" and the latter "a country the government of which is in the hands of the Imâm of the Muslims, or where they are in a majority, and are at peace." These definitions are by no means so explicit as to remove all doubt whether a country like India, for example, is a *Dâru-'l-Harb* or a *Dâru-'l-Islâm*, and they leave untouched the absolute duty of all Muslims to defend their country from aggression—a duty equally incumbent on Christians. And this is the *jihâd*, for the "preaching" of which the Mullahs of Afghanistân were so frequently and ignorantly censured during the late British invasion of that country.

The writers of some letters published in the *Times* at that period differed widely on the subject, although the *Fátwas*, or judicial opinions, quoted therein from the heads of three of the four orthodox sects and some Muslim bodies in India preponderate in favour of that country being a *Dâru-'l-Islâm*. On the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Hughes, in his *Notes on Muhammadanism*, gives the following as the reply of a learned *Kâdhi* (judge) to the question whether India is *Dâru-'l-Islâm* or *Dâru-'l-Harb*:—"It is *Dâru-'l-Harb*. One of his reasons for arriving at this conclusion was the well-known doctrine of Islâm that a Muslim cannot be a *Zimmi*, or one who pays tribute to an infidel power. We believe that the fact that Muhammadans, under Christian rule, are in an anomalous position, is a source of trouble to many a conscientious Muslim. Many Muslims believe that *Hijrat*, or flight, is incumbent upon every child of the Faith who is under Káfir (infidel) rule; but as our friend the *Kâdhi* put it, 'Where are they to go to?'" This question, as might have been expected, has been discussed in Algeria, and M. B. Vincent in his *Études sur la Loi Musulmane*, (*Rite de Mâlek*,) gives the subjoined as the answer of the most learned jurisconsults in that province:—"When the Christian becomes master of a Muslim country, those who are able, and have the health and means thereto, are bound to quit that country, in order to preserve their religion. As to such as are not so able, if their religion is

guaranteed to them, they may remain there and live as best they may: this is the most general opinion. There is another, however, according to which, when the laws of Islâm continue to subsist in a country which has fallen under the power of the infidels, it is allowable to reside there; but this opinion is weak, owing to the humiliation which it nevertheless sanctions. But both opinions agree that if, owing to bad faith or perfidy, the Muslim is not safeguarded as regards his religion, he is bound to emigrate, to flee the country, ... and to carry his religion into the desert, into villages and hamlets, there to live on roots, in order to put himself at a distance from those wretches who break the covenant of God, and spread disorder in the earth, for whom a wretched abode hereafter is reserved."

It must be admitted that these opinions are at best vague and unsatisfactory; and it may be questioned whether they have much, if any, influence in determining the conduct of subject Muslims towards a Government alien to them in race and creed. But Muslims are men very much like other men, and are swayed by motives which actuate the conduct of mankind in general.

A few remarks are subjoined on certain negative precepts of the Kurân.

Lawful and Unlawful Food.—"O ye who believe! Eat of the good things with which We have supplied you, and give God thanks, if ye are His worshippers. But that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that over which any other name than that of God has been invoked is forbidden you. But he who shall partake of them by constraint, without lust or wilfulness, no sin shall be upon him. Verily, God is indulgent, merciful." (Sûr. ii. 168-9.) In another place, the following additional restrictions are introduced, namely, "the strangled, and the killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by goring, and that which hath been torn by beasts of prey unless ye make it clean [by giving it the death-stroke yourselves], and that which hath been sacrificed on the blocks of stones [idol altars], is forbidden you." (Sûr. v. 4.)

Wine and Gambling.—"They will ask you concerning wine and lots, [*al-Máisir*, a game performed with arrows, but by "lots" here all games of chance are understood.] Say: In both there is great sin and advantage also to men; but the sin is greater than their advantage." (Sûr. ii. 216.) "O believers! Surely wine, and games of chance, and statues [or images], and the [divining] arrows are an abomination of Satan's work. Avoid them, that ye may prosper." (Sûr. v. 92.) The "statues" in this passage are supposed to refer to carved chessmen, which Muhámmad disapproved of on account of the figures represented by them. By "wine," in the above verses, Muslim commentators understand all intoxicating drinks. Although forbidden in this world, believers are taught to expect "rivers of wine delicious to those who quaff it," in paradise (Sûr. xlvii. 16.)

The reader will bear in mind that the foregoing analysis of the dogmas, ordinances, and rites of Islâm is founded on the text of the Kurân, which, as has already been observed, is theoretically the ultimate authority with Muslims for deciding all points of faith and practice, as is the Bible with Christians. Practically, however, the Islâm of the Kurân has been modified and developed by the *as-Súnnah*, or Tradition, and, to a certain extent, the same may be said of the Christianity revealed in the New Testament. In its restricted legal sense, the *as-Súnnah* imports what Muhámmad commanded, what has been handed down from him by tradition, and what he has enjoined, by word or deed, with respect to such things as are not mentioned in the Kurân. Hence the technical phrase, *al-Kitâbu-wa-'s-Súnnah*, implies the Kurân and the Institutes of the Prophet. These Institutes are by Muslim jurisconsults and theologians divided into *Súnanu-'l-Húda*, that is, those of which the observance is a completion of religion, and the omission or neglect of which is a misdemeanour, and the *Súnanu-'z-Zawâïd*, or Acts of Supererogation, the observance of which is good, but to the omission of which no blame is attached. As to the multitudinous traditions forming this codex, they are admitted to be of varied authority, and Muslim divines frequently disagree respecting some of those which are generally regarded as authentic. The difficulty of deciding which are genuine and which spurious Muslim traditions is so great that certain canons have been drawn up as aids to distinguish between them. These the reader will find, translated from the Arabic, in Mr. Hughes's excellent *Notes on Muhammadanism.*

As might have been expected, Islâm, like Christianity and all other known creeds, has been and still is divided into many sects. The impartial author, Muhámmadu-'sh-Shahrastány, in his *Kitâbu-'l-Mílal wa-'n-Níhal*, reckons seventy sects among the Magians, seventy-one among the Jews, seventy-two among Christians, and seventy-three among Muslims. As regards Islâm, the first heresy sprang up as early as A.H. 37, when 12,000 men revolted from the Khalîfah Aly, because he had submitted his right to the Imâmate, that is, to being the supreme Antistes of Islâm, to arbitration, whereas they held that judgment in such a matter belonged to God only. On that account they were styled *Khawârij*, literally Outsiders, like St. Paul's τοὺς ἔξω. (1 Cor. v. 13.) These rebels are supposed to have been killed to a man, but there is good reason to believe that some escaped who subsequently propagated their peculiar tenets in Omân, where they are still professed by the al-Ibâdhíyyah, as they are also by the Arabs of Zanzibar and the east coast of Africa, who go by the same name. (For a dissertation on the Imâmate see Appendix to the *Imâms and Sáyyids of Omân*, by the writer of this article, in the publications of the Hakluyt Society.) The other heresies or sects are by Muslim scholastic divines arranged under four general heads. The first relates to the attributes of God; the second to predestination and the justice thereof; the third to questions concerning faith, to infidelity and error, and to God's promises and threats; and the fourth to the authority which ought to be allowed to history and reason in religious matters, as also to the conditions requisite to the office of the supreme Imâmate, some asserting that it depends on hereditary succession, others on election and the suffrages of the faithful. For a detailed account of these heresies and their ramifications see Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, which gives some valuable extracts

from ash-Shahrastâny on the subject; also Sale's *Preliminary Discourse* to the Kurân, pp. 201–232.

The orthodox sects of Islâm are generally known as the *Âhlu-'s-Súnnah*, Traditionists, or those who follow the Kurân and the Institutes. These Sunnys are subdivided into four schools, which, notwithstanding some differences in their interpretation of the Kurân, are regarded as being within the pale of Islâm, and capable of salvation. The founders are said to have been famous jurisconsults as well as men of great self-denial, who devoted themselves to the service of God. The first of these schools is that of the *al-Hanafîyyah*, whose founder, Abu-Hanîfah-an-Nuâmân-ibn-Thâbit, was born at al-Kûfah, A.H. 18, and died at Baghdâd. The Turks generally belong to this school, which is the most reasonable of all. Secondly, *al-Malikîyyah*, so designated from Mâlik-ibn-Âus, who was born at al-Madînah, between A.H. 90 and 95, and died there about seventy-four years afterwards. Thirdly, *ash-Shafîîyyah*, from Ibn-Idris, ash-Shafîîy, who was born either at Gaza or Ascalon, in Palestine, and died in Egypt. Most of the inhabitants of Arabia belong to this latter sect; the Egyptians partly to it and partly to the second. The Nubians and western Arabs are almost all Mâlikys. Fourthly, the *al-Hanbalîyyah*, from Ahmad-ibn-Hánbal-ibn-Hilâl-ibn-Asâad, ash-Shibâny, who was born, some say at Marû (Merv) in Khurasân, others at Baghdâd, A.H. 164. Very few Muslims belong to this sect at the present day.

Among the so-called Heterodox sects the principal is that of the *ash-Shîâah*, Pharisees or Separatists. These are the adherents of Âly-ibn-abi-Tâlib, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhámmad, who was the fourth Khalîfah, in succession to Öthmân. Arabian orthodox lexicographers describe them as "those who followed Âly, saying that he was the rightful Imâm after the Apostle of God, and who held that the office of Imâm should not depart from him or his descendants." Again: "They are an innumerable people who are innovators; the extravagant zealots among them are the *al-Imâmíyyah*, who revile the Two Shaikhs, [Abu-Bakr and Ömar,] and the most extravagant of them call the Two Shaikhs disbelievers. Some of them rise to the pitch of [that misbelief which is called] *az-Zándakah*," [infidelity.] Many of this sect carried their veneration for Âly and his lineal descendants to such a pitch that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency. However much they differed among themselves in other things they all held a metempsychosis, and what they call *al-Hulûl*, or the descent of God on His creatures, meaning thereby that He fills every place, and appears in some individual person; hence many of them asserted their Imâms to be prophets, and at length gods. Some of them recognize seven, and others twelve, as alone being entitled to the dignity of supreme Imâm. The last, who is surnamed *al-Muhdi*, they believe to be still alive, and that he will appear with the prophet Elijah at the second advent of Christ. The chief points of difference between the Shîîys and the Súnnys are the following:—"1. The former reject the first three Khalîfahs, namely, Abu-Bakr, Ömar, and Öthmân, as usurpers; whereas the latter regard them as legitimate Imâms. 2. The Shîîys prefer Âly to Muhámmad, or at best regard them as equal; but the Súnnys admit neither Âly nor any of the prophets to be on a par with Muhámmad. 3. The Súnnys charge the Shîîys with corrupting the Kurân, and the latter retort the charge. 4. The Súnnys receive the *as-Súnnah*, that is, the Traditions or Institutes of Islâm, as of canonical authority; the Shîîys reject them as apocryphal. The Persians are almost all Shîîys, and the antipathy existing betwixt them and the Súnnys is as bitter now, if not more so, than it was when the schism first took place. It may fairly be questioned whether the animosity betweens Jews and Samaritans, or between Protestants and Romanists, ever reached that inexorable rancour which still obtains between the Súnnys and the Shîîys.

The latest sect of Islâm is the *al-Wahhâbíyyah*, the Wahhâbys, so called after Muhámmad-ibn-Âbdu-'l-Wahhâb, its founder, who was born at Âînah, in the province of al-Ââridh, of Najd, A.D. 1691. In his youth he visited various seats of learning in the East, and being convinced that Islâm had become greatly corrupted in practice he determined to assume the character of a reformer, and began by peacefully disseminating his opinions in his native village. Expelled from thence by the governor of al-Hasâ he found an asylum at ad-Dirîyyah with Muhámmad-ibn-Sûûd, the Shaikh of a sub-tribe of the *al-Ânizah*, with whose zealous co-operation he despatched missionaries, called *Mutâwdah*, to disseminate his doctrines, and to inculcate the merit of propagating them, if need be, by force of arms. In the meantime Sûûd, who had married a daughter of Âbdu-'l-Wahhâb, in conjunction with his son Âbdu-'l-Azîz, commenced his military championship of the sect, and in a short time reduced the whole of Najd to his sway. He died in 1763, and was succeeded by his son Âbdu-'l-Azîz-ibn-Sûûd. Âbdu-'l-Wahhâb himself lived till 1787. He had all the uxorious propensities of Muhámmad, and his twenty wives produced him eighteen children. In 1797 a Turkish army from Baghdâd attacked the Wahhâbys, but were repulsed with great loss, and two years later Sûûd-ibn-Âbdu-'l-Azîz (Sûûd II.) led 20,000 men against Kárbala, the sacred shrine of the ash-Shîîys, which they sacked, and carried off an immense amount of treasure from the magnificent mosque of al-Husáin. In 1802 Sûûd II. besieged Tâif and captured it, destroyed all the tombs there, plundered the houses, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In the following year he took Mecca. Not the slightest excess was committed by the Badawîn soldiery beyond the destruction of the splendid tombs which covered the remains of the descendants of the Prophet, including that of his wife Khadîjah. As smoking and all intoxicating drinks, including coffee, which is regarded by them as a stimulant, are an abomination to the Wahhâbys, all the coffee-houses were closed and hecatombs made of the smoking-pipes found in the town. The conqueror communicated this capture to Salim III., the then reigning Ottoman Sultan, in the following epistles:—"Sûûd to Salim: I entered Mecca on the 4th of Muhárram, A.H. 1218. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs that were idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the Kâdhi whom you had

appointed to govern in the place, agreeably to the command of Muhámmad. I desire that in the ensuing years you will give orders to the Páshas of Damascus and Cairo not to come accompanied with the *Máhmal*, [the ornamented litter borne on a camel and regarded as the royal banner of the pilgrim caravan,] trumpets and drums into Mecca and al-Madînah. Why? Because religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us, and may the blessing of God be upon you. Dated 10th Muhárram." [3rd May, 1803.] In 1804 al-Madînah was added to the Wahhâby conquests, and Ábdu-'l-Ázîz dying about this time his son Súûd II. succeeded him. His first care was to demolish the tombs, and that of the Prophet himself was despoiled of its costly trappings. The tomb itself was left uninjured, but Súûd forbade as idolatrous all adoration addressed to it. The orthodox Muslim world, distressed and scandalized that the holy places should be left in the hands of the Wahhâby heretics, eventually induced the Sublime Porte to direct the famous Muhámmad-Ály, who had lately been appointed Pásha over Egypt, to attack them. The first expedition, which was commanded by his son Tussûn, in its attempt to recover al-Madînah, barely escaped annihilation. The second, undertaken in 1812, succeeded in capturing the place, and the Wahhâbys who had capitulated were for the most part ruthlessly massacred. Although the greater part of the al-Hijâz had now been reconquered, the position of the Turks was so far from being secure that Muhámmad-Ály deemed it desirable to repair to the province in person, taking up his quarters at at-Tâïf, with about 20,000 men at his disposal. At this crisis the Wahhâbys suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Súûd II., who was succeeded by his eldest son Ábdúllah. Led by Muhámmad-Ály the Turkish army subdued all the southern tribes in alliance with the Wahhâbys, while Tussûn, his son, reduced those on the north. At length Ábdúllah sued for peace, and made his submission, whereupon Muhámmad-Ály and his son returned to Egypt. The former, however, refusing to ratify the treaty which had been made with the Wahhâbys by Tussûn, and insisting on the province of al-Hasâ being given up to the Turks, Ábdúllah commenced making preparations to defend himself, and assembled a large army, which was reinforced from Bahrain and al-Hasâ, Ómân and al-Yáman. Muhámmad-Ály, fully bent on his overthrow, despatched his son Ibrahîm, in 1816, to attack them at ad-Dirîyyah, by way of al-Madînah and al-Kasîm. Five months were consumed in the siege of that important capital before it capitulated, when Ábdúllah gave himself up to Ibrahîm Pásha, who sent him forthwith to Egypt, from whence he was transferred to Constantinople, and after being paraded over the city for three days was beheaded in the square of Aghia Sophia. Before leaving Najd Ibrahîm rased ad-Darîyyah to the ground, and demolished all the fortresses in the province. Túrky and Fáisal, two other sons of Súûd II., appear to have ruled conjointly over the remains of the Wahhâby confederation until the assassination of the former in 1834. What became of his brother does not appear. Túrky was succeeded by his son Fáisal, who was in his dotage when Palgrave visited Riyâdh in 1862. He died in 1866, and was succeeded by his son Ábdúllah-ibn-Fáisal, the present Amîr, whose temporal jurisdiction does not extend beyond the province of Najd, and whose nominal subjects or dependants are constantly at feud one with another.

It was judged desirable to give the foregoing sketch of the rise of the Wahhâby power in order to remove the regrets sometimes expressed at its downfall, as if it contained the promise of a purer religion. That it was even more sanguinary than that of the first followers of Muhámmad is beyond question, while the creed which it enforced aimed mainly at the reform of a few absurd or scandalous practices, leaving untouched the cardinal dogmas of Islâm. The tenets of the Wahhâbys, summarised by the writer of this article from a lucid statement by an Ómâny shaikh, who visited them in the early part of the present century, are as follows:—"His account of Wahhâbyism brings out into prominent relief the one great idea which pervades the system. Muhámmad-ibn-Ábdu-'l-Wahhâb, its founder, was not an innovator but a reformer, whose aim was the restoration of Islâm to its primitive purity and simplicity by insisting that its fundamental dogma, 'There is no deity but (the one) God,' absolutely forbade all veneration to man, prophet or apostle, living or dead, however highly distinguished by the Divine favour. There can be no doubt that beyond this utter exclusion of human merit, the formula, as originally proclaimed by Muhámmad, implied the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God in a sense which reduced all created beings to a mass of unconditional passiveness. The great Wahhâby appears to have grasped this theory, but it is highly probable that his efforts to explain it only added to its abstruseness, thereby giving some colour to the charge brought against his writings by the orthodox, that they consisted chiefly of 'sophisms and speculations.' It is equally reasonable to suppose that a very limited number of his disciples were capable of appreciating the recondite view which his power of abstraction enabled him individually to entertain of the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being. Less difficult of general comprehension, however, was that part of his system which denounced all honours paid to saints and tombs as heretical innovations, detracting from the worship due solely to the Creator, and therefore to be regarded and dealt with as idolatrous. To say nothing of Pagans and Christians, whom all Muslims hold to be Polytheists, the doctrine thus revived placed Súnnys and Shîîys, the al-Ibâdhíyyah and Râfidhys alike in the same category, and moreover sanctioned their being dealt with as such, despite their negation of any deity save one, by a strict adherence to the orthodox formula. Hence it was that 'they legalised the despoiling of the Muslims, taking their wives in marriage before they were legally divorced from their husbands, and without observing the *Íddah*, [the prescribed time after a divorce, or after the death of her husband, before a woman can legally marry again,] and the enslavement of their children.' All these outrages from the Wahhâby standpoint were solemn duties imposed upon them by their obligations to God and Islâm which they could not forego

without risking their own salvation. It is quite conceivable that Muhámmad-ibn-Ábdu-'l-Wahháb himself was personally uninfluenced in his fanaticism by any motives of temporal interest; but there can be little doubt that the majority of his followers were actuated as much by the licence which his doctrines warranted as by zeal for what they were taught to consider the true faith. Wahhâbyism, in fact, apart from certain speculative notions respecting the Supreme Being,—in the main perfectly in accordance with the theology of the Kurân,—may be defined as a politico-religious confederacy which legalises the indiscriminate plunder and thraldom of all peoples beyond its own pale." (See *The Imâms and Sáyyids of Ómán*, pp. lxiii.-lxv. 245–252.) The sect is said to have a following in India, and during the mutiny of 1857–8 some anxiety was felt, and it subsists still, as to its possible developments there. Mr. Hughes states that "within the last thirty years Wahhâbyism has widely influenced religious thought amongst the Muhammadans of India." It may be so; but that it should ever assume the form among them that it did among the wild tribes of Najd, or lead them in any considerable number to abjure Muslim orthodoxy, may safely be regarded as a bugbear and a chimera.

The Rise and Fall of the Arabian Khalifate.—The following brief sketch of the Arabian Khalîfate and empire is subjoined by way of connecting their rise and fall. During the reign of Abu-Bakr, the immediate successor of the Prophet, the Muslims brought the whole of Arabia into subjection, conquered al-Irâk, and captured Damascus from the Romans. During the lifetime of his successor Ómar, they defeated the Persians, made themselves masters of Syria and Mesopotamia, Egypt and Khurâsan. Ómar was assassinated at al-Madînah by a Persian slave. During the Khalîfate of Óthmân, the next in succession, they took Hamadân, Cyprus, and several places on the seaboard of Syria. Óthmân was murdered by his rebellious subjects at al-Madînah. The reign of Ály-ibn-Abi-Tâlib was signalised by severe intestine quarrels, which ended in his deposition and subsequent assassination. From Ály the Khalîfate passed into the hands of the Bánu-Umáyyah, having its seat at Damascus. During their rule, from A.D. 661–748, the Muslims ravaged northern Africa and settled at Carthage. They also invaded Cappadocia and conquered Spain, where a separate Khalîfate was established by them during the rule of the Bánu-Ábbâs, or Ábbasides, who succeeded to the supreme power, with their seat of government mainly at Baghdâd, A.D. 749, and were dispossessed by the Tatars under Hûlâkû-Khân, A.D. 1258. This put an end to the Arabian Khalîfate, of which nothing more was heard till five years later, when a reputed scion of the Abbasides, Ómar-bi-amri-'lláh, was appointed Khalîfah by azh-Zhâhir Bibars, the then Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt. (Here it should be carefully borne in mind, in correction of the notion that no two Khalîfahs have lived and been recognized at the same time, that besides the Khalîfate named above as having been established in Spain by the Bánu-Umáyyah, another was set up at Kairawân, the ancient Cyrene, about A.D. 908, by the Fâtimites, who pretended descent from Ály and his wife Fâtimah, and lasted till the destruction of that dynasty two and a half centuries later.) The restored Abbaside Khalîfate, in Egypt, continued to exist side by side with the temporal sovereigns of that country, but confined strictly to spiritual functions, till its conquest by the Ottomans under Salîm I., whose predecessors had reigned at Constantinople since the capture of that place by Óthman, their founder, A.D. 1514. Salîm took the son of the last Khalîfah to Constantinople, and is reputed to have received from him, as the representative of the Abbasides, the investiture of the Muslim Khalîfate. Now, whereas it is unquestionable that that dignity, whatever it may imply, was at the first intended to be the gift, by election, of the Faithful, it is equally certain that it very soon became, like the temporal power, hereditary in the two Arabian dynasties; nevertheless, up to the time of the last nominal representative of the Arabs, it had been restricted to the Arabs, and there is no instance on record, nor any authority, sanctioning its transfer by an individual of the family, or its bestowal on an alien race.

The foregoing is, in reality, all that can be urged in behalf of the successional claim of the Ottoman Sultans to the Khalîfate; but inasmuch as that institution underwent several radical modifications prior to the time of Salîm I., it may with some show of reason be held to imply merely the principal sovereignty in Islâm. That nothing beyond this is signified by the title now-a-days is patent from the fact that the indefinable spiritual authority held to be attached to it, namely, the supreme Imâmate, is far from being recognized by the generality of Muslims. The Ottoman Khalîfate, or Imâmate, stands in the same position towards Islâm as the Popedom does towards the Christian religion.

The Propagation of Islâm.—Islâm was propagated with the utmost vigour by the immediate successors of Muhámmad, and succeeded in an incredibly short space of time in reducing the limits of Christendom by one-third. Paley truly observes:—"The only event in the history of the human race which admits of comparison with the propagation of Christianity is the success of Mahometanism;" and what calls for special notice is the deplorable fact, that throughout the Arab or Saracen and the Turkish invasions alike, large Christian populations embraced the faith of the conquerors, whereas there is no record whatever of any such defection from Islâm to the ranks of Christianity. The Nestorian congregations in Central Asia either conformed or soon dwindled entirely away, while the surviving representatives of the once flourishing African Church appear to have deliberately apostatised from the religion of Christ to that of their invaders. Another equally notable characteristic of Muslim success is the fact that, with the single exception of Spain, Islâm has never been suppressed in any country where it has once taken root. Moreover, in the midst of the general decay of its political power and ascendency, it is quietly making rapid progress still, in China, in India, in the Indian Archipelago, and more especially in West and Central Africa, insomuch that its followers at the present day—and be it

remembered that it is six centuries younger than Christianity—are presumably not far behind the aggregate number of Christians. That the earlier conquests were mainly effected by the sword is unquestionable. On the other hand, the fact should not be ignored that Christians, as also Jews and Sabians, were generally offered the alternative of paying the *Jizyah*, or Tribute, which secured to them the toleration, under certain restrictions, of their respective religions, together with the protection of their life and property. It is more than probable that in many cases this security was little better than a delusion; nevertheless, when we call to mind the utterly defenceless condition of the Christians who braved the fierce persecutions to which they were exposed during the first three centuries of our era, we must needs come to the sorrowful conclusion that their successors during the Muslim invasions had, with their faith and love, lost the other manly characteristics of Christian courage and patriotism.

Further, that Islâm wrought a wonderful religious and social reformation among the pagan Arabs is beyond a doubt. Equally certain it is that its numerous modern converts from among the heathen negroes are thereby raised immensely in the scale of civilization. In like manner there is no denying that the Muslim Arabs "for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity," and that they greatly developed several of the pre-existent sciences and originated others. But after a while all this scientific vigour came to a standstill. The irruptions of the Seljûk and Moghul Tatars into Asia Minor, and the subsequent overthrow of the Abbaside dynasty by Hûlâkû-Khân in the 14th century, were the main causes of this decay, and thenceforward Islâm retrograded. The written book, the Kurân, no longer subjected to the scrutiny and dissection of Arab schoolmen who had dared to bring Platonian philosophy and Aristotelian logic to bear upon its interpretation, became, to use Lord Houghton's forcible metaphor, "the dead man's hand, stiff and motionless." There are not wanting signs, however, that this state of things is gradually passing away. More intimate connexion with the West, together with powerful political and social considerations, has undoubtedly tended to produce radical changes in a system which was once supposed, and is still supposed by many, to be petrified beyond pliancy or the possibility of expansion.

In conclusion. The contrast between Christianity and Islâm, every allowance being made for whatever may be fairly urged in favour of the latter, is admirably set forth in the following beautiful passage by Mr. R. Bosworth Smith:—"The religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality and whole realms of thought which are all but outside the religion of Mohammed. It opens humility, purity of heart, forgiveness of injuries, sacrifice of self to man's moral nature; it gives scope to development, boundless progress to his mind; its motive power is stronger, even as a friend is better than a king, and love higher than obedience. . . . Nor are the methods of drawing near to God the same in the two religions. The Musulman gains a knowledge of God—he can hardly be said to approach Him—by listening to the lofty message of God's prophet. The Christian believes that he approaches God by a process which, however difficult it may be to define, yet has had a real meaning to Christ's servants, and has embodied itself in countless types of Christian character—that mysterious something which St. Paul calls 'a union with Christ.' 'Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.'"

Such being, allowedly, the vast superiority of Christianity over Islâm, what a glorious consummation it would be, what a vast addition to human happiness, if the Muslims could be made partakers of the blessings of the Gospel. Of them, indeed, it may be confidently said, as St. Paul said of Israel of old: "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead;" for considering the eminent importance which Muslims attach to religion, their strict observance of its precepts and ceremonial, and their ardent zeal in the dissemination of their creed, it is not too much to expect that, under the power of the Gospel, every converted follower of Islâm would become an ardent propagator of the faith of Christ. "The Mohammedan quarry, so to speak,"—thus spake General Lake in one of his addresses before the Church Missionary Society,—"contains materials which only require the touch of the Master-Builder to form out of it pillars for that temple which is being raised to His glory in the earth."

[Literature on this subject:—*Târikhu-'l-Mulûk*, &c., by at-Tábary, Gryphisvaldiae, 1831. The first three volumes of the *Modern Part of an Universal History*, treating of Muhámmad and the Arabs, and published anonymously in London, date 1770, is specially recommended to English readers. It contains numerous quotations from original Arab authors, and its transliteration of Oriental names far exceeds in correctness the system or rather absence of system now in vogue. Pocock's *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Oxonii, 1806. Dr. Joseph White's Bampton Sermons, entitled *A Comparison of Mahometism and Christianity in their History, their Evidence, and their Effects*, London, 1811. Mons. Caussin de Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, etc.*, Paris, 1848. *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah*, 1855–6, and *The Gold Mines of Midian*, 1878, both by F. Burton. Sir William Muir's *Life of Mahomet*. The Syed Ahmed Khân's *Essays on the Life of Mohammed*, Trübner, 1870. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, 1865. *The Imâms and Sáyyids of Omân*, published by the Hakluyt Society, 1871. R. Bosworth Smith's *Lectures on Mohammedanism*, 2nd edit., 1876. Sale's *Koran*, 1812. Rev. J. M. Rodwell's *Koran*, 1861. The Rev. T. P. Hughes's *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 1877. Rev. J. Muhleisen Arnold's *Islam and Christianity*, 1874. This list might have been extended by the addition of numerous Arab writers on Muhámmad and Islâm; but as the more prominent and trustworthy among these are largely indented upon by the author of the *Universal History* above mentioned, by Caussin de Perceval, and by the Syed Ahmed Khân, whose quotations from the original Arabic have in most instances been verified, the writer of this article has deemed it unnecessary to name them.] [G. P. B.]

MUIRCHEARTACH, MUIRCERTACH, MUIRCERTAIG (MORIERTAGH, MURCERTACH, -US, MURCHERTACH, -TACIUS, MURTHERTACHUS), MacEarca, first or fourth Christian king of Ireland (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 128 n.). He was son of Muredhach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, but received his surname from his mother Erca, daughter of Loarne king of the Dalriadic Scots, and aunt of St. CAIRNECH (2). He succeeded Lughaidh, son of Laeighaire, in the monarchy of Ireland, in A.D. 513. He was much under the influence of his cousin St. Cairnech, yet famous as a warrior, and the soldier poet Cennfaeladh has celebrated his deeds. He was married to Duiseach, daughter of Duach Teangumha king of Connaught, but at last fell a victim to the revenge of a repudiated concubine named Sin, the daughter of Sighe; he had slain her father at the battle of Assey, co. Meath, in the year 524 (*Four Mast.*), and put herself away at the command of St. Cairnech. As noted in the *Annals* and in the ancient Irish tale called *The Death of Muircheartach Mor Mac Earca* (preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS. H. 2, 16), he was drowned in a butt of wine in which he sought refuge when the house of Cletty was set on fire above his head by his late mistress Sin, in A.D. 534, on the eve of the feast of Samhin (*Ann. Tig.*). Lanigan (*E. H. Ir.* i. 434 sq.) says he is represented as a good and pious sovereign. (*Four Mast.* by O'Don. i. 153 et al.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 782 and *Tr. Th.* 447.) [J. G.]

MUIRCHU, surnamed MACC-U-MACHTENI, MACCUMACHTHENI, or MACCUTENUS, and cited by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 375 et al.) as simply MACCUTHENUS, was son of that Cogitosus who wrote the *Vita S. Brigidae* [COGITOSUS], and is himself best known as the compiler of the imperfect *Vita S. Patricii*, which is found with Tirechan's in the *Book of Armagh*. In its original form the Life or Acts consisted of two books with contents and colophon, but in the *Book of Armagh* the first folio, which also contains the beginning of Muirchu's first book, is wanting; the second book is complete, and the summary of contents, which the copyist had carried with the Preface to the end, gives the headings of the missing chapters of the first. The colophon is most important for fixing Muirchu's date. "Haec pauca de sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus Muirchu Maccumachtheni, dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo, conscripsit" (f. 20 ba). Aedh bishop of Sletty died A.D. 700 (*Ann. Tig.*), and in the preface the work is dedicated to him; the names of Aedh and Muirchu are found in the Acts of St. Adamnan's synod at Birr or Tara in the year 697, so that Muirchu lived in the close at least of the 7th century. He is commemorated on June 8, and his name may be found at Kill-Murchon, co. Wicklow. Muirchu's *Life of St. Patrick* is represented by Probus's (or Colgan's Fifth), and the patronymic Maccumachtheni is supposed by some to be an Irish equivalent for "filius Cogitosi." (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 15, 425 sq.; Reeves, *S. Adamn.* l. li.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 465 n. [22], and *Tr. Th.* 218; *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xviii. 107 sq.; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 269 sq.; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 401, 423.) [J. G.]

MUIREADHACH (MUREDACH, MORIEGH), son of Indreachtach, bishop of Mayo, and slain A.D. 732; but there is much doubt as to his episcopate, and a suspicion that a chieftain is made to borrow from St. Geraldus bishop of Mayo. (*Four Mast.* by O'Don. i. 324 n. [b], 325; *Gen. Hy. Fiachr.* by O'Don. 452–3; Cotton, *Fast.* iv. 50.) [GERALDUS (1).] [J. G.]

MUIREDHACH (MUIREADHACH, MUIREDHAIGH, MURCADH, MURCHADH), bishop of Killala, co. Mayo; commemorated Aug. 12. He was son of Eochaidh and sixth in descent from Laeghaire (ob. A.D. 463) monarch of Ireland. (Reeves, *S. Adamn.* 178). It seems to be a clumsy device to suppose two bishops of the same name at Killala (Cotton, *Fast. Eccl. Hib.* iv. 61; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 223) to surmount the chronological difficulty. His dates are all doubtful, but he probably belongs to the first half of the 7th century; his acts are lost (Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* i. 253, ii. 183 sq.; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2 ser. 132; *Gen. Hy-Fiach.* 227–8). He was founder of the monastery on Inismurray, a small island in Killala Bay (Earl of Dunraven, *Notes on Ir. Arch.* by Miss Stokes, i. 46 sq. for account and photographic views); his mass is found at July 11 among the *Missae propriae SS. Patronorum Franciae et Hiberniae*, published at Paris in 1734 under the authority of pope Clement XII. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Sept. i. 5 praet., 5 Oct. iii. 2 praet.) [J. G.]

MUMMOLINUS (MOMMOLENUS; for variations in spelling the name see Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 953), Oct. 16, probably first abbat of St. Bertin and twenty-second bishop of Noyon and Tournay. The Bollandists publish an anonymous Life, which they believe from internal evidence to have been written in the 8th century. The biographies of contemporaries and formal documents furnish a few other facts. He was a native of Constance, and at an early age entered the monastery of Luxeuil. In the year 658 or 659, St. Eligius bishop of Noyon and Tournay died, and Mummolinus was chosen to succeed him, partly, according to his biographer, on account of his knowledge of both the Latin and Teuton tongues, Noyon speaking the former and Tournay the latter. Of his episcopate, which lasted twenty-six years, little is known. His name is found in a few contemporary documents.

The authorities for his life are the *Vita S. Mommolini*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vii. 980–985; *Vita S. Audomari*, c. vii.–x., Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 562, Paris, 1669; *Vita S. Bertini*, c. ii. iv., Mabillon, *ibid.* saec. iii. 1, 108–109; Audoenus, *Vita S. Eligii*, ii. 45, 46, 47, *Patr. Lat.* lxxxvii. 574–575; Jacques le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église Cathédr. de Noyon*, 541–552; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 485; ix. 984–985; Laplane, *Les Abbés de St. Bertin*, i. 5–7; and the exhaustive *Commentarius Praevius* of the later Bollandists (*ibid.* pp. 953–980). [S. A. B.]

MUNCHIN, -US, bishop of Limerick (Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Jan. i. 1; *Cotton Fast.* i. 372, 375; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 227; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* i. 27 sq.), son of Sedna, in the 5th or 6th century, but beyond his being a disciple of St. Patrick nothing is fixed. [J. G.]

MURA, MURAN, -US, MURO (MURUS), abbat of Fahan in Inishowen, co. Donegal. The chief authority is Colgan's collection (*Acta SS.* 587), *De S. Muro sive Murano*, on which others have built (Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 Mart. ii. 209; *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* i. 271 sq.; O'Hanlon, *Ir. SS.* iii. 329 sq.). St. Mura was son of Feradach, and sixth in descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages; his mother was Derinilla, by whom he was brother uterine of DOMHANGORT of Slieve Donard and other saints. His acts are lost, but he has long been specially venerated as the patron of the O'Niells, who took their oath upon his pastoral staff. From the known dates of his pedigree Dr. Reeves calculates A.D. 645 as an approximation to the date of his death. He is said to have written an Irish metrical *Life of St. Columba*, from which extracts are quoted in the Irish Annals, &c. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 392 cc. 21, 30; Reeves, *S. Adamn.* vii.; O'Reilly, *Ir. Writ.* xli.; O'Conor, *Proleg.* ii. 94, and *Ep. Nunc.* 179). Colgan also mentions "alius magnus et pervetustus Codex Chronicorum aliarumque totius patriae historiarum in magno pretio ab antiquariae rei studiosis semper habitus et saepe laudatus." Two extant relics of St. Mura are very highly esteemed. (1) His bell, which now belongs to Lord Otho Fitzgerald (see two accounts of St. Mura's bell, with illustrations, in *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* i. 271–3, 274–5; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* v. 206–7). (2) His pastoral staff, bachull-Mura, which Colgan mentions as enclosed in a gilded case, and covered with gems, is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. (*M. Doneg.* xxxii.; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* iii. 37–8.) [J. G.]

MURATORIAN FRAGMENT. The document thus designated is a very ancient list of sacred writings of the New Testament, first published in 1740 by Muratori (*Ant. Ital. Med. Aev.* iii. 851). He had found it in a 7th or 8th century MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he had formerly been librarian. The MS. had come from the great Irish monastery of Bobbio, and would seem to have served as a kind of common-place book into which different things thought worth preserving had been transcribed. The fragment with which we are concerned would seem to have been a copy of a loose leaf or two, apparently all that was then remaining, of a lost volume. For it is defective at the beginning, and it breaks off in the middle of a sentence; but the defect does not arise from mutilation of the existing MS., which, immediately after the conclusion of this extract, goes on, on the same page, to give another from St. Ambrose. The mutilation, therefore, must have taken place in the archetype of our present copy. This copy, made by a scribe both illiterate and careless, is full of blunders which often sadly obscure the sense; and in fact it was first printed by Muratori professedly as a specimen of the barbarisms which disfigure MSS. of the period; though he sufficiently shews that he was aware of the value for its own sake of this relic of Christian antiquity.

That value arises from the fact that this is, as far as we know, the earliest attempt to make an enumeration of the New Testament writings recognised by the church. The document is approximately dated by means of a reference in it to the episcopate of Pius at Rome, which it speaks of as "nuperrime temporibus nostris." The latest date assigned for the death of Pius is A.D. 157, and it is contended that no one would speak of an event as having occurred "very lately and in his own time," if it was then more than twenty years ago. So we get about A.D. 180 as the latest admissible date for this document. On these grounds has now been generally rejected Muratori's own conjecture as to the authorship, namely, that we have here an extract from a work written by Caius the Roman presbyter about A.D. 196. This date, though probably a little too early for Caius, has been held to be too late for our fragment; on this question we shall return further on. There is general agreement that the place of composition was Rome, which is spoken of simply as "urbs," while in the passage already referred to, the writer shews an acquaintance with the family relations of the Roman bishop Pius, not likely to be possessed by a stranger at a distance. It has not been found possible to name any member of the Roman church about 180 to whom the authorship can be plausibly ascribed. Bunsen's conjecture that Hegesippus was the author has nothing to recommend it, and without pressing too much the argument from the silence of Eusebius, we should certainly expect that his many notices of the work of Hegesippus would have included a mention of this list if he had found it there. Our fragment is in Latin, but a majority of the best critics have held that it has the marks of being a translation from the Greek. Hesse, however, the author of the latest monograph on the subject (*Das Muratorische Fragment*, Giessen, 1873), ably maintains the originality of the Latin, and in this view he has the support of some respectable names. His main argument may be summed up thus: If the fragment were a translation it might be expected to be a very literal one: we ought then to have no great difficulty in translating it back into Greek;[a] and the process of retranslation ought to throw light on the obscure places of the text; but in point of fact there are many phrases of which it is not easy to say with any certainty what the Greek original could have been, and we can at least say that the translation could not have been very literal; while the attempts that have been made to explain difficulties by going back to a supposed Greek original, either all fail, or at least inspire us with little confidence in accepting them. We own there is a good deal of force in some of Hesse's arguments, yet they have not shaken our belief in the Greek original; a belief founded less on the Greek idioms to be found in particular passages than on the general impression produced by the whole style of the fragment. If textual criticism could clear away all transcriptional errors, we might have an intelligible document written in Latin as good as that of the translation of Irenaeus; but we cannot imagine any correction of text which would make of it such Latin as we might expect in the original composition of an educated man who habitually used that language as his own. From any one who wrote Latin of the kind

[a] This retranslation has been attempted by Hilgenfeld (*Kanon*, p. 44) and by Bötticher (De Lagarde) in Bunsen's *Hippolytus* i., 2nd edition, *Christianity and Mankind*).

of the fragment, we should not expect the use of Greek idioms, except in a translation from Greek. Further if the fragment has the antiquity claimed for it, the presumption is that it is a translation from the Greek, since Greek is the language of all the literary remains that have come down to us from the Roman church of the 2nd century.

The first line of the fragment is evidently the conclusion of its notice of St. Mark's Gospel; for it goes on to speak of St. Luke's as in the third place, St. John's as in the fourth. It is clear that a notice of St. Matthew's Gospel and of St. Mark's must have come before; but we have no means of testing the conjecture that the document had previously given a list of Old Testament books. The document would appear to have undertaken to throw light on the choice of topics in the Gospels and on the point where each began (compare Irenaeus, iii. 11). It is stated that St. Luke (and apparently St. Mark also) had not seen our Lord in the flesh, and had based his narrative on such information as he could obtain, beginning from the birth of John. For the story told as to the composition of St. John's Gospel, see LEUCIUS. The document goes on to say that the variety in the Gospels makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by one and the same sovereign Spirit the same fundamental doctrines are fully taught in all concerning our Lord's birth, life, passion, resurrection, and future coming. At the date of this document, therefore, belief was fully established not only in the pre-eminence of four Gospels, but in their divine inspiration.

Next comes a notice of the Acts of the Apostles, in which St. Luke's choice of topics is accounted for by his having only designed to record what fell under his own notice, and having therefore left unmentioned the martyrdom of Peter and the journey of Paul to Spain. Thirteen epistles of St. Paul are then mentioned. (A) Epistles to churches, in the following order: 1 and 2 Cor.; Eph.; Phil.; Col.; Gal.; 1 and 2 Thess.; Rom. It is observed that though Paul, for their correction, wrote twice to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians, he only addressed seven churches by name,[b] in this following the example of "his predecessor," St. John, who, in writing to seven churches, shewed that he was addressing the universal church.[c] (B) Epistles to individuals: Philemon, Titus, and two to Timothy, written from personal affection, but hallowed by the honour of the Catholic church for the ordering of ecclesiastical discipline. Next follow words which we quote in Westcott's translation: "Moreover there is in circulation an epistle to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, bearing on ["ad;" we should have been more inclined to translate "favouring"] the heresy of Marcion, and several others, which cannot be received into the Catholic church, for gall[d] ought not to be mixed with honey. The epistle of Jude, however, and two epistles bearing the name of John, are received in the Catholic [church] (or are reckoned among the Catholic [epistles]). And the book of Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour [is acknowledged]. We receive, moreover, the Apocalypses of John and Peter only, which latter some of our body will not have read in the church." It is known that Marcion entitled his version of the Ephesians as "to the Laodiceans," and there is also a well-known pseudo-Pauline epistle having the same title; but there is nothing to throw light on what can be meant by the above-mentioned epistle to the Alexandrians. The epistle to the Hebrews has been very generally conjectured; yet it is nowhere else described as to the Alexandrians, has no Marcionite tendency, and is not "under the name of Paul." No more satisfactory solution of the puzzle has been offered than that writings may have been current then which have not come down to us. We have sometimes thought it possible that the epistle of Barnabas may have been intended. Though only two epistles of John are here mentioned, the opening sentence of the first epistle had been quoted in the paragraph treating of the Gospel; and it is possible that our writer may have read that epistle as a kind of appendix to the Gospel, and is here speaking of the other two. That the Wisdom of Solomon should be mentioned in a list of New Testament books has been felt to be perplexing. We are ourselves inclined to adopt the conjecture that the first word of the sentence in question should be "Ut," not "Et," that not the apocryphal book of Wisdom, but the Proverbs of Solomon are intended, and that there is an inaccurate reference to Prov. xxv. 1 (LXX.). The fragment then, in a sentence already referred to, says that the Shepherd was written "very lately, in our own time," in the city of Rome, while his brother bishop, Pius, sat in the chair of the Roman church; that, therefore, it ought to be read, but not used in the public reading of the church. The text of the last sentence of the document is so corrupt as to be unintelligible, but we can make out that it names writings which are rejected altogether: amongst these, of Arsinous, Valentinus, and Miltiades, mention also being made of the Cataphrygians of Asia. Attempts have been made to find some better known heretics under the names of Arsinous and that which we have reported as Miltiades. In particular Harnack (*Zeitscht. f. Luth. Theol.* 1874, p. 276) maintains that the latter must be corrected into Tatian. But all he succeeds in proving (if he does succeed) is that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that copyists might have perverted "Tatiani" into "Metiadi;" and considering how many other names there are of which as much might be said, we have slender warrant for going back from "Metiadi" to "Tatiani." MILTIADES, as we believe, was the name

[b] This "nominatim" would seem to leave room for the acknowledgment as Paul's of an epistle, such as that to the Hebrews, not addressed to a church by name. But if this had been intended, a mention of that epistle ought immediately to have followed.

[c] It is likely that our document was known to St. Cyprian, who mentions Paul's Epistles to Seven Churches (*de Exhort. Mart.* 11, see also *Tert. adv. Jud.* i. 20, and Optatus, *de Schism. Don.* ii. 3). Augustine uses language in still closer accord with our document (*De Civ. Dei*, xvii. iv. 4, see also Victorinus of Padua *in Apoc.* 1, and Pseudo-Chrys. *Opus imperfect.* in Matth. i. 6; pp. vi. xvii., Benedictine Edition).

[d] The paronomasia here, "fel" and "mel," may have been accidentally introduced by a translator, and is no conclusive proof of Latin original. St. Jerome has the same proverb, but the word he uses is "venenum," not "fel."

of a leading Montanist, but we have not the smallest reason to think that the names should have come down to us of the authors of all the documents for which, about the end of the 2nd century, acceptance was claimed in the church of Rome. We know from Hippolytus that the Montanists revered many writings which the church rejected, but we are told nothing of the names of their authors. In the *Little Labyrinth* (see HIPPOLYTUS, p. 98), a document of not much later date than that under consideration, we are given the names of several other heretics who troubled the Roman church at the beginning of the 3rd century, of whom we hear nothing elsewhere. It will be observed that in this list of books received in the "Catholic Church" * (a phrase recurring in this document of which it is important to take notice) no mention is made of the epistle of James, of either epistle of Peter, or of that to the Hebrews, unless we recognise it under the name of the epistle to the Alexandrians. Westcott, however, has shewn that it is impossible to build any argument on the omissions of our fragment. In order to obtain a measure of the accuracy of the scribe, he has examined the passage from St. Ambrose which immediately follows in the MS., and he finds that there is a long piece copied twice over, with serious variations between the two copies; that "in thirty lines there are thirty unquestionable clerical blunders, including one important omission, two other omissions which destroy the sense completely, one substitution equally destructive of the sense, and four changes which appear to be intentional and false alterations." It would be almost incredible that something of the same kind should not have occurred in transcribing our document, which is nearly three times as long. Besides, we do not know whether the archetype from which the scribe copied was a complete work, or only consisted of extracts. Certainly there are places in the fragment where there is such a break in the sense that it is very credible something has been left out. It would, of course, be hazardous in the extreme to attempt by conjecture to supply these omissions; but we think it safe to believe that the original list must have contained some mention of the first epistle of Peter, which certainly, at the earliest date claimed for the fragment, held such a position in the Roman church that entire silence in respect to it is incredible.

It would be tedious to enumerate the disquisitions of which our fragment has been the subject. It must suffice to mention Credner, *N. T. Kanon*, Volkmar's edition, 141 sq. 341 sq.; Routh, *Rell. Sac.* i. 394; Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus*; Hesse, as already cited, and Westcott, *N. T. Canon*, 208 sq. 514 sq. We have already referred to Bunsen's and Hilgenfeld's retranslations. There have been besides countless articles in journals, of which it is enough to mention three of the latest, Harnack, *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1879, Overbeck, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, 1880, and Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129. Without making this article into a commentary, it would be impossible to discuss all the points raised by so many critics; but it seems to us that over-subtlety is a fault of which they are often guilty, and that this is especially the characteristic of Harnack's article just referred to.

In what precedes the opinion of the best critics as to the date of this document has been given. Speaking now in my own name, I may venture to express an opinion in which I believe I am singular, or nearly so—that the document belongs to the episcopate of Zephyrinus. I expressed this opinion in 1874, with some hesitation (*Hermathena*, i.), and hold it now with more confidence, having since been led by two other roads to the same conclusion. In the first place, it is plain that the words "temporibus nostris" cannot be too severely pressed. Irenaeus (v. 30) speaks of the reign of Domitian as nearly his own time, that is to say, a time eighty or ninety years before. Eusebius (iii. 28) speaks of Dionysius of Alexandria and (v. 27) of Paul of Samosata as καθ' ἡμᾶς. We do not think that Lightfoot (vol. ii. p. 309) does much to save the strict accuracy of Eusebius by supposing that Eusebius must have at least been born before the death of these two bishops, the case being the same as if Queen Victoria were to speak of George III. as her contemporary, it being true that she was born before that monarch's death. The fact remains that a writer, who cannot be described as habitually loose in his use of language, speaks of a period fifty or sixty years before the time of writing as his own time. That the Muratorian writer was as careful and accurate as Eusebius is what we have not the least warrant for asserting; and we know nothing of the general argument of which the fragment is a part. If, for instance, as seems probable, the writer's object was to resist an attempt to claim for a modern writing that authority which he believed to be due only to the remains of the apostolic church, then we should not be justified in interpreting too strictly the controversial description of the writing as quite recent, and as belonging to his own time. Thus if the Muratorian writer were even fifty or sixty years after the death of Pius, he might speak of a period as recent and contemporaneous, of which he must have met with many able to speak from personal recollection.

Now there is reason to think that the interval between the bishop Pius and the Muratorian writer must have been longer than the twenty years critics generally allow. For he describes that bishop as "sitting in the chair of the Roman church," and evidently has no idea that the constitution of that church was different in the time of Pius and in his own. Yet those who take his word that the author of the Shepherd was the brother of Pius, infer from the language of the Shepherd that Hermas wrote during a struggle which ended in the confining to a single individual that honour of a principal chair, which before that time had been shared among many. If this be true, the Muratorian writer must have lived so long after Pius that all memory of that struggle had had time to be lost.

But in another way the reference to Hermas may be used to define the date of our fragment. For concerning the authority of Hermas a change certainly took place in the opinion of the Western church. Irenaeus quotes the Shepherd as Scripture. Tertullian in an early writing (*De Orat.* 16),

* An argument for the Latin original has been drawn from the fact that we have simply "Catholica" without "ecclesia," a usage which became common in Latin, but is unknown in Greek.

when its authority is alleged against him, tries to reconcile his views with it, without a word of dissent from those who treated it as Scripture. But in a later writing (*De Pudicitia*, 20) he not only himself rejects the Shepherd with contumely, but adds that in every council even of the anti-Montanist churches it had been reckoned among false and apocryphal writings. It is highly credible (see MONTANISM, p. 942) that in resistance to the modern revelations of Montanism, the Catholics felt the necessity of drawing more sharply the line of demarcation between apostolic and later writings. It is likely that the document which is the subject of this article had an influential part in determining among which the Shepherd was to be classed. We think there is reason to believe that our document was one which made some mark in its time. The parallels in Hesse lead me to think that not only Victorinus of Padua was acquainted with it, but Tertullian; but the parallels with Tertullian are to be found only in his later writings. Now if the Muratorian theory as to the date of Hermas had been authoritatively put forward by a leading man in the Roman church, we should at once have the explanation of the dethronement of the Shepherd from the place of honour it had previously occupied. In this way I was led to conjecture that the publication of the Muratorian document took place during the interval between the publication of Tertullian's two tracts, *De Oratione* and *De Pudicitia*. In this connection it is to be noted that the first historical note in the Liberian catalogue of the Popes, gives the same account of Hermas as the Muratorian document. It is generally believed that the earlier part of that catalogue is derived from the list of Hippolytus (see vol. i. p. 508), and if so, this notice also may have been copied from the same source. Hippolytus was fond of repeating himself; and if he were in any way concerned in the discovery of the supposed true date of Hermas, it would be intelligible why he should have gone a little out of his way to insert it in his papal list.

In the early part of the 3rd century true traditions of the times of Pius might easily have survived, and so I long struggled to reconcile the Muratorian statement that Hermas wrote in the episcopate of Pius, with the statement of Hermas himself that he was contemporary with Clement. But in writing the article HERMAS, I convinced myself of the entire falsity of the Muratorian statement, on the rejection of which all that had been strained and perplexing, sprang at once, as if by the release of a spring, into intelligible order. If the Muratorian fragment is not received as determining the date of Hermas, the notice of Hermas puts a limit on the date of the fragment. It must have been so much later than the times of Pius, that the writer was without trustworthy traditions to save him from misinterpreting the historical documents which he used. But it has further to be observed that in some papal catalogues, the brother of Pius is called not Hermas but Pastor, and that the name Pastor has a distinguished place in the traditions of the Roman church. In the article PASTOR must be examined whether the taking Pastor as a proper name is a blunder of the later catalogues, or whether the true account is that Hippolytus who we know was at the beginning of the 3rd century at work on the episcopal lists, finding in the Roman archives Pius described as "frater Pastoris," rashly jumped to the conclusion that he was the brother of the author of the celebrated Shepherd. This would certainly be a huge blunder, but I cannot venture to pronounce it impossible that Hippolytus might have committed it, believing him to have been a man apt to form an opinion hastily and to hold it with a confidence quite unwarranted by the evidence.

Lastly, if the conclusion arrived at in the article MONTANISM be correct, viz. that it was only in the episcopate of Zephyrinus that the Montanist controversy became active in the Roman church, the question of the date of the Muratorian document is settled, for it is plainly anti-Montanist. If we admit the document to be not earlier than the episcopate of Zephyrinus, we are at once led to fall back on Muratori's hypothesis as to the authorship; for since we know from Eusebius that a work of that period, the disputation of Caius with Proclus, contained, in opposition to Montanist revelations, a list of the books reverenced by the Catholic church, it seems unnecessary to look further for the original of our document. We need not be embarrassed by any considerations which point to the researches of Hippolytus in the lists of Roman bishops as having had some share in shaping the conclusions of our author; for at the time in question, Caius and Hippolytus are likely to have been working together in harmony, and the learning of one would be at the service of the other. [G. S.]

MURDACHUS, Scotch saint in Argyleshire, called hermit and also Culdeus by Dempster, who relates that this last of the native bards lived at a place called Kilmurdah, was devoted in his attachment to the B. V. M., through whom he received many favours, flourished A.D. 800, and wrote *Hymni Deiparae*. His feast is Sept. 15 and October 5 in the Scotch kalendars; he is also called bishop and confessor, but his tradition is unfixed (Bp. Forbes, *Kals.* 104, 213, 416; Dempster, *H. E. Scot.* ii. 474; Boll. *Acta SS.* 15 Sept. v. 251 praet., 5 Oct. iii. 2 praet., stating and discussing the difficulties). He may be St. Murdoch of Inverkeillor, and the patron of "Chapel Dokie," in Monifieth, Forfarshire (Jervise, *Epit.* i. 318–19). [DOKIE.] [J. G.]

MURGEUS, Irish bishop, flourished A.D. 650, but erroneously identified by Ussher (*Wks.* vi. 479, 536, 606) with MUIRGHEIN the mermaid (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 299, 536; Lanigan, *E. H. Ir.* ii. 342). He belongs to the third class of Irish saints, and is unknown. (Lanigan, *Ib.* ii. 331 et al.) [J. G.]

MUSAEUS, presbyter of Marseilles, famed for his knowledge of Scripture and the subtlety of his interpretations. At the requests of Venerius and Eustasius bishops of Marseilles he compiled a lectionary and a treatise on the sacraments, besides publishing some homilies. Gennadius (*Scr. Eccl.* 79) describes the two former works, and makes the author to have died cir. 460. (*Hist. Litt. de la Fr.* ii. 340; Cave, i. 447; Dupin, i. 502, ed. 1722; Ceill. x. 471.) [C. H.]

MUSANUS, writer against the ENCRATITES (see vol. 2 p. 119; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 21, 28;

Chron. Ann. Abr. 2220; Hieron. *Catal.* 31; Theod. *Haer. Fab.* i. 21). In the *Church History* Eusebius places Musanus in the reign of Antoninus Pius and episcopate of Anicetus. In the *Chronicle*, where the name appears to have been written Musianus, he had placed him some 40 years later, in the reign of Severus and episcopate of Zephyrinus. [G. S.]

MUSONIANUS, a lay friend of Chrysostom's to whom he wrote from Cucusus remonstrating with him for having allowed him to send him two letters without a reply. He is however confident of his affection, the proofs of which he can never forget. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 216.) [E. V.]

MUSONIUS (1), bishop of Neocaesarea, on whose death in 368 A.D. Basil wrote a long letter of consolation to his widowed church (*Epist.* 28 [62]) filled with the highest laudation of the deceased prelate, whom he designates as no unworthy successor of Gregory Thaumaturgus. He describes him as a rigid supporter of old customs and the ancient faith, endeavouring to conform his church in all things to the primitive model, and looking with abhorrence on everything savouring of novelty. His watchful care had preserved his church from the storms of heresy which were ravaging all neighbouring churches. So great was the reverence in which he was held, that though he was by no means the oldest of the bishops, when they met in council the presidency was always assigned to him. He must have been comparatively young when he attained the episcopate, for though he ruled the church of Neocaesarea for many years, he was not very aged at the time of his death. We learn from this letter that Musonius had been prejudiced against Basil, and regarded his election to the episcopate with no friendly eyes, so that though they were united in faith, and in opposition to heresy, they were unable to co-operate for the peace of the church. Basil mentions him in a second letter to the Neocaesareans as the "blessed Musonius," the follower of the traditions of Gregory Thaumaturgus, "whose teaching was still sounding in their ears." (Basil, *Epist.* 210 [64].) [E. V.]

MUSONIUS (2), a professor of rhetoric mentioned by Eunapius (*Vit. Philos.*) in his account of Prohaeresius (*s. f.*). Baronius understands the passage to say that he was expelled under Julian for being a Christian (*A. E.* ann. 354 xxv., 362 ccxcvii.); but Pagi (ann. 362 xli.) believes that Prohaeresius is the person meant. (Tillem. vii. 719.) [C. H.]

MUTIANUS (MUCIANUS), a scholasticus, cir. 550, employed by Cassiodorus (*Instit. Div. Lett.* cap. 5 in *Patr. Lat.* lxx. 1120) to translate into Latin Chrysostom's thirty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews. This version is printed with St. Chrysostom's works (*Pat. Gr.* xii. 257; see also for the author the *Praefatio* § 4 at the commencement of the volume; see also Cave, i. 524; Tillem. xi. 405; Ceill. xi. 285). He is believed to be the Mocianus Scholasticus against whom Facundus Hermianensis wrote his treatise. (*Patr. Lat.* lxvii. 858 and note.) [C. H.]

MYENSIS (MYIENSIS) Episcopus attests the canons of the legatine council of Northumbria or Cealchythe (Sim. Dun. 786); he was Aldulf, bishop of the Saxon settlement at Mayo. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 8; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* iii. 446; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 663–4.) [J. G.]

END OF VOL. III.

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